

BLACK POLITICS

JUNE - 1989

Picture REUTER

ANC hijack man gets 15 years

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DAR ES SALAAM. — A white man, Bradley Richard Stacey, believed to be South African, was sentenced yesterday to two 15-year prison terms for carrying grenades and explosives on board a Soviet aircraft which he reportedly tried to hijack to Johannesburg.

High Court Judge Nassoro Mnzavas passed the sentence on Stacey, 30, alias George Hodges, who pleaded guilty in a closed court two days earlier.

Police say the May 18 flight from Angola was carrying 200 ANC members to Moscow for training and that Stacey tried to divert the flight to Johannesburg before being shot by a Soviet security man.

Stacey, who appeared in open court with a bandage on one shoulder, was sentenced to 15 years in prison on the explosives charge and 15 years for assaulting a Soviet citizen. The terms are to be served concurrently.

Stacey said in court that he would appeal against the sentence, saying: "I must be home within 10 years." He did not say where his home was.

Tanzanian authorities have been extremely secretive about the case, but security and ANC sources have said Stacey was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

They said Stacey approached the cockpit of the plane waving a hand grenade and saying he wanted the flight diverted to Johannesburg because there was a "communist" on board who was badly wanted by South African police.

The hijacking was foiled when a Soviet security man shot Stacey in the chest. They said they believe Stacey was an undercover agent working for the South African government. — UPI

Soweto
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Invite to peace meeting

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, yesterday sent a letter to senior executive members of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions inviting them to address the central committee of Inkatha at Ulundi tomorrow.

He said in the letter that he was inviting them to Ulundi to have preliminary talks about a peace conference where the question of a neutral venue would be discussed.

This was in response to a letter the two organisations sent him earlier yesterday.

Mandela out this year says Boesak

WASHINGTON — United Democratic Front patron the Rev Allan Boesak has told American television networks Nelson Mandela will be released later this year.

Boesak, in the US to generate momentum for sanctions legislation in the Congress, appeared on a television news programme on Wednesday night to say "Nelson Mandela will not be released before September but he will be released before Christmas. I have given the game away and I've never done this in public before," he said.

The church leader did not say how he came by this information, but there has been considerable speculation in South Africa and in Washington that the Government would not risk releasing the African National Congress leader before the general election of September 6.

Boesak is to take part



Rev Boesak.

in a protest march of what is hoped will be 100 000 people on Capitol Hill on June 17. The organisers of the protest hope to demonstrate to the Congress massive American public pressure for more actions to be taken against South Africa.

The date has been chosen to commemorate the Soweto uprising which began on June 16, 1976.

Sowe for 2/16/77

CAPT TIMES 2/6/89 (110) (110)

Natal trade unionist dies after arson attack

JOHANNESBURG — Mrs Jabu Ndlovu, a senior shop steward of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, died yesterday from burn injuries received during an arson attack on her home in the Maritzburg area on May 21

Mrs Ndlovu's husband and daughter died while another daughter, aged 13, and a 20-year-old nephew received serious burn wounds when the house was burnt to the ground

Cosatu said the deaths represented "a further tragic and forceful statement on the need to end the killings in Natal"

About 1 300 people have been killed in fighting between Inkatha and Cosatu and United Democratic Front supporters in the Maritzburg area alone — Sapa

Mandela banner sentence angers activists

Star 11/6/89
LONDON — A man who admitted handling a stolen banner calling for Nelson Mandela's release has received a conditional 12-month discharge

Christopher Hill (28) from Birmingham, who appeared at Bow Street Magistrate's Court wearing a T-shirt saying "Hang Mandela", was said to have posed with the banner for photographs after it had been stolen from an anti-apartheid picket outside the SA Embassy in Trafalgar Square

Mr Jeremy Lynn, prosecuting, said members of the picket were attacked by supporters of the National Front, who seized their banner

The anti-facist magazine *Searchlight* later received two photographs of men with the banner with a message claiming that the robbery had

stopped the picket

Hill was arrested when police identified him as being in the photograph. He claimed he was in a pub when National Front supporters threw the banner into the building and left

"He admitted responsibility for the photographs and the message," said Mr Lynn. A charge of robbery against Hill was withdrawn

The magistrate, Mr Ronald Bartle, said he would deal with the matter as a "simple case of handling stolen goods"

After the hearing, members of the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group criticised the sentence "It's giving licence to facism and terrorism," said member Mr Michael Russell — The Star Bureau

First interview with foreign media

FW says climate for talks is better

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The atmosphere for negotiations between the South African Government and black leaders had improved slightly, Mr F W de Klerk told the American public this week.

He appeared on the Discovery World Monitor television news programme in the first interview he has granted to the foreign media since becoming the leader of the National Party

He said he had been involved in a round of talks with leaders from all walks of life, various regions and of different political persuasions. The one thing everyone had in common was the belief in the need for real negotiations.

Differences existed as to how negotiations should be structured.

Major points made by Mr de Klerk in the interview included

- His goal was a square deal for all South Africans, which included drawing blacks into the political

decision-making process

- The final arbiter in the political system must be constructed in such a way that no one group could dominate the others

- An option was moving into the South African political system with the possible creation of a non-racial group

- In theory it was possible for any person of colour to hold any position within the government as the result of proposed legislation

Short-term goals

- While the position of the State President would have to be revised drastically, that was a long-term goal. The priority was to define short-term and interim goals which would facilitate the ultimate goal — a Constitution which would have the support of the majority of South Africans

- Right at the top of his agenda for discussions with President Bush would be the destructive effect sanctions were having, particularly on black South Africans

Mr de Klerk, speaking slowly

as he chose his words carefully throughout the interview, declined to answer questions on the possible release of Nelson Mandela

He said he was shortly meeting with the Prime Minister of Britain, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and others. And that such a matter was better discussed on a one-on-one basis in private, rather than in public.

Mr de Klerk said he believed the agenda for negotiations should be as wide as possible.

On a possible meeting with President Bush, Mr de Klerk said he expected the President would criticise his Government's policies and he knew what that would be.

However, he hoped the element of stagnation which had entered the bilateral situation between the two countries in recent years would be removed.

He said he often had the feeling of being judged on images that might have been true 10 years ago. South Africa was not getting recognition for the advances that it had made.

TUTU TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT BOTHA

I'm not wedded to sanctions he tells Natal synod

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu last night paid tribute to the State President for embarking on reform.

But said he had lacked enough courage to abolish apartheid and bring about a new South Africa free of racial discrimination.

"He missed the golden opportunity of ushering in a new dispensation for all South Africans," Tutu told the opening session of the Anglican Provincial Synod in Durban.

"He spoke about reforming apartheid instead of destroying it.

"I am willing to pay tribute to Mr P W Botha though he might consider it the kiss of death," the archbishop said in his charge.

Botha, who stepped down recently as National Party leader, is due to retire later this year after the whites-only general elections in September. He has ruled South Africa since 1978.

During his time controversial legislation, including the influx control laws and the pass laws, have been repealed.



ARCHBISHOP TUTU

But laws governing group areas, separate amenities and population registration remain.

Tutu, an advocate of sanctions to force South Africa to dismantle apartheid, told the synod "We must destroy

apartheid before it destroys us."

He said he was not "wedded to sanctions" adding, "if we can bring about the end of apartheid without sanctions I would be the first to say 'alleluia'."

"I am committed to non-violence and I am committed to negotia-

tion," he added.

He would call on the international community to "put its sanctions programme on hold" if the South African Government granted the demands of the anti-apartheid groups and was ready to enter into negotiations with authentic black leaders.

Sewetan 11/6/89.

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Azapo leader's family 'worried'

THE family of detained Azapo deputy president Lybon Mabasa is concerned about his health

Mabasa enters his 15th day this morning on a hunger strike. He is being held in a Bloemfontein prison.

Mrs Oko Mabasa said the last time she visited him he had ulcers. He had lost weight and was getting worse.

However, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Colonel S van Rooyen, said as far as he knew there was no detainee on a hunger strike in the country.

Mrs Mabasa said her husband demanded to be either charged or released.

Star Times 1/6/89
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Banker on
ANC charge

GABORONE. — A bank employee is to face a charge of subversion after he allegedly attempted to obtain weapons for sale to the ANC.

Mr. Gaolathe Mpaesele, a Barclays employee, allegedly contacted a member of the Botswana Defence Force and asked him to steal 10 AK47 assault rifles and 2'000 rounds of ammunition. A local newspaper, The Gazette, said the case had been postponed. — Sapa

Victims of apartheid are 'vanquishing the system'

THE victims of apartheid were steadily vanquishing the system, SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman said last night *6/Dec 11/6/84*.

He told a gathering of members to mark the SAIRR's 60th anniversary that rank-and-file black South Africans were destroying the pass laws and eroding the Group Areas Act by simply moving into white suburbs, even though this was illegal.

"What SA has been experiencing amounts to grassroots civil disobedience on a mass scale by ordinary people, in spite of the risk — and reality — of arrest"

The civil disobedience had gone unnoticed by local and foreign media, by foreign governments and even by political organisations purporting to represent those grassroots people *(11A)*

Kane-Berman said government was not the only participant in the change process "Indeed, change is too important to be left to a government whose heart is not really in it anyway." — Sapa.

Publishing firm wound up

SUSAN RUSSELL 6/Dec 11/6/84

JOHANNESBURG company Fashion Publishers (Pty) Ltd was placed under final liquidation in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday

When the application for the provisional winding up of the company was brought in April by Citylab (Pty) Ltd, Fashion Publishers was incorrectly cited as trading as Femme Magazine — an upmarket magazine edited by Susie Jordan — and received wide publicity.

The court yesterday also granted an order amending the citation to delete any reference to Femme Magazine

In an affidavit, Elisa Becker, a director of Emme Publications which publishes Femme, said Fashion Publishers had never traded as Femme Magazine

"The position was that until about 1987 Fashion Publishers had been the publisher of Femme magazine with Susie Jordan as editor," Becker said

"From approximately September 1987 Emme Publications commenced publishing Femme Magazine"

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Court told of secret police death squad

DETAILS of a secret police hit squad of "African National Congress defectors", called the Askari Group, emerged in the Cape Supreme Court yesterday.

Bongani Abednego Jonas, 31, the "Mr X" who refused to give evidence for the state against the 14 accused in the Yengeni terrorism trial, told the court he was shot by a member of this group.

The work of Askaris, or the A-Team as security policeman Major du Toit called them, was to "go around the township acting on information from the security police to seek out and kill their former colleagues".

"Some of them said I was fortunate to be alive," Jonas said.

There are at least two units of this group operating in South Africa. One is led by a Sergeant Balletjes and is based in Pretoria. The other, a Cape unit, operates from East London and

Police had formed a special unit of ANC defectors, known as the Askari Group, to seek out and kill their former colleagues', the Yengeni terrorism trial heard this week. SAHM VENTER reports

covers the area from Cape Town to the Wild Coast, the court heard.

"I was told there was another unit to be formed in Cape Town, which would work from Cape Town to George and near Beaufort West," Jonas said.

He said Askari members had told him they had killed people in Botswana (including a man called Naledi) and had shot a suspected "terrorist" in Guguletu in September 1988.

Jonas was giving evidence in a hearing in terms of section 189 of the Internal Security Act to determine whether he has "just cause" to refuse

to give state evidence. His refusal is based on the grounds that testifying for the state would be "humanly intolerable".

If the court finds Jonas has no "just cause" he faces up to five years' jail.

Members of Askari included Stan Gwiji and "Neville" from the Transvaal, Lucky Mavimbela of Paarl, and "David", said Jonas.

He said he was shot in the left hip by "David" on September 17 1987, before being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Security policemen had pulled, stood and jumped on his fractured leg.

Jonas said he spent several months in hospital, much of the time chained to his bed.

"David" later suggested he join the Askaris, Jonas told the court.

"He said I would be given a house, security, will have the opportunity to marry, but my wife will have to stay

in the base because I must understand that my life will never be the same again. Because in order to be protected by the state, we have to work in a team," Jonas said.

"I agreed, but in myself I never agreed because if I refused to work for Askari then the police would have other suspicions of me. I had to play along, that humiliated me."

Jonas said he had been told by the security police that he would be a state witness.

Since his refusal on April 19 to give evidence for the state, all his privileges had been taken away. Jonas said Du Toit had instructed the police station commander "to keep me in conditions of section 29 though I am still (being held under) section 31".

The hearing threatens to become a marathon one, with the state announcing it will call about 30 witnesses to refute Jonas' allegations.

Mandela award

NELSON Mandela has been awarded the Gadaffi prize for human rights, the secretary of the Lybian People's Bureau in Botswana, Mr Salem Elfallan, told the Botswana press agency.

The 250 000 US dollar human rights award will be made in Tripoli, Libya, on June 10, and will be received on Mandela's behalf by one of his daughters.

Call comes after death of official

Cosatu, UDF urge Natal peace moves

Star 2/6/89 (11A) (11B) (11C)

By Mike Siluma

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and affiliates of the United Democratic Front (UDF) have made a strong call for a peace initiative to end political violence in Natal's black townships, following the death yesterday of a key Cosatu official.

Mrs Jabu Ndlovu (41), a shop steward of the Cosatu-affiliated

National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), died in hospital from injuries suffered in an attack on her house on May 21. Her husband and daughter were killed during the attack.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg, attended by top-ranking officials from UDF and Cosatu, Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the death of Mrs Ndlovu was "a further tragic and forceful state-

ment on the need to end the killings in Natal"

Cosatu and the UDF affiliates had again "communicated to (Inkatha) the need for a peace conference and an effective peace process"

Mr Naidoo said that because of continuing political killings, the people of Maritzburg had decided to take protest action from June 5 to 7

He reiterated Cosatu's position that the proposed peace conference between Cosatu, UDF affiliates and Inkatha be held at a neutral venue, and not Ulundi, as Inkatha insists

● The employer body, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, has, after being requested by Numsa, agreed to approach Cosatu, Inkatha and the State in an attempt "to bring an end to the escalating violence" in Natal, a Seifsa spokesman confirmed yesterday

● Up to 1 300 people are believed to have been killed in political fighting in Natal townships

Mandela will be freed, Boesak tells America

Star
2/16/89

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

(11A)

WASHINGTON — United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak has told American television networks that Nelson Mandela will be released later this year.

Dr Boesak, in the United States to generate momentum for sanctions legislation in Congress, appeared on a television news programme on Wednesday night to say "Nelson Mandela will not be released before September but he will be released before Christmas.

"I have given the game away and I've never done this in public before," he said

The church leader did not say how he came by this information

However, there has been considerable speculation in South Africa and in Washington that the South African Government would not risk releasing the African National Congress leader before the general election on September 6

DAR-ES-SALAAM — The Pan-Africanist Congress this week warned blacks in South Africa and the international community not to be misled by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha's "deceptive" pronouncements of his government's intention of ending white domination and dismantling apartheid after the September elections.

The exiled movement's warning follows a BBC report of May 28 which reported Botha to have told US Secretary of State, James Baker, that his National Party will fight the September elections "on the basis of dismantling apartheid."

Willing

Botha told Americans that "white domination must come to an end regardless of whether black opponents are willing to join talks." He made the statement — regarded as the PAC as "very cunning" — in Rome.

"These antics are designed to divert the maximum support the liberation forces enjoy from the international community and from the progressive world," the

PAC warns over vows by Pik

PAC noted in a statement issued from its headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam to the Africa News Organisation (ANO)

"It is a known fact that the South African regime is in a tight corner economically and militarily — hence its R8,7-billion defence budget this year. The vast majority of the Azanian (South African) people have been completely alienated from the Herrenvolk State and owe it absolutely no loyalty.

"They consider its police and army as forces of occupation and oppression, its industries and commerce as

machines of their enslavement, its white-made laws as devoid of morality and its philosophy of apartheid as absolutely repugnant. Because of internal political turmoil, the conditions of the white people have deteriorated, the cost of living has skyrocketed and the real income has declined."

The aim

The PAC explained that it was because of these internal conditions that Botha had to "lie without an iota of conscience."

"The struggle must continue until the principle of one-person one-vote is realised."

1102
SOWETAN: Friday, June 2, 1989

Racism kills visitor

BY MATHATHA TSEDU

THE death of a Zimbabwean national after white ambulance attendants had refused to ferry him to hospital near Pietersburg at the weekend was conclusive proof that white racists had no respect for black lives, the Northern Transvaal People's Co-

ordinating Committee, said in a statement yesterday. The NTPCC was one of many organisations and people who yesterday condemned the behaviour of the ambulance crew which

led to the man, Mr Leonard Nyoni of Mbare Township, bleeding to death as he lay alongside the road. The three Zimbabweans, Mr Victor Nkoma, who died instantly, and Mr Charles Mare, who survived, were involved in an accident 38 km

north of Pietersburg while on their way home from shopping in Johannesburg. A spokesman for the broad Black Consciousness movement, said the "incident should be a lesson to all who think health services in South Africa are different from all other racist structures". The spokesman said the two Zimbabweans are mourned by the entire black,

oppressed and exploited masses of Azania. A spokesman of the Lutheran Church in the Northern Transvaal, Mr Saul Raphalalani, said the behaviour of the white ambulance attendants showed that the story of the "good samaritan, which is preached often in the white churches, has no significance". He condemns the attitude as racist and acrimonious to human

relations," Raphalalani said. The Azanian Student Movement said the incident, coming hardly three months after a similar incident involving a nurse, meant that the entire white community stood accused and condemned for the virtual murder of Nyoni.

and helped the survivor to get back to Zimbabwe after he had lost all his money, Mr Phetola Frans Motheta, yesterday announced that he would collect donations to help the families of the deceased for identification and transportation of the bodies. Those wishing to assist should contact Mr Motheta at Private Bag 738, Ga-Kgapane, 0838 or telephone (01523042) and ask for 19

WORLD NEWS
-INOW

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'SA man' jailed for jet bomb attempt

DAR ES SALAAM — Tanzania's High Court yesterday jailed a white man, said by diplomatic sources to be South African, for 15 years for placing explosives on a Soviet airliner last month

Bradely Richard Stacey, 27, pleaded guilty to all three charges against him — endangering the lives of passengers on Flight IL-8449 on May 18, placing dangerous explosives on the plane and assaulting a crew member

Senior High Court Judge Nassor Mzavas and the Tanzanian government have declined to give Stacey's nationality

Tanzania has also declined to say whether Stacey was trying to hijack the aircraft as suggested by foreign diplomatic sources in Dar es Salaam

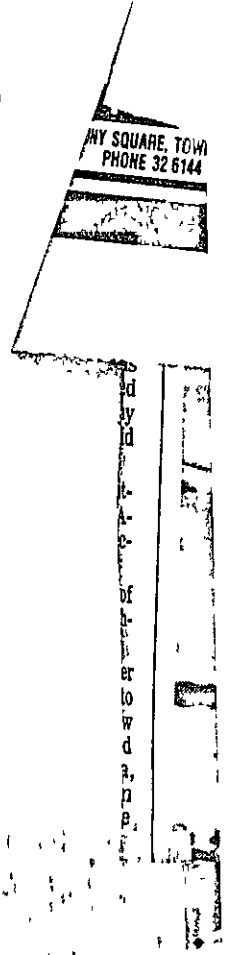
ANC MEMBER

The sources said Stacey was South African and was among 174 members of the African National Congress flying to Tanzania from Luanda in Angola

Unconfirmed foreign press reports have said he tried to hijack the aircraft to South Africa but was overpowered and injured

Stacey, who also used the alias George Hodges, appeared in court with a bandaged left arm but looked relaxed and chatted with security guards. He had no lawyer

Passing sentence, Judge Mzavas said "The offence Stacey committed calls for a sentence that would deter others from similar offences. Had it not been for the fact that Stacey readily pleaded guilty I would not have hesitated to impose the maximum sentence of 20 years imprisonment" — Sapa-Reuter



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We'll promote black enterprise, ANC tells Indian businessmen

THE African National Congress did not advocate "wholesale nationalisation", but would instead encourage the participation of black business in a mixed economy, an ANC representative told about 400 Indian businessmen in Johannesburg last weekend

Zola Skweyiya, a senior member of the movement's constitutional committee, was speaking in a telephone link-up to a conference on "The Role of Business in a Changing South Africa" organised by the Transvaal Indian Congress. It was attended by Indian businessmen from throughout the Transvaal as well as representatives of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc), the Consultative Business Movement and the Five Freedoms Forum.

The conference represented the first time Indian businessmen had come together on such a scale, according to TIC members present

Skweyiya said there was a need for the Indian business community to play "an active role in the process of change".

The ANC recognised that sanctions could cause economic breakdown, but that this was a sacrifice "that would have to be made for freedom", he said

TIC executive member NG Patel said Indian business people needed to unite to challenge the restrictions presented by apartheid and to overcome the "sole trader mentality" and the atmosphere of uncertainty which prevented expansion and diversification

"What is required is an approach that recognises that these obstacles cannot be overcome individually. We need to come together to pool our re-

2-2/6/89. (11A) whole

The African National Congress aimed to encourage black business participation in a mixed economy, a top ANC official told a conference of local businessmen this week. GAVIN EVANS reports

sources and our energies towards overcoming these obstacles," he said.

He said the two immediate challenges facing the business community were the need to work towards the eradication of apartheid in order to ensure economic growth, and the need to orientate existing business enterprises to "take advantage of existing and future opportunities as they present themselves"

Nafcoc national president Sam Motsuanyane called for African and Indian businessmen to unite in order to overcome the impediments of apartheid

SA Perm MD Bob Tucker warned against "vigorous privatisation" without first ensuring "equitable redistribution"

Without a measure of compulsory redistribution economic apartheid would be entrenched even if political apartheid disappeared, he said

JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem said the onus was on the business community to "remove the need for punitive redistribution", and that the balance between growth and redistribution was the key problem facing business

Cosatu vice president Chris Dlamini said that some Cosatu members complained about being "heavily exploited and ill treated by individual Indian



Tucker ... redistribution necessary employers".

Dismissals without proper hearing were rife and in some places conditions of work were "unbearable and appalling".

Many Indian business people were not prepared to recognise or even talk to unions, he said

This created difficulties for the unions in their attempts to build non-racial alliances with community-based organisations, and contributed to the phenomenon of workers boycotting Indian shops in places like Carletonville, he said

Dlamini called on Indian businessmen to recognise trade unions and to negotiate with progressive groups

"As long as the black middle classes are oppressed, like any of their black countrymen they have a place in the mass democratic movement, as long as they adhere to its principles and policies," he said

The conference agreed to form a committee to investigate setting up an organisation of Indian business people, which would work closely with Nafcoc and the mass democratic movement

ANC accuses SA of killings

By GAVIN EVANS

A FRESH campaign of "assassinations and disinformation" is being waged against the African National Congress, representatives for the movement say

In the past month four ANC members have allegedly been assassinated, while two mystery letters written by "disillusioned" ANC members have been widely circulated in Lusaka and South Africa.

Responding to questions from the *Weekly Mail* an ANC representative in Lusaka said the letters, which were also sent to members of the foreign and local press, were part of a campaign to boost the credibility of the South African government's "conditional amnesty" call made earlier this month.

The ANC has also accused "South African agents" of being behind the deaths of four of its members in Lusaka

Earlier this month Jackie Mabuza and fellow-ANC member "Peter" died from drinking beer which had been spiked with poison

Five weeks ago Moss Mthunzi and Sadhan Naidoo were murdered at an ANC farm near Lusaka. The ANC accused an "infiltrator" known as Tex of shooting the men while they were talking after supper.

"Tex" and another man are being held in custody in Lusaka, according to the ANC

On May 18 ANC members discovered a landmine buried on the road to one of their "safe houses" in Lusaka, the representative said.

The campaign against the organisation included "statements by various government officials" and "speculations by newspapers", the ANC statement said. On May 15 the *Citizen* carried a report that the South African government was prepared to grant "conditional amnesty" to ANC

members who wished to return to South Africa "instead of being moved to camps in North Africa".

The report quoted Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok as saying the cases would be treated "on merit", and were conditional on the ANC members "repudiating violence".

He claimed to be responding to two "pamphlets" distributed in Lusaka by "disgruntled" ANC members.

The first purports to be written by an ANC member and alleges dissatisfaction with the ANC

A second letter, allegedly written by a "senior member of the National Executive of the ANC" repeats the allegations and states that the ANC's presence in Lusaka is being reduced from 2 500 to 350 people.

Responding to the allegations the ANC said the letters were "devoid of any truth" and did not originate from ANC members in Lusaka.

"The Zambian government has not ordered the ANC to reduce its numbers," the ANC said

The Bureau for Information denied specific knowledge of the letters, but police representative Captair Reg Crewe said they were "aware of the pamphlets, but we are not aware if they are genuine".

He said the information in the letters "corresponds with information in our possession".

● Meanwhile it is reported from Dar-es-Salaam that one of two men, alleged to be South African secret agents who tried to hijack a plane to Johannesburg, has pleaded guilty on two charges.

The two men tried on May 18 to divert an Aeroflot airliner while it was on a flight from Luanda to Dar-es-Salaam. Most of the 200 passengers were allegedly members of the ANC

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2-8/89

Mokaba trial: jail for the two others

TWO men who were originally charged with terrorism alongside youth leader Peter Mokaba in the Pietersburg Regional Court have been sentenced to four and two years respectively.

Charges against Mokaba, president of the now-restricted South African Youth Congress, were suddenly withdrawn last week

The two men — Malebane Elifas Tswai and Sam Thabo Masemola — pleaded guilty to alternative charges

Tswai, 28, admitted acting as a courier for the African National Congress between Botswana and South Africa. He was sentenced to an effective four years

Masemola, 29, was found guilty of possessing two limpet mines.

In mitigation of sentence, the defence had argued the two men had not been trained militarily. Masemola and Tswai had claimed a certain Lucky had given them arms. Thus, the defence argued, their transgression consisted of the failure to make proper enquiries

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1989 JUNE 10

Breaking free

Is talk of blanket sanctions on its way out? New answers to that question, amid SA's economic woes, seem to have caused something of a split in opposition circles at home and abroad

A rift in the ANC-UDF camp became apparent during the visit last month of SA church leaders to the US. Speaking to a gathering of businessmen, politicians and academics at Rand Afrikaans University last week, former SA Council of Churches general secretary and UDF stalwart Beyers Naude said the delegation told US President George Bush to support a boycott of "targeted sectors of SA's economy"

Naude continued "There is a serious reconsideration in the anti-apartheid movement with regard to sanctions at the moment. If one or two targeted sanctions could bring about meaningful change then the movement will have to reassess its position." Naude added that boycotts of loans, gold, oil and coal could have such an effect. "We also told President Bush that it would be all right if he met with F W de Klerk, as long as such a meeting could bring about meaningful change as well."

ANC relentless

Meanwhile, the ANC in Lusaka this week denied Associated Press reports that an ANC spokesman in Nigeria also spoke of selective sanctions and downplayed the call for tougher sanctions at a press conference last Wednesday. And, responding over the phone to a conference on business and change in SA, hosted by the Transvaal Indian Congress last Sunday, an ANC spokesman in Lusaka reiterated his organisation's commitment to comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against SA. Cosatu's Chris Dlamini stated a similar position — whatever the sacrifices in terms of job losses this might entail. The main thing, he said, was that SA's lines of international support be cut.

ANC leaders have not yet met to discuss formally the apparent change of emphasis by the SA churchmen and, by implication, a section of the UDF. But feeling in Lusaka is that the ANC will answer the churchmen by stepping up its international campaign for a comprehensive boycott.

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Naude ... selective sanctions gaining currency

Meanwhile, the "outward policy" of the Eighties continues.

Foreign Affairs Deputy Director General Glenn Babb says SA is riding out the sanctions storm by strengthening its ties with black Africa. He points to the opening of

three new SA trade missions in Africa this year as evidence of "growing real contacts with the outside world"

Babb says "Africans now recognise Johannesburg as their continent's New York. And it is through increased contacts with Africa that SA will break its isolation from the Western world. The winds of change have become a change of winds." He says one of his goals is to see SA join SADCC, the nine-member conference of African states whose aim is to reduce dependence on SA. While this is unlikely until SA has majority-rule government, the SADCC is known to trade with SA "under the table," as Nafcoc's Sam Motsuenyane puts it.

Meanwhile, black economic empowerment rather than diplomatic manoeuvring, is seen by many as the true answer to sanctions. Blacks now earn nearly 30% of the national income.

Assocom and JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem says that share would be 35% by the year 2000 in a sanctions-free economy. However, it will in fact drop to 25% during the next decade should sanctions continue. The black population will, meanwhile, jump from 72.6% to 76.2%.

The answer, he says, is to place more of SA's economy in black hands: "There is no way a growing economy can be maintained in the face of sanctions unless there is a massive absorption of blacks into the economy"

RE: SACKEE'S MURKIN

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By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE mystery South African jailed this week for attempting to hijack a Soviet plane-load of ANC members, Bradeley Richard Stacey, 27, was yesterday linked to the unsolved arson at Natal university in 1986.

The fires razed the Durban home and work offices of political scientist Professor Laurence Schlemmer and the university's political science department on March 21, 1986.

In a second surprise disclosure, police yesterday linked Stacey to terrorism trialist Mr Damian de Lange.

Police spokesman Brigadier Leon Mallet, said an altered ID document confiscated during the arrest of Mr De Lange and two fellow terrorism-accused at Broederstrroom on May 8 last year belonged to Stacey.

The official investigation into the university fires turned up Stacey's passport undamaged amid motor-cycle parts in a charred cupboard of the political science department. Two emergency fire hoses nearby had been cut.

Prof Schlemmer, now director of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University, said yesterday that there had been no arrests since the arson.

Low-profile activist

Police had run "into a brick wall" when Stacey disappeared soon after the fires, he said. Brigadier Mallet said the next thing police knew



PROTEST . Matte students on their way to deliver notes objecting to the expulsion of Ms Leslee Durr (front, wearing blue top and pants) and bans on Nusas and BSOS

Picture: AMRE LANGE

By MALCOLM FRIED
and SYLVAN MOSTERT

THE STAR



CAH Truitt
3/6/89

Link

By CHRIS BATEMAN

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Brigadier Mellet said the next thing police knew of Mr Stacey, a former Durban campus economic history honours student, was when he joined the ANC for "transit training" in Botswana in 1986.

Stacey had been a low-profile political activist and ostensibly fled the country to avoid military training.

A former fellow student of Stacey and present Durban SRC campus projects officer, Mr Steven Collins, said that Stacey kept to himself except for "showing interest when Nusas started talking to the ANC."

"He was a lefty on campus. Few people knew him. The passport found had an East German visa — some detonators were also found after the fire," he claimed.

Brigadier Mellet was unable to confirm this.

He said police believed that Stacey and a colleague — yet to stand trial — wanted to hijack the plane with 174 ANC members on board to South Africa "to escape the ANC hierarchy and come home."

Mr Vlok had recently announced that any ANC members who renounced violence could return and that every case would "be judged on merit."

Brigadier Mellet listed several ANC grievances which he said were obtained from captured cadres to support the police belief that the hijack was "to return home."

Stacey was jailed for 15 years by Tanzania's High Court on Thursday after pleading guilty to charges of endangering the lives of passengers, placing dangerous explosives and assaulting a crew member during a flight from Angola to Tanzania. A second accused will appear next week.

Aeroflot hijacker is SA agent, says ANC

W/E ANC's 3/6/85 (11)

Weekend Argus Africa
News Service

JOHANNESBURG — A South African sentenced in Tanzania to 15 years imprisonment for taking explosives aboard a Soviet jet carrying African National Congress members was a South African agent who had infiltrated the organisation, an ANC spokesman said.

In the first reaction to the alleged attempted hijack of a plane carrying more than 170 ANC members from Angola to Tanzania, an ANC spokesman said from Harare that Bradley Richard Stacey, sentenced in Tanzania, had been a full-time member of the ANC who had been stationed in one of the organisation's camps in Angola.

"He was obviously a plant," the spokesman said adding that no ANC member would have behaved in the way Stacey had.

A Tanzanian court identified Stacey, alias Hodges, who is wanted in South Africa for two politically-linked arson attacks.

The ANC spokesman said that the man was known in the organisation as Barry and not Bradley.

He did not have any other details and referred inquiries to the organisation's headquarters in Lusaka.

Stacey, of Durban, has been sought by police following arson attacks at the Durban campus of the University of Natal in 1986.

Stacey pleaded guilty on Thursday to charges of taking explosives aboard the Aeroflot jet en route from Luanda, Angola, to Dar es Salaam, and injuring a crew member, Vladimir Tahazon, two weeks ago.

High Court Judge Mr Nasoro Mnzavas sentenced Stacey to 15 years on each charge. The sentences are to run concurrently, meaning Stacey, 30, would serve only 15 years.

"I am going to appeal. I want to be home in 10 years," Stacey told the judge, according to a Tanzanian newspaper.

The explosives allegedly included land mines, blocks of TNT, detonators and hand grenades.

The sentencing, which was closed to the public and journalists, left the May 18 incident aboard the

state-owned jet shrouded in mystery.

State Attorney Mr Johnson Mwanjika said the court should be emptied "because of the circumstances that led to the arrangement (guilty plea) and the condition of the accused".

Sources said that aboard the airplane were members of the ANC's top ruling body, the national executive committee, but this could not be confirmed.

ANC headquarters in Lusaka has remained tight-lipped about the incident.

"The only thing I can tell you is that there were ANC members on board," a spokesman there said.

It is understood that the 174 ANC men were being transferred to Tanzania as a result of the agreements between Angola and South Africa under which all ANC camps in Angola are to close in exchange for an end to South Africa's support to the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

The ANC men on board the plane are said to have been members of its military wing stationed at Pan-go camp.

A fight is said to have erupted in the plane when a Soviet pilot allegedly agreed to take Stacey into the cockpit where the South African was attacked either by security men or by other members of the crew.

Stacey appeared in court with one hand bandaged but it is not known what happened to a coloured man said to have been involved in the abortive hijack.

Initial reports said he had been injured but later it was reported he had been shot dead.

Two days after the hijack attempt a police officer in Dar es Salaam identified four men held for investigation over the incident as two blacks, a coloured and a white.

He said Soviet guards had shot one would-be hijacker in the chest after he demanded the jet change course to Johannesburg because a "Russian communist wanted in South Africa" was aboard.

According to the charges, a crew member injured during the fight in the plane was wounded by Stacey.

There's no silencing

By S'BU MNGADI

FATIMA Meer is one writer who refuses to be silenced, even by the most draconian media regulations

While the country reels under the state of emergency, which prohibits reporting on much action against the current situation, the Same-clad professor of sociology at Natal University and her team of researchers and contributors believe something can be done to document the atrocities that take place under the blackened curtain of the emergency

In his overview of the 274-page volume of interpretive essays and record of events covering flashpoints in the country between 1985 and 1988, *Resistance in the Townships*, sociologist Paulus Zulu says an understanding of the nature and operations of the South African State are necessary to appreciate the strife that not only brought challenges to the State but also tore the black community apart

"The State turned to reform as a means to appease international pressure and to contain internal opposition"

Describing the anatomy of "black-on-black violence", he says peaceful protests by black people had met with armed soldiers and police and the number of casualties was alarmingly high

New book records violence behind the emergency curtain

In retaliation, people turned against the nearest representatives of the State - town councillors, police and other government functionaries

"As attacks and counter-attacks continue, anarchy sets in and there has been some fighting among opposition groupings themselves, although many have alleged that the State is not exonerated from instigating or encouraging such conflicts," says Zulu

Journalist Barney Mthombothi writes "While the causes of violence can always be traced to the disadvantaged position of blacks, the immediate causes of the resistance differed from area to area

"In the face of unbending and inflexible authority, violence had to come"

The grim record started with the death of 15-year-old Emma Sathekge under the wheels of a police vehicle in

Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on February 13 1984

The 1984-85 countrywide resistance plunged the country into its worst crisis since the nationalists came to power 41 years ago and set about applying their apartheid policies Not a single South African was left unaffected, directly or indirectly, by the violence as the country's black townships exploded

"The constitution, hailed only a few years ago as breaking new and exciting ground for SA, has become apartheid's Waterloo Endorsed by the overwhelming majority of the white community, it has alienated the vast majority of the country's people

"The country is fragmented today," concludes Mthombothi

When the state of emergency was first declared the media were paralysed Gradually, recovering a little from the

Meer

shock of severe State censorship, the media made halting attempts to continue to document the disastrous effects.

Behind the screen of law and order, community leaders were being detained, assassinated, attacked and assaulted - and children were being killed The thousands who escaped death fled their homes to tell horror stories to a disbelieving public

Explaining the predicament of the youth, Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods says, "The many harsh circumstances in the lives of township youth make it clear that, even without political ideologies, there would be enough anger, frustration and aggression to produce violent behaviour

"General behaviour traits show how the young gravitate toward group formation where they take on group identity and purpose This is common to ghetto life anywhere in the world Young black groups or gang formations are a significant reality of South African society"

The destructive consequences were often the appalling news of past years

Meer's book also looks at the Western Cape, where mosques have become venues for political meetings, and the rise of Jihad (Holly War) against apartheid, a freedom struggle that includes the entire body of the oppressed



rs at the funeral of 15-year-old Emma Sathekge, whose start of a countrywide spiral of violence.

Witness exposes secret anti-ANC A-team

CP Correspondent

DRAMATIC evidence of a secret unit made up of African National Congress defectors and led by South African police to fight ANC guerrillas, has emerged in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

ANC member and former state witness Bongani Jonas told the Supreme Court he had been recruited into a shadowy police unit known as Askari, which hunted down and killed ANC guerrillas.

He said in an investigation into his refusal to give evidence for the State in the trial of 14 people accused of terrorism that he had joined the unit for his "own survival".

The court heard that Jonas was shot in the thigh while being arrested in September 1987.

In May 1988 he was taken to security police headquarters in Loop Street where he claimed he had been told by a Major Du Toit to co-operate and be a state witness or "face the hangman's noose or go to the shallow pit".

He had been recruited into Askari, also known as the A-team, which was made up of defectors from the ANC, Jonas said.

The unit was led by the South African police, said Jonas. During his detention he learned of two units one based in Pretoria and another called the Cape Unit, was based in East London.

"I was told there was to be another unit based in Cape Town and I was to be recruited into this unit. I got to know some of the members - one called David, who had shot me, Fanyane, Young, Lion, and Lucky Mavibela from Paarl and Stan Buyyi and Neville from the Transvaal."

"David told me I must work for them and I would get a house and security. I was told I could marry but that my wife had to live in the (police) base because my life would never be the same again."

Askari members told him they had shot a suspected ANC terrorist in Guguletu in September last year and one in Port Elizabeth.

"I was told the work of Askari was to go into the townships acting on information from the security police and seek and kill former colleagues."

"One of them said I was fortunate to be alive because if he had found me my head would be turning in another direction. They said they acted the way they did because if they left people alive they would not be safe," said Jonas.

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Jailed ANC man spurned us, say parents

By SHAUN HARRIS and JEREMY BROOKS

DISTRAUGHT parents of the South African jailed in Tanzania for 15 years said yesterday that their son had cut all ties with his family when he fled the country three years ago

Until he appeared in court in Dar-es-Salaam this week after apparently trying to hijack a Soviet airliner, Bradley Stacey's elderly parents didn't even know whether he was alive or not

Stacey, 27, turned his back on his family and went underground after being linked to fires at Natal University, where he was a student, in 1986

Speaking from his home in the comfortable Durban suburb of Manor Gardens, a shocked Mr Cecil Stacey said

"I can't tell you anything I haven't seen my son since the fires the police say he was responsible for on the campus three years ago

"We have had no phone calls, no letters, no contact of any kind I don't know where he's been or what he's been doing"

The retired electrician said it had come as a "tremendous shock" to see his son's name in newspapers this week

"I don't know what to think He's being called an ANC member and, at the same time, a South African spy I don't know what the boy has been up to."

Bradley's mother works at Natal University as a secretary He has a brother, Kevin, who lives in the Transvaal, and a married sister, Arlene.

Gutted

An ANC source said yesterday Stacey had joined the movement under an assumed name Suggestions that he infiltrated as a spy have been refuted by the SAP, who say he is wanted for the university fire which gutted several offices in two buildings on the campus causing damage of more than R1-million

The targets for the attacks, clearly intended to look like the work of extreme radicals, were top social scientist Professor Lawrence Schlemmer and conservative political scientist Professor Frederick Clifford-Vaughan

A day earlier Professor Schlemmer's study at his Overport home was gutted in a petrol bomb attack, destroying years of academic research

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said police were still looking for him in connection with the university fire

He also linked Stacey to the Broederstroom ANC cell, saying an altered ID document found there belonged to Stacey

A neighbour who has known the Stacey family for more than 20 years said yesterday that Bradley was an "introvert who didn't play with the other children in his street He didn't mix well, didn't seem to have any friends

"He was a bright youngster — very bookish, he seemed to spend all his time reading and studying and never played sport or anything like that"

SRC member Steven Collins, who knew Stacey as an Economic History Masters student, said he gave the impression of being "extremely left wing"

"He was a bit of a loner, but he hung around the SRC offices and became very interested in Nusas when the 'Talk to the ANC' campaign was launched at the beginning of 1986

"With hindsight, he gave the impression of being a little too obviously left wing, too radical"

The Master's graduate in political science joined the ANC under the name of Douglas George Hodges, according to ANC sources in Lusaka

Concern

"He was lonely, argumentative and undisciplined while a member of our military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe," said a spokesman

While in Luanda, he told a member of the ANC's national executive he wanted a transfer out of the military wing

"We don't know exactly what the problem was, but I understand he couldn't handle the discipline He was considered unfit for active service He said he had a B Comm degree and wanted to work in the treasury"

Until boarding the Aeroflot airliner bound for Moscow a fortnight ago, Stacey was working in the library of an ANC camp near Luanda, but although he had been causing concern to his superiors "for some time", they did not suspect he was a spy

The ANC said that only Stacey was involved in the "scuffle" aboard the Aeroflot aircraft which was ferrying more than 100 of its members to Moscow

At his trial, Stacey was described as "a walking bomb" and said to have been carrying 875

grams of TNT, a Bulgarian anti-personnel mine and at least five different detonators taken from grenades and mines when he boarded the aircraft

He was charged under two sections of Tanzania's Penal Code, one relating to the smuggling of arms onto an aircraft with the purpose of endangering both it and the safety of passengers, and another of threatening the life of Mr Tahazon Vladimir with a bomb

A grinning Stacey, who was not represented, was led from the courtroom after saying he would appeal against his conviction and hoped to "return home" within 10 years

The darker side of SA history

11A
Sittmes 4/6/89
AWARD-winning playwright and author Richard Rive has rewritten his successful and popular novel, "Buckingham Palace District Six", for the stage

And the play, due to open at the Baxter Theatre on June 19, will once again bring to life the vibrant community which comprised District Six, with all its laughter, tears and heart-break

According to the author, presently head of the English department at Hewat Teachers Training College, the play was motivated to remind people of what happened to District Six so that "it may never happen again".

And while Buckingham Palace, District Six might have its lighter moments it is a serious, moving play which probes a darker side of South African history

Hostile

It is based on the lives of a motley group of tenants living in a dingy row of semi-detached cottages in the District

According to Dr Rive, part of the process of political emasculation used by a dominant power is to deny a subjected people knowledge of their past

"I hope that my play will do the opposite," he says "I want to help restore a sense of history to people," he said "People who have, for far too long, been buffeted by hostile laws and made exiles from the homes of their choice because of eviction under the Group Areas Act"



RICHARD Rive "I want to help restore a sense of history to people."

The strong emotion the play generates was evident from the start when an actor auditioning for the part left the stage in tears unable to continue reading the script

"District Six was a sium," says Dr Rive "But it was the home of a vibrant community"

"It's not specifically the bricks and mortar of District Six which have to be remembered," says Dr Rive "But the piles of rubble symbolise an ideology which created the environment in which forced removals were

justified and accepted as normal and rational"

Dr Rive's play is not a musical, neither is it a dour, heavy political polemic

"I have tried to achieve a balance between the 'always Friday night' atmosphere which existed in the District, the social pressures which brought people together and the iron fist of unchecked state power which brought it all to an end"

"I have also tried to create a play which will provide good theatre"

ANC blocked Stacey - claim

Some fan 5/6/89.

(1A)

SOWETAN REPORTER

LONDON — ANC sources have claimed that would-be hijacker, South African Bradley Richard Stacey, had been refused ANC membership because he was suspected of being a spy.

They were commenting after a Tanzanian court's decision this week to jail Bradley for 15 years after he was found guilty of attempting, with another man, to hijack a plane load of ANC guerillas to Johannesburg.

Till now, the ANC has been reluctant to comment publicly, embarrassed perhaps to admit how close the South Africans came to bringing off a tremendous propaganda coup

Incident

The incident occurred on May 18 when an Aeroflo jet carrying 174 black ANC members was en route from Luanda to Dar-es-Salaam.

Armed with hand-grenades, explosives and detonators, the two men demanded that the Ilyushin jet divert to Johannesburg. However, they were overpowered and disarmed by Soviet guards. One man was shot in the chest in the struggle and a crew member was also wounded.

Last Thursday in a closed session in Dar-es-Salaam high court, Judge Nasoro Mnzavas sentenced Stacey — described as a 30-year-old South African — to 15 years' imprisonment after he had pleaded guilty to carrying arms and explosives on to the jet.

Stacey, who is also reported to use the name Hodges, is understood to be a former member of Nusas.

The second man, currently held in a military hospital, is to appear in court on June 13 on a similar charge.

FW denies Mandela reports

Reports linking British Premier communication or agreements Mrs Margaret Thatcher and with Chief Buthelezi, Mrs kwaZulu leader Chief Mangos- Thatcher or anyone else to re- uthu Buthelezi to the possible lease Mandela (11A) (11A) release of jailed ANC leader. He said he had stated clearly Nelson Mandela were devoid of on June 2 that a central aspect truth, State President-designate of the Government's standpoint Mr F W de Klerk said last night regarding Mandela's detention

Mr de Klerk said there was was that South Africa "makes "not a word of truth" in reports its own decisions on domestic yesterday associating him with matters"

Hijack was bid to avoid ANC camp - claim

By Craig Kotze,
Crime Reporter

Disillusioned ANC dissidents are being dumped in internment camps as far away as Uganda and the recent Soviet Aeroflot hijack drama was a desperate attempt by 174 members to avoid a similar fate, claim highly placed South African security sources

The sources say the Uganda link was revealed to the SA Police by ANC members who had returned to South Africa.

HIJACK

The sources said those who no longer agreed with the ANC's policies were shipped out to either Uganda or Tanzania and never heard of again

These claims follow the jailing of a South African, Richard Bradley Stacey, for 15 years in Tanzania for attempting, with another man, to hijack a Aeroflot jet carrying ANC guerillas to Dar es Salaam

The hijackers tried to divert the plane to Johannesburg

According to The Star's London Burea, the ANC has claimed that Stacey was a South African spy who had been refused membership because of suspicion surrounding him

The organisation said it was moving its personnel from Angola to Tanzania in accordance with the regional peace agreement in Namibia.

RELUCTANT

The ANC has been reluctant to comment publicly on the attempted hijack on May 18 embarrassed, perhaps, to admit how close the South Africans were to a tremendous propaganda coup.

Stacey and another hijacker, who were armed with hand grenades, explosives and detonators, were overpowered and disarmed by Soviet guards after the failed hijacking bid

One man was shot in the chest and a crew member was hurt.

The second man, currently held in a military hospital, is to

appear in court on June 13

Stacey, who is also reported to use the name Hodges, is understood to be a former member of the National Union of South African Students.

South African police have denied that Stacey was a spy

"He was never a member of the SAP and never worked for us," said Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok

But he confirmed a number of ANC members had returned to South Africa recently and had given information to police on the alleged brutal treatment meted out to them

The security sources say the Aeroflot incident is a sign of mounting strains within the organisation and between the ANC and its sponsors

RETURN

The sources say the Aeroflot incident is also seen as the result of a recent call by Mr Vlok to ANC members to renounce violence and return home

The call received wide media coverage in Africa, especially on the BBC's Africa Service

The sources claim that grievances within the ANC seemed to focus on material needs and corrupt leaders, many of whom allegedly enrich themselves at the expense of the rank and file by selling supplies intended for fighters

Food has become a major problem in ANC camps as the Soviet Union has cut off supplies, say the sources The quality of other food is also reportedly poor, as is the quality of the clothing issued to members in the camps

Officials are claimed to take first choice of equipment and food

The sources claim that another grievance among many ANC members is that women have their children taken away from them after birth

The women are allegedly taken to Tanzania to give birth but are then sent back to their camps

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Free Mandela deal

LONDON — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is on the verge of a stunning diplomatic triumph, with the conclusion of a secret deal in South Africa for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, a newspaper claimed yesterday.

According to the London *Sunday Express*, the deal comes after months of behind-the-scenes pressure from Britain. Talks have involved Mandela, Mr F W de Klerk, and Chief Buthelezi.

SOWETAN Correspondent

It adds "The South African Government, desperate to regain international respectability, is ready to drop the condition that Mandela must formally renounce violence."

The report — by a South African correspondent and a London reporter — says Thatcher's role will be underlined when De Klerk visits London later this month



MAGGIE THATCHER

statement issued that talks had repaired strained relations between him and the SA Government, and that he and De Klerk had agreed on guidelines for further talks.

The *Sunday Tribune's* political correspondent, John MacLennan, said in a front-page report yesterday that the Government was ready

to release Mandela unconditionally so that it could start talks with black leaders for negotiations leading to a new constitutional deal.

Unrest

A senior NP source told *The Tribune* the cabinet would weigh various factors — ranging from the state of unrest to developments in the election campaign — before setting the date for Mandela's release

It is expected that De Klerk will make a general, qualified statement of intent and that the party will use this as the main thrust of its campaign to show that the Government can, and will, deliver on reform

Role

You have a dream: We'll make it true

11A

Soweto 5/6/89

YOU see, Sir, I am 17 and I know there are risks and some things I don't know which might be in the way. I want us to do things for ourselves to show the world that blacks are after all capable. I know you won't answer me but try and help me and the people of Mothotlung. I don't have a father and you are the only person I thought for help. Like Dr Martin Luther King Jr I also have a dream."

This is a quote from a letter I received from a youth I will simply call Oupa who stays "at a certain small township in Bophuthatswana called Mothotlung", not far from Brits. He says he does not believe I have heard of his home, but I probably have

Charming

The letter is open, frank and so charming that I thought it would do me and Oupa some good to use it as the subject for this space. I will be writing back to him, but I thought I should go one better by using the letter, or rather part of it, in this space.

As you might have noticed the boy is only 17 and has no father. He however, expresses himself in an adult fashion that gives me hope that we are not entirely lost. I must admit that he writes even better than my sons, who are attending most probably far better schools than he is. He also shows a maturity that goes far beyond his age.

I am placed in such a job that I get many letters, some of them from young people. Invariably — and I am not complaining believe me — they ask for help for themselves. Oupa here is asking to build not for himself but for the people in the small village of Mothotlung



As he is fatherless I can almost guess it is difficult for him to continue with his studies. But he is not personal in this appeal. It is an appeal from a young person, who for once is aware that there might be adults in this country who would answer his call.

I am writing about this type of response I get from people on nation building, not because I am boasting or defensive. It is simply for the record, and tells me that there is something valuable in our initiative.

In my letter, I hope to tell Oupa that the politics of this country has torn brother from mother, father from son. We who live in the urban areas have an arrogance over the people in the homelands, a type of odious superiority that wishes to make believe we are better than them. We damn them in the same way as we damn their leaders, and those politicians who have created anachronisms like homelands in our motherland.

Personal

I personally feel ashamed of my folk, particularly in Soweto, who wish to boast to those in other areas that they are more "relevant", that they are fighting a more legitimate struggle than others not as well placed as themselves. I can assure Oupa that there are many adults like myself in Soweto, who have the humility and even the love to be acutely aware of the problems of others.

He tells me his village has no post office and that the clinic is under-equipped. He says they

have no tarred roads and when it rains it is difficult, if not impossible, to travel. He tells me a story of hopelessness, but manages to shine through this mire of despair by sounding confident.

I want to tell Oupa there are other young people like himself all over the sub-continent, young people who are ready to do things with their hands and with their heads.

Political

This also gives me a chance to speak to our fellow countrymen in the homelands. There is no way we can tar them with the same brush as we use against those who govern or misgovern them.

The political sophistry in turning parts of this country into pocket-sized, over-crowded and unviable "homelands" galls us. We, however, cannot blame those who through circumstances beyond their control are either in those homelands or have been born there.

I am sure Oupa is one such person.

I wish to tell him his sentiments show he is as much in the struggle as all his colleagues in other parts of the country.

The day will dawn when all South Africans will get together and fight for the common motherland. I don't even wish to get into any debate about the legitimacy of such political abortions. I will leave that to history.

Life

In the meantime, as Oupa so well recognises, life must go on.

We cannot wring our hands forever at the plight we are in. We cannot beat our breasts in one continual cry about the mishappen folk who have destroyed our lives.

We can stand up and build.

If Oupa is prepared to visit me in Johannesburg

I will share the bit of wisdom I have with him. If not I will keep in touch.

I am also fortunately placed to get in touch with remarkable kids from places like Bophuthatswana. I have a young friend Shadrack from those parts who is now studying at Wits.

Young Shadrack has found himself in the political cauldron that is Wits circa 1989. He is not overly excited by the controversial political situation there in and outside of the lecture room.

I have spoken to Shadrack. I told him to hang in on there. We have, most of us gone through the same mill. We must never give up, and the tougher the strife or the struggle if you like gets, the better people we eventually become.

Rights

As for the little village of Mothotlung I am sure something can be done for them. Oupa is right there are risks. There are many frightened people eager to protect interests, be they material, political or intellectual.

When Dr King and his fighters during the civil rights movement sang they would one day overcome, they were voicing the hopes of blacks all over the world.

We must overcome for it is in our unique responsibility to save this world. I have spoken before about *ubuntu* about the brotherhood of man. There are those who attack even this positive ethic. It does not matter. The good things in life get the flak. It is the popular views, the popular art and music that gets all the applause. But that type of applause is transient, Oupa.

With the Oupas of this world we will build the nation. We will build the nation to save not only South Africa but the world. We are not exaggerating.

'Contempt' for negotiations

THE negotiated settlement, as encouraged by Idasa and the DP is

Sowetan 6/6/87
merely an attempt "to divert the struggle to a type of bourgeois social order which will continue to exploit people," said a spokesman for Azanian National Youth Unity.

Azanyu called upon people "to regard with contempt the wave of fallacious and whimsical means of attaining liberation ~~which is being~~

This appeal was made through a statement delivered to *Sowetan* yesterday, *Sowetan 6/6/87*

"Azanyu regards any attempt to engage in negotiations with the settler-colonial regime as collaboration. We have always stressed that when two unequal forces

engage each other politically, the result is always collaboration"

In response to the Azanyu statement, Idasa's executive director, Mr Alex Boraine said

"Firstly it must be understood that Idasa as an organisation stands quite separate from the Democratic Party

Secondly, it is not clear exactly what Azanyu means by our encouragements. Speaking for

Idasa though, what we believe is necessary in South Africa is that we move away from a white minority government

making decisions on behalf of all South Africans

Star 6/16/89

11A

Zaire sends message on Upington 14

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The plight of 14 people recently sentenced to death in the "Upington Trial" has been taken up by the President of Zaire, Général Mobutu Sese Seko

The country's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Karl i Bond Nguza, yesterday told journalists at Jan Smuts Airport that he had conveyed a message from President Sese Seko regarding the 14 people to President P W Botha at a meeting in Cape Town on Sunday

He refused to reveal details of the message before reporting back to President Sese Seko, saying "I cannot play with human beings' lives"

However, he had received a "very clear answer" from President Botha, and regarded his short visit to South Africa — the first follow-up on the historic meeting between the two African statesmen in October last year — as very successful.

Other issues discussed with President Botha and South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pík Botha had been the position in southern Africa following the implementation of the regional peace plan and "some problems concerning (South Africa's) internal politics"

'EVOLUTION IN MENTALITY'

Mr Nguza said he had been encouraged by the "evolution in mentality" which was taking place in South Africa, particularly National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk's viewpoint that the time had come for meaningful negotiations between white and black on the future

Although he did not have a mandate to talk on behalf of banned organisations such as the ANC and PAC, all Africans shared the same attitude towards apartheid

More could be achieved through talks than through efforts to isolate South Africa internationally. The settlement in Namibia and Angola had illustrated what could be achieved through negotiation

He welcomed Mr Pík Botha's recent suggestion of a Marshall Plan for southern Africa. Mr Nguza said national reconciliation in Angola was of great importance to all in the region

"We cannot discuss security and peace in the region without the Republic. Whether one likes South Africa's internal politics or not, one has to talk to South Africa"

Asked whether ANC leader Nelson Mandela's release had been discussed, he said South Africa should find solutions to its internal problems

However, he hoped President Sese Seko had "contributed in this field"

Three men guilty of bombing

ANC

HARARE — Three white Zimbabweans were found guilty yesterday of bombing buildings used by the exiled ANC in Zimbabwe

Kevin Woods, 37, Michael Smith, 34, and Barry Bawden, 31, were also convicted of illegally possessing arms

Woods, a former intelligence officer, and Smith, a farmer, were sentenced to death at a separate trial in October for killing a black driver they had hired to drive a booby-trapped car to an ANC house in Bulawayo

An appeal is pending. Yesterday the judge rejected defence claims that the trio had confessed under duress

In the video-taped confessions, all three admitted helping South African agents to bomb an ANC office in central Harare and a house occupied by the guerilla group on the outskirts of the city on May 19, 1986

— Sapa-Reuter

Mandela at prison farm

CAPE TOWN - Nelson Mandela was allowed a visit yesterday from Mr Govan Mbeki, the highest-ranking African National Congress member at liberty in South Africa.

Mr Mbeki (78) received unexpected permission for the visit after being turned down several times since his release from prison in November 1987.

The two men were among eight ANC leaders sentenced to life terms in 1964.

Mr Mbeki is barred from being quoted by the press, and there was no other source of information about what the two veteran black nationalists discussed during the visit.

He spent about 2½ hours at the Victor Verster prison farm in Paarl. The two last met shortly before Mr Mbeki's release.

Ms Farida Omar, an anti-apartheid activist from Cape Town, said she was with Mr Mbeki when he received a telephone call yesterday informing him the visit had been approved.

"He was very thrilled," she said.

There is widespread speculation that Mandela (70) may be released soon after the September general election - Associated Press

'I thought soccer star 'worked for SA govt'

(11A)

Star 7/6/89

MBABANE — African National Congress member Mr Zweli Nyanda, who is on trial in the Swaziland High Court for allegedly murdering Swaziland soccer star Badesile Zwane near Manzini last December, claimed he shot Zwane because he thought he was a South African agent out to harm him.

Nyanda who had returned to Swaziland twice after being deported, said as a undercover ANC agent in Swaziland, he was in constant fear and suspicion of possible South African agents.

He claimed he shot Mr Zwane in self-defence when the latter rushed at him with an object in his hand during an argument

His advocate, Mr Dennis Kuney, submitted that ANC members illegally in Swaziland lived a precarious existence, living in fear of South African agents as well the hostile attitude of the Swaziland authorities towards ANC members in the country

He said Mr Nyanda's brother, who was also an ANC member, had been killed in Swaziland and his sister and another ANC comrade, Ishmail Ibrahim, had also been kidnapped in separate incidents allegedly by South African agents in Swaziland

The hearing continues — Sapa.

ANC may be behind bank ^{AKG/S} hold-ups, ^{7/6/89} say police

By BRUCE CAMERON ^{11A}
Political Staff ²⁵

POLICE are investigating strong leads that African National Congress members are behind the recent spate of bank robberies

Senior police sources said today that circumstantial evidence pointed to ANC members being involved, while firmer leads were being followed up

Russian-made AK 47 rifles have been used in a number of the well-planned robberies, which have netted more than R4-million

Bank robberies to finance insurgency is not new. The Irish Republican Army has for many years resorted to bank robberies to pay for its operations in Northern Ireland

Police sources said the ANC had a background of resorting to criminal activities

It had been involved for many years in car-theft rackets here with many of the cars being used by ANC members in other African countries after they had been smuggled out.

CRIMINAL RECORDS

The ANC had also not hesitated to use people with criminal records

The Pretoria bomb outside Air Force headquarters on May 20 1983 was set by a convicted criminal who died in the blast, police said.

They said the ANC, which had never been well off, was in an even worse financial position now as a result of a change in international attitudes.

One source said: "It is easier to live in a hotel room than to find secure accommodation in a residential area, but this (hotels) requires money."

● An ANC spokesman in Lusaka today strongly denied involvement in the bank robberies and said the allegations were "wild inventions".



EMERGING AGAIN . . . Mr Govan Mbeki comes out of Victor Verster Prison after an 80-minute visit to Mr Nelson Mandela. With him is Mrs Farieda Omar, who took him to the prison, but was not allowed in with him.

Picture RICHARD BELL

Mr. Tuit 7/6/89

Mbeki granted visit to Mandela

By PETER DENNEHY

RESTRICTED ANC stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki was granted a surprise visit to Mr Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl yesterday.

Mr Mbeki, 79, may not speak to the press, and he made no attempt to do so when he emerged smiling from the prison, clearly in an exuberant mood.

Mr Mbeki — father of Mr Thabo Mbeki, a senior member of the ANC's present National Executive Committee — was imprisoned for life along with Mr Mandela at the end of the Rivonia Trial in 1964.

He was released about 23 years later on November 5, 1987, after having spent most of his sentence with Mr Mandela on Robben Island.

Yesterday's visit was the first time the two ANC leaders had met since Mr Mbeki's release.

Soon after his release, restrictions were slapped on Mr Mbeki, confining him to the Port Elizabeth area. He has on occasion been granted permission to see his ophthalmologist in Cape Town.

Major J H Smith of the SA Prisons Service Liaison office said visits to prisoners were considered private matters.

continues today

Anti-violence work stoppage starts quietly

CAP-TMP 7/6/89

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DURBAN. — Union-backed calls for a mass work stoppage to protest against black-on-black violence in Natal have received a lukewarm response, independent monitors said yesterday.

They said the three-day stoppage in Maritzburg, supported by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, had a patchy start on Monday and tailed off on its second day.

A survey of local firms yesterday showed about 27% of industrial workers and 17% of commercial employees observed the stoppage.

The call for the protest was made shortly after Mrs Jabu Ndlovu, a key figure in the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, died in hospital last Thursday. Her home had been attacked about 10 days before her death.

Shop stewards were "incensed" at the continuing violence and members of the community felt that pressure had to be brought to bear on business to do something to end the violence. — Sapa-Reuter

UIS moves to ban

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Bank robberies: work of ANC

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The police are investigating strong leads, particularly in the Durban area, that ANC members are behind the recent spate of bank robberies. *Jan 7/6/89*

Senior police sources said today that circumstantial evidence alone pointed to ANC members being involved while other firmer leads were being followed up.

In a number of the well-planned robberies, which have netted more than R4-million, Soviet-manufactured AK 47 rifles have been used as the hold-up weapons.

Buthelezi gives nod for peace talks (A)

DURBAN — kwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has agreed to ask one or two of his colleagues to meet at any agreed venue with UDF/Cosatu officials for initial talks on Maritzburg violence. *Star 8/6/89*

This was agreed with a delegation from the Anglican Provincial Synod, now sitting in Durban, which met Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi, Zululand, on Tuesday.

He indicated willingness to meet alternately at Inkatha and Cosatu venues, and said he hoped it would be possible to draw up a plan for peace. — Sapa

5/1/81/6/89

**PW warns
about ANC
in Namibia**

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, has said the South African Government will not hesitate to send the South African Police and Defence Force into Namibia if it appears that the ANC and the South African Communist Party are launching operations against South Africa from there.

President Botha was reacting last night to a telegram sent by the Conservative Party asking him to ensure that the ANC and the SACP were not legalised in Namibia.

President Botha said in a letter to the CP that, although the repeal of certain laws implied that the ANC and the SACP were no longer unlawful organisations in Namibia, this did not mean that the two organisations had been specifically legalised.

It also did not mean that the administrator-general would allow attacks from Namibia. — Sapa.

the American College of Physicians

2/6/87
CMC 1-10-87
Illegal arms: 5 arrested

MBABANE — Swazi police confirmed yesterday they arrested three men and two women in Manzini on Tuesday on charges of illegal possession of arms and ammunition. Two of the men were believed to be South Africans and ANC members.

Armed robbers: ANC denies involvement

CAPE TOWN 2/6/89

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC yesterday denied the suggestion by Minister of Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet that the recent spate of large armed robberies could be ANC motivated, saying that it did not have to resort to criminal activity to "fund the struggle"

The Lusaka spokesman said that the ANC office had heard that such rumours were circulating in South Africa and described them as "utter lies"

Brig Mellet said that the possibility of the money being used to finance the ANC was just one of the leads police were investigating for the robberies which have netted more than R4 million in the past few months

He said that in many of the robberies, terrorist weapons such as AK-47s had been used, and it was known that many of the ANC's funding sources

and much of its traditional logistical support had been cut off

Assocom, police and representatives from banks and supermarkets meet today to discuss proposals to step up security to stem the tide of the robberies, carried out mostly by men wearing balaclavas

Despite recent widespread publicity about stepping up security on the Reef, masked gunmen yesterday morning made off with R300 000 from Volkskas Bank in Parktown. This brings to nine the number of robberies at Volkskas banks this year and its losses to nearly R1.5m

Assocom's security committee chairman Mr Ken Warren said it would be premature to say what strategies would be looked at, but emphasised that there had been great concern about the degree of sophistication and finesse surrounding the robberies

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Buthelezi gives the nod to peace talks

DURBAN — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has agreed to ask one or two of his cabinet colleagues to meet at any agreed venue with UDF/Cosatu officials for initial talks on the Maritzburg violence

The agreement was made with a delegation from the Anglican Provincial Synod (now sitting in Durban) who met Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi

The Anglican Bishop of

Natal, Bishop Michael Nuttall, who led the church delegation, said though the bishops had found it impossible to resolve the deadlock completely, Chief Buthelezi and his cabinet had indicated their readiness to meet at different venues such as Ulundi and the Cosatu headquarters in Johannesburg

The synod hopes to meet Cosatu/UDF officials today to report on the Ulundi meeting

Chief Buthelezi said he was also hoping for a meeting of the presidents of the ANC, Inkatha, UDF and Cosatu to draw up a plan for a peace initiative in Natal

The chief minister said he would hold a mass meeting in KwaMashu on June 18 to mobilise the backing for peace — Sapa

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AMNC DENIES LINK TO CAR THEFTS

THE African National Congress has denied any involvement in the recent wave of bank robberies in South Africa.

BY THEMBA MOLEFE

Reacting to police reports this week that the ANC was linked to the robberies a spokesman said from Lusaka yesterday "It is not true. This time they are really going too far with their wild inventions."

Police are investigating leads that the ANC is involved in the robberies in which more than R4 million has been stolen by attackers using Russian-made AK-47 assault rifles.

Police sources said this week that circumstantial evidence also pointed to ANC members being involved while other firmer leads were being followed up.

These sources said the ANC already had a background of resorting to criminal activities. They said it had been

involved for many years in theft rackets in South Africa.


They said many of the cars used by ANC members in other African countries were stolen and smuggled out of South Africa.

● Sapa reports that the Parktown, Johannesburg, branch of Volkskas Bank was robbed of R300 000 yesterday.

A police spokesman said armed black men entered the bank at 9 10am and held up bank employees. They left the bank with the cash and escaped in a white Toyota Conquest. No further details were available yesterday, the spokesman said.

Inkatha, UDF to meet at agreed venue

Sowetan 8/6/89



KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has agreed to ask one or two of his colleagues to meet at any agreed venue with UDF/Cosatu officials for an initial meeting on the Pietermaritzburg violence.

The agreement was made with a delegation from the Anglican Provincial Synod (now sitting in Durban) who met with the Chief Minister in Ulundi, Zululand, on Tuesday afternoon.

Buthelezi also indicated his Cabinet's readiness to meet alternately at different venues such as at Ulundi and at Cosatu's head office.

Buthelezi said he was also hoping for a meeting of the four presidents of the ANC, Inkatha, UDF and Cosatu to draw up a plan for a peace initiative in Natal.

Apartheid concerns all - conference

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE apartheid system is not only a crime against humanity but a matter of concern for the international community *Soweto 8/6/87.*

This was one of the points that emerged at the conference workshop and launch of the Pretoria and district branch of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers. It was held at Broderstroom, near Pretoria, last weekend.

Delegates noted that the international community has not created any procedures for the enforcement of the rights of victims of apartheid in the international arena.

Warfare in mind

It was also observed that the Geneva Protocol of 1977 on Prisoner-of-War Status was drawn with conventional warfare in mind and did not take into account the nature of guerilla warfare.

On the premises of these points it was resolved that

- pressure be brought to bear on South Africa to sign the Geneva Protocols as a matter of extreme urgency,
- the attention of the international community be drawn to the urgent need for the amendment of the Geneva Protocols on Prisoner-of-War status to bring them in line with the nature of guerilla warfare, and
- that the international community should be urged to consider the creation of the necessary tribunals for the prosecution of persons guilty of crimes against humanity such as apartheid.

1164 8/6/87

Mandela to see life-long friends

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, who saw his fellow Rivonia treason trialist Mr Govan Mbeki this week, will meet two life-long friends — Mr Yusuf Cachalia and his wife, Amina — in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison today

The Cachalias, who last saw Mr Mandela a year ago when he was being held at Pollsmoor Prison, are due to meet him for a two-hour visit that will include lunch.

Mrs Chachalia said she had applied on two occasions last year to visit Mr Mandela "because he had said we should see him again soon". However, she had been turned down each time

She had reapplied for permission in March, but this had also been refused

She and her husband were overseas last week when they heard that approval for a visit had been granted, and had returned immediately, Mrs Cachalia said.

VS

BID TO RELEASE BONGANI



By CHIARA CHARTER

THE Attorney General has been asked to order the release of an ANC commander who has refused to testify in a major political trial.

Lawyers acting on behalf of Bongani Jonas, 31, have written to the Attorney General saying that it is "unjust" and "punitive" for the state to continue to hold Jonas under Section 31 of the Internal Security Act, his brother, Mr Andile Jonas, said.

"The conditions under which my brother is held at Table View police station are harmful to his health and wellbeing and that there is no useful purpose to his detention now that he has refused to be a state witness

"We are extremely worried about him. Since refusing to testify, all Bongani's privileges have been withdrawn. Even in court he is kept away from people in the public gallery and whisked in and out," Jonas said

Jonas was arrested in September 1987. He was first held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and has been detained under Section 31 for more than a year.

He is currently the subject of an enquiry under the Criminal Procedure Act after earlier this year refusing to testify as a state witness in the trial of Tony Yengem and 14 others in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

Behind the Mandela visits

11A
8-14/6/89



Govan Mbeki outside Victor Verster prison this week
PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

THE steady stream of visitors to Nelson Mandela's Paarl prison "home" is linked to a government offer to release him

The surprise visit by Govan Mbeki to the Victor Verster Prison this week is believed to be part of an elaborate consultation process requested by Mandela

The government in recent months has been involved in intense negotiations with Mandela on his possible release, according to reliable sources

It is insisted, however, that he agrees to a set of conditions which includes a guarantee that his release will not lead to unrest and that it will not be exploited by anti-apartheid forces to whip up support.

Refused to budge

Mandela has reportedly refused to budge from his position of an unconditional release for him and fellow Rivonia trialists still imprisoned

He has, however, requested, and the government has seemingly agreed, an opportunity to consult a broad range of people and groups in the democratic movement internally as well as the ANC in exile

These consultations are well underway, the latest being that with Mbeki who had been refused permission to visit Mandela on two previous occasions

The last meeting between the two was in November 1987 when Mbeki was released from imprisonment on Robben Island on humanitarian grounds and taken to Pollsmoor for discussions with Mandela

Sources said this week's meeting between Mbeki and Mandela was of "great significance" as the government had used the enthusiastic reception accorded Mbeki on his release as an excuse not to release the other Rivonia trialists

Heavy restrictions were imposed on Mbeki shortly after his release

"It was a trial-run the government considered a failure from its point of view," a source said

Other developments in the consultative process requested by Mandela are

- The visit last week by ANC veteran Harry Gwala — the second time in a month,

- Visits to Victor Verster by Walter Sisulu and other Rivonia trialists held at Pollsmoor,

- The detour visit to Victor Verster by the jailed ANC veteran Wilton Mkwayi while being

TO PAGE 3

Mandela

FROM PAGE ONE

transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor

- Visits by legal representatives including his personal lawyer, Ismail Ayob,

- A visit by family confidante Fatima Meer three weeks ago

- Visits this week by Mandela's close friends, Yusuf and Amina Cachalia

ANC sources in Lusaka, while not confirming that the movement had been directly consulted, responded firmly against a conditional release

The South African regime will clearly attempt to exploit the inhuman incarceration and suffering of Mandela and other imprisoned comrades. The regime, however, is under intense pressure to release Mandela and will have to do so soon

"An acceptance at this stage of a conditional release by our imprisoned comrades will be a major setback to the democratic movement and our advice is against it"

Sources in the democratic movement internally expressed concern that the government was able to manipulate particularly Mandela's isolated position

"Except for his guards he is virtually in solitary confinement at Victor Verster. The authorities are able to control who he sees and what he reads. They peruse the letters he writes and receives

"We have no doubt, however, that Mandela, because of his leadership qualities, discipline and commitment to the struggle, will not do anything contrary to the wishes of the democratic movement"

Cachalias

visit 9/14/84

11A

Mandela

FORMER South African Indian Congress secretary, Mr Yusuf Cachalia and his wife, Amina, paid a two-hour visit to their old friend, jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, at his quarters in Victor Verster Prison near Paarl yesterday.

The Cachalias, who last saw Mr Mandela a year ago at Pollsmoor Prison, lunched with him.

Mrs Cachalia said she applied twice last year to visit Mr Mandela "because he said we should see him again soon." — Sapa.

CAPING 7A

One year later and activist Bopape is still 'missing'

WMAJL

9-14/6/89

By MUSA ZONDI

ON Monday next week it will be one year since activist Stanza Bopape went missing in what many believe was a Latin-American-type disappearance.

Bopape, president of the Mamelodi Civic Association, allegedly escaped from police custody on June 12 last year after being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The police account of how Bopape escaped — with hands handcuffed and chains around his ankles — has been described by independent MP Jan van Eck as "implausible".

In a statement released this week, the Stanza Bopape Support Committee claims police informed the family about the alleged escape a month after it had supposedly taken place.

"His friends, family and colleagues continue to search for him but it is believed that he may have died while in police custody," the statement reads.

A memorial service will be held on Sunday in Mamelodi for Bopape.

● Asked to comment, police representative Captain R Bloomberg said police had already replied to the allegations. They referred *Weekly Mail* to last year's reply in which they urged any member of the public to inform them should Bopape be seen.

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wmail
9-14/6/89.

Harare eyes on covert SA-linked hit-squads

By ANDREW MELDRUM,
Harare

CACHES of weapons and explosives and courtroom accounts of sabotage and murder plots have focused attention in Harare on an underground South African network in Zimbabwe to strike suspected African National Congress targets

Three white Zimbabweans, all former members of the Rhodesian armed forces, were convicted this week of taking part in the bombing of the ANC offices in Harare's city centre and a suburban house occupied by ANC members on May 19 1986. Kevin Woods, 36, Barry Bawden, 31, and Michael Smith, 35, face possible death sentences for being found guilty of acting in collusion with the South African Defence Force in the bombings, which were part of the SADF's simultaneous attacks on alleged ANC targets in Gaborone and Lusaka

"Each of the three was very much part of a big group whose avowed intention was to carry out acts of sabotage in this country," said High Court Judge Ahmed Ebrahim in reading his 76-page judgement on Monday. "It is clear to my mind that each of the accused was making common cause with South African commandos in facilitating the movement of the weapons and their storage. And each of the accused played a part in the successful attacks of the targets in Harare."

The three men, who had pleaded not guilty to the charges, met the guilty verdicts with steely-eyed stares. Woods and Smith have already been sentenced to hang after being convicted of the January 1988 car bomb killing of a Zimbabwean driver in front of a Bulawayo house occupied by ANC exiles.

At the time of his arrest, Woods was a member of Zimbabwe's Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) making him well-placed to gather information on South African exiles in Zimbabwe. Woods allegedly worked with Bawden and two other members of the Bawden family, Kit and Guy, in the espionage and sabotage ring.

Guy Bawden remains in detention without charges while it is understood that Kit Bawden is working in South Africa with the intelligence ring run by former Zimbabwean Geoffrey Price, who at one time was charged with President Robert Mugabe's personal security. Price's name has been mentioned in other spy trials in Harare as being the central figure in setting up a South African cabal in Zimbabwe.

The importance South Africa placed on the three men was highlighted here earlier this month in the trial of Dennis Charles Beahan, who was charged with taking part in the plot to spring the three and others last year. A large arms cache including machine guns, electronic communications equipment, grenades and heavy bolt cutters was displayed as evidence in the trial of Beahan, a British national who served in the Rhodesian army and later the SADF. Judgement in Beahan's trial is set for June 19.

The state prosecutor called for "severe" sentences for Woods, Bawden and Smith but did not specifically urge the judge to hand down the death penalty for the acts of sabotage.

In the 1970s when this country was minority-ruled Rhodesia the death sentence was mandatory for sabotage and scores of African nationalist guerrillas were executed. But the Zimbabwean government has been reluctant to carry out such executions except in the cases of anti-government dissidents in Matabeleland. Zimbabwe has been urged by Amnesty International and other human rights organisations to end its use of the death penalty. The sentence is to be passed today.

Yes, Stacey was our man, say ANC

Wmail 9-14/6/89.

By PETER MURRAY (IR)

AFRICAN National Congress sources have confirmed that Durban-born Bradley Richard Stacey, imprisoned in Tanzania for the attempted hijack last month of an Aeroflot plane carrying about 200 Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas from Angola to East Africa, was a member of the ANC's armed wing.

ANC officials remain deeply shocked by the events which took place aboard the Aeroflot plane last month. The pilot was forced to land at the Tanzanian capital, Dar es Salaam, after what was first described as "a scuffle" on board. The precise circumstances of what took place aboard the plane have still not been disclosed.

Senior ANC officials have revealed that Stacey, whose guerrilla name was Douglas Hodges, had been under observation by senior MK com-

rades for some time.

Officials admit that Stacey had aroused some concern among commanders in southern Angola after he returned to Africa from Eastern Europe, following a decision by his trainers that he was unsuitable for further military training.

Sources say he was working in the ANC's library just outside Luanda, the Angolan capital, Luanda, immediately before he was transferred to East Africa, as part of the ANC's programme to relocate its military bases away from Angola. He was described as "the kind of guy you could see any weekend on the Durban beaches".

Source say there was no suspicion at the time of the relocation that he

was a South African agent. But he was described as having grown introverted and argumentative towards other members of MK, and that he appeared depressed and isolated.

Stacey's trial in Dar es Salaam came only a few days after two ANC intelligence officers from the movement's Lusaka headquarters completed their own investigation into the circumstances of the abortive hijack. However it is still not clear why anyone would want to hijack the aircraft over the territory of a Frontline state.

The hijack bid followed a spate of shootings during April and May in and around Lusaka, and a decision a fortnight ago by the ANC leadership to disarm many of the junior cadres, in the face of repeated complaints by the Zambian authorities that some Umkhonto members were getting out of hand.

MANDELA'S FRIEND TO STAY FOR WEEKEND?

By DENNIS CRUYWASER
Weekend Argus Reporter

NELSON Mandela has invited an old friend to spend some time with him in his luxury house at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

The African National Congress leader extended the invitation to Mrs Amina Cachalia, wife of former South African Indian Congress secretary Mr Yusuf Cachalia, when the couple saw him for two hours this week.

They last saw him a year ago when he was still held at Pollsmoor Prison. Since then he became ill with tuberculosis and was first treated at Tygerberg Hospital before being transferred to Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic from where he was discharged to Victor Verster.

Mr Mandela was "overwhelmed" when he saw them on Thursday, said Mrs Cachalia.

He asked her to visit him for a longer period.

"I said I would come for a weekend. He said, 'Good, that will be great'."

This is the first time Mr Mandela has asked a visitor to see him for longer than the normal prison visit.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetzee gave the Mandela family permission to visit him for long periods in his new quarters, but this was turned down by Mrs Winnie Mandela because it had not been extended to other political prisoners.

Mrs Cachalia said they had talked about many things, but not of his release from prison.

Mr Mandela was told about the September general election and had remarked that it would be interesting to see what would happen, she said.

"The house is absolutely gorgeous and very nicely furnished. It's a real middle-class home."

"He has everything except his

lion, on his behalf in Tripoli on Monday night.

Also at the ceremony will be his attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, who secretly flew out of Johannesburg last night on his way to Tripoli via London.

It is believed the jailed ANC leader asked Mr Ayob when he saw him a fortnight ago in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison to go to Libya on his behalf.

■ See Page 16.

Mbeki, Cachalia visit jailed Mandela

CP Reporter

IMPRISONED black leader Nelson Mandela was allowed a visit on Tuesday from Govan Mbeki, the highest-ranking ANC member at liberty in SA.

And on Thursday, Mandela was visited by Amna Cachalia and her husband, Yusuf, the former SA Indian Congress secretary.

He has asked the couple to visit him again for a longer period, possibly to spend a weekend with him.

On Tuesday Mbeki, 78, unexpectedly received permission to visit Mandela after having similar requests turned down several times since his release from prison in November 1987. The two men were among eight ANC leaders sentenced to life prison terms in 1964 for plotting an anti-government sabotage campaign.

Mbeki may not be quoted by the Press and there is no other source of information about what the two veteran black nationalists dis-

cussed.

Mbeki spent about two-and-a-half hours with Mandela, 70, at Victor Verster prison farm in Paarl, outside Cape Town, but the exact length of his meeting was not disclosed. The two last met shortly before Mbeki's release in 1987.

Farida Omar, an anti-apartheid activist from Cape Town, said she was with Mbeki when he received a telephone call on Tuesday morning informing him that the visit had been approved.

"He was very thrilled," she said. "Rumours of Mandela's possible release have been circulating in SA for more than a decade but the government has given no firm indication of its plans."

However, the decision last year to move him to a suburban-style ranch house on a prison farm revealed the special status he has, even as an inmate.

There is speculation that Mandela, the most popular leader among SA's black majority, may be released after national elections

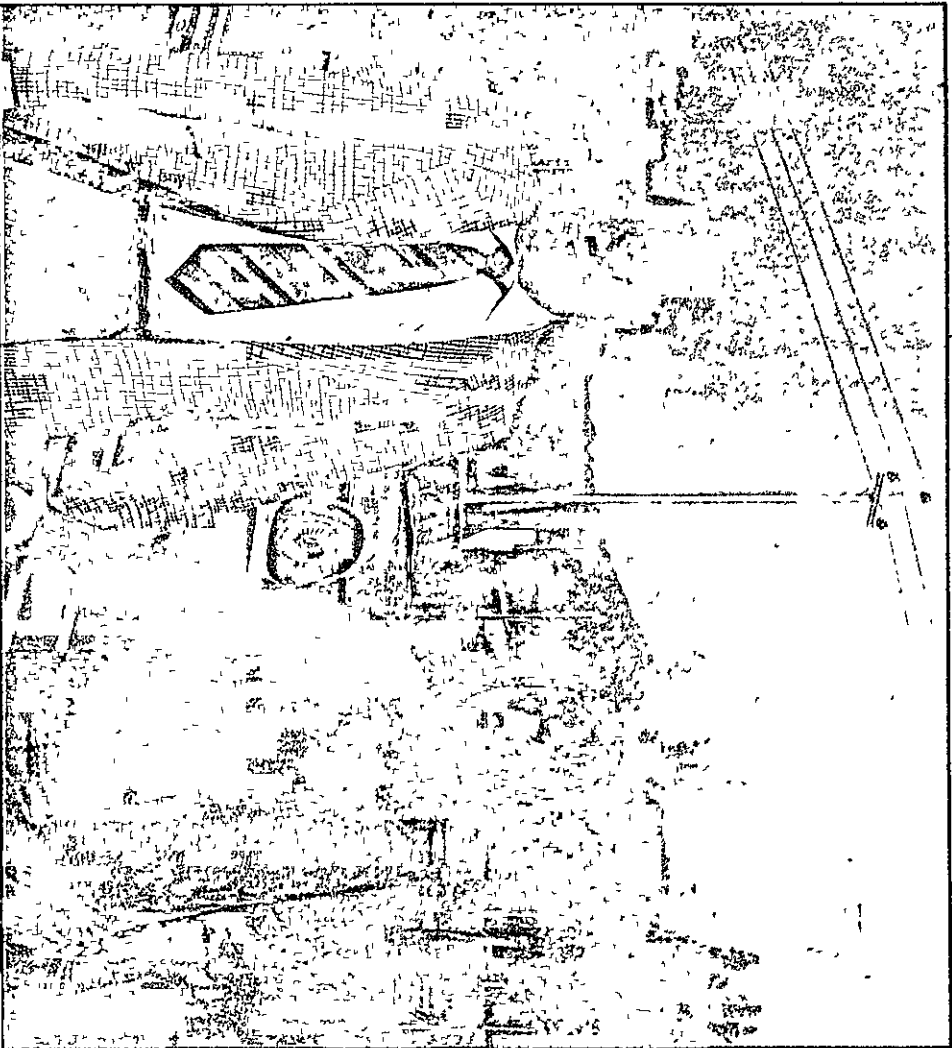
in September for whites, Indians and coloureds. The 28 million blacks have no vote in national affairs.

Mbeki was freed unconditionally but, a month later, was placed under harsh restrictions that prohibited him from leaving his home town of Port Elizabeth without permission. He has been allowed periodic trips to Cape Town for medical treatment.

At the time of his arrest in 1964, Mbeki was the ANC's national chairman.

His son, Thabo, is a top-ranking official in the ANC's exiled leadership and is considered a leading candidate for presidency of the organisation in the future.

Based in Lusaka, Zambia, the ANC is the main black guerrilla group attempting to topple SA's white-led government. Under Mandela's leadership, it began a bombing and sabotage campaign in 1961, a year after it was outlawed by South African authorities.



Farida Omar was with Govan Mbeki when he received the call permitting him to visit jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison farm near Cape Town this week.

Flirting with toothless Houses will harm DP

S/ Times 11/6/87

THE Democratic Party leadership decides soon whether to contest any seats in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives in the September 6 election.

The Transvaal Indian Congress, Natal Indian Congress, UDF and Cosatu reject the racially exclusive character of the SA State, and consider institutions like the Houses of Delegates, Representatives and black local authorities as illegitimate.

Rejection

The low polls at all such previous elections reflect the oppressed majority's total rejection of these institutions

Although the congress refuses to participate in the white-dominated Parliament (including the House of Assembly) as a vehicle to bring about meaningful change, we acknowledge that the strong parliamentary culture in the white community may well isolate forces there to the left of the National Party

We realise that, unlike the toothless Indian and coloured Houses of Parliament, the House of Assembly does wield real political power

We recognise that the DP has an influential role to play in the process of change in South Africa, and that creative opportunities are available for all anti-



by Cassim Saloojee

11/87
president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, an affiliate of the UDF

apartheid forces to co-operate and isolate the NP

The key question the DP needs to consider is Will such a strategy allow for these dynamic possibilities to materialise in the ensuing struggle for democracy?

Fielding candidates in the House of Delegates or House of Representatives, or entering into election pacts with political parties, would seriously damage the image of the DP.

It would be a fatal mistake for the DP to underestimate the deep feeling of rejection of the tricameral system in the Indian and coloured communities

Thus, participation by the DP in these institutions will inadvertently sharpen the differences between the DP and the mass democratic movement.

In the process, instead of concentrating its energies on a single front fighting the NP, the DP will be forced to open a second front against the mass democratic movement

The Houses of Delegates and Representatives serve

as a mechanism to co-opt and insulate resistance to NP rule from the Indian and coloured communities, and because participants do not have genuine mandates they are susceptible to constant changes of loyalty — particularly when F W de Klerk dangles a carrot.

The DP should not allow itself to be blackmailed by the brown skin of the parties in the other Houses The DP's record on nonracialism will be judged by its relationship with organisations representing the oppressed majority, such as the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC

Discredited

The DP has nothing to gain from accepting MPs who are discredited in their own communities

It would be a sad day in the history of our struggle if the DP allowed itself to be blinded by election fever It should rather lay the basis for "post-election politics" which unify the anti-apartheid forces into a single thrust for change

Several hundred beekeepers

ANC relaxes boycott stand

MAPUTO — The African National Congress has supported the forthcoming trip to Mozambique of a group of South African musicians

An ANC spokesman in Maputo said the movement's position on the cultural boycott had been relaxed to avoid hurting the victims of apartheid

The boycotting of a South African artist depended on whether he or she was an advocate or an opponent of apartheid, the spokesman said

The group of South African musicians is to travel to Maputo to take part in a concert on June 20 with British rock star Eric Clapton

The South Africans are Steve Kekana, Spho Mabuse, Brenda Fassie and P J Powers — The Star's Africa News Service

Kidnapping: police

Groups warn against SA's 'cultivated black leadership'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The policy of foreign governments should be aimed at making it possible "for the true engine of change in South Africa, the mass democratic movement, to continue burrowing at apartheid until it finally crumbles", a recent study concludes.

The report, entitled "Human Rights and Repression in South Africa The Apartheid Machine Grinds", is published by the Human Rights Commission, the South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference

Assessing the cumulative effect of repression after three continuous years of emergency rule, the report sounds a pointed warning to the international community against according Pretoria recognition for "talking to the black 'leadership' that it has cultivated under the shield of repression"

The report states "The mass democratic movement in South Africa, on retreat as it is from state repression, is not prepared to grant the South African Government the space in which it can achieve this objective"

The report concludes that the Government's "overkill with repression and the indications it is

Change lies in 'democratic opposition'

giving that it cannot live without the state of emergency is indicative of a political paralysis that has gripped it"

The Government has retreated from reform and has no clear vision of how South Africa can be transformed, the study argues

The magnitude of state repression is suggested by various statistics contained in the report, which states that

- More than 50 000 people were detained without trial in the last four years, of whom more than a quarter were children and young people and 10 percent women

- In the last 18 months, 32 anti-apartheid organisations, including the United Democratic Front, were banned under emergency measures from engaging

in any activity whatsoever and the Congress of South African Trade Unions was prohibited from pursuing "political" activities

- Almost 1 000 people were subjected to emergency restriction orders curtailing their freedom of movement, ability to engage in political activity and even to work or study

- In the year ending June 1988, 51 political trials involving 165 accused were completed, with 80 convictions and 85 acquittals. A further 58 trials were in progress, involving 258 accused

- Early this year, about 290 people were on Pretoria's death row, about 80 of them sentenced for "political acts"

The report details the counter-revolutionary strategies of the National Management Sys-

tem - a system which has no constitutional status but which has effectively appropriated many executive and decision-making powers for itself

It outlines the functions of the 500-odd Joint Management Centres (JMCs) which coordinate the two pronged security/welfare strategy of "eliminating" activists and "winning hearts and minds" of the masses

Assessing the impact of the JMCs the report argues that an increasingly isolated South Africa does not have an economy able to meet the demands of such a welfare-linked strategy

The much publicised upgrade schemes have had an impact in no more than three or four townships, it contends, adding "Even if the state and the economy were able to meet the demands which have accumulated over the last 40 years, there is no evidence that a more materially comfortable population will forget that it lacks political representation"

This is made all the more true by the fact that no one understands where government policy is going to. It is very difficult to win hearts and minds for the incomprehensible and exclusive constitution which the National Party imposed in 1984 or for the unknown schemes of the future

Soweto 12/6/89

June 1976 protest service

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THE traditional June 16 commemoration service will be held at the Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, on Friday at 1pm co-ordinating committee spokesman Mr Thabo Ndabeni said.

This will be held after a religious morning service between 9am and noon co-ordinated by the Inter-denominational churches under the auspices of the Catholic Church.

Ndabeni said "organisations of the oppressed and exploited will join hands in making the commemoration a memorable one."

The theme of this, the 13th anniversary of the June 1976 protest, would be "Black solidarity against repression" to emphasise the need for unity among the oppressed in the face of repression, Ndabeni said.

Raided

"We expect people to be dignified and respectful and to allow the services to run smoothly."

Ndabeni also said other services would be made known later in the week.

Meanwhile, the offices of the Azanian People's Organisation in Johannesburg were raided yesterday by a group of white men in search of pamphlets relating to the June 16 anniversary.

Between January and May this year, the Azapo head office in Wanderers Street, has been raided five times by the police.

New UK initiative to free Mandela

Star 12/6/89

The Star Bureau

11A

LONDON — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is preparing a one-word key to Nelson Mandela's freedom, according to the *Mail on Sunday*.

There has been much speculation that 70-year-old Mandela, jailed 25 years ago today, will be released soon after the September general election.

When he was jailed for life on June 12, 1964 for plotting to overthrow white rule he was already serving a five-year sentence imposed in 1962 for leaving the country illegally and inciting a strike.

The *Mail on Sunday* reports Mrs Thatcher is to ask the South African Government to drop its demand for Mandela's renunciation of violence before he is released.

Instead, she wants the African National Congress leader to support the suspension of terrorist activity as a key to his freedom.

The single-word compromise will be the centre of secret Downing Street talks next week with Mr F W de Klerk, says the newspaper.

The paper claims Mrs Thatcher has been in touch with Mandela through Sir Robin Renwick, the British Ambassador in Pretoria.

Mandela's release is almost certain to be followed by a visit to South Africa by Mrs Thatcher, it adds.

● Meanwhile, it has been reported from South Africa that Mandela does not believe he will be freed this year. Mrs Amina Cachalia, who visited him last week, told Reuter "We asked him about his release and he replied 'I don't think this year,'" she said.

Sowetan 12/6/89

MANDELA YES

NELSON Mandela had decided to accept an international human rights award from Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi

Mandela's daughter Mrs Zenani Dhlamini, who is married to a Swazi prince, will accept the Gaddafi Human Rights Prize, valued at R675 000, on his behalf tonight

Also at the-ceremony

will be his attorney Mr Ismail Ayob who secretly flew out of Johannesburg for London from where he will leave for Tripoli.

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It is believed that the jailed African National Congress leader asked Ayob when he saw him a fortnight ago in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison, Paarl to go to Libya on his behalf

Conf. Times 12/6/89

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela thinks he is unlikely to be freed from prison this year, a friend who visited him reported Mr Mandela as saying

There has been speculation that 70-year-old Mr Mandela would be freed soon after the election in September

"We asked him about it and he replied I don't think this year," said Mrs Amina Cachalia, who visited Mr Mandela for 3½ hours at his prison in Paarl on Thursday

"He's ready for release but he's not anticipating release, not immediately anyway," Mrs Cachalia told Reuters She said Mr Mandela did not elaborate on the issue

Mrs Cachalia, who was accompanied by her husband Mr Yusuf Cachalia, was granted the visit after repeated requests Apart from a brief visit last year they had not seen him since 1962

She said Mr Mandela was neatly dressed in a double-breasted suit and red striped tie and looked physically fit He was in good spirits but it was clear he was lonely, she said

"He reads a great deal, he writes, he listens to the radio, he has a television and a video," Mrs Cachalia said. "He's still very lonely."

Although he did not have a telephone he kept abreast of developments in the country "But the worst thing for him is not liaising in person with his people," she said. — Sapa-Reuter

Mandela
'does not expect freedom this year'

CM. Times 12/16/89

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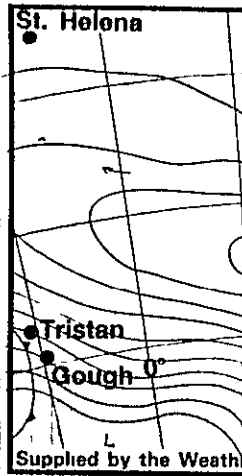
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Mr Mandela is in his 27th year of captivity after being jailed on June 12, 1964

The court jailed him for life, which, for political offences, means imprisonment until death

● Thatcher negotiation denied — Page 5



Fin V

CAPE PENINSULA

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Coastal belt Cape Infants Plattenberg Bay Fine Warm

Coastal belt Plattenberg to Port Alfred Cloudy cool

Namequaland and the S Western Cape interior and mild

Pretoria, Witwatersrand and the Eastern Highveld and mild but very cold morning with frost

candidate for Beaufort West in the coming election.

CAE 7/25 12/6/89
ANC man convicted *11A* *12/6*

MBABANE. — A member of the ANC, who shot dead a Swazi soccer player in December last year, has been convicted of culpable homicide. He will be sentenced today. Zweli Nyanda was charged with killing Mr Mguyo Zwane in Manzini.

CAE 7/25 12/6/89
Literature seized in raid *12/6*

DURBAN. — ANC-South African Communist Party literature as well as items which could have been used for explosive purposes, were seized by police in a raid on a house in Reservoir Hills at the weekend. Police said no arrest had been made but investigations were continuing.

Runcie to seek ANC talks

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, said yesterday he plans to hold talks in Lusaka with leaders of the African National Congress on the third leg of his current four-nation Southern Africa tour.

Archbishop Runcie, said on his arrival on Thursday from Malawi that he could make no blanket condemnation of apartheid opponents who advocated violence.

Archbishop Runcie is due to spend three days in Zambia this week.

Near Marondera between 5 000 and 6 000 people participated yesterday in a mass celebrated by the archbishop, at the Bernard Mizeki shrine.

Paying tribute to Bernard Mizeki, an Anglican martyr, yesterday Archbishop Runcie said that having been born in Mozambique, baptised in South Africa and martyred in Zimbabwe made him a symbol of unity within Southern Africa.

— Sapa-AP

similar manner to that of
the Mathibela twins,
Mpho and Mphonyana.

Maggie's key word

BRITAIN'S Prime
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a one-word key to Nelson
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The newspaper said:
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Sawelan 12/1/89
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Celebrate June 16^(11A) with dignity — call

By Stan Hlophe

The June 16 Co-ordinating Committee has appealed to the community to observe the 13th anniversary of Soweto Day with honour and dignity

A spokesman for the committee, Mr Katiso Lengane, said "Blacks should march forward and observe June 16 in honour of our heroes and heroines whose shining contributions have illuminated the annals of the history of our struggle"

Mr Lengane said the anniversary occurred at a time when black political expression was severely restricted by draconian legislation

"As in the past, we urge our community to conduct itself in a dignified and respectful manner, and to allow essential services to run smoothly," he said.

He invited all organisations to join in making the occasion a memorable one

The theme of the anniversary would be black solidarity against repression, he said.

Venues and dates would be announced this week

Mr Lengane said the co-ordinating committee was suspicious of the leadership of established churches. The leadership was allowing itself to be manipulated by certain forces against granting venues to certain ideological bodies affiliated to broad liberation movements

"If this is true we wish to remind this leadership that the composition of the congregation they preside over is ideologically heterogenous and that any form of bias not only invites conflict within the church but also amounts to the height of unchristian pastoral hypocrisy

"We therefore urge this leadership to be mindful of its conscience," Mr Lengane said

Bid to end violence in Natal

STW 26/59 Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Talks aimed at ending the political violence in Natal and kwaZulu are expected to take place on Wednesday

A delegation from Inkatha will meet leaders of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and United Democratic Front (UDF) in Durban

The talks follow a visit by an Anglican Church delegation to meet the kwaZulu Cabinet last week to try to sort out the impasse over a venue

Previously, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had said the first meeting between the warring sides had to take place in Ulundi, but he softened his position in discussions with the clergymen.

It is now expected that two senior colleagues of his will attend Wednesday's meeting

The Cosatu/UDF delegation is expected to include UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, National Union of Metal Workers education officer Mr Alec Erwin and the Maritzburg organiser of the Food and Allied Workers' Union, Mr Siphso Gcabashe

Inkatha's delegation is expected to include Dr Oscar Dhlomo, its secretary-general

The venue will be decided today

Black activist mourned

Human rights activists held a memorial service yesterday for a black community organiser missing since police reported he escaped from detention a year ago

Fifty activists, foreign diplomats, clergymen and liberal politicians gathered at a hall in Mamelodi, near Pretoria, to mourn Mr Stanza Bopape, general secretary of the Mamelodi Civic Association

"His friends, family and colleagues continue to search for him, but they fear he may have died while in police custody," a statement by anti-apartheid groups said. Police have denied this.

Mr Bopape was detained on June 9 1988 under the Internal Security Act.

Police said he escaped on June 12 while travelling in the custody of three policemen

They said while the three repaired a puncture to the vehicle, Mr Bopape found their keys, unlocked his leg-irons and handcuffs and escaped

The groups' statement said the police had suggested Mr Bopape may have gone abroad to join the African National Congress. But Mr Bopape's father visited ANC in Lusaka and was told they had no record of his son — Reuter



'Kangaroo' court: Headman restrained

By DON HOLLIDAY
Staff Reporter

A CAPE TOWN domestic worker has been granted an urgent interdict in the Supreme Court restraining a Khayelitsha headman, who allegedly convened a "kangaroo" court, from assaulting her or convening such a court

Mr Justice Friedman last week ordered that the headman, a Mr Kwali of Site C, prevent people under his authority from interfering with the woman, Mrs Eunice Mamphele Peter

Mr Kwali allegedly conducted the tribal court under the direction of Khayelitsha mayor Mr Mali Hoza, according to papers before court

An affidavit by Mrs Peter contained allegations of practices in the kangaroo courts which included

- A woman being fined R1 000 because her son had allegedly impregnated a girl, and
- A woman being whipped by four men

Mrs Peter said a dispute over payment for the private sale of clothing had arisen between herself and her former sister-in-law, Miss Nothembile Mchilize

On May 8, Miss Mchilize arrived at her home with a spe-

cial constable armed with a shotgun

"He informed me that Nothembile had laid a charge against me concerning the outstanding amount on the dresses," she said

She was forced to accompany the policeman to Mr Kwali's home, where a court was being held

There were about 30 people waiting for their cases to be heard. One person was fined R500 for an "offence"

"Much money was collected in the course of the proceedings by (Mr Kwali). It was then handed over to his daughter or to members of the homeguard who took it to a side room"

Mrs Peter was called and ordered to pay a R250 fine as soon as possible

As she left the court she saw a girl whom she knew being whipped by four men

On June 5 she appeared again before the "court" when she could not raise the money

She was given until yesterday to make the payment or she would have to appear in "court" again

She said she feared she would be assaulted if she appeared again.

The return date is June 16

Three jailed in Harare for attacks on ANC premises

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~~119~~

MICHAEL HARTNACK

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HARARE — Three former members of the Rhodesian security forces were gaoled on Friday for 40 years each for helping SA commandos attack ANC premises in Harare in May 1986.

The raid on the ANC offices and on an ANC house in Ashdown Park caused no casualties because of a mysterious prior warning, believed to have come from Western intelligence services.

In a surprise move, Mr Justice Ibrahim did not impose the death penalty on Kevin John Woods, 36, Michael Anthony Smith, 35, and Barry Desmond Bawden, 31, raising local human rights activists' hopes that SA may take a similar more lenient view of political criminals.

Rejected pleas *blom/m/6/89*

However, Woods and Smith are already under sentence of death for their part in the murder last year of a civilian during the bombing of an ANC house in Trenance, Bulawayo.

The judge said the three Zimbabweans had each proved himself a 'menace' to society and rejected pleas their activities had been directed against the ANC and not against their own country's security and sovereignty.

He accepted in mitigation that the three men only acted as drivers, or provided logistical back up, for the SA commandos who perpetrated the actual bombings. None of them was captured.

He rejected leave to appeal, saying the sentence might have "erred on the side of leniency".

DEMANDS for redistribution of wealth confuse the political debate because the word "redistribution" means such different things to different people

The Freedom Charter, which lays down the party line for the ANC and its allies, says "all the land" shall be re-divided among the people implying a redistribution of wealth on a scale to satisfy Lennin (and, presumably, to be achieved by the methods of Stalin, since nothing less would suffice)

The Freedom Charter also says that the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and "monopoly industry" shall be transferred to the ownership of the people. It adds, for good measure, that "all other industries" shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people (it does contain one guarantee of private property, saying "People shall not be robbed of their cattle")

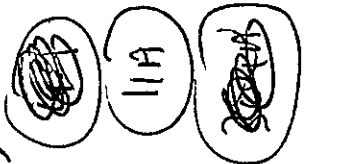
All this has been the subject of long and heated exegesis, but Wits lecturer Raymond Suttner has said, in a T B Davie memorial lecture at UCT, that the Charter intends the nationalisation of businesses down to the level of barbershops

The ANC is not alone in envisaging a massive redistribution of property. UCT law professor Denis Davis has urged the Law Commission to exercise extreme caution about recommending a property protection clause for the commissioner's proposed bill of rights. He foresees a need for major policies of redistribution and welfare and fears that a property clause could limit a future government's ability to implement policies of redistribution of income.

At the other end of the spectrum, liberals argue that private property is necessary to liberty. When there is only one car manufacturer, the motorist is deprived of any choice of cars to buy — or, at best, he might be able to choose (as in the Soviet Union) between two models in one of two colours, black or white. When the only newspaper owner is

Seize the land, soak the rich, spare the cow

6/Day 12/6/87



KEN OWEN

the state, the reader is deprived of a choice of information, and of the choice of a vehicle in which to express his own views. When the only shoe manufacturer is the state, and the only retailer also the state, everybody ends up waiting in line to buy shoddy products.

Therefore, in the liberal view, the case for private property extends beyond the normal (and often dubious) argument that it encourages effort and productivity. The important point is that private ownership is necessary to choice, and hence to freedom.

The people holding these contradictory sets of views are natural enemies, and it is unusual for both systems to exist in the same state. However, South Africa has until very recently had a system of private property for whites, who therefore live in suburbs and pay rates, and a system of state-controlled distribution for blacks, who therefore live in townships and pay rents (or conduct rent boycotts).

The question for the future is whether the post-apartheid South Africa will extend to black people the property rights enjoyed by whites, or whether

it will turn whites into tenants of the state like blacks.

Most sensible people want to free blacks (which is another way of saying that they should also enjoy property rights and choices that are not determined for them by the state), rather than enslave whites (which is another way of saying that they should lose their property rights), but they worry that past discrimination has so skewed the distribution of wealth between the races that black people will be left at a permanent disadvantage.

Hence they talk of a "redistribution" to overcome past disadvantages. One compelling reason advanced for such a redistribution is the fear that black people, who are often deemed by whites not to be capable of understanding free markets, will reject any system that does not at the outset give them reasonable financial parity with whites.

The idea, then, is to give them enough money to calm them down, so that we can all continue to live in

a condition of liberty and private property afterwards.

The difficulty is to know what this "redistribution" means. Among the people who call often for such redistribution of wealth is Johannesburg philanthropist and businessman Bob Tucker, who was challenged last week to spell out the aims and the costs of his proposals for redistribution.

His answer was surprising: subsidised hospitals and medical services, free transfer of the ownership of township houses to their tenants, and education. He rejected the confiscation of private assets to fund this redistribution, and described as simplistic and emotional any suggestion that marginal tax rates might have to rise to 70% or 80% to fund redistribution. In fact, he pointed out that present tax rates in South Africa, which rise to 45%, are already demotivating.

Frankly, I find it very difficult to discern any difference between these views and the present policy of the National Party. It is true that the state still charges small sums for the purchase of township houses, which has slowed down the formation of a

property-owning class with a hedge against inflation and assets to pass on to their children (or to mortgage, as the rest of us do, for their children's higher education).

(For this foolish delay I blame Louis Rive, who dismissed as madcap my suggestion a decade ago that all the houses in Soweto be given to their occupants free of charge — a proposal that might well have averted the Soweto horrors of 1985/86. It would have been the most sensible of all privatisations.)

In fact, what Tucker is calling for is not "redistribution" of wealth by coercion, as the opponents of private property and the authors of the Freedom Charter envisage it, he is calling for welfare programmes to improve the condition of the poor, at least to the point where they will accept private property and abandon notions of a ferocious revolution.

Where he parts company with the free enterprise liberals is in believing that the state — the incompetent, bungling, blind, oppressive Stalinist or Verwoerdian state — can order the affairs of society in such a way that the outcome will be fairer to the poor.

The truth, for which there is now voluminous evidence in the modern world, is that the state welfare system benefits mainly its own bureaucrats. This is as true of Britain's National Health, where capital costs per patient have risen to consume ever larger proportions of revenue, as it is of Soviet grocery shops or township housing in South Africa.

To talk of state-run welfare as "redistribution" is profoundly misleading, on two levels.

At one level, it confuses well-meaning philanthropists with revolutionary socialists, and invites massive resistance to their suggestions. At the other, it raises false expectations that the state can, by seizing power and property from its citizens, create jobs, or build houses, or eliminate poverty. In fact, as we well know from our own bitter experience, it can do none of these things, not even by tyranny.

90 held under Internal Security Act in May

Small drop in detentions

By Jo-Anne Collinge

While emergency detentions have dropped dramatically over the last three months, there has been only a moderate decline in the number of persons held under permanent security laws.

Figures released by the Police Division of Public Relations in Pretoria indicated there were a total of 88 people detained in terms of the Internal Security Act as at the end of April and 90 at the end of May

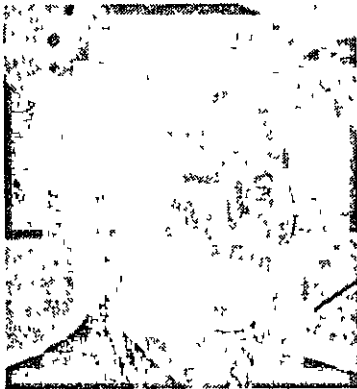
The figures for both these months represent a drop from the number held at the end of March '111 persons

Of the 88 held at the end of April, 78 were held incommunicado for purposes of interrogation under Section 29 of the Act and 10 were detained as prospective state witnesses under Section 31. At the end of May the figures were 72 held under Section 29 and 18 under Section 31

Clearly the biggest drop in detentions oc-

curred during April after persistent reports that some security detainees were on hunger strike in support of the demand that they be charged or released

While police were prepared to confirm hunger strikes by emergency detainees they refused to issue any information on those held under security laws. Information from lawyers indicates many of those released from security detention since the end of March have been charged



Mrs Thatcher ... "seeking a formula".

Mandela: search for compromise

Political Staff
CAPE TOWN — A report that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is working on a formula for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela has stirred interest in Government circles

According to a British newspaper, Mrs Thatcher is examining the idea of asking South Africa to ease its demand that he renounces violence, and rather accept his agreement to sup-

port a suspension of terrorist activity

While a British official has denied the newspaper report, senior Government sources said that in April President Botha relaxed the absolute stipulation that Mandela renounce violence

"Renunciation of violence is no longer an absolute prerequisite," a source said, but noted that it was more complex than that

British intervention in the

Mandela issue might be useful, the source said, but it might also be counter-productive

The newspaper report said Mrs Thatcher had been in touch with Mandela through Britain's Ambassador to South Africa Sir Robin Renwick

It said Mrs Thatcher's proposed compromise would be the centre of her talks later this month, possibly on June 23, with National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk

Star 13/6/89

Women For Peace go marching forward



Newly elected co-chairman of WFP, Mrs Irma Xenopoulos and Mrs Alma Xenopoulos... after 13 years of striving, there's much work still to be done.

Women For Peace may have been dismissed as a harmless organisation going nowhere fast, but its leaders have other ideas

The organisation was born 13 years ago in response to the Soweto '76 uprising with the aim of bringing women together to find peaceful solutions to this country's many problems

The newly elected co-chairman of WFP, Mrs Alma Xenopoulos and Mrs Irma Xenopoulos, are aware that South Africa is not much closer to peace than when their organisation first started, and they say there is still much work to be done

And these two women practise what they preach. They have both taken part in conference workshops organised inside and outside the country, with the aim of organising women to bring peace to a troubled land firmly in mind

Mrs Xenopoulos attended Idasa's Transvaal "Women and Democracy" workshop which tried to bring together women from very different walks of life to share their experiences under apartheid

By Shehnaaz Bulbulha

She says "Women have to use their power to make the necessary representations and explore all avenues of seeking peaceful change"

Mrs Xenopoulos attended a conference in Harare recently, also organised by Idasa, where she met South African women from diverse backgrounds and political traditions, Zimbabwean women and ANC women living in exile

Mrs Xenopoulos says that when she first attended WFP meetings she was "suspicious" and thought she would either be expected to be "a dishwasher or sit and have cookies and tea with whites who feel a bit charitable"

Travel costs

But, she says, the actions of the organisation have changed her views. A transport committee was established 10 years ago to investigate the sharp increases in travelling expenses — a direct result of day-to-day costs of racial

separation

Throughout its lifespan WFP, she says, has been concerned with the difficulties and cost of educating black children

"The contrasts between the facilities and money spent between white and black schools make one ashamed," says Mrs Xenopoulos

"Any committee set up to investigate such problems is also those of a whole society," she says

The emotional thrust which has sustained the movement in its early days was not enough, says Mrs Xenopoulos. It is now time to act

She adds "The organisation has had to delve into the problems created around the state of emergency"

For the past two years, WFP has campaigned for the release of children detainees, made representations against the banning or restrictions of organisations, in addition to doing grassroots work in various communities

Currently the organisation has 1 400 members in the

Witwatersrand area. The organisation has established autonomous branches, each undertaking projects best suited to their individual communities

Unemployment, she says is a major problem in the township. Many women lack sufficient skill to find a decent job and as a result end up doing domestic work — the least protected and lowest paid work

"In our small way we decided to give a service which the women want. We set up sewing classes so that unemployed women could use their skills to earn a living," she says

Famous picture

The women recall the birth of Women For Peace 13 years ago when the picture of Hector Peterson, killed during violent confrontation between residents and police in Soweto, was flashed throughout the world.

"At that time, women gathered together, suspicious, cautious but, together they heard for the first time about things that mattered most to them," says Mrs Xenopoulos

Witwatersrand area

Gumede restricted further by police

Star 13/6/89 11A
DURBAN — The Government yesterday tightened the terms of the restriction order applying to Mr Archie Gumede, a leader of the United Democratic Front.

In addition to an existing ban on press interviews and meetings of more than 10 people, Mr Gumede must now remain in his home between 8 pm and 5 am.

This would make it difficult for him to attend talks expected to start in Durban today between the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Inkatha movement. — Reuter.

Capl Front 13/6/89

Gumede gagged on eve of talks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Natal president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, has been issued with restriction orders prohibiting him from taking part in the UDF — two days before peace talks between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance are scheduled to begin.

Mr Gumede was served with the restriction orders at his home in Clermont yesterday. They were issued by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in Pretoria on Friday.

The orders prevent Mr Gumede from taking part in any manner whatsoever in the UDF and the Release Mandela Campaign. They restrict him from talking to the press, addressing public gatherings or helping to prepare any material for publication. They also restrict Mr Gumede to his house in Clermont between 8pm and 5am.

The Democratic Party spokesman on manpower and MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, said he was horrified by the restrictions.

"Mr Gumede has frequently stuck his neck out by promoting peace talks in Natal. He is a 75-year-old man who is recognised by both friend and foe as a man of peace," Mr Gastrow said.

"These further restrictions must be seen as a deliberate attempt to sabotage the intended talks between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance."

The peace talks are expected to take place in Durban tomorrow.

SA 16 71-15
13/6/89
(110)

Gwala beaten at funeral

MARITZBURG. — Veteran African National Congress activist Mr Harry Gwala was among a crowd of mourners sjambokked yesterday as they left a cemetery here following the burial of trade unionist Mrs Jabu Ndlovu.

A family spokesman said Mr Gwala, 70, had been struck four times — on his shoulders, back, legs and hand. Mr Gwala has motor-neuron disease and is paralysed in both arms.

Mrs Ndlovu died on June 1 of wounds sustained when her Imbali home was attacked on May 21 and her husband and daughter were killed. — Sapa

THE nationwide unrest which broke after the Sharpeville massacre at the start of the anti-pass campaign launched by the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960 must have come as an embarrassing shock to the Government

In response, the Government unleashed its anger not only on political activists but blacks in general. It seemed as if the authorities were out on a revenge mission.

But what they failed to realise at the time was that all that they did in trying to stifle opposition paved the way for another explosion which took place 16 years later.

The state of emergency — the first to be declared in South Africa, led to the arrest of about 20 000 people who included PAC and ANC members and their supporters.

Members of both organisations were hounded and harassed by the police. Many were forced to go underground and others into exile.

When it was lifted, most of its provisions were converted into law which together with Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's policy of separate development, were implemented with unprecedented ruthlessness.

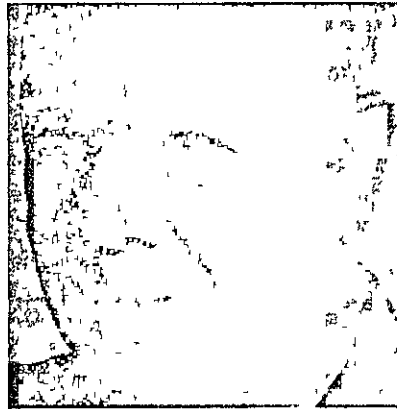
Crushed

Bannings, house arrests and detention without trial which started at the time have since become a way of life in South Africa.

Political resistance among blacks was successfully crushed and for the next 10 years, there was no overt political activity in the black community.

Verwoerd, who at the height of the unrest and open defiance by blacks was forced to suspend

THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the first part of a series of events leading to the June 16 unrest.



Hendrik Verwoerd . policy of separate development.

The road to June 16



pass laws for 17 days, seemed determined to show white voters that he was still firmly in control.

He was going to ensure that events that followed the Sharpeville massacre would not be repeated.

The implementation of the policy aimed at turning South Africa white was pursued with vigour. The only blacks who would be allowed in "white" - South Africa would be those whose labour was required by whites.

The "unproductive", old, unemployed, sick, disabled and those still too young to work would be forcefully relocated in black reserves.

This was also another strategy of dividing

blacks and preventing them from uniting in resistance against the Government and from claiming political rights in a common South Africa. To effect this, influx control laws were strictly enforced.

Division

The Government had embarked on a programme to instill white supremacy in the minds of the South African population, to divide people on the basis of their colour; to restrict black urbanisation, to lay strong emphasis on tribalism and traditionalism in the administration of blacks, and to strengthen security legislation and control.

Blacks were to be encouraged to see themselves as Zulus, and Sothos and not as workers or as an oppressed people with common problems and common aspirations.

The ruthless manner in which the Government demonstrated its ability to deal with "trouble-makers" had ripple effects on the country's economy. It raised the confidence of the

business community and foreign investors.

The economy boomed. The country grew richer as many industries were set up and there was economic prosperity nationwide.

But blacks did not benefit from this boom. They continued to receive low wages. Another reason why blacks could not benefit much from the economic booms was that they were not skilled. Over a period of time, the Government seemed preoccupied with addressing the future of blacks in "white" South Africa.

The dreaded pass laws were used effectively as a means of keeping unwanted blacks from urban areas. They were allowed to stay not longer than 72 hours in an urban area without special permission from the authorities.

This permission was to be stamped in their passbooks for any policeman to inspect on demand. Black men could be stopped anywhere in the streets or rudely awakened in the middle of the night at their homes by police

who wanted to inspect their passbooks.

It was compulsory for migrant workers to return to their "places of origin" at least once after every 12 months to ensure that their ties with bantustans, both legal and personal, would not be broken.

This was intended to ensure that they did not see the urban areas as their permanent homes.

The Government was the sole landlord in the urban areas. All houses were rented from the Government and blacks were not allowed to buy or build their own houses. Houses could only be allocated to married couples and the permit holder had to be employed.

Decree

In 1967, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development decreed that no black women were to be placed on the waiting list for housing in urban areas. Those who qualified for accommodation would have to seek it as lodgers with registered householders.

If a woman became widowed while she was occupying a house with her husband and family, she would continue to occupy it only if she qualified in her own right to remain in the area and she was able to pay rent.

If not, she would have to return to her homeland with her children, unless special exemption was granted.

Very few women got this exemption. A divorced woman could stay on in her home only if she was not the guilty party and had been granted custody of the children, if she qualified in her own right to remain in the town, if she could pay the rent, if her former husband agreed to vacate the house and transfer the tenancy to her.



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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Thousands ^(11A) expected to ~~450~~ treat June 16 ^{Star 13/6/89} as a holiday

By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

Thousands of black workers are expected to observe June 16 as a holiday in commemoration of the 1976 student uprisings, despite Government's reluctance to recognise the day.

In recent years, black trade unions have stepped up a campaign for the recognition of the day as a paid holiday, with an increasing number of employers acceding to the demand.

The National Union of Mineworkers is demanding a June 16 holiday in its wage talks with the Chamber of Mines.

In terms of last year's wage agreement, metal industry employees have to decide through a ballot whether they wish to observe June 16 in exchange for Founders' Day.

However, the industry's biggest union, the National Union of Metalworkers, is demanding during the 1989 wage talks that June 16 be recognised "unconditionally" as a paid holiday.

The Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union says June 16 is recognised by "the vast majority" of firms organised by the union.

National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) assistant general secretary, Mr Mahlomola Skhosana, said June 16 remained important to workers because the demands made by students in 1976 remained "by and large" unattended to by Government.

Members at firms where Nactu-affiliates had recognition agreements had won the right to observe a paid June 16.

Assocom's manpower secretary, Mr Vincent Brett, yesterday said many companies, including the major ones, had already made arrangements with employees to observe the day.

Curbs ^{Mbeki's} on Gumede ^{13/6/89} and Mbeki

Staff Reporter ¹¹⁴ ⁽²²⁾ ⁽²³⁾

RESTRICTION orders were today imposed on two prominent political figures, Mr Archie Gumede, leader of the United Democratic Front, and Mr Govan Mbeki, 79, former leader of the African National Congress.

Mr Gumede, who has been banned from taking any further part in UDF activities, has played a major role in arranging tomorrow's peace talks to try to end the political violence in Natal.

Observers monitoring the political killings over the past three years have logged up more than 1 820.

They said Mr Gumede was most instrumental in getting the UDF to the negotiation table.

Previous restrictions were placed on Mr Mbeki on December 11, 1987, just over a month after he was released after 23 years in prison.

In terms of the new order, signed by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok on June 9, Mr Mbeki is not allowed outside the boundaries of his New Brighton flat between 6 pm and 6 am.

The new order prohibits him from taking part in any United Democratic Front activity.

Worrall wins

ANC's stature grows but Govt in crisis, court told

By Norman Chandler,
Pretoria Bureau
Ste 14/6/87

The ANC had begun a climb to legitimacy among the people of South Africa — including businessmen and academics — while the Government of the South African Pretoria Regional Court was told yesterday

Historian Professor Colin Bundy said the country was in a state of social crisis and there was a growing conviction "that the Government has surrendered its moral authority"

He said this in evidence in mitigation of the Broederstroom Three. Damian de Lange, Ian Robertson and Susan Donnelly were found guilty on Monday on counts of terrorism.

Members of an alleged ANC "specialised terror unit" sent to

attack selected targets in South Africa, they were arrested on May 3 last year after a raid on a farmhouse at Broederstroom near Pretoria

Professor Bundy, professor of history at the University of Cape Town, said the era in which the ANC had grown up had in the South African context shown a "distinctive political character"

CRISES

He told the court in reply to questions by Mr D Soggot, SC, for the defence, that the era was one in which South African society "expressed an interlocking set of acute problems and so long-lasting that one could accurately characterise it as a multifaceted historical and social crisis".

There were seven crises being faced by South Africa. A very evi-

dent phenomenon — of a recurrent and high level of popular and mass protest — particularly since 1976, deep-seated economic malaise; international pressures, a crisis of legitimacy, costly involvement in extra-territorial warfare; repeated states of emergency which meant dwindling legitimacy; and increasing violence.

On the other hand, he said, there was the increasing legitimacy of the ANC. Visits by top businessmen and others to the ANC were "recognition of its actual and potential importance".

Professor Bundy, who continues his evidence today, said the events of 1976 — the Soweto uprising — had "fed into some of the people the energies and dynamism of politics and (contributed) to the mushroom growth of township politics"

A salient feature had been the

role played by youth protesters "It was a major social confrontation... 6 000 to 9 000 young South Africans left the country and entered exile"

Asked by Mr Soggot if what he was saying referred only to the Witwatersrand, Professor Bundy said "Events had their flashpoint in Soweto, but spread across South Africa. Over 200 communities were affected."

RECOGNITION

Professor Bundy said since the mid-1970s, the South African Government had experienced a crisis of legitimacy as a result of events "such as Soweto, the death of Biko, the banning of 17 organisations in October 1977, deployment of troops in townships, and incidents such as the shootings at Uitenhage's Langa township in 1985"

The ANC had received greater diplomatic and political recognition overseas in the past decade than South Africa, added Professor Bundy

Though seen by the Government as the country's No 1 Enemy, it was seen by eminent people as "a negotiator... as the most logical and most necessary participant in any large-scale negotiation about the future of South Africa"

Professor Bundy said the ANC had increased its level of support from a third to about half the African population between the mid-1970s and now

Sketching the history of the organisation, he said "a significant number" of white South Africans had gone into exile to work for or with the ANC

The hearing continues.
● See Page 2

On Thursday last week, the Katilehong Art Centre opened an art exhibition at Sanderlings Art Gallery in Johannesburg. Today I want to share with you

the speech delivered at the opening. I want to thank you and to compliment you for the noble decision you took about 10 years ago, when you establish Katilehong Art Centre. This was indeed a noble idea which I believe will have far-reaching implications for the reconstruction programme adopted by Soweran last year. Art is a very important medium of communication, it can convey messages that no legislation can prevent from reaching the people.

Art transcends all barriers, it is a universal language, capable of spanning distances and communicating an identical message to all men across nations of the world.

By establishing an art centre in Katilehong, you were addressing the foundations of our culture. You engaged in the cultural empowerment of the nation. You were digging a foundation for building a nation — a South African nation.

Art is an important weapon of struggle, an assertion of national identity, an effective tool for giving people a clear sense of purpose in life, a sense of themselves as individuals and as members of the larger community.

African culture has been despised for many years by colonial powers. Through movies, radio, television and the print media, we are forever reminded that our culture is inferior and barbaric. When European missionaries arrived in South Africa three centuries ago, their first objective in

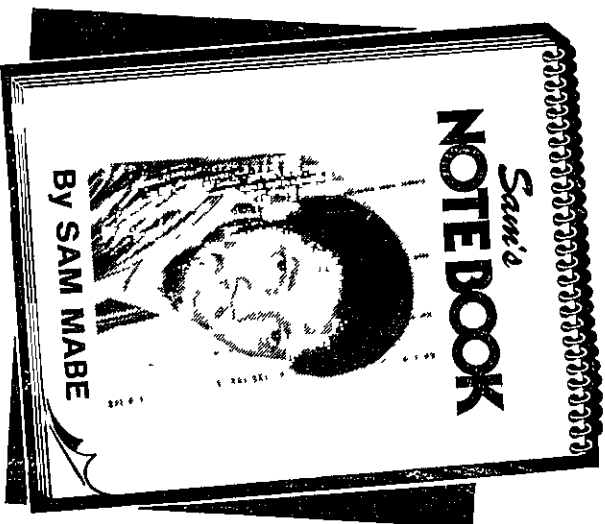
paving their way towards our physical and mental colonisation was to discredit the culture of the indigenous inhabitants — the African people. They helped in shaping a system of education that did not pay much attention to art in all forms.

Today, our lifestyles reflect the loss of respect for our culture. When we lose respect for our culture we lose respect for ourselves and we become partners in the process of our own deprivation. I am happy and proud to be part of what is happening here tonight. Here, we are seeing a manifestation of a desire and a determination by Africans to resist the forces that seek to deprive them of their pride and dignity.

We are seeing an acknowledgement that culture can play a vital role in the struggle for national liberation. Through this exhibition, we are making a political statement.

We are telling ourselves and everybody that we are still proud of ourselves. We are telling the world that art is still one of the most

Art a weapon for the struggle



effective mediums of communication, a tool we can use to uphold our culture and our dignity.

Since independence, the assertion of cultural identity has been one of the top priority goals of most African states. This is because of the realisation that independence is meaningless to people who have lost pride and confidence in themselves.

There is no better way of destroying a nation's pride and confidence, than by denying it the right of self-expression. Art is the oldest and most eloquent testimony of how nations view

themselves. In South Africa, where African people have always been defined by non-Africans, art has come in as a positive and most effective way in which Africans define themselves in their own terms.

The function of art is to assist the development of man's social consciousness and to help him express his feelings about what goes on around him. It is a mode of self-expression, a manifestation of the joy and the anger that man experiences in life. Art has a political function — it is not politically neutral.

Our lifestyle reflects loss of respect for our culture

You might want to know what link is there between art and politics.

When art reveals social conditions in order to transform them, or when it conceals social conditions in order to preserve them, then art is taking a political standpoint.

Art can be revolutionary or reactionary depending on the political orientation of

the artist. The artist's political orientation is in turn determined by the socio-economic conditions in which he finds himself and on the role the artist chooses to play in addressing those conditions.

The Nation Building concept that brought us together with Katilehong Art Centre was founded on the belief that political kingdoms do not stand on their own. They require various other power structures to underpin them. These can be economic, religious, academic, scientific and of particular importance to us tonight is the cultural power structure.

Before building our nationhood, we must build our personhood. This is the path that Katilehong Art Centre is walking. Your path is, however, a very lonely path because the fruits you reap by walking this path take a long time to ripen.

African art is still largely despised and ignored by most Africans, except when Western audiences

start showing interest in it. Our art is displayed in American and European museums. Very few African homes display works of art. The world's greatest collectors, critics and theoreticians of African art are still non-Africans.

The challenge facing us tonight is to take steps to decolonise the thinking patterns of our people and their mentality on art. The Sanderlings Art Gallery must get a lot of African patronage. African writers must write about art, they must criticise works of art and educate their people on the importance of art.

Black community and political leaders, parents and teachers must fight for the inclusion of art in their children's school curricula. Visits have to be made from time to time to Katilehong Art Centre and, most importantly, we must buy the artwork produced there and everywhere else.

In this way, it will not be necessary for us to launch a fund-raising campaign as we are doing tonight. With those words, I now wish to formally declare the Katilehong Art Exhibition open and also appeal to the public to support the centre's fund-raising campaign.

Thank you and God bless the nation.

Katlehong Art Centre is a noble idea

THE establishment of the Katlehong Art Centre 10 years ago is a testimony of a people wanting to build part of social structure which had collapsed, the assistant editor of the *Sowetan*, Sam Mabe, said when he opened the Katlehong Art Exhibition in Johannesburg

The exhibition, held at the Sanderling Gallery, 7 Smal Street, is expected to last until June 17

Mabe referred to the establishment of the centre as a "noble idea" which would have far-

reaching implications "for the reconstruction programme adopted by *Sowetan* last year"

The lifestyles of blacks, said Mabe, reflected that they no longer have respect for their culture and that they were partners in the process of their own deprivation

He said this had to do with the manner in which the colonial powers despised African culture

He said the move by the Katlehong people to build their own art centre is indicative of the determination by black people to resist the forces that sought to deprive them of their pride and dignity

The head of the human development division of the National Institute for Personal Research, Dr Peter Franks, called for the private sector to assist the centre

He said the centre would help develop art within the community and therefore needed whatever assistance it could get

He said the assistance should cut across all ideologies

The curator of the art centre, Gabriel Tsolo, said the centre was an example of what Nation Building was all about

He said the centre was born out of the desire to help the community help itself

"People we train in the arts invariably go back to the community with something to show off and this makes them self-reliant"

apt 14/6/67
**Gwala seeks
legal redress**

HA
~~apt 14/6/67~~
DURBAN — Recently-released political activist Mr Harry Gwala is to take legal action against the police after he and others were allegedly sjambokked by policemen as they left the graveside of former trade unionist Mrs Jabu Ndlovu on Monday.

But police have denied that partly-paralysed Mr Gwala, 70, was one of the mourners hit with 'quirts' at the Mountain Rise cemetery.

Police liaison officer Major Pieter Kitching said yesterday it was "quite clear" that Mr Gwala was not beaten, as has been alleged by a member of his family.

Govan Mbeki and Archie Gumede are restricted

LEADERS BANNED

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki and United Democratic Front co-president Mr Archie Gumede were slapped with new banning orders yesterday.

The orders, signed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Admaan Vlok, restrict Mbeki to the boundaries of his New Brighton flat between 6pm and 6am

Gumede is prevented from talking to the Press, addressing public gatherings and helping to prepare any material for publication. He is also restricted to his house in Clermont, Durban, between 8pm and 5am.

The new order prohibits Mbeki from taking part in any United Democratic Front activity.

Previous restrictions were placed on Mbeki on December 11,

1987, just more than a month after he was released after 23 years in prison.

Gumede has played one of the most significant roles in arranging today's peace talks to try and end the political violence in Natal, was yesterday restricted by the Government from taking any further part in UDF activities.

Observers monitoring the political killings in the past three years have logged up more than 1820 deaths.

In recent months they have said that Gumede was most instrumental in getting the UDF to the negotiation table.

Talks between low-key Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha delegations take place in Durban today.

SOWETAN Reporter and Sapa

These would have been followed up by talks between leaders of the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha.

Gumede would have taken part in the leadership discussions, but is now not allowed to.

Observers have said that Gumede was urged the younger, more militant members of UDF affiliates to give peace a chance. He had put his political reputation on the line that peace would work, observers

have said. The restriction order he was already under was tightened to prevent him from taking part in any UDF activities.

The Rt Rev Michael Nuttall, Anglican Bishop of Natal, who has played a major behind-the-scenes role in making today's talks possible, said "Why has this been done on the eve of these talks? That is the question we all want asked."

Nuttall said he found the tighter restrictions very disturbing. "Quite apart from the peace talks it is an outrageous action to take."

Seiphemo is an actor divided by political

By VICTOR
METSAMERE

CONVICTION

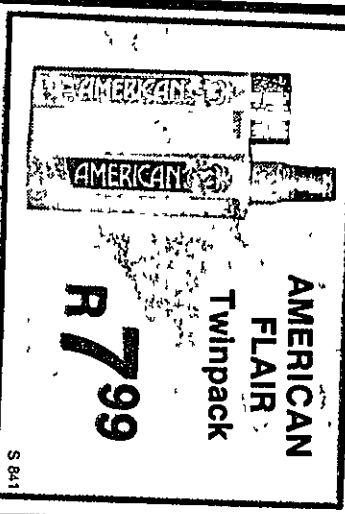
BUDDING actor
Rapulana Seiphemo believes in justice and freedom for all.
"South Africa belongs to all, not just a small

sector of its population. That is why the State must not express surprise and anger at the various

forms of opposition to its policies.
"South Africans, particularly blacks, are bound to be angry because they are not treated like deserving inhabitants of the country," Seiphemo said.

The most sensible thing the authorities had to do and have failed to do, was to listen and heed the demands of students for democratic structures in education, says the shy-looking but outspoken performer.

CHARLIE PARKERS
233a BREE STREET, JOHANNESBURG
(between Wanderers and King George Sts.)



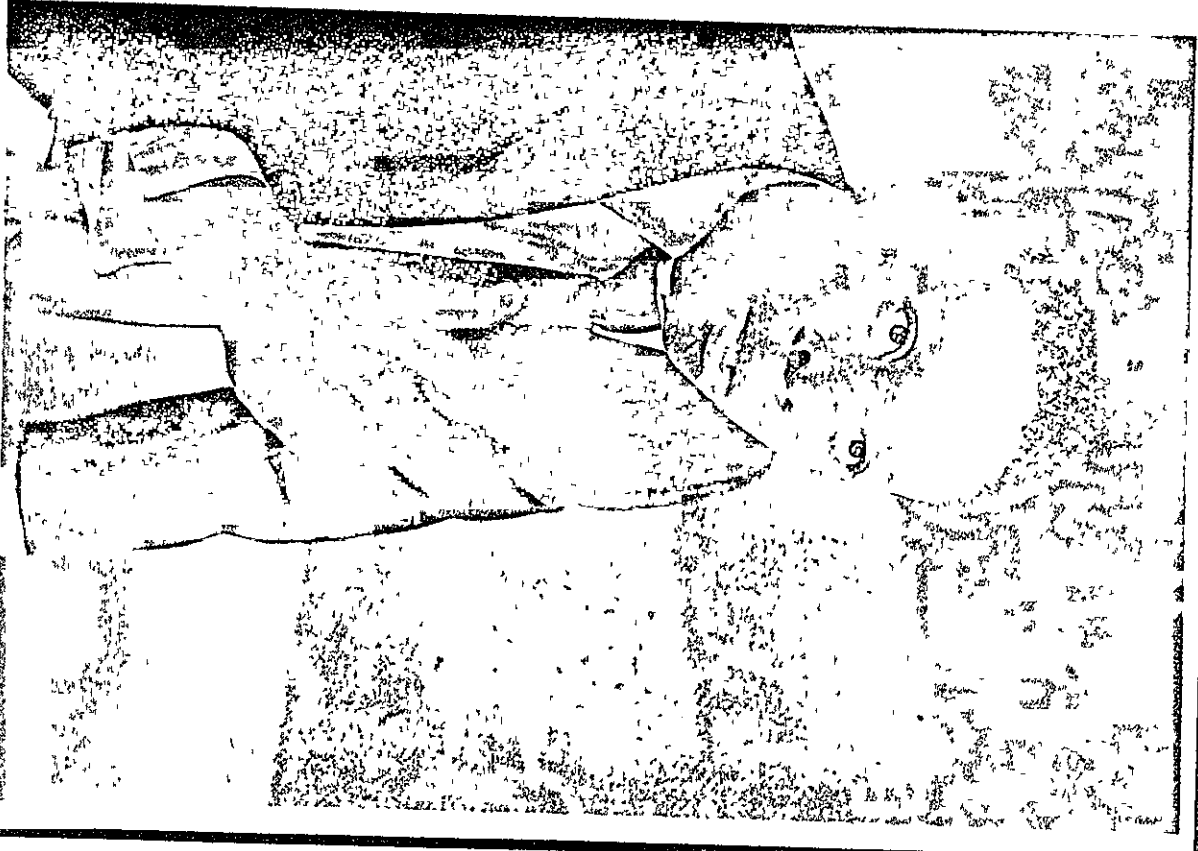
AMERICAN FLAIR
Twinpack
R 799

Change must come in South Africa. Every measure should be used to bring about change, according to Seiphemo (22), who is a final-year drama student at the Fuba Academy.
He said his role of a student in Athol Fugard's latest play, *My Children My Africa*, represents the anger and impatience of students whose cries, boycotts and impatience seem to fall on the deaf ears of the authorities.

"All these plays have shown me that theatre is a stimulating craft which gives one an unlimited creativity. But Mattera's drama taught me a lot about politics in South Africa," Seiphemo said.
Dironitsho Mtwa, John Kam and Lawrence Wa Selve are some of the people who have been highly inspirational in Seiphemo's rising career.



"I have gone to them for advice and held lengthy discussions with them on a number of theatrical subjects. They have helped shape my career. I owe them a lot of respect," Seiphemo said.
Seiphemo believes in himself and said he works hard at it. So do



Rapulana Seiphemo plays a young student, Thami, in Athol Fugard's *My Children My Africa*.

not expect him to be jittery on the opening night of *My Children My Africa*.
He is happy that his three brothers and sister back home in Meadowlands are supportive of

his involvement in the arts. So are his former schoolmates at Anchor High School (Mzimhlophe, Soweto) and colleagues in the Lutheran Church Youth League.

Seiphemo — who plays soccer, tennis and squash during his spare time — just wishes to become a worthy contributor in the local arts and not a star, he said.



(11A)

P J POWERS

BRENDA FASSIE
Sowetan 14/6/87

ANC thumbs up for SA musicians

THE African National Congress has supported the forthcoming trip to Mozambique by a group of South African artists. An ANC spokesman in Maputo said the movement's position on the cultural boycott had been

By **KENOSI MODISANE**

relaxed to avoid hurting the victims of apartheid. "The boycott of a South African artist depends on whether he or she is an advocate of apartheid," the spokesman said.

Gaborone and Harare where she will sing at the International Conference Centre and the Independence Stadium.

P J Powers' manager, Miss Jenny Ward said she was delighted now that Powers has been given her long overdue recognition for her contributions.

The group of South African musicians is to travel to Maputo to take part in a concert in July with British rock star Eric Clapton.

"She is so excited and can not wait for the shows. We are looking forward to meeting her large number of fans in Maputo," said Jenny.

The South Africans are Steve Kekana, Sipho Mabuse, Brenda Fassie and P J Powers.

The South African Musicians Alliance could not comment on the Maputo show as it was a purely business matter between the artists and the organisers.

P J Powers will go with Eric Clapton for performances in Swaziland.

SES IN

- SHOE REPAIRS
- ELECTRONICS
- UPHOLSTERY
- WELDING
- SECURITY
- DRESSMAKING
- TAILORING
- TYPING

ING RAIDING DE TEST (Most courses)

ISTON TION



Building of schools in urban areas was frozen and this led to overcrowding

FROM the late 60s to the middle of the 70s, a number of things happened which helped heat the political climate for unrest

In 1971, Bantu Administration Boards were set up to take over the enforcement of influx control laws from white local authorities. For Soweto this meant the loss of a R2 million subsidy from the Johannesburg municipality.

To make up for this, house rentals were increased, children over the age of 18 who stayed with their parents were made to pay lodgers' fees

Tense

As no houses were being built and the provision of services was deteriorating, tensions rose in the townships.

The administration boards spent the money they made from house rentals and beer sales to build townships such as Garankuwa, Mabopane, Midantsane, Kabokweni and Pampierstad at bantustan boundaries.

All urban blacks were destined to go eventually

1976 and the waves of discontent

Sowetan 14/6/89



THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the second part of a series of events leading to the June 16 unrest.

governing area would acquire citizenship of one or the other of the self governing areas.

If you have relatives in a particular area or identified yourself with people in an area by virtue of language or cultural background, you automatically qualified for citizenship of that area.

This created insecurity among blacks who had no ties with bantustans and who dreaded the idea of having to be forced to start a new life there.

The building of schools in the urban areas had been frozen and that resulted in a sharp increase in pupil enrolment in the few existing schools.

Neglect

There was overcrowding and the general conditions in most schools started deteriorating because of government neglect and cutbacks in expenditure on education.

There were thousands of other youths who did not attend school because they were not prepared or could not afford to go to boarding schools in the bantustans. Most of them wandered in the streets with nothing to do.

Matric and Junior Certificate results were getting poorer in urban areas and better in the rural areas. There was a feeling among blacks that exam results were rigged to make bantustan schools more attractive.

Economic forces also came into play. There was a massive rise in the price of oil in 1973 followed by a sharp decrease in the price of gold around 1974 and 1975. South Africa entered a recession.

Many workers were laid off and unemployment figures rose sharply.

There were too many people out in the streets — unemployed workers and youth not attending school. This was a recipe for a crisis. Labour unrest broke in Durban from around 1973 to 1976.

The collapse of Portuguese authority in Angola and Mozambique in 1974 raised the hopes of many blacks that things could change in South Africa too. Blacks started becoming more assertive in their demands for political rights.

people got arrested for pass offences.

It was around the late 60s that discontent with government policy on university education brought black students together once again to address their common problems. Signs of political revolt started showing among them.

Leaders

Disenchanted with the leadership of the white-dominated National Union of South African Students (Nusas), they broke away and formed the South African Students Organisation (Saso) in 1968.

Like the PAC after its formation in 1959, Saso was quick to catch the imagination of blacks.

After its inauguration in 1969, Saso resurrected political activity in the black community. It spearheaded Black Consciousness (BC) and became instrumental in spreading the BC philosophy. In 1971 the Black People's Convention (BPC) was formed as an umbrella body to cater for black political activity outside university.

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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Runcie calls on Tambo

LUSAKA — African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo held 45 minutes of talks in Lusaka today with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, the spiritual head of the Anglican church.

Dr Runcie, who is on the last leg of a four-nation tour of southern Africa, said he and Mr Tambo discussed the situation in South Africa and Namibia's transition to independence.

He described Mr Tambo, an Anglican, as a friend. — Reuter

Police deny sjambokking ANC veteran

Star 14/6/89 11A
MARITZBURG — Police have quirts had "ignored police re- denied sjambokking veteran requests to disperse".
trade unionist and ANC activist. The beatings took place after
Mr Harry Gwala (70) as he left the burial service for National
Maritzburg's Mountain Rise Union of Metalworkers of South
cemetery on Monday. Africa official Mrs Jabu Ndlo-
They have also said mourners vu, who died after an attack on
dispersed by policemen wielding her home on May 21. — Sapa.

Tutu ¹²⁶⁶⁵
^{14/6/89}
'outraged' ^{11A}
by curbs
on Gumede

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu, said today he was "outraged" by restrictions placed on United Democratic Front leader Mr Archie Gumede and asked Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to remove them immediately

Archbishop Tutu telephoned Mr Vlok yesterday and said that unless he lifted the restriction order "I will regard statements professing commitment to peace as so many lies"

He said Natal and national church leaders had been trying to end the conflict for more than 18 months

"HINDER"

"During this period the government has acted only to hinder the process. It has refused to contemplate an independent inquiry into the causes of the violence and it has imposed restriction orders affecting one of the parties to the talks"

Last week a fresh peace initiative involving Inkatha and the UDF-Cosatu alliance appeared to have been bogged down in a dispute over a venue for talks. The church's synod had sent a delegation of bishops to talk to both sides and, minutes before the synod ended on Thursday, they heard of an apparent breakthrough

STRONG VOICE

"Now, two days after talks about peace were to have started, Mr Vlok has restricted the activities of Mr Gumede, one of the strongest voices for peace in the region

"Mr Vlok has shown in negotiations over hunger strikers that he is amenable to reason. If he does not display this quality now, history will judge him and his colleagues very harshly for their contribution to the terrible killing, maiming and destruction taking place in Natal"

⊙ Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to Mr Vlok, said he was unable at this stage to confirm Archbishop Tutu's telephone conversation with Mr Vlok, or set out Mr Vlok's view of the matter, because he had not had a chance to discuss it with the Minister. Mr Vlok would not be available until later as he was attending a Cabinet meeting.

Archbishop meets ANC leader Tambo 11A

LUSAKA — ANC leader Oliver Tambo spent 45 minutes here yesterday with Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie.

Runcie said he and Tambo had discussed the situation in SA and Namibia's transition to independence.

"I came to listen and to learn. The ANC and the cause they have at heart is deeply entwined with the witness of the church community in SA, and particularly our sister church in SA under Archbishop Desmond Tutu," Runcie said.

Runcie described Tambo, who is an Anglican, as a friend, and noted that the ANC had a religious department and carried out

chaplaincy work among its members.

The archbishop said he and Tambo had discussed the prospects for negotiations between SA's government and black leaders after a general election in September.

They also discussed British opposition to sanctions against SA.

Runcie said Anglicans would join a group of church representatives to monitor Namibia's elections.

The archbishop, who has already visited Botswana, Malawi and Zimbabwe, is to fly home on Thursday. — Sapa-Reuter.

B/Den 14/6/87

F W no
different

to Botha

11/11/87



HARAKE — The African National Congress yesterday said Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's proposed dialogue with Pretoria should not jeopardise the frontline states' policy of isolating of the "apartheid regime".

An ANC official here told Ziana that if Zambia thought it could achieve something by talking to the "racist regime" but still maintain the same position as other frontline states, it could go ahead.

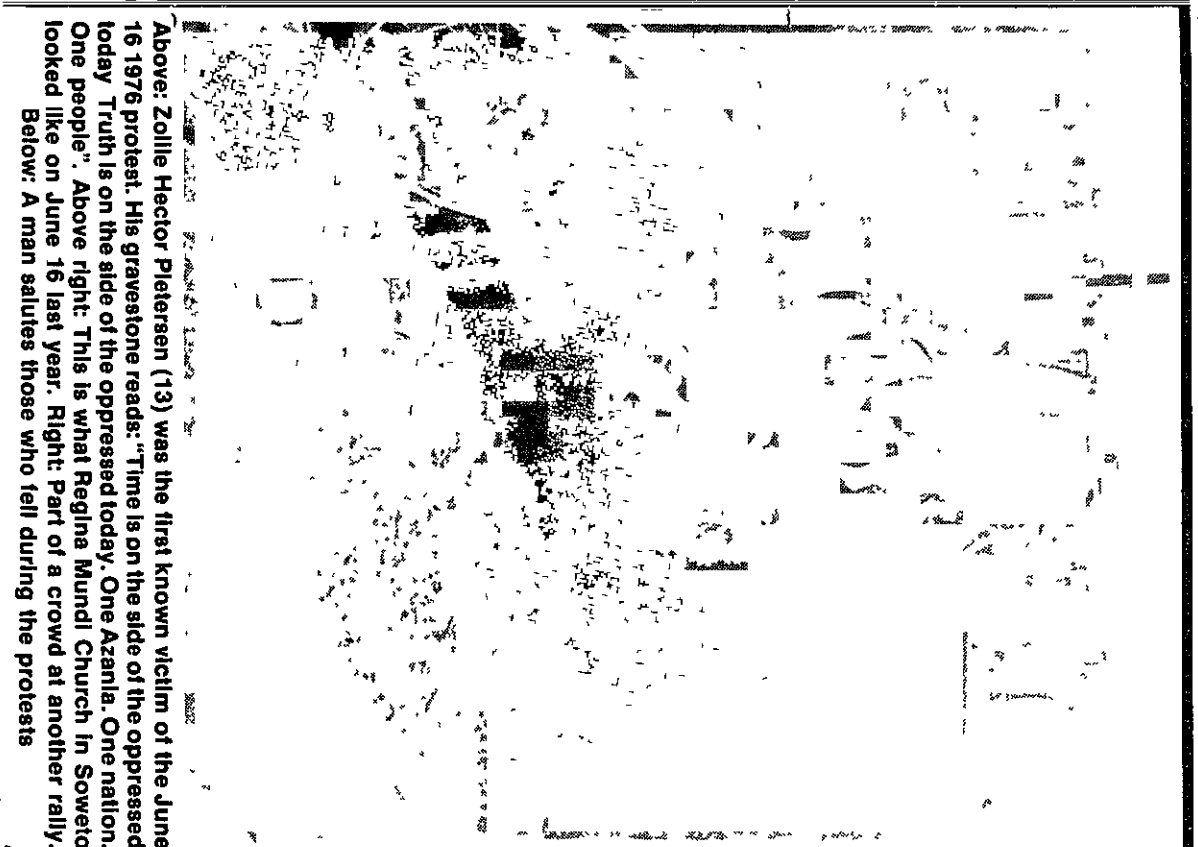
"He (Dr Kaunda) is calling for dialogue which will make him realise that F W de Klerk, the probable future president of South Africa, is the same as P W Botha.

"Kaunda is a president of an independent state which is free to meet and talk with whoever it wants."

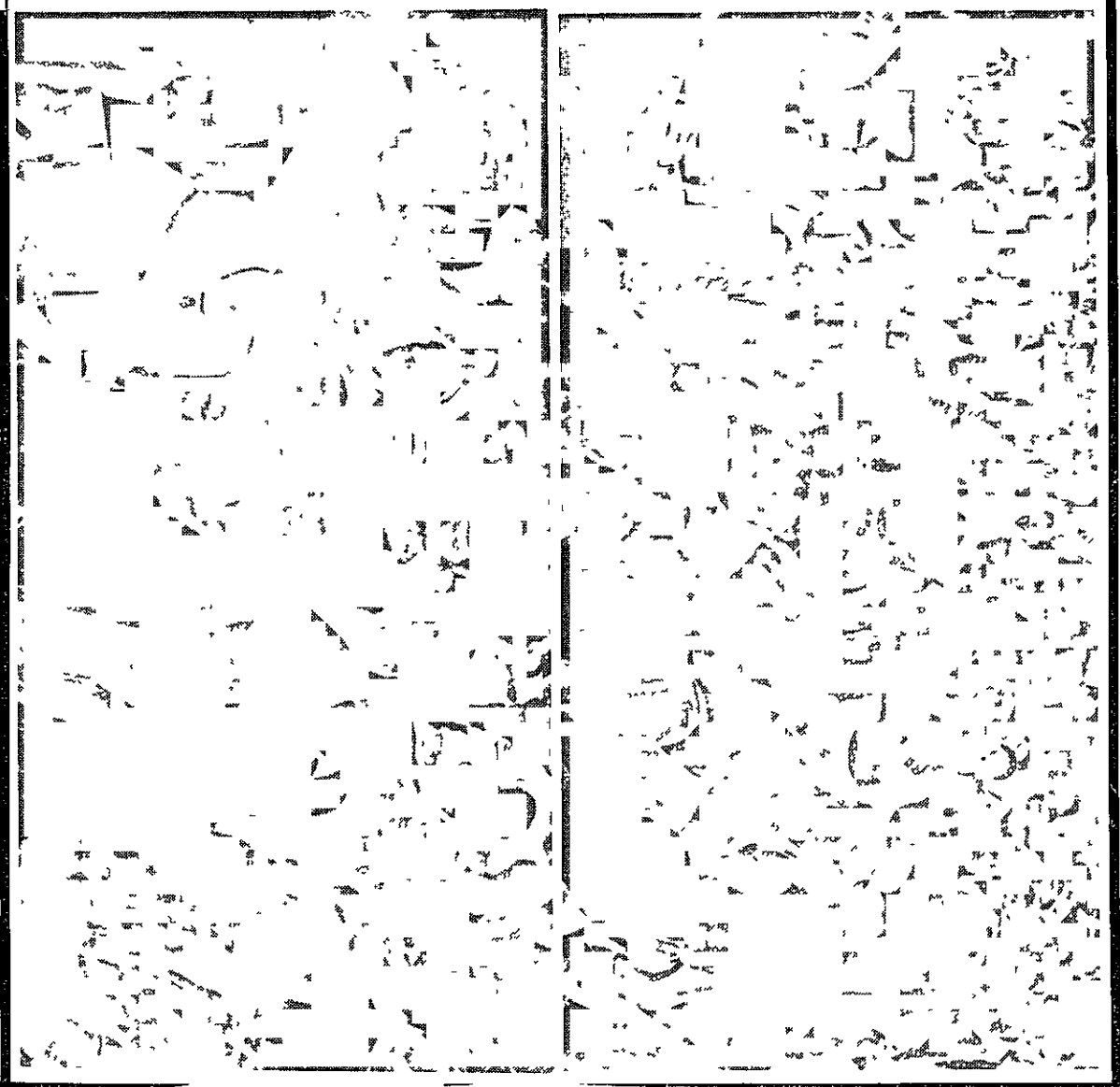
The proposed meeting could not be regarded as collaboration "because Kaunda is in no way a man who can be regarded as a friend of South Africa". — Sapa

10 (11A)

Our Memorium 1976 - 1989



Above: Zolile Hector Pieterse (13) was the first known victim of the June 16 1976 protest. His gravestone reads: "Time is on the side of the oppressed today. Truth is on the side of the oppressed today. One Azania. One nation. One people". Above right: This is what Regina Mundi Church in Soweto looked like on June 16 last year. Right: Part of a crowd at another rally. Below: A man salutes those who fell during the protests





GOVERNMENT GAZETTE



**We remember
June 16 1976**

STAATSKOERANT

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Other countries 95c Buitelands
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Vol. 288

CAPE TOWN, 21 JUNE 1989

No. 11963

KAAPSTAD, 21 JUNIE 1989

STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT

No. 1297.

21 June 1989

It is hereby notified that the State President has assented to the following Act which is hereby published for general information

No. 69 of 1989: Taxation Laws Amendment Act, 1989

No 1297.

21 June 1989

Hierby word bekend gemaak dat die Staatspresident sy goedkeuring gegee het aan die onderstaande Wet wat hierby ter algemene inligting gepubliseer word

No 69 van 1989 Wysigingswet op Belastingwette, 1989



GWALA: PRESS 11A

TO SEE BRUISES

But police deny alleged assault

LAWYERS acting for released political prisoner Mr Harry Gwala may present him to a Press conference to show the sjambok wounds he allegedly received while attending the funeral of trade unionist Mrs Jabu Ndlovu in Maritzburg on Monday.

Gwala's family have said he was sjambokked at least four times by black and white members of the South African Police. They said he had bruises on his back and legs.

The SAP Press liaison officer for Maritzburg Major Pieter Kitching said police denied hitting Gwala. The police said they had a video film which showed that Gwala had not been hit.

Implicate

Gwala and his attorney, Miss Linda Zama, met in Maritzburg.

Zama said they had witnesses to the alleged assault.

"I saw the sjambok weals. I referred him to his doctor, who ex-



HARRY GWALA

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

amined him. Gwala has no reason to implicate the police for nothing.

"I have seen scores of clients who have been assaulted with sjamboks. I am quite familiar with the injuries."

Zama said Gwala had instructed her to sue the SAP for damages and loss of dignity.

She said she and her

client were considering holding a Press conference to allow Gwala to show his bruises.

Gwala, an ANC member who was released from jail last November, has motor-neuron disease and cannot move his arms and shoulders.

In terms of a restriction order he cannot be quoted, but can be photographed.



FW same as PW - ANC

HARARE — The African National Congress yesterday said Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's proposed dialogue with Pretoria should not jeopardise the Frontline States' stance of isolating the "apartheid regime."

An ANC official in Harare told *Ziana* that if Zambia thought it could achieve something by talking to the "racist regime" but still maintain the same position as other

Frontline States, it could go ahead

"He (Kaunda) is calling for dialogue which will make him realise that F W de Klerk (the probable future President of South Africa) is the same as (PW) Botha. We are confident that after the meeting, if ever it is going to take place, Kaunda is still going to maintain his position on apartheid and the ANC

"We black South Africans have been:

fighting this regime for years and we think we understands it very well. As the ANC, we only believe that pressure, and more pressure must be mounted on Pretoria

"Kaunda is a President of an independent state which is free to meet and talk with whoever it wants anytime anywhere. We, as the fighting forces inside South Africa, do not believe that the coming in (to power) of De Klerk will bring any change," said the spokesman who preferred anonymity

He said the Zambian President's proposed meeting with Mr de Klerk could not be regarded simply as collaboration, "because Kaunda is in no way a man who can be regarded as a friend of South Africa" — Sapa

Straw that broke the camel's back

Soweto 15/6/89

11A

By the beginning of 1976, blacks had taken too many blows from the Government. The straw that broke the camel's back was the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in secondary schools.

Most blacks regarded Afrikaans as the oppressor's language. And while they were still unhappy to have it as a subject, having it as a medium of instruction was inconceivable. Also, there were no teachers who were sufficiently proficient in the use of the language.

Parents and pupils held meetings to object to the ruling. But the authorities would not listen.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, the then deputy Minister of Bantu Education, said whites were paying for black education and were therefore entitled to decide on matters affecting it.

On June 16 pupils met at Naledi High School and decided on a peaceful demonstration against Afrikaans. As on March 21 1960 in Sharpeville, police overreacted in trying to break the march and killed Hector Petersen.

Hell

Then hell broke loose. The Government had started what took more than a year to finish and cost the country millions of rand in damage to



THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the second part of a series on events leading to the June 16 unrest.

property. But, worst of all, an estimated 575 lives were lost, 2500 people were injured and hundreds others fled into exile.

The Government cracked down on political activists and was more ruthless than it had been after Sharpeville. Opposition was also greater as this time the police faced children who seemed more courageous than their parents had been. The decision to drop the ruling that Afrikaans be used as a medium of instruction did nothing to appease the youth.



Schooling was disrupted as children fled from police who were searching for student leaders. Work stayaways were called a few times. Rent increases, some of them as little as R1 helped to fan the fires of unrest.

Banned

In September 1977 Steve Biko, christened the father of Black Consciousness, was killed in prison. A month later, on October 19, 18, organisations, mostly BC, were banned.

These included two newspapers, *The World* and *Weekend World*. Many community and political leaders were banned and detained without trial.

Crushing

Within a few months, however, blacks regrouped and in 1978 Azapo was formed. During the first three to four years of its existence Azapo became the primary political organisation inside the country. But white media hostility, detentions and the banning of its leadership minimised its effectiveness to a great extent.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlolo. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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The face of black politics had changed. Crushing black opposition as happened after Sharpeville was not easy as more and more blacks were prepared to pay the price for their political convictions.

The Cillie Commission, set up to investigate the causes of the unrest, blamed agitators. A marathon secret trial held in Bethal ended with 18 members of the PAC, including its president Mr Zephania Mothopeng, being found guilty after they were blamed for, among other things, causing the 1976 unrest.

A number of reforms were introduced in the years that followed the unrest. The Urban Foundation was formed to improve the quality of housing in the townships. The 99-year-leasehold system was introduced in 1978 and the Rickert and Wiehahn commissions investigated labour relations and manpower utilisation. Their recommendations resulted, among other things, in the legalisation of black trade unions. Pass laws have since been scrapped and the permanency of blacks in urban areas

seems to have been accepted by the Government.

Government expenditure on education increased more schools were built and there were some changes to the school curriculum. But none of the changes introduced has come anywhere near meeting the demands of pupils.

The Government is still spending about R700 on a black child and R1000 on a white child. The situation in most schools is still chaotic. Most schools are still overcrowded and teachers are overworked as they have to teach in 42 periods in one week with no time in between to prepare for lessons.

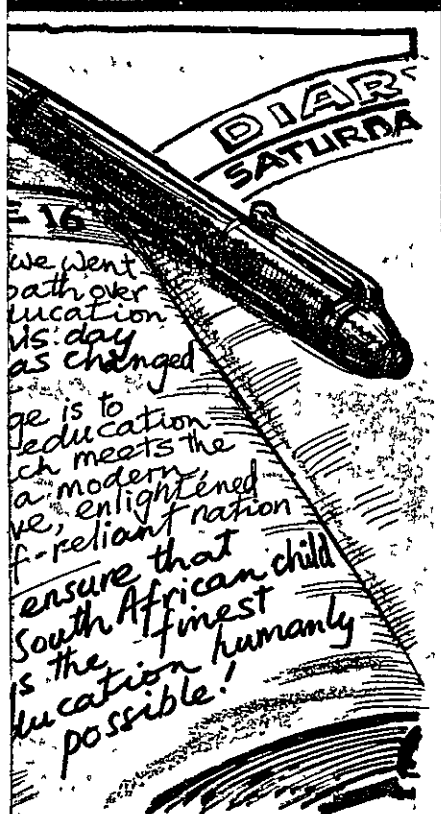
Worse

The situation seems destined to get worse as less money is going to be spent on black education. National Education Minister Mr F W de Klerk announced recently that education was in a "tight spot" and that the Government could no longer meet the cost of upgrading black education.

The Government's 10-year plan aimed at bringing the standard of black education on a par with that of whites seems to have fallen flat.

But in most schools the Government seems more preoccupied with security than with education.

The allocation of its funds bears witness to this. About a week ago barracks to house between 800 and 1500 policemen that cost the Government R118 million were opened in Soweto.





Flashback: Students on the march on June 16 1976.

SERVICES TO MARK JUNE 16

Sowetan 15/16/89

TOMORROW, June 16, will be commemorated for the 13th year since Hector Pietersen became a martyr at the age of 13

As services are held to mark the day when Hector and many other Soweto pupils were killed at the outbreak of a nationwide uprising, many young people his age — he would be 26 were he alive today — are either detained or restricted

Many of those restricted are of schoolgoing age but have spent long periods in detention and have been refused re-entry at their previous schools

June 16 is also being commemorated a week after the state of emergency was reim-

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

posed for the fourth year on June 9

The first post-June 16 1976 state of emergency was declared in June 1986 at the height of political unrest which also affected schools and education in general

Three months after the first anniversary of the "students protest" in 1977, 19 organisations were banned Today 17 anti-government groups are still restricted in terms of emergency laws

The 13th anniversary of June 16 comes when workers are leading the fight to have the day declared a public holiday Many employers have declared it a paid

public holiday

The Chamber of Mines and the De Beers group have adopted a no-work no-pay and no-penalty stance, while Ergo and Samancor regard it as a paid holiday

However, political, church and other concerned groups have endorsed the call to declare the day a national holiday similar to those days commemorated by white South Africans such as the Day of the Covenant on December 16 and Founders' Day on May 6

Meanwhile, shops in black townships will close from noon tomorrow The National African Federated

• To Page 2

June 16 services

Sowetan 15/16/89

• From page 1
Chambers of Commerce and the Soweto Independent Shopkeepers Association yesterday issued statements calling on their members to close their doors as a sign of respect

The Atteridgeville City Council has declared June 16 a holiday for its workers A statement said yesterday that its offices would be closed, Sapa reports

Services will be held at the following venues tomorrow

- Kopanong Dobsonville, 1pm, June 16
- Watville Anglican Church, 12 noon, June 16
- Samaj Centre, Cape Town, 6pm, June 18
- Godfather, North Areas, Port Elizabeth, 12 noon, June 16
- Masiza Hall, Welkom, 10am, June 16
- Laudium Hotel, Pretoria, 11am, June 16
- Lenyenye Lutheran Church, Northern Transvaal, 1pm, June 18
- Seshego Lutheran Church, Phodisaditshaba, Northern Transvaal, June 17
- Sebokeng Methodist Church, Zone 13, 10am, June 16
- Dosele School Hall, Nebo District, Northern Transvaal, 2pm, June 16
- Fauma Shrine, Kimberley, 3pm, June 16
- Regina Mundi Catholic Church, Soweto, 1pm, June 16
- Gamatiabe Hall, Potchefstroom, 10am, June 16
- Kwaggafontein, Kwa-Ndebele, 11am, June 16. (Specific venue not disclosed "for security reasons")
- Phuthaditshaba, Qwa-Qwa, 3pm, June 16 (Venue also not disclosed)

Many firms will close: police ready

Star 15/6/89

11A

Soweto Day to be marked nationwide

By Stan Hlophe

Tens of thousands of workers on the Reef and elsewhere in South Africa will commemorate the 13th anniversary of the June 16 Soweto uprising tomorrow. Demonstrations have been arranged overseas to mark the anniversary, known to many as Soweto Day.

Political bodies, trade unions and youth organisations have called for it to be observed with dignity, restraint and respect, and prayer services are planned nationwide.

Many employers with a union presence among black staff have agreed to recognise tomorrow as a paid holiday. A number of businesses, especially those catering for black customers, have announced they will close.

Spokesmen for organised commerce and industry could not be reached for comment but employers without agreements with employees are expected to adopt a no-work, no-pay attitude as they have done in the past.

Putco confirmed it would be its policy tomorrow. Spokesman Mr Robin Duff said Putco hoped to render a reasonable service, depending on the demand for buses.

A spokesman for the South African Transport Services said train services would run normally and Miss Terry Mphahlele, for the South African Black Taxi Association, said its offices would be closed. However, it was at the discretion of individual taxi drivers and owners whether to operate.

The Soweto Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier J J Viktor, said "We don't plan anything. The other side does it. My men will go on with their normal crime prevention operations. However, if people break the law we will act."

White House march

Sapa reports that police said they would mount a huge security operation in the strife-torn Natal townships.

Natal has been torn by unremitting fighting between supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha. The violence has claimed over 1 000 lives in the last three years.

From Washington, David Braun reports that children are to lead a march on the White House on Saturday as thousands of members of United States churches gather to protest against apartheid.

The names of youths killed or detained by the South African Government will be read by marchers carrying placards commemorating the victims, according to the organisers of the "From Pentecost to Soweto Campaign".

The march will start with a rally on the Mall in the centre of Washington, which will be addressed by Dr Allan Boesak, World Alliance of Reformed Churches president and UDF patron.

Dr Boesak has been touring US cities in recent weeks to get support for the rally. He told a media conference in Washington he hoped 100 000 demonstrators would take part.

Saturday's activities are to be preceded by a "Sanctions Lobby Day" tomorrow in which scores of US anti-apartheid activists plan to descend on the US Senate to push legislators to support a comprehensive sanctions package against South Africa.

This will be followed by an evening worship service and an all-night candlelight vigil in front of the White House, intended to show the Bush administration "a thousand points of light" opposed to current US policy on South Africa.

Tutu ^{11/6/89} 'outraged' by curbs on Gumede

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu, said today he was "outraged" by restrictions placed on United Democratic Front leader Mr Archie Gumede and asked Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to remove them immediately.

Archbishop Tutu telephoned Mr Vlok yesterday and said that unless he lifted the restriction order "I will regard statements professing commitment to peace as so many lies".

He said Natal and national church leaders had been trying to end the conflict for more than 18 months.

"HINDER"

"During this period the government has acted only to hinder the process. It has refused to contemplate an independent inquiry into the causes of the violence and it has imposed restriction orders affecting one of the parties to the talks.

Last week a fresh peace initiative involving Inkatha and the UDF-Cosatu alliance appeared to have been bogged down in a dispute over a venue for talks. The church's synod had sent a delegation of bishops to talk to both sides and minutes before the synod ended on Thursday they heard of an apparent breakthrough.

STRONG VOICE

"Now, two days after talks about peace were to have started, Mr Vlok has restricted the activities of Mr Gumede, one of the strongest voices for peace in the region."

"Mr Vlok has shown in negotiations over hunger strikers that he is amenable to reason. If he does not display this quality now, history will judge him and his colleagues very harshly for their contribution to the terrible killing, maiming and destruction taking place in Natal."

● Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to Mr Vlok, said he was unable at this stage to confirm Archbishop Tutu's telephone conversation with Mr Vlok or set out Mr Vlok's view of the matter, because he had not had a chance to discuss it with the Minister. Mr Vlok would not be available until later as he was attending a Cabinet meeting.

Staff Reporters and Argus Africa News Service

THE biggest delegation of white South Africans to hold talks with the African National Congress is expected to fly to Lusaka this month, and Cape Town City Councillors will be part of the group.

The delegation is expected to include about 100 people, and will be made up of a cross section of South Africans, including Members of Parliament, city councillors, businessmen and others.

Sources in Lusaka said today the delegation would not only discuss basic political issues with the ANC but also education, local government and health matters

The emphasis would be on exploring "alternative policies"

The talks are expected to begin on June 29. The ANC refused to give any further details about the trip saying it was still being organised and there were fears that "a campaign" could be launched against the people involved

Go as individuals

The organisation would not name any of the people involved

The Cape Town City Council has not been invited as a body, according to spokesman Mr Ted Doman

"We will not be sending anybody as a council representative. If individuals wish to go in their private capacities, they are entitled to do so," he said

Mr Frank van der Velde, deputy chairman of the council's utilities and works committee, said he had accepted an invitation to join the trip "with a great deal of interest"

He could not say who else would be going — "that is for them to decide".

Mr van der Velde said he would be taking part in a conference, and he believed "a number of local authority people" would be attending

"I am very much looking forward to it," he said

"I believe the government is not negotiating with the true players in the political scene"

He suggested that the conference would help bring together different points of view

Town planning committee chairman Mr Clive Keegan, who was also rumoured to be going, said he was "not considering any approaches"

"There are always trips," he added. He said that if he were approached, he would consider the offer

Executive committee chairman Mr Dick Friedlander said he was aware of the trip, which had been organised on an "individual" basis

Paying

Councillors who made the trip would be going in their "personal, private capacity"

"It would certainly not be by, or at the request, or at the leave of council," he said "They will be paying their own way"

Asked if he had been invited, he said "I am not going"

Another councillor believed to be making the trip declined to comment and referred further questions to the organisers of the trip in Johannesburg

National Party MP for Parow Mr Hernus Kriel raised the matter in Parliament recently, saying that he regarded the trip as "a serious matter"

"Something must be done when local government starts to involve itself in central government matters," he said at the time

Mr Kriel said it was "no secret" that the Cape Town City Council was "PFP-controlled"

"I want to ask the Democratic Party whether it approves of this. I also want to ask them who is going and who is footing the bill?"

"What are they going to talk about and who are they representing? How will they further the interests of ratepayers by having talks with the ANC?"

He said that if councillors in-

(Turn to page 3, col 8)

P.T.O

MPs, councillors and businessmen line up for Lusaka talks

Big safari to

ANC

Lusaka safari

(Cont. from page 1)

tended to have talks in Lusaka, it would not be feasible for them to claim they were going in their personal capacity

Mr Kriel said "I am very worried about this, and I hope we will have some answers"

● Demand for contacts with the ANC was so high that the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) could easily organise a trip a week to Lusaka, according to executive director, Dr Alex Boraine

Even senior government officials had approached Idasa to join a group going to the Zambian headquarters of the ANC, Dr Boraine said

Speaking to the Press in Cape Town last night, Dr Boraine said Idasa had been approached recently by two senior officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs

He had turned down their request because they were not willing to travel "openly", but wanted to disguise their identity

Emphasising the importance of Idasa's role in "de-mythologising" the ANC, and providing opportunities for white and black South Africans to reach out to one another, Dr Boraine said "We are inundated with requests — even demands — for help in organising tours.

"Nationalists have said to us privately they know there will have to be contact with the ANC, and have asked us to ask the ANC to make it easier for this to occur

"The thought of talking to the ANC is now a normal part of South African life

"I cannot think of anyone who has turned down an opportunity to meet the ANC. We could do a trip a week in terms of the people who want to go"

The ANC, he said, recognised "the importance of whites realising there is life beyond apartheid for them, and not just for blacks"

"FLUIDITY"

Despite "fluidity" in South Africa, "we are still left with the juxtaposition of black anger and aspirations on the one hand, and white fear on the other

"We want to take both seriously, but in the main we have tried to address the problem of white fear because, unless this is resolved, there is very little hope for significant moves away from the fundamentals of apartheid.

					TOTAL
2	118	124	1130		
12				10	22
7				12	19
12				9	21
5	6			20	31
20			4		37
8	4		1	4	31
6	4		3	1	25
8					19
		7			7
5	2		16	8	31
24					24
88	23		24	42	276
78.94	10.18		10.62	18.58	100
	39.38				

					TOTAL
2	118	124	1130		
12				10	22
7				12	19
12				9	21
5	6			20	31
20			4		37
8	4		1	4	31
6	4		3	1	25
8					19



Soweto Day call ends in worker dismissals

Labour Reporter

EMPLOYEES of Premier Wire at Epping who stopped work over demands to swop June 16 for the Kruger Day holiday have been dismissed

The workers, members of the Electrical and Allied Workers' Trades Union, also asked to be paid today instead of tomorrow

The management said it was willing to pay them on Monday and would not take disciplinary action against them if they did not work tomorrow. However, it would apply a no-work, no-pay policy and insisted that June 16 was a normal workday.

About 120 employees were dismissed when they refused to return to work until the management had met their demands.

Worker spokesmen said last night that the night shift had started a go-slow in protest at the dismissals.

• Tomorrow will be all but a public holiday in the greater Cape Town area where unions

have negotiated a day off for thousands of workers in commemoration of Soweto Day

For the first time it will be a paid holiday for employees in the clothing industry, the major employer in the region, since this was added to the Industrial Council agreement last year.

Employees covered by the Cotton Textile Industrial Council agreement also have a paid day off.

Many other unions in the two major federations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions, have negotiated plant-level agreements which give employees either a paid day off or a swop for another agreed holiday.

Thousands of other workers not covered by an agreement are unlikely to be at work tomorrow, and many employers have recognised the pressures on them through no-work, no-pay deals which do not involve disciplinary action if workers are absent.

• Seven-Eleven Holdings has agreed to re-hire five former employees and make ex gratia payments to 61 other workers dismissed after a strike in March.

The employees went on strike claiming that the company had been obstructive about negotiating a recognition agreement with the Hotel, Liquor, Catering and Allied Employees Union.

Attorneys

After their dismissal, they applied to the Industrial Court for reinstatement, claiming they had been unfairly dismissed.

A statement from attorneys acting for them said the action had been settled and the payments would be made without admitting liability.

The parties had agreed to bear their own costs.

Mr A Freund, instructed by K G Druker, represented the applicants. Miss M de Swardt, instructed by Leonard Hotz and Associates, represented Seven-Eleven.

Vlok and the Natal talks

●From PAGE 1

a telephone conversation this week that if he did not lift the restrictions on negotiators, he would regard any further protestations that Vlok was committed to peace as "so many lies"

Tutu alleged that while church leaders had spent more than 18 months trying to get the two sides to end the conflict between them, the government had consistently "acted to hinder the process, never to help it"

Pierre Cronjé, Democratic Party MP for Greytown said Vlok was afraid of a peace pact because "it will undermine the propaganda of a total onslaught"

"Vlok is systematically undermining negotiated peace in Natal by arbitrary restriction and detention of leaders who have committed no crimes. While this is happening, murderers of more than 1 000 people are still at large," he said

Another MP, Peter Gastrow accused Vlok of "once more trying to sabotage the promising Natal peace talks"

"It forms part of a by-now well established pattern whereby the state intervenes each time it seems peace talks may get off the ground"

Similar allegations have been made by the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Vlok's response, through an official of his staff, Leon Mellett, has been to deny there is anything exceptional about the restrictions on Gumede, saying he is "one of more than 500" people served with such orders

Mellett also denied that police action would undermine talks, saying discussions last September resulted in an increased level of violence.

Vlok's only concern, he said, was to bring peace to the region

In addition to his previous crippling restrictions, Gumede, a president of

the United Democratic Front, Archie Gumede, has been barred from leaving his home between 8pm and 5am

Gumede would be a key member of any team to discuss ending violence in Natal, he has already played a crucial role in pushing for talks and in pre-talks negotiations

Already Gumede was barred from participating in any activities of the United Democratic Front or the Release Mandela Committee, from addressing any gathering at which 10 or more people were present or from giving interviews or preparing material for publication

The additional curbs, signed by Vlok on June 9, mean Gumede will be unable to participate in discussions outside Durban — Ulundi or Johannesburg, for example, both venues being considered by the "mass democratic movement" and Inkatha — since he might not get back in time

Even meetings taking place in Durban would be barred to him should they take place at night

Cachalia, the UDF treasurer, has experienced the same treatment at the hands of Vlok his existing restrictions were re-imposed with the addition of a house arrest clause effectively preventing him from taking part in peace talks

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for the restrictions to be lifted "I believe that the undue and immoral interference in the development of black democracy, which the South African government has specialised in aggravates the conflict in black society about tactics and strategy."

"The government is creating a situation in which the best side cannot win and the best values cannot be upheld," he said in a press statement



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Sparg, is already serving a 25-year sentence for treason.

De Lange was out of the country at the time of her trial

Magistrate WJ van den Bergh acquitted the three on further terrorism charges and on charges of illegal possession of explosives, ammunition, and weapons, after the prosecutor accepted their pleas of not guilty

In the dock, the three accused looked like ordinary citizens rather than "highly trained terrorists". De Lange wore a pinstriped suit, and Robertson, in a dark suit, gave a clenched-fist salute and shouted "Amandla" as they entered the courtroom.

The crowd of family members, friends and members of the "Broedersroom Support Committee" responded with a salute.

De Lange admitted to being the commander of a "specialised separate unit to carry out instructions on behalf of the ANC". He had been trained in "military and combat work, politics, engineering (explosives) and communications". He and Robertson entered South Africa in July 1987.

Robertson was the unit's "political commissar". He had undergone the

A missing man at ANC trial

● From PAGE 1

same training as De Lange, as well as "intelligence training" in the Soviet Union

Donnelly, a British subject, had received military and communications training

The cell was responsible for one practice explosion, two failed bombing attempts, and two successful attacks. In the practice explosion on October 26 1987, they blew up a high voltage electric mastpole in the Alberton/Khuprivier area.

A bombing attempt failed in Benoni in February 1988 and on Linksfield Ridge on November 26 1987, but later that day they blew up a radio mast in the area.

Sixteen air force personnel were injured when they attacked a military bus in Benoni on March 1 1988.

Although there was no evidence during the trial, the evidence in mitigation produced some interesting changes.

John Westcott, Donnelly's father, was asked if his daughter ever had an

affair with a black man

"Will you repeat that?" he replied "Has she ever had an affair with a black man?" the state advocate, Frans Roets, said

"Is that really in . taste?"

"Has she had a love affair, a personal affair, more than a personal affair . Did she have a regular black caller?" Roets looked embarrassed as he struggled for the right words

Friends and family members laughed and the magistrate called the court to order

"She certainly had no 'regular black caller' while she lived in my home," Westcott said coldly.

De Lange's mother, giving evidence in mitigation of sentence, said she sympathised with the ANC, except for its use of violence

"I see their point of view and agree with their course, but not their violence," she said.

Under cross-examination, she conceded that her son could be described as a "terrorist".

She said it was "not her son, but a soldier" who had committed these to London

acts of "terror"

On Wednesday the unit's weapons cache was on display Apart from a formidable array of weapons, including a SAM-7 ground-to-air missile, a lumpet mines, hand grenades, mortars, a machine gun, and pistol as well as wigs, glasses, hairdye, camera and video and snorkelling equipment.

De Lange, Robertson, Donnelly and Lugg were arrested at a house in Broedersroom, only 5km from the Peindaba nuclear research station.

This week's charge sheet contained detailed information about the group's activities while operating underground in the country between July 1987 and their capture in 1988

They communicated with the ANC in Lusaka and London through coded telephone messages, notes hidden in dolls, radios and "micro-squares" hidden in a copy of *Cosmopolitan*

For example, a British woman, identified as Karen, travelled to Harare in July 1987 carrying money and instructions hidden in two dolls. She was met by Donnelly, who took the dolls and gave Karen "micro-

squares" to hide for the journey back to London

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A missing man at the one-hour ANC trial: Witness Hugh Lugg

WMA
15-22/6/89

Weekly Mail Reporter

ONE person was conspicuously absent from the "Broederstroom" trial this week. Hugh Lugg, a member of the all-white African National Congress military cell that was on trial in Pretoria.

Lugg, 30, was arrested with the other three cell members last year. He did not appear at the first court hearing in January and defence lawyers said then that they expected Lugg to appear as a state witness.

At the time of the arrest of the "Broederstroom" cell in May 1988, police said the group had been betrayed by an ANC informer.

But this week, as the other three stood in court to face charges of terrorism and the prospect of long prison sentences, it was as if nobody knew anything about Lugg.

His name was not even mentioned in court.

The fifth member of the cell, Paul Annergarn, left the country shortly before the arrests, allegedly after a disagreement with his colleagues.

Lugg's non-appearance was just one surprise in the magistrate's court this week. The main one, however, was that what was expected to be a sensational show-trial — involving a highly-trained, all-white military cell of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing — turned into a quick and carefully choreographed performance.

After waiting 13 months in detention, the three accused pleaded guilty and were convicted in little over 30 minutes.

The state, for its part, came to court with an amended indictment. Attempted murder charges, which appeared on the earlier indictment, had been dropped from the 87-page document. And when the accused pleaded not guilty to some of the charges, the state accepted this and they were immediately acquitted on these counts.

Daman de Lange, 31, Ian Robertson, 36, and Susan Donnelly, 24, pleaded guilty to 10 charges of terrorism. Robertson and De Lange also pleaded guilty of causing an explosion near a South African Defence Force bus in Benoni in March 1988.

De Lange also admitted two charges of arson, and one of attempted arson in connection with attacks on three Progressive Federal Party offices in Johannesburg, in 1981. His co-accused on these charges, Marion

● TO PAGE 2

HUMOUR

Cosatu slates attacks on MDM

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions this week hit out at the reimposition of the state of emergency and what it termed "consistent attacks" on the mass democratic movement, including the federation and its affiliates.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo condemned the restrictions placed on Cosatu, the United Democratic Front and 31 other organisations.

He said the restrictions placed on more than 500 individuals were "turning our communities into huge prisons".

"The government is digging deeper into the trenches of emergency rule in a futile bid to reverse the march of history," he said.

Cosatu has compiled a list of attacks on the federation in the past fortnight. These include:

- The detention of the Eastern Cape regional administrator, Immalde Bailey, last week.

- The detention of the Cosatu

vice-chairperson and local secretary in Queenstown.

- The arrest of the three detainees who occupied the British embassy earlier this year to protest their restrictions, on a charge of breaking their restriction orders

- An attack by unknown people on the house of the Northern Natal regional secretary, Siphon Cele.

- The petrol bombing of two union organisers' houses in the Northern Cape

- Repeated raids on the Eastern Cape Cosatu offices.

- Burglaries at five Cosatu offices

A building housing the Johannesburg offices of the National Council of Trade Unions and several organisations affiliated to the Azanian Peoples' Organisation was raided by security police last week.

A Media Workers' Association of South Africa organiser was arrested on a charge of possession of banned literature during the raid

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MUCH has been said since *The Sowetan* began to articulate its version of "nation-building"

It is obvious that the architects of this latest interpretation of nation-building plunged into the fray without having carefully thought out what they intended to do and how they expected to popularise the concept. Nor did they carefully examine the various definitions and explanations of nation-building that have been articulated by men such as Julius Nyerere, Amílcar Cabral and others

Clearly our men from *The Sowetan* were eager to develop a quick-fix definition which they hoped would please everybody. In many respects they are like Don Quixote, the romantic, yet sincere, adventurer who charged at windmills

These men seem less concerned with the excesses of the Botha regime than with the state in which the black community finds itself

They despair at the political infighting that has been a feature in the past few years. They despair at the lack of discipline a number of activists display. They despair at the way in which the education baby has been thrown out of the window with the bathwater. They despair at the fact that every political action is dictated by the Botha regime

When there is a tricameral election, we "anti" it. When there is a municipal election, we "anti" it. When there is a labour Bill we "anti" it. We have anti-this and anti-that organisations. We have "anti-ed" ourselves into a corner

Now we can only wait until the Botha regime does something before we do anything. When the Botha regime detains us, we go on hunger strike. When the Botha regime releases us and restricts us, we run to the embassies

We are trapped in our thinking and limited to responding to oppression and exploitation by the Botha regime. The black community has lost its sense of the creative aspects of the revolution. We have not been able to grasp that, in order to build a nation, we have to be able to act as a nation

We have to be able to think for ourselves, to work out strategies for ourselves, to learn to respect ourselves and our people

Therefore, there might be certain priorities that we are not considering, priorities that will help us rid ourselves of the divisions, of lack of discipline, of lack of respect for human life. Indeed the last point is crucial. It would appear that our search for liberation has led us to believe that liberation means death

The black community has forgotten that liberation — the struggle for liberation — is about life, about the protection and maintenance of life

Life governs those people who are struggling for liberation because the proponents of death, of starvation, of war and violence are those who are in control of this country — the Botha regime and all those who came before

That is why black people began to organise against the regime, that is why the ANC, the PAC, the Unity Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement emerged

Against that background the various organisations developed their theories and strategies to fight against the rulers. All of that work had at its root the desire to build a new nation

Today those efforts, as far as our men from *The Sowetan* are concerned, have all gone to waste and this is what drove them to mutate the nation-building concept. To discredit their efforts is meaningless — it will not resolve the despair they articulate on behalf of the millions

We are anti-this, anti-that. We anti ourselves into a fix

The 'nation-building' concept of Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste has been welcomed more by 'moderate' whites than Klaaste's own black audience. What is unusual about the article below, an argument in favour of a form of nation-building, is that it is written by a militant black activist and former Robben Island prisoner
By STRINI MOODLEY
 Extract from an article in the journal *Umliso Focus*

of black people who see the ills. Is it not better for us to agree that a nation-building strategy is necessary? Do we not need to address those problems which have given rise to the despair and the pain that many of us suffer because of the lack of sound leadership?

We need to say "yes" to nation-building. If there are certain aspects with which we disagree, using a democratic forum we can air those views and let them stand the test of a true democratic evaluation. Why do we need to consider a nation building strategy? There are a number of crucial issues

- The lack of unity within the broad liberation front.
- The lack of discipline among activists, who believe that the taking of human life is a part and parcel of the strategy of liberation
- The non-existence of a clear, articulate and creative strategy for liberation.
- The lack of true democratic procedures within the broad liberation movements to air views and test opinions
- The lack of a code of ethics to govern our struggle for liberation, so that actions are taken within the boundaries of disciplines and structures laid down by the broad liberation movement.
- The lack of an interchange of ideas, strategies and programmes among political organisations which have dedicated themselves to the search for liberation.
- The lack of educational programmes which enable our youth to take informed decisions, rather than follow blindly

Indeed, it is very rare that we bravely articulate our concerns about what is

going on in the townships. We need to come together behind closed doors and articulate those concerns so that we can learn from one another. Black people need to have the courage to confront their differences

The next step is to acknowledge that nation-building can only be achieved if it emerges from the grassroots, within the black working class

Instinctively, most of the oppressed and exploited yearn for peace, comfort, security and freedom from want

The leadership is duty-bound to articulate those needs. That is why Steve Biko's analysis of the South African condition caught flame and spread across the country. It was because he articulated that condition in a way that excited the grassroots — the black community

Therefore, this concept of nation-building that is being now articulated must excite the black community

Many will argue that the excitement within the black community is plain for all to see. If that is the case, we are simply exciting a mood without giving it a creative content

That is where the complaint of our men on *The Sowetan* takes its point of departure. They say the excitement, if it exists, is self-destructive, non-productive and lacks creativity

As a result we do not seem to be making progress. To truly build a nation, therefore, we need to accept certain basic realities

Most of our leadership are products of an inferior education system. Yet, they are capable of analysing the problems of the society, they are articulate in expressing horror at the evils that have destroyed the fabric of our community

In the same way, we must encourage our young people to educate themselves. We must eliminate the nihilistic tendencies that have gripped our young, who find it difficult to distinguish between the adolescent fires of rebellion and the nature of the revolutionary struggle in our country

Our older people must be encouraged to take up the responsibilities they have shirked for so long, and which led to our children taking up the cudgels

All the political organisations must be encouraged to engage in healthy debate and to stop looking upon one another as enemies

There is, in truth, only one real enemy. At the present time, that enemy is doing everything in its power to ensure that the political organisations do not get together — because when that happens, 70 percent of our battle will be won

There are sufficient lessons in history, not only in this country, but everywhere in the world where there has been a struggle to destroy the forces of death and darkness, which will indicate the need for us to bury minor differences and come together

Nation-building is about seeking our priorities so that we do not waste time squabbling and destroying one another

It is about taking decisions about our country, our people, our future so that we put an end to disease, imprisonment, police brutality, racism, and the unequal distribution of wealth

We are not a lost people, neither are we a self-destructive people. We have the will, we have the numbers, we have the intelligence to lead our society towards a true nation

THE ODD COUPLE

Abe Berry



Unionists live in fear after deaths, attacks

TRADE union offices and officials around the country have been subjected to a spate of police raids and right-wing attacks in the past fortnight.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) reports that an organiser for its domestic workers' union, MP Khoza, was fatally stabbed in the head by a municipal supervisor in Vryheid, Natal.

The supervisor has not been suspended even though he has been charged for the killing, says Cosatu

By EDDIE KOCH

information officer Neil Coleman. On the morning of June 6 the home of Cosatu's secretary for northern Natal, Siphon Cele, was shot at by unknown gunmen.

"The windows of his house were shattered but he, his wife and baby daughter escaped injury," says Coleman.

The attacks follow the death two weeks ago of National Union of Met-

alworkers shop steward Jabu Ndlovu after her house near Pietermaritzburg was torched by right-wing assassins and her husband and 13-year-old daughter shot dead.

"Cosatu offices in the Eastern Cape have been repeatedly raided and are constantly under surveillance," added Coleman. "These offices have been raided by the security police four times in the last two weeks."

A representative for police headquarters in Pretoria declined to comment on the alleged raids. "We consider the visiting of places to be routine police duty and we do not comment on such duties," said a liaison officer.

Lawyers have managed to put a halt to repeated raids on the labour federation's Northern Cape branch, says Cosatu.

"But since then there have been burglaries in five different union offices. Money, T-shirts and documents have been taken."

More than 70 Cosatu members are being held under Emergency regulations, including people who had been detained, released and redetained. "Restrictions live in fear for their lives as they are attacked and harassed," he says.

Gwala sjambokked, say lawyers

By CARMEL RICKARD

VETERAN African National Congress politician Harry Gwala is to sue the police following claims that he was sjambokked while leaving a funeral this week.

Gwala, 70, who cannot move his arms as he suffers from motor neuron disease, is restricted and may not be quoted on the incident.

However, his version, communicated through his lawyer and family representatives, is that he was attending the heavily restricted funeral of prominent Natal trade unionist Jabu Ndlovu on Monday.

As the crowd left the cemetery, some of the mourners were singing and police used sjamboks to disperse them.

Gwala's representatives said he did not flee with the other mourners, as he felt he had done nothing wrong.

He was allegedly hit by police on the back, shoulders and leg.

Lawyers said doctors had examined Gwala's body and found swellings on his back and legs for which medication was prescribed.

Police have strenuously denied Gwala's allegations and have issued a detailed rebuttal.

Pietermaritzburg police public relations officer, Major Piet Kitching, said the police had a video tape of the funeral and that the video showed Gwala was walking far behind the group when they were dispersed.

He said it also showed that an officer walking behind Gwala had no sjambok. "There is no evidence on the video of any assault on Gwala," Kitching said.

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ANTI-APARTHEID forces consider the possibility of negotiations with the government as more realistic than ever before

The issue has been moved up the agendas of the "mass democratic movement" (MDM), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), and the African National Congress (ANC) and they are trying to formulate a common approach to the issue.

It is understood that the broadest possible consultation is being undertaken to ensure leaders will have a popular mandate if called upon to respond to negotiation proposals after the September elections. The concept is being popularised so it does not "take people by surprise" if and when it materialises.

The matter was discussed last week at a consultative meeting in Lusaka of "heavyweight" ANC, Cosatu and MDM leaders.

Negotiation is also believed to have been a key topic during recent visits to jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela by, among others, ANC veterans Go-

A once-forbidden word is whispered in activist circles

There is discreet, yet widespread consultation in opposition circles to ensure that leaders enjoy a popular mandate if called upon to respond to negotiation proposals after the elections
By SHAUN JOHNSON

van Mbeke, Harry Gwala, Walter Sisulu and Wilton Mkwayi. It is expected that other prominent figures will take the opportunity to see him, if it is offered.

Inside South Africa, both the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa and the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union debated "the

process of political settlement" in detail at their recent congresses, and Numsa passed a resolution setting out minimum conditions for negotiations. Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini told the CWTU that workers needed to generate their own minimum demands for negotiations. The union resolved that members should debate the issue "as a matter of urgency".

Cosatu General Secretary Jay Naidoo has confirmed that the attitude toward negotiations will be one "central issue" at the federation's national congress next month.

Independently, MDM leaders have recently raised the issue of negotiations on public platforms. Speaking in Johannesburg last week, UDF official Murphy Morobe said, "We've

not at any point said we can never talk to the government

"Negotiations are difficult to conceptualise, but not impossible." He was insistent, however, that the government had to create a conducive climate by meeting minimum conditions

Another UDF leader said the attitude within the "broad democratic movement" was not one of preparing for negotiations because of a government change of heart

Rather, it should be recognised that the government and the ANC were coming under intense pressure, respectively, from countries such as Britain and the United States, and the Soviet Union and Frontline States

These actors were pushing hard for moves toward a political "deal" in South Africa, and the MDM had to be "fully prepared to seize an opportunity should it present itself".

However, both Naidoo and Morobe emphasised that the possibility of future negotiations did not imply a relaxation of pressure. "Our task is not to be defensive," Morobe said, "we must not fold our arms, but intensify the struggle and keep up pressures"

With minor variations, this is the position being espoused by anti-apartheid leaders across the "Charterist" organisational spectrum. an acceptance of the possibility of a negotiated settlement, a deep distrust of the government's intentions and an insistence on minimum conditions

The conditions vary, but they coincide on at least five demands: the end of the Emergency, unbanning of organisations, release of prisoners, dismantling of apartheid structures and the creation of a climate of free political expression

Both the government and the MDM are said to be discussing a possible compromise deal that would include the release of Mandela and an acceptance of the core MDM demands — in return for an undertaking by a legalised "internal wing" of the movement to forgo the use of violence.

There are of course major areas of unresolved debate relating to this tentative scenario-building. There is intense resistance to "negotiation" from elements of the security establishment. At the very least, the timetable is uncertain — and Mandela himself is reported to believe he will not be released before the end of the year.

Numsa has warned that "capital" — South African and international — wants a settlement that will protect its economic and political interests".

The discussion of negotiations comes against the background of a heightening of expectations emanating both from the government and international quarters

While it is accepted that Pretoria could be fuelling such expectations in order to "buy time" from the international community and also attempt to sow division in anti-apartheid ranks, it is clear that the pressures for settlement on both major actors — the government and the ANC — are real.

There is already evidence of various outside parties' jockeying for position

●FW de Klerk announced on the eve of his visit to Thatcher that he had "committed himself to negotiations and to expedite the process";

●Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden said "People in South Africa have a heightened belief in achieving solutions by constructive negotiation. The mind boggles at what can be achieved inside South Africa in the next 18 months";

●The EC attitude supported speculation that the crucial Commonwealth meeting scheduled for October might consider a "negotiation package" for South Africa — offering Pretoria the carrot of sanctions being lifted if it meets minimum demands

This meeting will take close note of the conclusions emerging from an important OAU conference next month

●Zambian president and Frontline states chairman Kenneth Kaunda intimated he would be prepared to meet De Klerk without preconditions.

●After a meeting with ANC president Oliver Tambo, Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie confirmed he had discussed prospects for negotiation "after the September election"

There are still of course major question marks over the likelihood of serious negotiations, but anti-apartheid forces are preparing themselves, and ironing out their own differences

They will have to contend with attempts from the state to disrupt this. It serves Pretoria, for example, to suggest it might be dealing directly with Mandela on an individual level that is threatening to the MDM

Cosatu's Naidoo, among other leaders, dismisses this. "The MDM has full confidence in Mandela and he would not open himself to any manipulation by the regime," he said.

Leaders would welcome any opportunity to consult Mandela, he said, but it would be a "gross misrepresentation" to link visits with an acceptance of government-designed process towards negotiations

Three councillors to attend Lusaka talks

Staff Reporter

TWENTY-FIVE of the 120 white South Africans who will attend a conference with 40 members of the ANC in Lusaka early next month come from the Western Cape

The organisers of the conference, the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), will not yet release the names of those invited for fear of passport withdrawals by the state

Among the delegates will be "city councillors, business people, academics, and members of a variety of political organisations and parties", according to a press release from FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier

Three city councillors said yesterday that they had been invited and intended to go. It is understood that one Cape Town MP is going too, though this could not be confirmed

Executive committee member Mr Clive Keegan, who is chairman of the town planning committee, confirmed that he would be going to the conference, entitled "The Role of Whites in a Changing Society"

Mr Frank van der Velde, who is in the running to be mayor after Mr Gordon Oliver's term in office, said he too had accepted an invitation

The third councillor is Ms Annama van den Heever, who was elected to office last year. She took part in the Open Cape Town walk on Sunday

Mr Van der Velde said he had been invited because of his involvement in local government, but he was going as a private individual. He would pay part of the cost himself but much of it was sponsored

He did not expect any trouble from his fellow councillors over his decision to take up the invitation

"I am convinced that the way to seek peaceful solutions is to talk to people. You must negotiate with people who disagree with you."

Costs of the three-day conference, which are expected to amount to over R300 000, will mostly be met by the Swiss, United States, Canadian, Dutch and Danish governments, and possibly the Swedish as well

Most of those attending the conference would be "based in organisations working in the white community," Mr Olivier said. Some would be present as individuals

All those who had been invited shared "a goal of bringing about an end to apartheid and the inclusion of all South Africans in a non-racial, democratic South Africa"

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KTC: Judge calls for settlement

Mr. J. de Kock 18/6/89

MA

Supreme Court Reporter

THE presiding judge in the KTC damages action yesterday made a plea that counsel for both the residents and the Minister of Law and Order attempt to settle the matter.

Mr Justice M R de Kock made the plea during the R200 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church of Africa and 20 residents who lost their homes when Witdoek vigilantes attacked KTC between June 9 and 11, 1986.

Addressing counsel for both parties — Mr H P Viljoen SC, for the residents and Mr G D Gressell SC, for the minister — Mr Justice De Kock said that he had indicated he was going on furlough when the new court term starts on August 1.

The case has been "dragging" for almost two years and indications are that finality would not be reached for at least two or three years.

It was self-evident that great costs are being incurred and would still be incurred. The question had been raised if it was not possible for the parties to consult. He believed it would be in the interest of both parties, the judge said.

Mr Justice De Kock said that the outcome of a court case could not be guaranteed and he was aware that problems for a settlement existed but these were not unbridgeable.

It appeared self-evident that both parties would benefit — in the light of the uncertainty of litigation, the time involved and the costs involved — if a serious attempt was made to "find each other" on a mutually accepted basis.

Mr Justice De Kock requested Mr Viljoen and Mr Gressell to convey his remarks to their clients and to do everything possible to try and settle the matter.

Mr Justice De Kock requested Mr Viljoen and Mr Gressell to convey his remarks to their clients and to do everything possible to try and settle the matter.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Exploratory peace talks between the Cosatu-UDF alliance and Inkatha to end the Natal violence will be held here on Monday

This was confirmed yesterday by both a Cosatu spokesman and the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo

Dr Dhlomo said that the Inkatha delegation would consist of himself, Dr Frank Mdlalose, chairman of Inkatha's National Council, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, a member of Inkatha's central committee from Maritzburg, Mr Musa Zondi, national leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade and Mr Nqobizwe Nkehli, a member of In-

Peace talks to start over Natal violence

katha's central committee from Mpu-
mulanga

The Cosatu spokesman said that their delegation would comprise of Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary for the UDF, Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu's general-secretary, Dr Diliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association (Namda), Mr Alec Irwin, education officer for the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), and Mr Siphon Gcabashe, a Cosatu representative from Maritzburg

Passport to see Bush for Mrs Sisulu



Staw 17/6/89

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PAT DEVEREAUX

UNITED Democratic Front leader Mrs Albertina Sisulu has been issued with a South African passport

She left Jan Smuts Airport last night to meet President George Bush and President Francois Mitterrand's wife, Danielle

This is the first time the 70-year-old Mrs Sisulu, who has been banned for a total of 18 years since her political involvement began in the 1940s, has been issued with a passport or been allowed to leave the country.

A clearly delighted Mrs Sisulu, who was accompanied by Sister Bernard Ncube and Mrs Jesse Duarte of the Federation of Transvaal Women, said last night "I have been invited to the United States by President Bush himself and Mrs

Danielle Mitterrand has invited me to France"

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, the acting general secretary of the UDF, who was at the airport to bid her farewell, said "It is strange that in South Africa Mrs Sisulu is a restricted person who may not leave her Soweto home from 6 pm to 6 am and yet she has been issued with a passport to leave the country and will be addressing a meeting in France."

The departure of the two women last night seemed almost hush-hush. Only close friends and relatives saw them off and there were no well-wishing crowds

Mrs Sisulu's passport will enable her to meet her son Max whom she has not seen since his exile after the crackdown on the ANC in 1963 But

● TO PAGE 2.

Passport granted to Mrs Sisulu

● FROM PAGE 1.

the prized passport has its limits — it is only valid for 30 days

First stop for Mrs Sisulu is France where she will meet a number of important French diplomats. She will also be going to Sweden with Sister Bernard Ncube who has been invited there

The UDF co-president will then join up with a delegation of UDF leaders including national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia, Mr Titus Mototo, an executive member of the UDF, and Mr Curmuck Ndlovu, the general secretary of the UDF, to meet President Bush

President Bush's invitation, according to White House Press secretary Mr Marlin Fitzwater, is being viewed as one of the ways President Bush and his administration intend "to pressure and use their influence to bring about justice and equality in South Africa."

No date

Although no date for the UDF meeting with President Bush has as yet been set, the meeting is expected to be near the end of June

This meeting follows shortly after President Bush's recent talks with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Reverend Allan Boesak and Reverend Beyers Naude

Mrs Sisulu is the wife of the former secretary general of the ANC, Walter Sisulu (75), who has served a 26-year jail term and is now being held at Pollsmoor Prison

Her younger son, Zwelakhe Sisulu (38), a journalist and former trade unionist, was detained for 950 days and has since been stringently restricted. He may not return to his job as editor of the *New Nation*

The Sisulu family has been recognised internationally with a number of human rights awards, the most recent of which was the Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize for giving "hope to all in South Africa who oppose and suffer under this unjust system" (of apartheid)

Staw 17/6/89

UDF to brief
Bush on SA

JOHANNESBURG. — A United Democratic Front delegation is to meet US President George Bush on June 29-30 to brief him on the situation in South Africa.

The group is to consist of Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a UDF president, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, executive chairman, Mr Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer, Mr Titus Mofolo, national executive member, and Sister Bernard Mncube, Federation of Transvaal Women president.

Another senior UDF member, Mr Eric Moloji, will leave at the end of June for West Germany. — Sapa

June 16: Man killed in city

CAP 7475 17/6/87

114 *112* *113*

A MOTORIST was stabbed to death by a group of people in Guguletu after his car was forced to stop at a burning barricade on Thursday night, the eve of the anniversary of the bloody Soweto uprising.

The murder was recorded in yesterday's unrest report, which also said a bus in Khayelitsha was badly damaged in a stoning incident. Police would disclose no details on the murder.

It was the only unrest death reported in South Africa as hundreds of thousands of people countrywide stayed away from work in observance of the 13th anniversary of the uprising on June 16, 1976, when police shot and killed two Soweto students in a crowd of some 15 000 protesting the introduction of Afrikaans as a compulsory language of instruction.

Many businesses yesterday shut down voluntarily despite the government's refusal to declare an official holiday.

Johannesburg as well as East and West Rand towns came to a virtual standstill while in Dur-

ban, Maritzburg and East London, bus ranks, railway stations and mini-bus loading points were deserted.

In Cape Town industry experienced a 10 to 15% absenteeism rate, while the effect on the commercial sector was "negligible", according to a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce spokesman.

More reports on June 16 — Page 3

Businesses in Pretoria found that 60% of black employees had stayed at home, according to the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce.

In the Durban townships, youths stood on main roads, apparently urging people not to go to work.

A spokesman for KwaZulu Transport, Maritzburg, said there had been a total stayaway of bus drivers in the capital.

About 700 people died during the student-led '76 riots, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations — Own Correspondents, Sapa and UPI

Police disperse Soweto Day meet in Rylands

Staff Reporter

A SOWETO Day meeting in Rylands was yesterday dispersed by police as many city workers observed a public holiday marking the 13th anniversary of the June 16 student uprising.

Cape Town Chamber of Commerce spokesman Mr Tommy Brand said industry had experienced a 10 to 15% absenteeism rate, while the effect of the June 16 holiday had been "negligible" in the commercial sector.

About 900 people attended a commemorative service in the Hazendal AME Church and Archbishop Desmond Tutu addressed about 200 people at the Church of Reconciliation in Manenberg.

A youth gathering in the Sa-



... Archbishop Desmond Tutu addresses about 200 people who Day sermon in the Church of Reconciliation, Manenberg yesterday

Picture: ERIC MILLER



PROTEST ... Black Sash member Ms Cassandra Parker stages a June 16 commemorative picket on High Level Road, Sea Point

Unrest: Train coach burnt

PRETORIA. — A passenger coach was set alight and extensively damaged at Naledi railway station in Soweto yesterday, the 13th anniversary of the Soweto riots.

The police unrest report recorded 12 incidents of stonethrowing and petrol-bombing overnight.

At Kwabengezi, near Pine-town, a group stoned a police vehicle. They were dispersed with birdshot. A woman was wounded and admitted to hospital for treatment.

A man was injured at Kwamashu in Durban when a group stoned a bus.

Buses at Umlazi, Durban, were fairly badly damaged when they were stoned and a bus at Inanda, Durban, was extensively damaged when it was set alight.

At Vosloorus, near Germiston, petrol bombs were thrown at a butchery, causing serious damage to the property, and at Zwilde in Port Elizabeth a bus was extensively damaged in a petrol-bomb attack. No injuries were reported, the report said — Sapa

Tembu king raised under ANC wing

step 17/6/87

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IN a development that could have far-reaching consequences for black politics in South Africa, a young student brought up under the wing of the outlawed African National Congress has become the paramount chief of one of the most important black tribes in the country.

The student, Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo (22), who is at school in Lusaka, Zambia, where the ANC has its exile headquarters, has been named king of the Tembu tribe.

The leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, who is serving the 25th year of a life sentence, is a member of the Tembu royal family.

Struggle

Another member of the tribe who visited Mandela in prison recently said that Mandela was excited about the appointment.

The selection of Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo by the tribal council late last month ended a two-year power struggle for the chieftaincy and toppled a pretender to the throne. The pretender was the last in a line of Tembu royals whose pro-Government stance kept the tribe in accordance with Pretoria's apartheid policy of racial separation.

Many African leaders have supported the policy because it increases their power and the traditional social systems they represent against the challenge of mod-

ALLISTER SPARKS

ern, African nationalist movements like the ANC.

The Government has sought in this way to build an alternative black political power structure around the traditional leaders that could fill the vacuum created by its banning of nationalist movements, whose demand for equal voting rights would end white rule.

By giving the traditional leaders power in small tribal homelands, which then were offered nominal independence, the Government was able to encourage their support and use them to carry out a policy of racial partition that it claimed justified the retention of white rule.

But not all traditional leaders have gone along with this deal. Some, like Mandela, opposed it from the outset. Others who accepted it initially appear to have grown concerned about diminished support in their communities since the uprisings of the mid-1980s, which radicalised large numbers of blacks. The concerned leaders are trying to define a position more critical of the Government.

In this situation, Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo's appointment as paramount chief of the Tembu could lead to a significant shift in the politics of the most important black "homeland" of South Africa, Transkei, which was the first to be granted nominal independence, in 1976.

There are four paramount chiefs in Transkei and all hold

powerful positions in the administration of the "homeland" as well as over their own tribes. Moreover, Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo appears to enjoy the support of the military leader of Transkei, Major General Bantu Holomisa.

Little is known of the young king's private political views, but his links to the ANC have led to a wide-spread assumption in South Africa that he is sympathetic to the movement.

Officials in Umtata, Transkei, said it was still unclear when the new king would return. The tribal council, deciding he should complete his schooling in Lusaka, named a relative, Mdanjelwa Mtrara, to serve as regent.

Resisted

The Tembu royal house has long reflected the complex rivalries of black South African politics. On the one hand there was Mandela, the principal opponent of apartheid, and on the other Kaiser Matanzima, who became its principal black collaborator.

In between was the paramount chief, Sabata Dalindyebo, the new king's father, who resisted Chief Matanzima's plans to accept Pretoria's offer of nominal independence for Transkei.

Chief Matanzima charged the monarch, his cousin, with failing to show him due respect as President of Transkei.

Chief Sabata fled with his son and sought refuge with the ANC. He was made an "elder" of the organisation and died in 1986.

11A

NEWS

Friends express fears for fourth Broederstroom ANC member

ART college friends have expressed fears for the safety of Mr Hugh Lugg, who has not been seen since he was taken into custody with the "Broederstroom Three" 13 months ago.

Mr Lugg was the fourth member of the all-white African National Congress military cell and was arrested when the gang's cover was blown early last year. But the 30-year-old former art student failed to appear at the first court hearing in January and has not appeared this week in the trial which started on Monday in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court.

The sequence of events sur-

PAT DEVEREAUX

rounding his arrest at Broederstroom has stumped his college friends and speculation that he turned police informer and betrayed the unit or could have been "a police spy" all along has been vehemently denied by those who knew him.

According to Mr Michael Westcott, the brother of one of the "Broederstroom Three", Damian De Lange (31), Ian Robertson (36) and Susan Donnelly (24) only became aware that Hugh might have "stopped" them after their first

court appearance in January. It is believed that Mr Lugg is being held as a State witness in Pretoria Central Prison. However, security police divisional commander, Brigadier J A P Burger yesterday refused to comment on where or whether Mr Lugg was still being held, or under what section of the law he was being detained.

"We will talk about him after this trial is over," said Brigadier Burger.

A woman friend, who has asked not to be identified, said she had made a number of requests to see

Mr Lugg but all had been refused. "I am very worried about his welfare I feel that Hugh would never have 'cracked' and become an informer. Throughout his life he has been staunchly opposed to the South African Government and is a very disciplined person."

"He finally left South Africa and applied for political asylum in Britain because of a military call-up in 1979."

"I met him while he was overseas on two occasions and he implied that he was 'politically involved' but would not say how

deeply," she said.

Other friends described Mr Lugg as highly intelligent and a brilliant draughtsman. He attended the Goldsmith College of Art in London and became President of the Students Union.

Friends stated that Hugh had been visited in prison by his father, but Mr Jack Lugg remained tight-lipped and said he had not had any contact with his son since he left the country.

Asked whether he had made any inquiries he said "No I won't make any inquiries. I'll wait for the press to inform me of his whereabouts."

MR HUGH LUGG: No comment from the police.

Allegation of ANC ^{IA} payments ^{seen 17/6/89} to Nusas denied

SUE VALENTINE

STUDENT leaders have denied police claims to have found ANC payments to student organisations at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The National Union of South African Students (Nusas) said claims by police that they discovered an ANC address list and a "debtors book" of ANC payments, were "complete lies"

Nusas said the debtors book police found contained entries of money owed to Nusas head office from the various affiliated student representative councils for "Nusas talks to the ANC" poster produced during the campaign when Nusas held talks with the ANC in 1986 in Lusaka

The other claim that a list of ANC addresses abroad was found in the SRC offices was also untrue Nusas said the list was a mailing list of addresses of numerous international organisations

Many of the "banned books" exhibited by the police at Thursday's press conference were from the SRC Resource Centre library Wits SRC president, Ms Bettina von Lieres, said none of these books from the Resource Centre was banned

W/L ARCS 17/6/89

(117) (12) (12)

Sporadic violence on Soweto anniversary

Weekend Argus Reporters

THE commemoration of June 16 did not pass peacefully yesterday, according to an interim unrest report released last night by the police

A motorist was forced out of his vehicle in Guguletu, which had been stopped at a barricade of burning objects, and stabbed to death, police said

Attempts to establish the identity of the person killed or the time of the incident were unsuccessful

But, it is believed it occurred near Lansdowne Road

Tombstone

Stone-throwing and petrol bombing were recorded in various parts of the country and in Soweto the tombstone of the reported first victim of the 1976 riots, 13-year-old Hector Pietersen, was desecrated by vandals

Yesterday morning traffic was redirected in Lansdowne Road

Police said that in another incident a bus was stoned and badly damaged in Khayelitsha

Yesterday, police took action against chanting youths making their way to a June 16 commemorative service in Athlone

A three-hour commemorative service at the African Methodist Episcopal church in Hazendal was attended by about 400 people. The service passed without incident, although a heavy police presence was maintained outside the church grounds

A number of stone-throwing incidents of a "minor nature where damages were minimal" and no injuries recorded were reported in Port Natal, Western Province and the Eastern Province, according to police

Petrol bombs were also thrown in these areas, but no

damage was recorded, police said

More serious incidents were reported in Umlazi, Durban, where buses were fairly badly damaged and stoned. No injuries were reported, police said

At Kwadengezi, near Pine-town, a group of blacks stoned a police vehicle. They were dispersed with birdshot. A woman was wounded and admitted to hospital for treatment, police said

In other incidents, a black man was injured when a group stoned a bus in Kwamashu, a bus was extensively damaged when it was set alight at Inanda, Durban, and at Vosloorus, near Germiston, petrol bombs were thrown at a butchery, causing serious damage, police said

Townships surrounding Durban were quiet, although the previous night in Kwamashu, Clermont, Lamontville and Umlazi, groups of youths went from street to street urging people not to go to work.

Bus ranks, railway stations and minibus loading points were almost deserted and there was no peak-hour traffic into Durban

Almost all people manning essential services had reported for duty, however, especially hospital staff who had been alerted to stand by to treat victims of violence

Sapa reports that sporadic incidents of violence across South Africa marked the 13th anniversary of the Soweto riots as tens of thousands of blacks stayed away from work and large contingents of police remained on alert for any illegal activity

Soweto

In Soweto a passenger coach was set alight and extensively damaged at Naledi railway station, police reported

Witnesses said armed police gathered at Soweto's Regina Mundi Catholic church where a

crowd sang and shouted for the release of Nelson Mandela

The South African Transport Services said trains showed a marked reduction in occupancy rate on the Reef

Many shops in central Johannesburg were closed. Some workers had an official day off while other firms had adopted a no-work, no-pay policy

Businesses in Pretoria found that 60 percent of black employees had stayed at home, according to the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce

UN ceremony

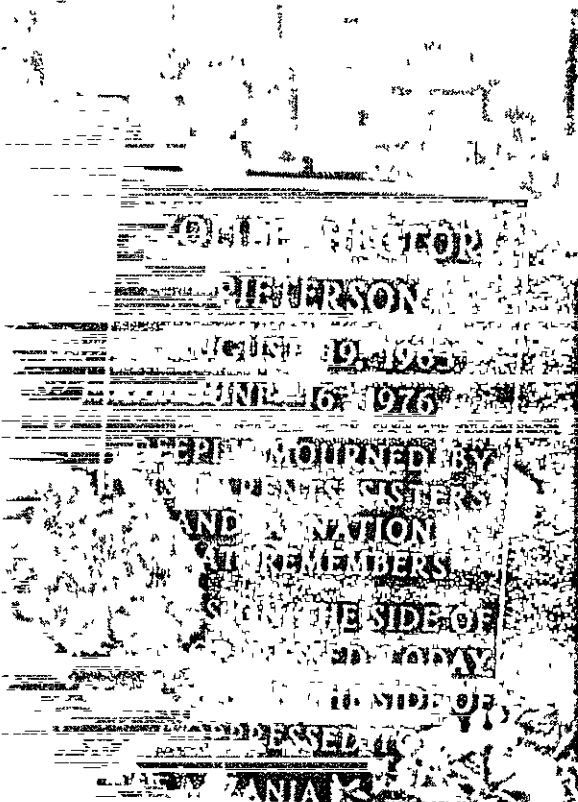
It is reported from New York that South Africa's "intransigent" response to Security Council resolutions calling for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial state based on majority rule was denounced by the world body's president at a UN ceremony marking the anniversary

Speaking for the Security Council members, Mr Thomas Pickering, the chief US representative, expressed their "deep concern about the continuing situation in South Africa"

He said it was "with the deepest regret that it must once again be observed that South Africa remains intransigent and persists in its unjust policies in flagrant defiance of the council's resolutions"

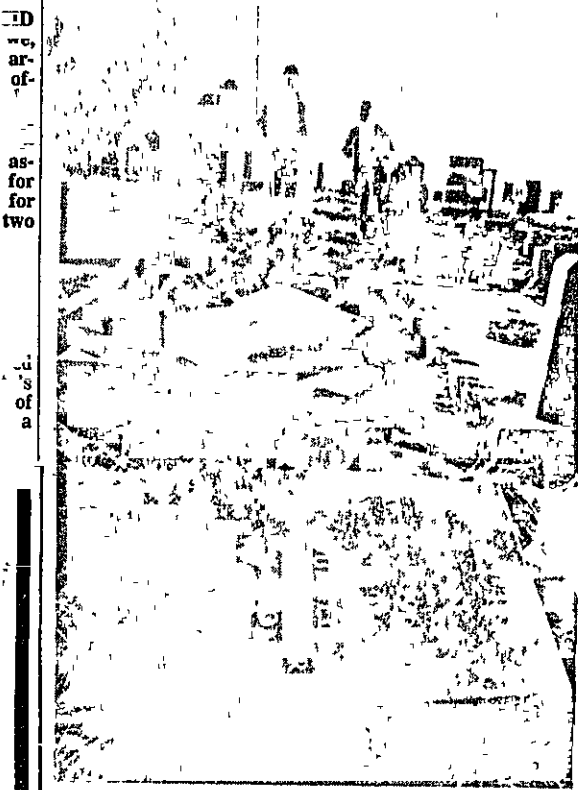
Mr Pickering said "It is my profound hope that the present auspicious international climate will provide the momentum for a trend towards the abolition of apartheid and that South Africa will heed its charter obligations and implement the principles enshrined in the universal declaration of human rights"

As far as is known it was his first statement on the situation in the Republic since he became President George Bush's UN ambassador



Miss Popi Buthelezi puts flowers on the grave of Zolile Hector Peterson in Avalon Cemetery, Soweto. Hector, 13, was the first fatality of the shootings in Soweto on June 16 1976. Miss Buthelezi, now confined to a wheelchair, was also a victim of the shootings. Below: Hector's grave was desecrated by vandals late yesterday.

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Absent Getty in final liquidation

By ANDREA WEISS

S/Times 18/6/89

Mystery of the fourth white activist

By CHARIS PERKINS
and HAMISH McINDOE

A QUESTION mark hangs over the fourth member of the highly trained all-white ANC military cell arrested at Broederstroom in May last year. What is to happen to Hugh Lugg — the ANC activist who allegedly turned informer on his comrades-in-arms Damian de Lange, 31, Ian Robertson, 36, and Susan Donnelly, 24?

Mr Lugg is being held in Pretoria under section 31 of the Internal Security Act — which means he is a material witness in State custody. And he will be freed when the trial is over.

State advocate Frans Roets, SC would not say whether Mr Lugg would be called to give evidence against his former ANC colleagues.

Transvaal Attorney-General Don Brunette said that if Mr Lugg requested police protection after his release, he would probably be granted it.

Meanwhile a senior SAP spokesman refused to comment on whether Mr Lugg would in fact be granted protection. Nor would he say what police protection would involve.

"All I can say is that cases like this are considered on merit," he said.

Fled

Mr Lugg is the 31-year-old son of the former head of the East London Technical College's art department, Mr Jack Lugg.

He matriculated at Queens College in the Eastern Cape and went on to study at the universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

In 1979 he fled to Britain to avoid military service.

He was granted an ANC bursary to attend the Goldsmith School of Art and later completed a teaching diploma at the University of London.

He underwent his military training in Lusaka and allegedly became a member of the Broederstroom cell.

Meanwhile, another mystery has arisen from the trial.

A biographical document presented in court this week on De Lange indicates that a dominee, the Rev Frederik Conradie, helped De Lange escape into Botswana in 1981.

The next year Mr Conradie, known as the "the white dominee" of Alexandra township in Johannesburg, was killed when his car overturned on an open road while he was travelling to Lichtenberg to visit his sick father.

Mr Conradie, who allegedly had a strong influence on De Lange, was 36 when the accident happened on March 1, 1982.

Hendrickse slaps down Minister

LABOUR PARTY leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse overruled his Minister of Housing and ordered him to freeze all sub-economic rent increases countrywide

Politically it is seen as the first public sign of a looming showdown between Mr Hendrickse and Mr David Curry, who as "own affairs" Minister authorised the controversial increases, ignoring the advice of his colleagues

Complaints

Mr Curry has not yet resolved another cause for possible bad blood between him and Mr Hendrickse — the controversy over shoddy workmanship and allegations of large-scale rip-offs by some builders involved in the establishment of the multi-million-rand Blue Downs housing metropolis outside Cape Town

His reluctance to listen to or to acknowledge written complaints, or go to the rescue of angry residents, unleashed a flood of complaints from thousands of home owners and possible voters

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Mr Hendrickse's personal intervention and overruling of Mr Curry's rent increases means tens of thousands of low-income coloured tenants can now tear up the shock letters sent out two weeks ago on the instructions of Mr Curry

It is significant that Mr Hendrickse did not allow Mr Curry to retract the increases himself, but issued a statement in his own name, spelling out what he had "instructed" Mr Curry to do

Mr Hendrickse said at the weekend that apart from rentals he was also concerned about other economic problems and the enormous increases in other service costs

● The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the Indian House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, confirmed to the Sunday Times that after consulting Mr Hendrickse he has also announced a halt to all sub-economic house rent increases

120-strong white group plans to meet the ANC

Sunday Times Reporter

119
This, she added, was to avoid the possible harassment of delegates. Details of the trip will be made public closer to the departure date.

A DELEGATION of about 120 white South Africans leaves for Lusaka early next month for talks with the African National Congress.

The biggest ever white delegation of politicians, academics and businessmen will travel to the Zambian capital to "discuss the role of whites in a changing SA society", a Five Freedoms Forum statement said this week

An official of the FFF said all information about topics on the agenda and the names of the delegates is being kept secret

The FFF statement adds that the talks would:

- Be attended by about 40 ANC members;

- Be funded by the United States, Canadian, Dutch and Danish governments;

- Comprise a cross section of representatives from organisations working in white communities "who shared the goal of bringing an end to apartheid".

S/Times 18/6/89

Hundreds held on June 16

Sunday Times Reporter

POLICE reported numerous arrests, a few injuries and a number of stone-throwing incidents during Soweto Day on Friday

In Natal, more than 700 people were arrested during a crime prevention blitz by the SAP at the weekend

And at least 68 people were arrested countrywide for unrest-related incidents in the 24 hours from midday on Friday, according to the police unrest report issued yesterday

Police said the 13th anniversary of Soweto Day — which marks the first day of the 1976 student riots in Soweto — was marred by incidents of violence including petrol-bombing, stone-

throwing and cases of illegal gathering

The unrest-related incidents occurred at Siyathemba, near Balfour; Soweto, Lynville, Witbank, the University of Zululand Shongweni, near Pinetown, Mpumalanga, KwaMashu, Umlazi and Inanda (Natal), and Khayelitsha and Nyanga (Cape)

At least five people were injured in these incidents and at Siyathemba and the University of Zululand police used birdshot to disperse groups who stoned police vehicles

Three incidents of stone-

throwing at police vehicles were reported at the Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, scene of one of the two memorial services held on Friday

Inside the church the four-hour service ended on a sour note when Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza was howled down by the crowd, among which there were large numbers of youngsters who supported the UDF

Some political officials who attended attributed the heckling to people being "tired" after the long service and wanting to go home

Others said the crowds inside became edgy when they were told that police were waiting outside with dogs

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16/6/89

Squabbling and violence on the way to the forum

SIT mes 18/6/89

IN looking to the future one must always guard against confusing what one hopes will happen with what one thinks is likely to happen

Internally some sporadic unrest in certain areas must be expected. In particular, the violence in Natal's townships seems set to continue, at least for some time.

This situation requires a getting together of black leaders to agree on a means to end the violence and a much firmer stand by the authorities.

Though there is much talk of a change in ANC tactics, the chances of an abandonment of the so-called armed struggle seem remote in the short term. This is despite what appear to be suggestions from Eastern Bloc countries that negotiation is preferable to violent change.

Mandela

One must expect a continuation of attacks involving limpet mines and other explosives, as well as shootings. However, these will be combined with efforts to present a more acceptable image. Therefore there are likely to be fewer attacks on soft white targets.

Meetings between the ANC and selected white groups are likely to continue.

The release of Nelson Mandela continues to be an issue. One can reasonably forecast that he will be

Harry Schwarz IIA

DP economics spokesman, offers some predictions on domestic issues

released relatively soon. The Government is probably waiting only for the right moment, from its viewpoint, to do so.

Questions of negotiation will I believe see considerable development in the short and medium term. There may be a change in the attitude towards boycotts by certain organisations which have in the past refused to participate in elections.

Meetings and discussions, consultations and eventually negotiations will achieve a degree of success, but meaningful negotiations resulting in a constitutional settlement are probably still a long way off.

The parties in conflict are probably not ready for such negotiations and posturing will continue for quite a while.

In the meantime the reform process will carry on in a stop-start manner.

The three pillars of social separation and discrimination — the Population Registration, Group Areas and

Separate Amenities Acts — will be subject to amendment gradually moving towards repeal.

The first amendment to the Population Registration Act will probably be to remove the State's right to determine race and substitute a degree of choice.

The Separate Amenities Act will probably see a provision halting the creation of more "separate but not equal" public facilities. In other words steps will be taken to prevent a reversal of the process of opening facilities by public authorities.

Fears

The Group Areas Act will become less meaningful because of an increase in the number of free settlement areas.

There is no doubt that eventually all three Acts will go. My own guess is that the Separate Amenities Act will be the first. Regrettably, however, laws will not be repealed before further hurt, protest and friction.

The constitutional problem will be with us for a long time. Fears of domination loom large in the minds of the white population — including many of those who describe themselves as liberals.

The problem of group and individual rights and of protection against domination will be around for many years to come.

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Why do these sad men smile? . . . tenants move their meagre
They have been moving from church to church in an attempt to

4 killed, 3 injured on eve of Inkatha/UDF peace talks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Four Inkatha members were killed and three injured on their way to an Inkatha prayer meeting in kwaMashu near Durban yesterday — on the eve of exploratory peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu-UDF alliance which start today in Durban

KwaZulu police have launched a full investigation into allegations that mystery white men were seen in kwaMashu township during the height of yesterday's clashes, and murder and attempted murder dockets have been opened

Fighting broke out when some kwaMashu residents lined the streets to protest against Inkatha members being bussed into the township for a prayer meeting at the Princess Magogo Stadium which was addressed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Lieutenant-Colonel Jan Fourie, district commandant for kwaZulu Police, said he was the only white policeman inside the stadium where Inkatha held a rally.

"I have heard about allegations of mys-

tery white men in kwaMashu yesterday and we have already started investigations to find out who they were "

Captain Reg Crewe, a spokesman for the South African Police public relations division in Pretoria, said there were three incidents at kwaMashu in which four people were killed and five others injured

It is believed during one of the bloody clashes the groups, apparently members of Inkatha and the UDF, charged each other with knives and pangas

Chief Buthelezi wept as he announced the deaths and injuries at the end of a prayer rally for peace.

Wiping away tears, he told a crowd of about 5 000, many carrying knobbed, wooden fighting sticks, that the attackers were suspected members of the UDF. He said that "talk which is not followed by action is disgusting".

Representatives of the warring factions in the ongoing violence in Natal were due to meet this morning at a Durban hotel

Peterson Sowetan 19/16/89 grave (11A) desecrated



HECTOR Peterson's mother, Dorothy, stands with Nactu's assistant general secretary, Mr Cunningham Ncukana and Mr Jackson Tyanini, near the desecrated tombstone.

Pic MBUZENI ZULU

By ALI MPHAKI

THE desecrated tombstone of Hector Peterson — the first victim of the 1976 students uprisings — will be re-erected within a month, a spokesman for the Azanian National Youth Unity said on Friday.

The tombstone was found in pieces on Friday morning, in what is believed to be work perpetrated by forces opposed to the liberation struggle.

A spokesman for Azanyu, which erected the tombstone in 1981, said the desperation of this act "leaves them in no doubt as to the identity of the culprits.

"Hector's grave is a lasting reminder of our cause and we will spare no effort in ensuring that the cause Hector died for is not betrayed," the spokesman said.

Meanwhile, a students organisation has condemned what it described as "unrevolutionary behaviour" of youths who disrupted a speech by Muntu Myeza at the Regina Mundi church on Friday.

Cape Times 19/6/89 (114)

Cape Times, Monday, June 19, 1989

Varsity delegation in talks with ANC

JOHANNESBURG — A delegation from the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (Udusa) held discussions with a delegation from the banned African National Congress from June 11 to 15 in Lusaka, an Udusa spokesman said yesterday.

Views were expressed on academic exchange, critical research, state repression at various campuses, academic support programmes, and measures to de-racialise and democratise universities.

The role of universities and intellectuals in a changing South Africa was also discussed, a spokesman said.

Conditions prevalent at the various universities on social and ideological topics relevant to academics were discussed.

Udusa was represented by a 21-person delegation led by its president, Professor Mala Singh.

Eighteen institutions were represented in the delegation.

It comprised academics from Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Western Cape, Rhodes, Fort Hare, Transkei, Natal, Westville, Qwa-Qwa, Witwatersrand, Khanya College, Vista (Mamelodi), Rand Afrikaans, Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Bophutatswana, Turfloop and Unisa.

The ANC delegation, led by Mr Thabo Mbeki, included a number of their senior national executives.

"The exchange of views was extremely beneficial and the discussions were constructive," said Dr Mike Morris, general secretary of Udusa.

"They will enable Udusa to conduct more informed deliberations on these issues at its congress on July 15 and 16," he said.

Not represented among the delegates were the University of Port Elizabeth and the Afrikaans University of the Orange Free State — Sapa and Own Correspondent.

SA-wide unrest reported after June 16

PRETORIA — Police reports after the 13th anniversary of the Soweto riots noted numerous incidents of unrest country-wide.

According to Saturday's report, groups of people stoning police vehicles at Seatemba, Balfour, and the University of Zululand were dispersed with birdshot

At Shangwani, Pine-town, eight men were arrested after they threw stones at a police base, and at the Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, four men were arrested after incidents of stone-throwing at police vehicles

At Lynville, Witbank, 48 men were arrested by police during an illegal gathering

Two men were wounded and one was arrested at Mpumalanga during faction fighting. Three others were injured when they were shot at

Buses and vehicles were damaged in stone-throwing and petrol-bombing incidents at Khayelitsha, KwaMashu, Umlazi, Guguletu and Nyanga. A bus was set alight at Inanda

Yesterday's unrest report reported that a policeman at Dambuza, Maritzburg, was struck on the jaw when his vehicle was stoned

Three buses were slightly damaged at Khayelitsha and Nyanga in stone-throwing incidents — Sapa

Inkatha men killed on eve of peace talks

11A 8247
CAF T&TS 19/6/89

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Four Inkatha members were killed and three hurt on their way to an Inkatha prayer meeting in Kwa Mashu yesterday — on the eve of exploratory peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance

However, Inkatha's secretary general Dr Oscar Dhlomo said last night the talks — scheduled to begin at Durban's Royal Hotel today — were definitely still on

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told about 5 000 people at the Princess Magogo stadium that the deputy commissioner of police had told him the four had been killed in Kwa Mashu's L-section on their way to the meeting

Wiping away tears, Dr Buthelezi called for an end to the violence which was preventing black people from getting rid of "the totally unacceptable inequality which blacks suffer before the law"

The injuries occurred in at least two separate incidents

According to an Inkatha driving instructor who lives in Kwa Mashu, most of the people who attended the meeting came from the black squatter townships of Lindelani, Besters and Enzomusha

He said white men in police uniforms were involved in dispersing groups of people who did not wish to attend the prayer meeting

He said one uniformed man had started to harass a group of men who did not wish to attend the meeting. He allegedly pulled out his gun and shot at one man in the group, but missed and hit an Inkatha member who had just alighted from a bus

Mrs Stephanie Miller, of the DP's unrest monitoring group, said she was called in to the townships because there were injuries. She said nine of the UDF-affiliated Kwa Mashu Youth League (KMYL) members were suffering from gunshot wounds. She said she had taken two of them for medical attention

Mrs Miller said a spokesman for the injured youths had said their particular fight had started when a KMYL member had been stabbed with a spear by one of the amabutho (Inkatha warriors). He had said uniformed men had arrived shortly afterwards, and had shot at the youths in an attempt to gain control of the situation

"It struck me as very unusual that there were a lot of white men, not in uniform and not in police vehicles, driving around the township," she said

● Orders restricting human rights lawyer and UDF treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia to his home at night have been lifted by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok. The move frees him to participate in today's peace talks

De Klerk will meet Thatcher regarding ANC

Sowetan 19/6/89

11A

LONDON — Mr F. W. De Klerk's visit here this week is being seen as the next vital step in a London-brokered plan to bring about talks between Pretoria and its political opponents, including the ANC. There have been reports that the British Prime Minister is seeking the backing of Washington, Moscow and the Frontline states to push for this.

The ANC and other activists have been reported to be preparing their negotiating positions in advance of the talks.

ANC sources here are reluctant to give away the game plan and say that nothing in their approach has changed. But the issue is likely to have been discussed at this week's national executive committee meeting. One informed observer said some leading members of the ANC had recently been "making noises" about the possibility of talks.

ANC spokesmen say their position remains that the South African government must "create a climate" before talks can be considered by lifting the state of emergency, unconditionally releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and unbanning activist organisations. The ANC, they say, will only "think about" talks after discussion with the people of South Africa.

But a report last Friday indicated that the process towards a meeting had already begun and several anti-apartheid leaders from inside South Africa had discussed the issue with the ANC in Lusaka. The main trade unions, according to the report, have also been debating the question.

It is believed Mandela has already been drawn into the process following meetings with several senior ANC members, Govan Mbeki among them.

W/C ARGUS 3/6/89

to make a noise!

Harry's 11 pointers to SA's woes

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr. Harry Schwarz lists 11 pointers to the inflation crisis and elaborates...

- One party in power for 40 years
- Economic policies dictated by elections
- Unco-ordinated fiscal and monetary policies
- Inadequate control of money supply
- No adaptation to drying up of foreign loans
- Excessive State spending
- Failure to encourage productivity
- Duplication of services
- Consumer exploitation
- Administered prices and control boards
- Failure of educational system leading to bottlenecks of skilled labour



situation would deteriorate not only further but dramatically.

The CP is really an alternative on race issues only, an utterly unacceptable alternative to black, coloured and Indian South Africans, to the world at large and, one hopes, to the majority of white South Africans.

The liberal opposition, while courageous and tough and presenting viable alternative economic policies, has not in the past been within reach of power. It has been kept out of power solely on race and security policies. Government as a whole urgently needs new blood.

The second reason is that for years now economic policy has been influenced by elections. Almost every year, over a long period, there have been elections of one kind or another and, in an endeavour to woo voters, policies have been tailored to please them rather than to deal effectively with economic issues. Elections are bad for economic management.

Overcompensate

Third, there has been inadequate co-ordination between fiscal and monetary policy. The two should work together, but often the one has had to overcompensate for failure of the other.

Fourth, there has been inadequate control over the money supply and what's often forgotten is that the effect of excess growth in the money supply is normally felt only 12 or 18 months after the event.

Fifth, there have been serious problems created by the drying up of foreign loans and a need to keep the current account of the balance of payments in surplus, irrespective of the phase of the business cycle. But policy makers have failed timeously to adapt to a new situation, while lip service is paid to the policy of inward industrialisation incentives as a by-product of other policy objectives.

Failure to turn the economy around and accept the reality of a new situation has limited economic growth and when demand has grown it has been dampened to protect the balance of payments.

Sixth, we have had continuous excessive state expenditure, despite promises to restrain. The proportion of the gross domestic product absorbed by the State has remained unacceptably high.

Encourage, reward

Seventh, there has been a failure to adequately encourage and reward productivity. This has helped to fuel inflation.

Eighth, there exists a duplication, triplication and more of State services, too many departments doing the same thing costs more. Fourteen departments each of Health and Education are an undesirable luxury.

Ninth is the issue of consumer exploitation. There is inadequate protection of the consumer; market conditions are inadequate to ensure proper competition and so keep down prices. Financial reports of companies in the consumer field keep appearing. Profits racing ahead of turnover. The same quantities sold with higher margins.

Tenth are the handling of administered prices and the control boards. The authorities talk of market-related prices when there is only one price unrelated to world conditions for maize, and that is fixed. Prices go up when there are shortages but also when there are surpluses. Basic laws of economics are turned on their heads.

Produce is exported at a loss and the consumer bears the burden, and yet production of the same export at a loss continues.

Eleventh are the bottlenecks of skilled labour which still occur at the same time as there is large unemployment of unskilled persons. This is the product of decades of past neglect in education and training, which are frequently of such a

nature that they do not equip children to face challenges in the world. Technical and vocational subjects have received insufficient stress.

The list can go on and on. But what do we do about it now?

First and foremost, the authorities must bring the public into their confidence. Their co-operation cannot be obtained without absolute honesty and openness on the nature and extent of our problems.

Then we need to control the money supply, co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy.

Government must not only call on people to live within their means, it must itself do so. State spending must be cut.

Priorities for expenditure must be reassessed. Waste and duplication must be terminated, *apartheid is expensive and causes inflation. The price is too great to pay to have a concept which is unacceptable.*

We need to accept the reality of a country which cannot get foreign loans and to a greater extent encourage local industry both at home and for export. Inward industrialisation must become a reality instead of a buzzword.

Buzzwords are now the fashion. Deregulation and privatisation are two others. Correctly implemented, the processes will help, just as long as they mean nothing. Privatisation without productivity or let an enterprise fall into the hands and costs will go up. Deregulation will permit and encourage legitimate enterprise, create opportunities for exploitation.

Create wealth

Exploitation is an issue requiring urgent attention. If one dares utter the word, there is an outcry that one seeks undue intervention in the market.

The truth is that if the free enterprise system is to achieve complete acceptability, it must seen not only to encourage entrepreneurship, create wealth, but also offer opportunity and protection, and that true competition exists to prevent exploitation.

There is a feeling among consumers that prices are being put up by many businesses because there is no resistance to price increases. Often inflation is the excuse, not the cause. Increased profits are made not because of greater efficiency or turnover, but because margins have increased.

The published accounts of some companies need some explanation on this issue if this conclusion is not to be drawn.

Consumers need to stand up more for their rights and the government should be helping them. The time has come for people to let their voices be heard if they feel they are being exploited.

Not all businesses indulge in these practices. On the contrary, those who do are the exception. But public opinion is a strong weapon and it can express itself. Not all landlords exploit, but those who do, particularly those who exploit the elderly, should be exposed. Consumers must become more pro-active.

In the end, however, it is up to the government to take action to fight inflation. Not alone, but in co-operation with the private business sector and the public. After all, the Reserve Bank owns the printing press, it prints the money, it puts it in circulation.

The authorities can control credit creation. The government decides on State expenditure and taxation and this is where the key to the problem rests.

So, while there is anger, this is not enough. A few questions, call people to account. After all — this is our country — it is our economy, it is our rain which is losing its value. It is we who are suffering through a tough time!

Youths disrupt 1976 service

THE 13th anniversary of the 1976 uprisings ended in chaos at the Regina Mundi church in Soweto on Friday when a small group of young people chanting UDF slogans prevented an Azapo official, Mr Muntu Myeza, from delivering his speech.

The organisers of the service, which was ironically called "Unity" as its theme, were forced to end the service after repeated calls for calm failed.

A massive contingent of riot police and kits constables in armoured vehicles teargassed the crowd outside the church at the end of the service.

A number of people were sjambokked including members of the Press and a small boy. Some of those who fled back into the church seeking refuge were pursued by the police and sjambokked inside.

In what seemed like a planned disruption scores of youngsters started shouting UDF and ANC slogans and surged towards Myeza publicly secretary of the restricted Azapo as he was about to address the crowd.

More than 1 500 people in the church started singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika when it was apparent that the service would not continue.

Young people then started the toyi-toyi dance and filed out of the church and the celebration of National Youth Day ended in chaos.

One disappointed onlooker lamented that "this shows how ideologies have divided us".

• In another development related to June 16, police raided several residences and offices at Wits University on Thursday. Pamphlets, books and posters were confiscated.

Some members of the SRC inside the building were held there for more than six hours while police ransacked the offices.

• People at a June 16 ceremony at the St Mary's church in Kagiso, Krugersdorp, ignored a heavy police presence and chanted the praise of the "fallen heroes of the struggle".

Amidst it all, the praise was sung of the leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress.

Hector Peterson, the first victim of the June 16 uprisings, and Steve Biko, the father of the Black Consciousness Movement, were also eulogised.

Shortly before the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, police and soldiers, some wielding sjamboks, returned, but

SOWETAN Reporters

the ceremony was completed without incident.

Speakers stressed the importance of unity among Africans irrespective of political affiliation.

• Police and army personnel were out in force in Lenyene, near Tzaneen, on Friday where a commemoration service organised by the Na-

tional Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) was held.

The group was parked at the gates of the Lutheran Church long before the service was scheduled to start. It was not interrupted.

• In Seshogo, a Community Advice Bureau (CAB) workshop on trade unionism was told

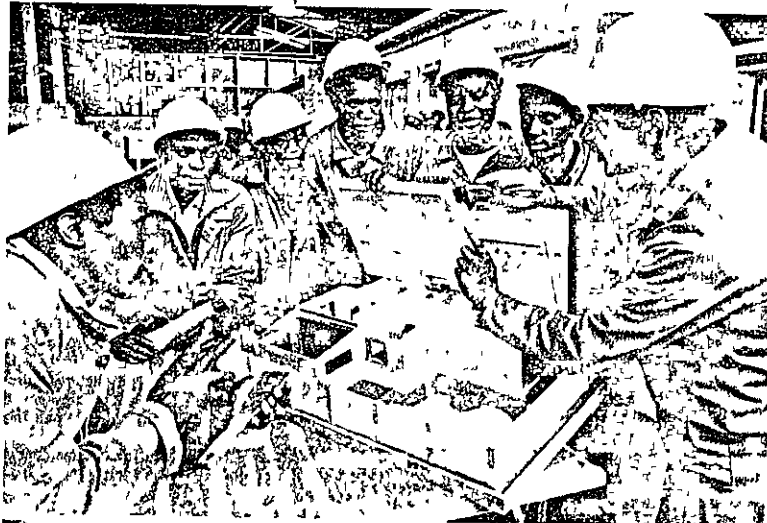
on Saturday that the children who died in 1976 had been fighting for full human rights.

The fact that trade unions were still not allowed in homelands such as Lebowa was a reminder to all blacks that the task children died for still had to be fulfilled.

• Police took pictures of hundreds of people who stayed away from work in Vaal triangle townships on Friday.



Muntu Myeza (centre) watches helplessly as a group of youths disrupts his speech at the Regina Mundi Church in Rockville on Friday. Myeza is the public secretary of Azapo. Pic: JOE MOLEFE



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The future demands skilled people

Sowetan 19/6/89

Biggest group of whites to visit the ANC

THE biggest delegation of white South Africans to hold talks with the ANC is expected to fly to Lusaka this month and Cape Town city councillors will be part of the group.

The delegation is expected to include about 100 people and will be made up of a cross section of South Africans, including members of Parliament, city councillors, businessmen and people involved in other activities.

Sources in Lusaka said the delegation would not only discuss basic political issues with the ANC but also a wide range of subjects such as education, local government and health matters.

The emphasis would be on exploring alternative policies.

**SOWETAN
Africa
News Service**

Town planning committee chairman Mr Clive Keegan, who was also rumoured to be going, said he was not considering any approaches.

"There are always trips," he added. He said if he were approached, he would consider the offer.

"But I really cannot comment on this," he said.

Executive committee chairman Mr Dick Friedlander said he was aware of the trip which had been organised on an individual basis.

Councillors who made the trip would be going in their personal private capacities.

"It would certainly not be by or at the request or at the leave of council," he said. "They will be paying their own way."

Asked if he had been invited, he said "I'm not going."

Details

The talks are expected to begin on June 29. The ANC refused to give any further details about the trip saying it was still being organised and there were fears that a campaign could be launched against the people involved.

The organisation would not name any of the people involved.

The Cape Town City Council has not been invited as a body, according to spokesman Mr Ted Doman.

"We will not be sending anybody as a council representative. If individuals wish to go in their private capacities, they are entitled to do so."

Mr Frank van der Velde, deputy chairman of the council's utilities and works committee, said he had accepted an invitation to join the trip with a great deal of interest.

Conference

He could not say who else would be going — "that is for them to decide."

Van der Velde said he would be taking part in a conference and he believed "a number of local authority people" would be attending.

"I am very much looking forward to it," he said.

"I believe the Government is not negotiating with the true players in the South African political scene."

He suggested that the conference would help bring together different points of view.

The conference was being held towards the end of this month, he added.

Parliament

Another councillor believed to be making the trip declined to comment and referred further questions to the organisers of the trip in Johannesburg.

National Party MP for Parow Mr Hernus Kriel raised the matter in Parliament recently, saying he regarded the trip as "a serious matter."

"Something must be done when local government starts to involve itself in central government matters," he said at the time.

Kriel said it was no secret that the Cape Town City Council was PFP-controlled.

"I want to ask the Democratic Party whether it approves of this. I also want to ask them who is going and who is footing the bill?"

"What are they going to talk about and who are they representing? How will they further the interests of ratepayers by having talks with the ANC?"

He said that if councillors were intending to have talks in Lusaka, it would not be feasible for them to claim they were going in their personal capacities.

Kriel said "I am very worried about this and I hope we will have some answers."

DP would unban ANC, says De Beer

Star 1916/8
In the event of coming to power, the Democratic Party would unban the African National Congress and include it in negotiations for a new constitution for South Africa, DP co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said last night.

In an interview on SABC-TV news, Dr de Beer said the ANC was unquestionably an important organisation in the life of South Africans. Surveys had revealed that 40 to 50 percent of the population believed they owed allegiance to the ANC.

"It would be foolish for anybody to ignore that organisation," he said.

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela should be released unconditionally and allowed to participate in negotiations for a new South African constitution.

However, he said, there was no question of the DP entering into an alliance with the ANC.

He said the DP rejected the ANC's use of violence — "what it calls the armed struggle" — its stand for a one-party state, and its beliefs in a socialist form of government. "All these things we reject," he said.

Dr de Beer denied that the DP was soft on security because they did not arbitrarily ban groups on the basis of their political opinions.

Police probe mystery of white men in township

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Kwazulu police have launched a full investigation into allegations that mystery white men were seen in Kwamashu township at the height of yesterday's clashes in which four members of Inkatha were killed.

Five others were taken to hospital with stab and back wounds. Murder and attempted murder dockets have been opened.

At Kwamashu yesterday, according to residents, the heavily armed members of Inkatha, some of them carrying axes, pangas and spears marched through the streets threatening people opposed to Inkatha.

A member of the Democratic Party's unrest monitoring groups, Mrs Stephanie Miller, said she took two residents to hospital with buckshot wounds and they told her that white men in uniform and some in plainclothes had shot them.

The police unrest report issued in Pretoria today also claimed that a group burned a man to death in the township.

A police spokesman said a group stoned a police vehicle and police had to use bird shot to disperse them. Two suspects were arrested.

THREW BOMBS

In other incidents of unrest, a shop was extensively damaged when a group threw petrol bombs at it. At Kwadengezi, near Pinetown, police arrested 10 suspects who at gathered illegally.

On the eve of today's peace talks in Durban, fighting broke out when some Kwamashu residents lined the streets to protest against members of Inkatha being bussed into the township to attend a prayer meeting at the Princess Magogo Stadium which was addressed by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jan Fourie, district commandant for KwaZulu Police, said he was the only white policeman inside the stadium where Inkatha held a rally.

"I have heard about allegations of mystery white men in Kwamashu yesterday and we have already started investigations to find out who they were.

"We have murder and attempted murder dockets and

(Turn to page 3, col 7)

The Argus, Monday June 19 1989 3

Mystery men in township

(Cont from page 1)

have to get the killers," said Lieutenant-Colonel Fourie.

Dr Buthelezi wept as he announced at the end of a prayer rally for peace that four members of his Inkatha organisation had been killed, and three seriously injured on their way to the rally.

Wiping away tears, he told a crowd of about 5 000, many carrying knobbed, wooden fighting sticks, that the attackers were suspected members of the banned United Democratic Front.

Country-wide, nine people died violently during the last 24 hours according to this morning's official police unrest report.

At Mpumalanga, Hammarsdale, a police patrol reportedly came across a large group. When they stopped, the group fled. Police found the bodies of three men, all with bullet wounds.

SHOP BOMBED

In another incident in the area, a group shot dead two other men, the report said

At Inanda near Durban a group of men were reported to have thrown a petrol-bomb at a shop, causing fairly extensive damage. A man was attacked and stabbed to death.

At Imbali, Pietermaritzburg, a group attacked a house. They threw a petrol-bomb and fired shots at it. A man was wounded.

In another firebombing of a house in the area a woman was injured

Meanwhile, Mpumalanga (Natal) police said six people, including a 13-year-old boy, were shot dead and one was knifed to death

In Cape Town three buses were slightly damaged in stone-throwing incidents in Khayelitsha and Nyanga at the weekend

11A

BIDAY 19/6/84

BUSINESS



SA anti-apartheid activist Rev Allan Boesak, accompanied by a parade marshal, left, and editor of Soujourns magazine Jimm Wallace, greets well-wishers in Washington before an anti-apartheid rally, which was held opposite the White House Picture REUTER

Orders on UDF pair relaxed

6/02/1976 1827
TWO prominent Natal UDF leaders had their restriction orders modified at the weekend to allow them to take part in peace talks with Inkatha

The talks, aimed at ending Natal unrest, are to start in Durban today

The orders, restricting UDF leader Archie Gumede and treasurer Azhar Cachalia to their homes at night, were lifted by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok

But their other restrictions, prohibiting them from taking part in UDF activities, granting news interviews, addressing gatherings of more than 10 people, and contributing to the preparation of any publication, remained intact

Vlok wrote to Gumede that he had taken the decision after representations by Archbishop Desmond Tutu

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Business Day Reporters

Vlok's June 12 house-restriction on Gumede was criticised as an attempt to undermine the talks

But Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellett said that when Vlok realised the implications of Gumede's house-restriction clause, he decided to modify the restriction order

Gumede said he was relieved that his house-arrest restriction was relaxed to allow him to participate in the talks

Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central) said that Gumede could take part in the talks was to be welcomed, but under the remaining restrictions, he would still not be able to communicate any agreement to grassroots supporters

'Constructive' Natal peace talks

CML 7/1/75

20/5/79

11/1/75

DURBAN — Peace talks between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance started here yesterday as police reported another nine deaths in Natal over the weekend.

The 10 delegates to the talks, five from each side, declined to hold a press conference at the conclusion of their meeting, which lasted about five hours. A joint statement issued after the meeting said the discussions were "intense and wide-ranging" and that a full report was being worked on "which will be presented to our respective organisations". It said the meeting wished to reiterate calls for "an end to this senseless violence tearing our communities apart".

"We further agreed that towards attaining peace there must be freedom of association, freedom of expression of political views or affiliations and

freedom of residence, regardless of political views or affiliations.

"We commit ourselves to a process that would begin to expose and isolate all those elements that we believe are actually engaged in this campaign of promoting violence among our people.

"We believe that all our efforts must be directed towards uniting our people in a way which would decisively strike a blow against apartheid."

The statement described the meeting as having taken place in a "constructive spirit which it is hoped can manifest itself throughout our communities".

It added that the talks had been inconclusive and were to be followed up "shortly".

The Inkatha delegates were Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Kwazulu cabinet minister Dr Frank Mdlalose, deputy minister Mr V B

Ndlovu, youth bridge leader Mr K M Zondi and central committee member Mr N Nkehle.

The UDF/Cosatu delegates were UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo, National Medical and Dental Association of SA president Mr Diliza Mji, National Union of Metalworkers education officer Mr Alec Erwin and Cosatu representative in Maritzburg Mr Sipho Gcabashe.

In a memorandum to the meeting, Chief Minister of Kwazulu and president of Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on Cosatu and the UDF to stop insulting Inkatha.

"You can criticise Inkatha for being wrong, you can slam it for blundering, but if you want to talk to Inkatha then stop insulting it by calling it a central element in the apartheid system," he said.

"We have to put the objectives of peace above party political interests and we in Inkatha must be assured that the UDF and Cosatu want to deal with us honourably, straightforwardly and openly."

Meanwhile the police unrest report issued yesterday morning said nine people had died violently during the previous 24 hours.

At Mpumalanga, Hammarsdale, a patrol found the bodies of three men, all with bullet wounds.

"In another incident in the area, a group of men shot dead two men."

In Kwamashu, near Durban, a man was burned to death and two others stabbed to death in a clash between two groups.

At Inanda, a group of men threw a petrol bomb at a shop, causing fairly extensive damage. During the attack a man was attacked and stabbed to death, the report said. — Sapa.

opponents, we hope that this time the state's investigative machinery will prove us wrong by co-operating with us in our investigation" — Sapa

The movie "Licence to Kill" stars Timothy Dalton — Sapa

One killed in Lusaka bomb blast

LUSAKA. — A bomb exploded near the offices of the African National Congress in a shopping centre here early yesterday, killing an unidentified person, police and witnesses said

Police said the bomb exploded near a rubbish dump-truck about 60m from the offices of the ANC.

The body of the person killed in the blast was mutilated beyond recognition, they said.

CMC Times 20/6/89 (1A/1300)
Witnesses said the victim may have been carrying the explosives

Windows of some 20 shops were shattered and the wall of a nearby garage was brought down by the force of the blast

Police sealed off the streets surrounding the area of the blast as they sifted through the debris for clues

ANC officials declined to comment on the explosion. — UPI



NEW SAVIN

By Helen Grange

At a time when homeowners are struggling to keep up with their bond repayments, some account holders are also faced with the threat of a penalty fee should they fall into arrears

The Perm Building Society charges additional interest of two percent of the monthly repayment should homeowners fall behind by two months. Thereafter the bank's attorneys are instructed to institute legal proceedings

No other bank or building so-

Penalty fee for late bond payments

ciety has instituted this additional interest, although at the Natal Building Society (NBS), an extra fee of R20 is payable for a bond repayment outstanding for two months. For every month after that, R10 is added to this

The general manager of Perm, Mr David Harrison, says

the reason for additional interest on late bond repayments is the "extra problems experienced by the building society once an account falls into arrears"

"It is a reasonable reaction. It wasn't introduced to jolt people into paying, but only to cover administrative expenses on our side," he said

Mr Harrison added that homeowners who couldn't meet their commitments could approach the building society, which would tailor bond repayments to their ability to pay

Wittes honoured for saving captain

By Barry Glasspool

A Transvaal Roolbokko player who saved the life of his teammate and captain during a provincial match at Newlands two weeks ago has been honoured by his teammates and Transvaal rugby officials

Wittes Butendach thrust his fingers into Francois Pienaar's mouth to prevent him swallowing his tongue when Pienaar suffered an epileptic fit after receiving a blow on the head during the game against Western Province B Doctors. Later said Butendach's action had saved Pienaar's life

Dr Louis Luyt, president of the Transvaal Rugby Union, said yesterday "If it hadn't been for the quick, sure action of Wittes, we could have lost Francois. He almost had one finger severed, such was the ferocity of the bite."

Butendach was presented with a Transvaal centenary tie at a weekend ceremony at which the gratitude of the TRFU was extended to the Roolbokko hooker.

21 SA academics hold talks with ANC

By Sue Valentine, Education Reporter

A 21-person delegation from the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations have returned to South Africa after three days of talks with the African National Congress in Lusaka

The Uduisa delegation was led by its president, Professor Mala Singh, and comprised delegates from all its branches. These included academics from Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom, Rand Afrikaans, Cape Town, Rhodes, Natal, Durban-Westville, Qwa-Qwa, Bophuthatswana, Unisa, Fort Hare, Witwatersrand and Turfloop universities

The ANC delegation was led by Mr Thabo Mbeki

The general secretary of Uduisa, Dr Mike Morris, said the union's intention in going to Lusaka was essentially as a fact-finding mission

"The exchange of views was extremely beneficial and will enable Uduisa to conduct more informed deliberations on these issues at its congress in July," he said

Star 20/6/89

Star 20/6/89

Joint bid to end Natal violence

Inkatha and UDF pleased with talks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF delegations are to meet again soon — after “constructive” talks yesterday in Durban that were aimed at ending the political violence in Natal and kwaZulu.

After their 5½-hour meeting, the delegates emerged to issue a joint statement, but told reporters that they had agreed not to add anything verbally.

Nearly 1900 people have died in political violence in Natal and kwaZulu since the beginning of 1987, according to Democratic Party monitors and an unrest study group at the Maritzburg campus of the University of Natal.

After weeks of behind-the-scenes negotiations, the Cosatu/UDF delegation was represented by Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu general-secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary for the UDF, Dr Dhliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association of South Africa, Mr Alec Erwin, education officer for the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and the Cosatu representative for Maritzburg, Mr Siphso Gcabashe.

They met Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Frank Mdlalose, chairman of the national council, Mr Velaphi Ndlovo, a mem-

ber of the central committee, Mr Musa Zondi, national leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, and Mr Nqobizwe Nkehli, a member of central committee.

The joint statement handed out after the meeting said “The deliberations were conducted in the most constructive spirit, which it is hoped can become manifest throughout our communities.”

“The discussions were intense and wide-ranging. A full report is being worked on which will be presented to our organisations and presidents.”

“Given the issues discussed and proposals considered, this joint meeting wishes to reiterate the calls that have been made by our respective leaders that there must be an end to this senseless violence tearing our communities apart.”

End to propaganda

“To this end we call for an end to hostile propaganda against each other, which does not contribute towards the creation of an environment for peace.”

In this regard, the delegates also called on the press to report with sensitivity and responsibility.

“We further agreed that towards obtaining peace there must be freedom of association, freedom of expression of political views or affiliations, and freedom of residence regardless of one’s political views or affiliation.”

“We commit ourselves to a process that would begin to expose and isolate all those elements we believe are actually engaged in this campaign of promoting violence among our people.”

“We believe that all our efforts must be directed towards uniting our people in a way which could decisively strike a blow against apartheid — and not our people.”

The delegates also agreed to meet again shortly to follow up yesterday’s talks.

Stop insulting us — Buthelezi

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday called on the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front to stop insulting Inkatha by calling it a central element in the apartheid system.

He said this in a memorandum for a meeting in Durban between representatives of Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF about peace initiatives.

“You can criticise Inkatha for being wrong, you can slam it for

blundering, but if you want to talk to Inkatha then stop insulting it by calling it a central element in the apartheid system.”

An effort had been made to “exclude Inkatha from all decent communities of man”.

“Cosatu and the UDF have to sort out their priorities. We have to put the objectives of peace above party political interests and we in Inkatha must be assured that the UDF and Cosatu want to deal with us honourably, straightforwardly and openly,” he said. — Sapa.

1988

Those who talk to ANC risk Nelspruit blacklist

The Argus Correspondent

NELSPRUIT — South Africans who have met the African National Congress as well as those planning to will end up on a "blacklist" being drawn up by some Nelspruit residents

This was decided at a weekend meeting of 10 sparked by the news that 120 white South Africans, the biggest group yet, would be leaving soon for Lusaka and a conference with the ANC.

"Some of us felt a blacklist for the odd person who had already visited Lusaka should have already have been made, but this massive delega-

tion convinced everybody," group member Mr Ben van Schalkwyk said

Now the group is determined to hold regular meetings and take appropriate action against the "traitors" What action is still to be decided

However it was decided that while nobody would be confronted violently or physical harm caused to them, everything possible would be done to exclude them from all community life.

It was announced last week that 120 South Africans would visit Lusaka next month for a conference with the ANC

* The talks would be attended by about 40 ANC members and funded by the United States, Canadian, Dutch, Danish and Swiss governments.

This has also angered the group, which feels some sort of government action should have been taken

Broederstroom 3: Evidence in mitigation

Current situation vital in ANC trial

By Norman Chandler,
Pretoria Bureau

The manner in which historians and the South African Government view the current political situation and the African National Congress will form part of the evidence when the Broederstroom Three terrorism trial resumes today.

The Pretoria Regional Court heard last week that political events in South Africa, particularly since 1976, could have led to three white self-confessed ANC members reaching their decision to join the organisation

The three — Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson

and Susan Donnelly (nee Westcott) — pleaded and were, last week, found guilty on various charges of terrorism. De Lange was also found guilty on two charges of arson.

De Lange and Robertson have both told the court, in papers handed in by their defence attorneys, they are members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC.

Professor Colin Bundy, Professor of History at the University of Cape Town and at the University of the Western Cape, told the court last week when giving evidence in mitigation on behalf the accused, that "the era in which they grew up" needed to be taken into consideration

He said that during that period the ANC had begun a climb to legitimacy among the people of South Africa while the legitimacy of the Government was dwindling

Professor Bundy described the era as showing a "distinctive political character", and added that in this time South African society "expressed an interlocking set of acute problems ... and so long-lasting that one could accurately characterise it as ... a multifaceted historical and social crisis".

Professor Bundy, regarded as the top expert on the African National Congress and who has given evidence in other terrorism cases, is to be extensively cross-examined today by Mr Frans Roets, for the State.

Last week, Mr Roets asked for an adjournment in order to prepare his cross-examination

It is expected that the State will this week also call an expert witness on the ANC.

The trial arises out of a raid made by the police on a remote farmhouse in the Broederstroom area, south-west of Pretoria, on May 8 last year. The three accused and a fourth man, Mr Hugh Lugg, were arrested. Mr Lugg has not been seen since the arrests were made.

They were alleged to be members of an ANC "specialised terror unit". De Lange was said by the State to be the unit leader, Robertson the political commissar, and Donnelly the communications officer.

Initially, the three accused were charged not only with terrorism but also with attempted murder and charges relating to explosives, arms and ammunition, and damage to property.

Initially, the three accused were charged not only with terrorism but also with attempted murder and charges relating to explosives, arms and ammunition, and damage to property.

JIA Star 26/6/89

Sisulu among the 'hounds' in anti-apartheid bull ring

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mrs Albertina Sisulu will address a major anti-apartheid rally in London today to protest against the visit here of Mr F W de Klerk

The rally, in the Bull Ring at Waterloo, is part of a series of demonstrations and marches by anti-apartheid campaigners, who have vowed to hound Mr de Klerk wherever he goes in Europe

Mrs Sisulu is passing through London on her way to the United States for a meeting with President George Bush

The rally will be the culmination of a protest march through town to the Bull Ring. It will be followed by a protest meeting at the House of Commons, where activists will lobby their MPs to oppose the De Klerk visit

Tomorrow there will be a mass picket of South Africa House

sta 20/6/89 On Friday, the day Mr de Klerk meets Mrs Thatcher and Sir Geoffrey Howe, campaigners will stage a protest at the Foreign Secretary's residence in Carlton Gardens, to coincide with his lunch date with Mr de Klerk

Later that day there will be a protest at Downing Street, followed by further picketing of South Africa House

● Mr de Klerk's visit is motivated only by fear of sanctions, says the World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism

In a statement yesterday, Mrs Justice Annie Jagge of Ghana, the programme's moderator, adds "South Africa is desperately campaigning against sanctions. It wants the measures already imposed to be lifted

'We urge all of the Western governments to stand firm'

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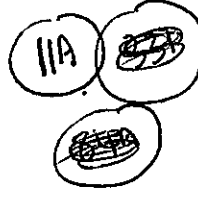
Blacks, whites set to rule together - HSRC

BLACK and white South Africans seem to be all set for a future multi-racial government based on fairness to all, according to recent survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council

The chief research specialist of the HSRC, Dr Nic Rhodie, said black and white respondents in various recent surveys firmly believed in a peaceful negotiated settlement in South Africa

He said only 14 percent of urban blacks polled saw violence as the only means to achieve equality in South Africa. More than 80 percent were in favour of non-violent means to achieve this. In the case of whites, 23 percent were in favour of a white homeland against the 72 percent who were looking forward to the dismantling of apartheid structures — Sapa

ANC not a terror group - expert



Sowetan 21/6/87

THE African National Congress was not a terrorist organisation and had repudiated terror, the Pretoria Regional Court was told yesterday by Professor Colin Bundy.

SOWETAN Reporter

Bundy, Professor of History at the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape, was being cross-examined by the State on the resumption of the "Broederstroom Three" trial

Bundy told the court the ANC's aims were "national liberation and self-determination".

Damian de Lange, Ian Robertson and Susan Donnelly, members of an ANC unit uncovered at Broederstroom last year, have been found guilty on a number of terrorism charges.

Subdued

The three yesterday entered the court without the customary shouts of "Amandla", which had been a feature of the trial.

They appeared subdued as they spoke among themselves and to friends and relations.

For the first time during the trial, which is being heard by Mr W van der Bergh, neither sets of parents went to the dock to greet De Lange or Donnelly.

Bundy, who last week gave evidence in mitigation for the three, was cross-examined yesterday by Mr T Pretorius, for the prosecution, on the historical evidence he had led regarding the ANC.

He told the court the four levels of violence

enunciated by Nelson Mandela — sabotage, guerilla war, terrorism and revolution — from the dock during the Rivonia trial 25 years ago were part of a "people's war" by the ANC.

Pursuit

"Guerilla war and the people's war are now being run together," said Bundy.

Pretorius asked Bundy if he regarded the ANC as a terrorist organisation and Bundy said it depended on the definition of terrorist — his definition was the "pursuit of political ends".

He added "Certainly, it is a military organisation but has over a period of time repudiated terror, and sought instead to conduct its operations against military establishments to certain standards."

Bundy told the court that military and police installations were regarded by the ANC as "legitimate targets" and that "enemy personnel such as security forces and farmers in frontier areas who were integrated in the system of area defence" were also on the ANC list

The organisation was hostile to "collaborators and stooges". It was also hostile to local government officials and the

black town councillors. Asked by Pretorius about the ANC's targets, Bundy said so-called "soft targets" included loss of human life or injury while other targets were buildings or other inanimate objects. There is what he termed "a blurring of lines" between soft and hard targets.

Disruption of June 16 service condemned

By Montshiwa Moroke

Affiliates of the Black Consciousness Movement have condemned the disruption of the June 16 commemoration service at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto, describing the action as "political banditry" and a desecration.

The statements from the National Youth Co-ordinating Committee (Nayco) and Mr Nkosi Molala, former president of the restricted Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), were referring to an incident in which former Azapo spokesman, Mr Muntu Myeza, was prevented from speaking.

A spokesman for Nayco said "The event of last Friday was organised to commemorate the death of many black students and youth who made the sacrifice towards the liberation of this country, that is why we had thrown aside our political differences so that we could give the service the honour and dignity it deserved.

"We wish to register our point of disgust at the manner in which the youths conducted themselves in the service. Those youths exhibited extreme intolerance and total disregard of the occasion everyone had gathered to commemorate," the spokesman said.

Passtoors 'a victim of psychological warfare'

The Star's Foreign
News Service

UTRECHT — ANC activist Helene Passtoors says she was the victim of excruciating "psychological warfare" during her jail term in South Africa

Mrs Passtoors made the claims on television on Sunday, and in recent weeks newspapers have published her allegations in detail *Star 2/11/61 87*

Wearing her now customary green, yellow and black outfit, the colours of the ANC, she said the "psychological torture" included being filmed by video camera every minute of the day

She suffered a breakdown after spotting a friend from Mozambique during a visit to a medical clinic. Surrounded by security policemen, she failed to get her friend's attention "When I went back to my cell, I had a tremendous reaction to this and broke down and cried with self-pity for several days," she said

She had followed the advice of ANC leaders when she signed the undertaking with the South African Government to no longer take part in any violent actions against the country. But in a dramatic gesture upon her arrival at Brussels Airport, tore up the agreement during a media conference

Asked to comment on her allegations, a spokesman for the SA Prisons Service said the service "is satisfied that all prisoners entrusted to its care are treated humanely and in a professional manner

"Ex-prisoners at times subjectively present their own experiences as facts but they can seldom be substantiated as such.

"The allegations made by Mrs Passtoors in the report are untrue and appear to be propaganda aimed at discrediting the system"

In the heart of the ANC

11A

A MODEST group of small buildings located off a narrow and dusty side street in central Lusaka is referred to by members of the ANC as "HQ".

"HQ", however, belies the size and scope of the organisation the ANC has been able to establish in its 28 years in exile

Estimates of the ANC's membership in exile vary but it is reliably known to be between 9 000 and 10 000 people

The ANC's treasurer-general, Thomas Nkobe, controls a budget believed to be R85-million and which has to fund the ANC's central structures in Lusaka, training and high schools in Tanzania, Radio Freedom in Luanda and Madagascar, and diplomatic missions stretching from Washington to Tokyo

The organisation has deliberately steered away from organising itself as a "government-in-exile" Instead, it has remained a political organisation with various departments taking responsibility for different sectors

Policy decisions are taken by the 35-person National Executive Committee A National Working Committee takes responsibility for the day-to-day running of the organisation

All ANC departments are the responsibility of the security general This includes the ANC's 31 diplomatic offices and the departments of Cultural, Health and Education facilities, youth and women

Security

Legal and Constitutional Affairs, the Department of Information and Publicity, and the military are the responsibility of the president's office

The killing of key personnel has led to the ANC increasing its emphasis on security Consequently, the ANC's various departments are housed in separate buildings all over Lusaka.

ANC offices carry no decals or signs So when we stopped in an industrial area outside a block of similar looking buildings, we did not know it housed the Department of Law and Constitutional Affairs (Dalc).

We crowded into a small office as octogenarian Jack Simons explained the duties of the department Although Simons left SA more than 20 years ago, he still cannot be quoted

Dalc plays a very varied role in the organisation Duties stretch from administering the various properties owned or let, to arranging the defence of members being tried inside South Africa, to preparing the ANC's constitutional guidelines

From there we undertook a 30-minute drive through several of Lusaka's residential areas to an average house We were taken to a small bedroom which had been kitted out as a studio This was the headquarters of Radio Freedom in Lusaka

At present they are dependent on Zambia's relatively weak radio transmitters A problem currently being faced, they said, is the regular manner in which Radio Freedom's transmissions are being blocked



ANC president Oliver Tambo Leading the movement's diplomatic offensive in Washington with Jesse Jackson, above, and, left, at a conference in Harare Below The ANC's Thabo Mbeki



From the straggling group of exiles who fled South Africa to set up "shop" in Lusaka after the outlawing of the African National Congress in 1961, the ANC has built an organisation which now straddles the world.

Its "external mission" caters for thousands of exiles and refugees from all levels of South African society. Apart from its focus on the situation at "home", it is structured to see to the welfare, security, employment, training and other needs of its members, including six-year-olds in the ANC's "Young Pioneers" and octogenarians such as Jack Simons, who still puts in a full day at the ANC's Department of Law and Constitutional Affairs. MOEGSIEN WILLIAMS and NAZEEM HOWA recently visited Lusaka for a closer look at the ANC:

The ANC's youth department finds itself in a modest building in downtown Lusaka's business district An armoured door marks the entrance

Recently given autonomous rights by the ANC, this department caters for the needs of members under the age of 35

It assists in arranging studies and career development of exiles

A recent development in the department was the creation of the "Young Pioneers"

"Children refugees from South Africa who arrive at our door have never really been able to enjoy a normal childhood at home Our task is to provide the circumstances which will give them that childhood until they are able to decide their own future," an official on the youth desk

said

A bumpy journey across town finds us across the table from ex-Cape Town Reg September, who heads the Department of Political Education (DPE)

He continually reminisces about Cape Town before his departure in 1962 as he describes his department's duties He, too, cannot be quoted

The DPE is responsible for raising the political awareness of members at the ANC's various offices, its training camps and its school in Tanzania.

From here we travelled to another industrial area to visit the Department of Culture

The entrance foyer is lined with pictures of various activities, indicative of the department's vibrancy

Besides developing a national culture, this department is also responsible for sport The recent initiatives involving Dame Craven's SA Rugby Board involved several people from this department

Other areas include the placement of students at universities throughout the world and agricultural projects such as ANC-run farms

At the end of May, ANC president Oliver Tambo had to fly off to meet the president of Nigeria, while a nine-year-old Young Pioneer was preparing to attend a world youth festival in North Korea

WORLD BRIEFS

Kenyans do it through sweat

THE secret to Kenya's incredible consistency in producing world-class distance runners has finally been revealed

The key, says national team manager and coach Mike Kosgie, lies in sheer hard work

The outstanding performances of Kenyan athletes on tracks around the world stem from months of intense preparation

For several months up to October, the Kenyan athletes work on their basic fitness with 10 to 12 weeks of high mileage

In January, athletes attend a camp organised by various clubs which concentrates on speed endurance in preparation for the national championships in February

Those who qualify for the national team are then taken to another high-altitude camp, where the training is rigidly spartan

During their preparation, however, the individual runners have to train two to three times a day in addition to their running

Moves to cut drugs in sport

THE Soviet Union, East Germany and the United States are to take a tougher stand on the use of drugs in sport

At a conference in Moscow recently, the three nations negotiated an agreement whereby random and out-of-competition testing would take place

In the past, athletes could get away with using performance-enhancing drugs by taking them at the peak of training during the off-season. During competitions, they simply stopped using them

At the Olympics last year, only 10 athletes — including Ben Johnson — were tested positive

But 50 percent of the nearly 10 000 athletes at the Olympics had used drugs, according to Dr Robert Voy, chief medical officer of the US Olympic committee

US basketball legend retires

ARGUABLY the greatest player in the history of basketball, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, has finally hung up his sneakers in his unprecedented 20th season.

At 42, Abdul-Jabbar has quit the team he led to two NBA titles

Admittedly, part of the reason for his retirement is that his play deteriorated badly this season

He was also under tremendous pressure by fellow players and American sportswriters to quit

Despite the criticisms, Abdul-Jabbar always proved a major drawcard for the Lakers, adding a personal lustre to the team

Painful truth for Williams?

MIKE TYSON is looking forward to another short but profitable night when he clashes with Carl "The Truth" Williams on July 21

The only truth Williams is likely to discover is that he made a grievous mistake in taking on the undisputed heavyweight champion of the world

Widely known for his fragile jaw, Williams is expected to wilt under the first serious attack

Judging from Tyson's demolition of the capable Michael Spinks in 90 seconds last year and the fifth-round KO of the powerful Frank Bruno this year, the less talented Williams is in danger of becoming cannon fodder from the first stare the fearsome Tyson throws in his direction

Fans eager to see Mac

THE prospect of seeing former world number one, John McEnroe, in action at the Wimbledon warm-up tournament this month has led to tickets for the tournament being sold out

"The Brat's" return to international competition has been greeted with incredible enthusiasm by tennis fans, who recall his vital personality and memorable matches with Bjorn Borg

McEnroe, meanwhile, has had time to improve his game on grass, while the rest of the world's singles tennis players recover from the clay of Roland Garros.

Enter the Soviets

Sports stars go for the money



Cram in action

Cram chases Aouita's title

WORLD mile record-holder Steve Cram has warned world 5 000m record-holder Said Aouita that his dominance in the event is to come to an end

In his first race in the distance at the UK championships, Cram clocked 13 28 sec to beat fellow Briton, Eammon Martin, by 10 seconds

Although far from Aouita's 12 58 sec record, Cram proved he has the stamina to last the distance

Smarting

And given a few more months, he will almost certainly improve that time substantially

Cram must still be smarting from the time Aouita snatched the world 1 500m world record from him after he had held it for only a few weeks

A clash between Cram and Aouita over 5 000m will more than equal the great Sebastian Coe/Steve Ovett rivalry of the early 1980s

IS THE Soviet Union, torch-bearer of the "no professional sport" principle, being lured by the trappings of Western sport?

Some sports analysts believe it is and point to the Soviets' small but dramatic entry into the world of professional, capitalist sport

Since the 1950s, the Soviet Union has proved the most consistent sports contingent at all the Olympic games

However, these Olympic champions were never released onto the world circuits but were kept "at home", where they combined work with regular training

The only time the world caught a glimpse of their sports prowess was when the Soviets appeared at world championships and at selected international events

But with Mikhail Gorbachev's era of perestroika and glasnost sweeping through the Soviet Union, sport relations are also undergoing a transformation

During the past year, national teams of the Soviet Union have been undertaking regular tours of Western Europe

The tours have been described as "money-making tours" because of the massive sponsorships derived from the advertisements worn on the players' clothing

Profits

According to a United States company that conducts international sports business symposiums, between 1985 and 1988 the Soviet Union acquired profits conservatively estimated at \$100 million out of sports endorsements, appearance fees and prize money

But the most significant effect has been the unleashing of Soviet sportspersons into the world of capitalist sport — an arena largely avoided by the Soviet sports hierarchy before glasnost

Not that large numbers of players in all sports have invaded the leagues throughout the world

The Soviet Union has carefully selected players for participation in professional leagues

According to many observers, there is never likely to be a mass exodus of Soviet players to Western countries

This transferral of certain athletes for massive fees is seen as an attempt by the Soviet establishment to raise hard currency

Television exposure in the West is being

carefully pursued and teams are allowed to wear outfits emblazoned with Western advertising

Already four players are on the men's professional tennis circuit, while three compete on the women's circuit, about six soccer players are in Western Europe, and a star winger is playing with the National Hockey league in North America

Professionals

An agreement signed in April between Soviet sports authorities and New York promoter Lou Falcigno provides for as many as six Soviet boxers to train and fight as professionals in the United States

But while the sports politburo is confronted with the task of who to release and for how long, it has had to wrestle with a more challenging duty over the past months

And that is how to prevent Soviet athletes from being lured into capitalist networks and demanding not only to keep their own prize money, but hiring private agents and managers as well

When Soviet players were allowed to participate in Western professional sport they did so with the understanding that all monies earned would become the property of the sport's controlling body

Eager to find their way on to professional circuits, the sports stars happily agreed. But as the capitalist trappings became increasingly attractive, the players began to revolt against the hierarchy

"No money"

At least two tennis players, Andrei Chesnokov and Natalya Zvereva, ranked 30th and eighth in the world respectively, have in recent months refused to hand over their earnings to the Soviet sports federations and have publicly announced their bitterness about the Soviet policy of "hard play for no money"

They have the sympathy of the money-hungry sports agents, who are backing their rebellion to the hilt

Glasnost has opened the country to the commercial possibilities derived from participation in Western, professional sport

Soviet officials insist, though, that their sports stars' increased presence in the West is a means of relaxing international tensions, fostering goodwill and overcoming stereotypes

This perhaps explains why the US and the Soviet Union have agreed to the 1990 Goodwill Games, a track and field competition

Boxing beyond the 'Iron Curtain'

SOVIET boxers have decided to come out of the cold and are set to box professionally in the United States

This latest example of "sports glasnost" is the result of negotiations between the Soviet sports authorities and New York promoter Lou Falcigno, who is also a closed circuit TV exhibitor

The arrangement contracts the Russian boxers, amateurs until now, to fight exclusively for Falcigno over a period of 10 years.

The Soviet boxers are to live in New York and train under the guidance of top American trainers, assisted by Russian coaches

Legendary Tommy Galagher has already been appointed as a trainer. Galagher is better known as the man who guided Donny "Golden Boy" Lalonde in his quest of the WBC lightweight title

Other well-known coaches approached by Falcigno include Angelo Dundee, Richie Grachetti and the outspoken Kevin Rooney, who worked with "Iron Mike" Tyson until last year

The trainers all appear interested in the offer

The willingness of the Soviets to allow their boxers to turn professional is yet

another development in the growing Soviet sports presence in the United States

On March 31 this year, Sergei Priaken became the first athlete from Russia to play for a professional team when he made his debut for the Calgary Flames of the National Hockey League

The Soviet Union's baseball team began its tour of the USA on April 11 in a game against the US Naval Academy

The six Soviet amateur boxers destined for the professional spotlight are to be selected in October. According to Falcigno, though, some may be chosen earlier

Two of the men most likely to turn pro are Alexander Miroshicheno and Rahat Umerbekov, both heavyweights

Alexander is a former Olympics silver medalist who lost on points to American Ray Mercer in the finals of the Seoul games

There is a strong possibility that some of the Soviets will box before the end of the year, but it is more likely that all six could make their respective debuts on the same card early next year

Plans at this stage see the boxers fighting only in the USA, but Falcigno says that one or two bouts may be staged in the Soviet Union to stimulate an interest in professional boxing there

Stop the murder of children - Chikane

By ALI MPHAKI

THE South African Government has murdered enough black children and has no right to continue murdering them, said the Rev Frank Chikane.

The secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches told this to a service of solidarity for the Upington 14 held in Johannesburg yesterday.

The Upington 14 were convicted for the murder in November 1985 of a municipal policeman, Mr Lucas Sethwala, who was necklaced. The legal doctrine of common purpose was applied in their conviction.

Chikane said it was disheartening for our society to legally murder so many people in a year, adding that "this exercise of murder must come to an end."

Lost

He appealed to all churches to ensure that no single life is lost on the basis of what he termed injustice. "The law in this country has become a law of injustice and for that reason the courts are part and parcel of the repressive machinery of the State," he said.

Chikane, who shared the stage with Miss Maureen Lekanyane, a sister to two of the 14 now on death row, added that the right to life is the most precious of human rights.

"We have a Government whose constitution



MAUREEN LEKANYANE is to maintain the interests of the minority by using violence. And because of that our people are bound to use violence," Chikane said.

He added that he no longer has confidence in the judicial system of this country because "it represents the evil and sickness of apartheid."

Chikane appealed to the international community to continue exerting pressure on the South African Government to grant clemency to all those on death row.

Victims

"The majority of all those on death row are victims of apartheid," he said.

In a brief speech, Lekanyane, whose two brothers Andrew (29) and David (25) are among the 14, said her family has taken all to God in prayer.

Mabasa released

Sowetan 22/6/89

2/25
11/19

THE deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Lybon Mabasa, has been released but his movements have been restricted, a family spokesman said yesterday.

His wife, Mrs Oko Mabasa, said her husband was whisked to John Vorster Square to see Mr Herbert before being released. He was detained on March 28. In

terms of his restriction orders he must report at the Moroka police station daily and must be indoors between 6am to 6pm.

Mabasa (36) was in the founding committee of Azapo in 1978 and was banned for five years as a result of his involvement.

He is a former school teacher and president of Azapo. His involvement in politics dates back to the formation of the South African Students Organisation in 1968.

While in detention Mabasa twice went on a hunger strike to force the authorities to either charge or release him.

GO HOME - SISULU TO DE KLERK

LONDON — Ululations and cries of "Amandla, Awethu" greeted Albertina Sisulu as she ascended the back of a truck in the drab grey forum of London's Bull Ring on Tuesday evening.

Sisulu, for the first time in her life allowed to travel abroad, addressed an emotional meeting of around 600 anti-apartheid campaigners protesting this week's visit to Europe by Mr F W de Klerk

A forest of banners proclaiming "Send De Klerk home" faced Sisulu as she took the microphone and silently raised a fist

Standing nearby, to underline the way women have fought apartheid, was Adelaide Tambo, wife of Oliver, and Sister Bernard Ngcube of the Federation of Transvaal Women

The dignified UDF co-



Mrs Albertina Sisulu

president delivered a stinging attack on De Klerk, saying he had nothing to offer blacks in South Africa.

He must, she said, be sent home to end the state of emergency, free political prisoners, unban the ANC and other organisations, allow all exiles home — and suspend the September elections.

In the meantime, the Western world should up the ante by increasing the sanctions pressure

The diminutive Sister Bernard followed Sisulu

onto the makeshift platform to call the South African Government illegitimate "Our government is in exile, and we are preparing a welcome for them," she told the crowd

Sisulu, who has been given 30 days' leave to travel, will return home to a set of restrictions which include bans on attending meetings and talking to the Press

She believes the authorities gave in on the passport question after she received an invitation to talk to President Bush, which she will do later in the week, accompanied by Sister Bernard and secretary general of the Federation of Transvaal Women, Jessie Duarte

The women have already seen the Swedish foreign minister and left Britain yesterday for a meeting with Danielle Mitterand, wife of the French president, before heading for Washington

— Sowetan Foreign News Service

WHITES TO MEET ANC

Largest group to visit Lusaka

LUSAKA — A large delegation of white South Africans will hold talks with the African National Congress in Lusaka from June 29 to July 2.

They will discuss "the role of whites in a changing society," a statement from the Five Freedom's Forum said yesterday.

"The delegation of whites is unique in that not only does it include a large number of influential individuals,

but that most delegates will be representing specific organisations or constituencies," the statement said.

This is also the largest delegation of white people to meet with the ANC. Members of the Democratic Party, city councillors, business

Another key aim will be to gain direct knowledge of the ANC and its policies.

"A curtain of State propaganda has provided a distorted picture of the organisation. We see the need to gain first-hand knowledge of the ANC," the statement said.

The issues of sanctions, violence, the South African economy, constitution and negotiation will also be discussed.

Main funders of the conference are the Swiss, Canadian, Dutch, Danish and US governments.

"Delegates have been invited on the basis of their significance within their constituencies and will be able to share their experience with many others on their return," the statement said.



'VIOLENT UPRISING UNLIKELY'

South African
22/6/89
11A

A TOP expert on the African National Congress and chief defence witness in mitigation at the Broederstroom terrorist trial, Professor Colin Bundy, yesterday cast doubt on whether violence in South Africa since 1984 was a revolution against the State.

He told the Pretoria Regional Court that an eight-armed "revolutionary octopus" he had worked out from a study

of the situation did not add up to revolution

"Some of the arms did, others were blurred lines, and still others did not," Bundy, history professor at the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape, said.

In evidence given during a re-examination of his original evidence in mitigation, Bundy denied he was a Marxist, denied that he sympathised with the ANC, but he did agree that he did not

support the policies of the South African Government.

Bundy also repeated to the magistrate, Mr W van den Bergh, that the ANC was not a terrorist organisation.

He was giving evidence at the trial of Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson and Susan Donnelly, alleged members of an ANC terror unit which was uncovered at Broederstroom in May last year.

The three have been found guilty on various counts of terrorism, while De Lange has also been found guilty on two charges of arson.

Proceeding

Look at SA's Don Quixotes

11A
Sowetan
22/6/89

MUCH is being said since Sowetan began to articulate its version of Nation Building in order to resolve the myriad problems that beset our community

In many respects people have responded negatively to a concept that has been articulated by numerous revolutionary leaders over several decades.

However it might be that the manner in which the concept was articulated gave rise to the numerous criticisms that emerged after the concept was first spoken of.

It is obvious that the architects of this latest interpretation of Nation Building plunged into the fray without having carefully thought out what they intended to do and how they expected to popularise their version of the concept.

Problem

The other problem is that they did not carefully examine the various definitions and explanations of Nation Building that have been articulated by men such as Nyerere, Amilcar Cabral and a number of others (If they did they should have given clear notice of the roots of their version of the concept).

Clearly our men from

POLITICAL activist and journalist **STRINI MOODLEY** examines and endorses *Sowetan's* nation building. This article is from the current edition of a Natal publication, *Umtapo Focus*.

Sowetan were eager to develop a quick-fix definition which they hoped would please everybody.

In many respects they are very much like Don Quixote — the romantic yet sincere, adventurer who charged at windmills because he was incensed by the excesses of the Spanish inquisition.

Incensed

Our men from *Sowetan* are equally incensed by the excesses that have ravaged (and continue to ravage) our beloved land.

In their eagerness to find solutions they have charged, some feel where angels fear to tread.

I do not think that these men are concerned so much with the excesses of the Botha government as much as they despair about the state in which the black community finds itself.

They despair at the political in-fighting that has been a feature in the past few years. They despair at the total lack of discipline that a

number of activities display without any form of control or admonishment in evidence. They despair at the way in which the education bathwater has been thrown out of the window with the baby. They despair at the fact that every political action and activity is dictated by Botha.

When there is a tri-cameral election you "anti-it". When there is a municipal election you "anti-it". When there is a labour bill you "anti-it". We have anti-this and anti-that organisations. In the process we have "anti-ed" ourselves into a corner.

Trapped

Now we can only wait until Botha does something before we do anything. When Botha detains us we go on hunger strike. When Botha releases us and restricts us we run to the embassies.

Every action is governed by Botha. Every protest is determined by Botha. We are trapped in our thinking and limited to responding to oppression and exploitation by Botha. In short the black community has lost sense of the creative aspects of the revolution. They have not been able to

FOCUS

grasp that in order to build a nation we have to be able to act as though we are a nation.

We have to display all the qualities of a nation. We have to be able to think for ourselves, work out strategies for ourselves, to learn to respect ourselves and our people so that we can work together towards building a new nation.

There might be certain priorities that we are considering that will help us rid ourselves of the divisions, rid ourselves of the lack of discipline and rid ourselves of the lack of respect for human life.

Crucial

Indeed the last point is crucial. It would appear as if our search for liberation has led us to believe that liberation equals death.

Truth is that the black community has forgotten that liberation — the struggle for liberation — is about life, about the protection and maintenance of life.

Life governs those people who are struggling for liberation because the proponents of death of starvation, of war and violence, of hunger and poverty, of unemployment and disease are those who are in control of this country, Botha and all those who came before.

That is why the black people began to organise

against the regime that is why the ANC, the PAC, the Unity Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement emerged. They were fighting against the deathly policies of governments and rulers who were intent upon maintaining a boot upon the neck of the black community.

Against that background the various organisations developed their theories and strategies to fight against the rulers.

Desire

All that work had at its root the desire to build a new nation.

Leaders such as I B Tabatha, Robert Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko articulated the feelings and desires of the black people so that their words, thoughts and deeds were all designed towards Nation Building.

Today those efforts are far as our men from *Sowetan* have analysed have all gone to waste. Today there is petty bickering, there are activists killing activists, there is no discipline and above all there is no constructive, creative effort on the part of the leadership to re-instate the mood, dignity and fellowship that governed the struggle in the earlier days.

All of those concerns drove our men at *Sowetan* to imitate the Nation Building concept.

Thus to discredit their efforts is meaningless to pour cold water over those efforts does not help in resolving the despair they articulate on behalf of the million of black people who see the ill.

Strategy

Is it not better for us to agree that a Nation Building strategy is necessary? That we need to address those problems which have given rise to the despair and the pain that many of us suffer because of the lack of sound leadership that can demonstrate how to steer a ship without damaging the structure and unnecessarily embarking upon a journey that is self-destructive and meaningless.

We need to say yes to Nation Building. We need to agree that Nation Building is vital. If there are certain aspects with which we disagree then using a democratic forum we can air those views and let them stand the test of a true democratic evaluation.



The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is The Comptroller/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone (021) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlotso, Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Makhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Spec 22/6/84

ANC three (11A) 'motivated by idealism not crime'

By Norman Chandler,
Pretoria Bureau

A sociologist told the Broederstroom Three terror trial in Pretoria yesterday that she believed "strong idealistic elements" rather than "criminal deviation" motivated the accused

Mrs SE (Betty) Welz, of Unisa, said Damian de Lange, Ian Robertson and Susan Donnelly — alleged members of an African National Congress terror unit — had also indicated their "faith in the future of a non-racial South Africa"

And in other evidence led yesterday, Professor Colin Bundy, Professor of History at the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape, denied he sympathised with the ANC or that he was a Marxist.

Mrs Welz and Professor Bundy were giving evidence in mitigation for the Broederstroom Three, who have been found guilty in the Pretoria Regional Court of various counts of terrorism, and De Lange on two further charges of arson

The idealism of the accused was yesterday highlighted by Mrs Welz, who said that De Lange had been influenced by his Catholic upbringing, Robertson through a deep left-wing commitment, and Donnelly via a strong liberal background.

Mrs Welz said that "nowadays the prospect of a non-racial society in South Africa is espoused by the Government, but at the time that De Lange and Robertson left to join the ANC, it was not.

"The accused make the point that they see themselves as in step with the hopes and aspirations of the majority of black South Africans"

Answering questions by Mr D Soggott, SC, for the defence, Mrs Welz described the three as "normally caring people who would wish to pursue ordinary lives if the demands of what they see as the struggle for justice had not intervened"

She said life as a member of the ANC was one of no salary, of wearing second-hand clothes and of eating from food parcels De Lange never lived in a house alone with his family — "most of the time, he and his wife and their twin sons lived in one room"

~~SOTA~~

11A

Tambo spells out his conditions for talks

star 22/6/87

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo has reiterated the ANC's "bottom line" of steps Pretoria must take before the ANC will consider negotiating

He did so in a keynote speech as Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk flew to Europe for his visit to political leaders.

In the speech, Mr Tambo dealt with questions such as ANC conditions for negotiating with the South African Government and its attitude to sanctions against South Africa. He

also attacked policy statements made by the Government

Details of what Mr Tambo said may not be published in South Africa because he is banned in terms of the International Security Act

The address, to the Socialist International congress in Stockholm on Tuesday, has increased pressure on Mr de Klerk, who will see Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany today and Mrs Thatcher tomorrow

The British and West German leaders will be expecting a concrete reform agenda

Top SA academics among group of 120 to meet ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The largest group of white South Africans yet to meet the African National Congress will attend a conference in Zambia later this month to discuss with the banned organisation the role of whites in a changing society

The Five Freedoms Forum, which organised the conference, yesterday released the names of some of the 120 South African delegates who will meet 40 ANC representatives in Lusaka from June 29 to July 2

Prominent educationists are among the delegates, including University of the Witwatersrand deputy vice-chancellor Professor Mervyn Shear, University of Cape Town deputy vice-chancellor Professor Dave Woods, Sacred Heart College principal Mr Neil McGurk, educationist Dr Franz Auerbach and Dr Robin

Lee of the Wits Centre for Policy Studies

Others attending the conference, sponsored by the governments of the United States, Sweden, Canada, the Netherlands and Denmark, include East London mayor Mr Donald Card, former Black Sash president Mrs Joyce Harris and *Southern African Report* editor Mr Raymond Louw

The Five Freedoms Forum said yesterday that the delegates represented parties which worked in the white community.

The conference would substantially differ from previous meetings between individuals and the ANC, the Forum said

"The delegation of whites is unique in that not only does it include a large number of influential individuals, but that most delegates will be representing specific organisations of constituencies"

"To do well in examinations needs a target orientated study programme. Such a plan will fail if the syllabus contains areas of little interest to the pupil.

collective action against the challenges of the day. The September 6 elections offers one such challenge."

FROM PAGE ONE

aims is to serve as a bridge between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groupings

One view expressed is that whites should not vote since participation in the present parliamentary system is ultimately irrelevant and plays into the hands of the state

A counter view is that it is possible to make a strategic intervention by

supporting certain candidates sympathetic to the MDM and that support for the DP will assist in cracking the Nationalist monolith

A case in point is that of the present MP for Claremont, Jan Van Eck, who is the DP candidate for the seat

Van Eck has a history of working closely with democratic organisations and is a member of the Cape Democrats, a UDF

affiliate

Many other DP members also belong to organisations which are part of the democratic movement

In addition to non-participation and strategic voting, a third option being debated is for organisations to avoid assuming an official position and leave the decision whether or not to vote up to the individual

This is considered to be an unsatisfactory option

mult 22-28/6/89.

Thumbs down to election

NO PARTICIPATION in the September elections

This is the clear message emerging from the democratic movement after intensive national discussions in recent weeks

Community organisations are now preparing anti-election strategies as political parties in the tricameral Parliament swing into action to woo voters for the September 6 poll

Some of the strategies are expected to be a boycott of the elections and a campaign to advance the demands and ideals of the mass democratic movement (MDM)

This would entail popularising the call for a nonracial, democratic and unitary South Africa

The election campaign is likely to be coupled to other campaigns such as the living wage campaign, the opposition to the Labour Relations Amendment Act and the shortage of housing.

Locally, organisations are meeting to discuss issues specific to regions

Included on this agenda is whether whites who belong to democratic organisations should vote

The formation of the Democratic Party has complicated the scenario

The DP, which hopes to win at least 40 seats, has said one of its

TO PAGE TWO

22-28/6/89.

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ANC for Natal peace talks?

THE African National Congress (ANC) may participate in further Natal peace talks.

Delegates from Inkatha and the Congress of South African Trade Unions/United Democratic Front met on Monday at Durban's Royal Hotel for preliminary talks aimed at ending the violence which has claimed over 2 000 lives in the last four years

The delegates are reportedly taking back to their organisations a proposal that further talks should include the ANC and be held at a venue outside the country.

The five-hour Royal Hotel meeting ended on an optimistic note despite the death of more than two dozen

people in the Kwazulu/Natal area the previous weekend.

In a joint statement, the organisations said they wished to reiterate the call made by their leaders for an end to the "senseless violence" which is "tearing our communities apart"

They appealed for an end to vicious propaganda about each other and committed themselves to a programme of action to end the violence.

"We believe that all our efforts must be directed towards uniting our people in a way which could decisively strike a blow against apartheid and not our people", the statement said

While the government was not rep-

resented, it was not far from delegates' minds.

Included in the joint statement was a sideways swipe by the organisations which said they would "expose and isolate all those elements that we believe are actually engaged in this campaign of promoting violence among our people"

The statement also agreed on the importance of freedom of association, expression and residence

The delegates were Alec Irwin and Jay Naidoo of Cosatu, and Murphy Morobe, Dr Diliza Mji and Sipho Gcabashe of the UDF

Inkatha was represented by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Musa Zondi, Nqobizwe Nkhele and Velaphi Ndlovu

FROM PAGE ONE

aims is to serve as a bridge between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groupings.

One view expressed is that whites should not vote since participation in the present parliamentary system is ultimately irrelevant and plays into the hands of the state

A counter view is that it is possible to make a strategic intervention by

supporting certain candidates sympathetic to the MDM and that support for the DP will assist in cracking the Nationalist monolith.

A case in point is that of the present MP for Claremont, Jan Van Eck, who is the DP candidate for the seat.

Van Eck has a history of working closely with democratic organisations and is a member of the Cape Democrats, a UDF

affiliate

Many other DP members also belong to organisations which are part of the democratic movement

In addition to non-participation and strategic voting, a third option being debated is for organisations to avoid assuming an official position and leave the decision whether or not to vote up to the individual.

This is considered to be an unsatisfactory option.

~~DP~~ NA

hult 22-28/6/89.

Participation? NO ways!

PROMINENT community leader Dullah Omar says tricameralism is in essence the exact opposite of the ultimate aim of the democratic struggle in South Africa — a non-racial society.

Omar, chairperson of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Western Cape), said various arguments had been advanced for participation including that it could be a strategic tactic for anti-apartheid forces.

"The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has never stated that non-participation is a principle. But to propose participation as a strategic option at this stage of our struggle is without foundation and fraudulent.

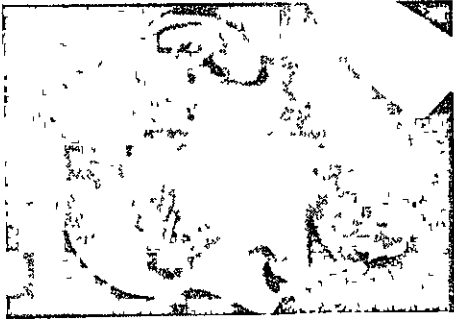
"It's necessary for our method of struggle to be consistent with our aims which are the breaking down of apartheid and a society free of ethnicity."

Omar said the tricameral Parliament had reproduced itself in "101 ways" in the five years of its existence.

Participation in South Africa's tricameral parliamentary system is again being touted as a possible strategic option for extra-parliamentary groupings now that elections have been announced for September 6 this year.

At a time when the country's fourth consecutive state of emergency has paralysed the functioning of key anti-apartheid organisations such as the UDF, placed severe restrictions on most of their leadership and prevents the normal assembly of people to discuss their grievances, is it not possible to use the tricameral Parliament as a platform?

An emphatic "No!" was the response of prominent community leader and advocate Dullah Omar in an interview with MOEGSIEN WILLIAMS:



Dullah Omar

ture of struggle which the democratic movement has built over many years.

"Assuming that participation as a tactic is acceptable, what are the gains?"

"Parliament as a platform is useless. The Labour Party, which entered tricameralism on this ticket, has become an ethnic party and a mere rubber stamp and henchmen for

He said the assessment of the situation by those who claimed that non-participation had failed and had resulted in a political logjam, was "hopelessly wrong and misleading

"In fact, the non-participation tactic has been massively successful and has led to the most intense political struggles in the history of this country

"The democratic movement has never promised or stated that anti-tricameralism will automatically lead to a non-racial South Africa

Ethnicity

"The campaign against the tricameral Parliament has been like many other campaigns fought against apartheid and discrimination going back to the earlier part of this century. Some of these campaigns were successful, others were not."

He said the real debate on tricameralism was the intention of the Nationalist government — the "balkanisation" of South Africa and a future based on ethnicity.

"A further argument being advanced for participation is that the labour movement has been able to make gains by participating in the bargaining system

"It's false to equate the labour and political situation in South Africa. The unions have been granted certain recognition by the state whereas the political organisations have been proscribed

"There's no Labour Relations Act at a civic level, only instruments of division and rule. No real opportunity is afforded political organisations to engage in free debate and discussions."

Omar said the democratic movement had in recent times gained in strength and would be able to conduct an anti-election campaign tied to several other issues such as the labour movement's opposition to the amendments to the Labour Relations Act, the crisis in education, housing and the cost of living

"The democratic movement is now in a position to again seize the initiative in a way it was unable to do in the past few years"

the National Party in the implementation of the state of emergency

"The government has been able to shift the blame and responsibility for the mismanagement of the country to coloured faces who now occupy seats of authority over own affairs"

"The Labour Party has also assisted the government in hoodwinking the international community that a process of reform is underway in South Africa and in this way help offset its various crises"

The Labour Party had been weakened in its response to measures which they did not support and had allowed to "pass through" to the President's Council

"Important legislation became enacted in this way and the correct thing for the Labour Party to have done was to have walked out of Parliament.

The President's Council is merely their fig leaf to cover their embarrassment and shame."

He said the people had built their own platforms in the trade union movement and other organisations.

Suffering

"Today we see that these platforms have withstood the worst repression in the country's history. There has been a great deal of suffering but the determination of our people has ensured that we survived, the onslaught."

Omar said the best interests of the people must always be the primary consideration when strategies and tactics needed to be decided or adopted

"There isn't a shred of evidence to suggest that the utter rejection by our people of the tricameral system since 1984, has changed."

"The mere fact that the state had to implement four consecutive states of emergency to underpin the very system, shows that nothing has changed."

THE Freedom Charter, adopted 34 years ago on June 26 1955, is as relevant a political document as ever.

Far from ageing with time, it has been, and still is, the political compass for countless organisations: from table tennis clubs to major trade unions, from student congresses to teachers' bodies

It is also the basic document behind the African National Congress' constitutional guidelines, issued early last year.

The Freedom Charter has been, and always will be, the basic source of direction for the anti-apartheid struggle, maintains the ANC

The Freedom Charter, adopted on June 26 1955 by the Congress of the People at Khptown, near Johannesburg, was the first statement of the political and constitutional vision of a free, democratic and nonracial South Africa.

Significant

June 26 is also marked as "Freedom Day" by anti-apartheid organisations inside and outside South Africa

The day is also significant in that exactly three years earlier, the Congress Alliance began to convene the Congress of the People to implement the provisions of the 1949 Programme of Action adopted by the ANC at its annual national congress in 1949

And the Defiance Campaign began on June 26 1952, when Port Elizabeth ANC leader Raymond Mhlaba, now serving his 26th year of life imprisonment at Pollsmoor, led a group of 33 volunteers to break the laws of the late Dr DF Malan's government

Demands

More than 8 000 men and women went to prison throughout South Africa after protesting against apartheid. Since then June 26 has been commemorated as an important day on the calendar

The Charter was drawn up after demands were collected in all parts of the country

Some of those demands were

- The people shall govern,
- All shall enjoy basic human rights,
- The doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all,
- There shall be security, housing for all, low rents and free medical and child care,
- work, job security and trade union rights.

Thirty four years after its adoption these demands have not been met

Defuse

The ANC says the stage is now approaching where the Freedom Charter has to be converted from a vision of the future into a constitutional reality

The organisation believes the document had become the most widely-accepted programme for a post-apartheid South Africa.

On October 9, 1987, the ANC issued a statement in which it expressed doubts about the desire of president PW Botha's government to engage in any meaningful negotiations to end apartheid

The statement said the South African government had two-fold objectives on the issue of negotiations

These were "to defuse the struggle inside South Africa by holding out false hopes of a just political settlement which the Nationalist government had every intention to block"

Charter a

'political

compass to

a future SA'

The constitutional complexion of a post-apartheid South Africa is becoming a national debate as the 34th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter is celebrated. While National Party leader and president-in-waiting FW de Klerk proposes a national "Indaba", the ANC is arranging a seminar in Harare next month involving a broad range of South Africans to discuss its constitutional guidelines announced in January last year. Central to all the debates is the Freedom Charter, reports MONO BADELA.

and "to defuse the continuing campaign for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions"

The statement said the struggle would not end until South Africa was transformed into a united, democratic and nonracial country

It said a nonracial democratic transformation of South Africa was the only solution which would enable blacks and whites to live as equals in conditions of peace and equality

The overwhelming majority accepted that the Freedom Charter provided a reasonable and viable framework for the construction of a new society, it said

The 1987 statement reiterated that the ANC had never been opposed to a negotiated settlement of the South African question

Strategies

It re-affirmed the ANC's willingness to enter into negotiations aimed at the transformation of South Africa into a united, nonracial democracy. As the ANC sees it, this and only this should be the objective of any negotiated process

The ANC issued its constitutional guidelines in January 1988

They were the product of two years' work by the Constitutional Committee and protracted discussions and consultations between it and the National Executive Committee of the movement

After the NEC's statement on negotiations, the ANC was compelled to explain and expand on its thinking on post-apartheid constitutional guidelines

The guidelines had nothing to do with "glasnost" or "perestroika" and there was never any pressure from the Soviet Union as some adversaries of the ANC were suggesting

The ANC's experience, and that of an independent Africa and the Frontline States, had taught it that constitutional models should occupy a more crucial place in its political strategies

It was in this spirit that the ANC formulated the guidelines

The ANC points out that the guidelines are not the basis of a constitution, as some seem to suggest, and were never meant to be one

The organisation believes the drafting of a constitution for a democratic,

nonracial South Africa can only be the task of elected representatives of all the people in South Africa in a constituent assembly, irrespective of their political inclinations, ideological leanings or party affiliation

In essence, the guidelines are meant to set in motion a process of national debate

The ANC hopes that what will emerge out of these discussions will reflect the broadest national consensus. The organisation says it was in this spirit that the guidelines were tabled for consideration by all South Africans

The guidelines advocate an independent centralised, unitary, democratic, nonracial state with the sovereignty belonging to the people as a whole and not just a particular group

It will be exercised through one central legislature, executive and administration, with powers delegated by the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation.

Reforms

The guidelines advocate universal suffrage based on one person one vote. The promotion of the growth of a single, national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans would be the central concern of the new state

The inclusion of a Bill of Rights in the constitution is advocated in the document aimed at guaranteed fundamental rights of the citizen and eradicating all forms of discrimination and racism

It guarantees a multi-party system, right to education and social security and protects the right to work

The guidelines recommend a mixed economy in which the state will play no minimum role, ensuring the entire economy serves the interest and well-being of all sections of the population

Lastly, the guidelines propose a land reform programme that will abolish all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land

The programme will also implement land reforms conforming with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of the victims of forced removals

Zeph urges aid for struggle

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress has called on African and non-aligned countries to offer material help in the South African struggle and realisation of total liberation for the African continent.

Mr Zephania Mothopeng made his call when he addressed African and non-aligned ambassadors at the United Nations this week.

Mothopeng said "Following the independence of Namibia, Azania will then be the focus of attention after November 1989." He told the ambassadors that the people of Azania were determined and organised to get their national liberation and self determination

"Nothing less than total eradication of the apartheid system and the return of the land to the rightful owners will be acceptable"

Mothopeng said the Azanian people rejected reforms and attempts at co-option

He told the 50 members of the Organisation of African Unity that Africa must unite to defeat colonialism and imperialism "The liberation of Azania, the continent's last colonised territory, will realise the objectives of the founding fathers of the OAU, namely, the total liberation of the African continent".

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Another bomb in ANC office

LUSAKA -- A bomb exploded in an African National Congress office here yesterday, injuring three ANC members, one seriously, a spokesman said

Witnesses said the explosion, the third in the last few days, caused extensive damage to the ANC welfare office in Lusaka's Lilanda township, shattering its windows and roof.

The victims suffered leg injuries and one might have to have a leg amputated. — Sapa-Reuter

Second explosion in the Zambian capital this week

BOMB HITS

Sowetan 23/6/89

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ANC OFFICE



LUSAKA — A bomb exploded in an African National Congress office in the Zambian capital, injuring three ANC members, one seriously, a spokesman said yesterday. Witnesses said the explosion caused extensive damage to the ANC welfare office in Lusaka's Lilanda township, shattering its windows and roof.

The victims suffered leg injuries and were taken to hospital. One might have to have a leg amputated.

It was the latest in a series of explosions in the Zambian capital, where South Africa's exiled black nationalist movement has its headquarters, and the third in the last few days.

On Monday a blast about 60m from the offices of the ANC

• To Page 2

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PREMIUM COMFORT

<p>SAVE R78</p> <p>WAS R 309 NOW R231</p>	<p>91CM MATTRESS ONLY</p> <p>WAS R 370 NOW R240</p>
<p>SAVE R100</p> <p>WAS R 399 NOW R299</p>	<p>137 CM MATTRESS ONLY</p> <p>WAS R 450 NOW R370</p>

Sealy
A SEALY
ULTRA

P.T.O

Sowetan's plan: Why we need it

Sowetan 23/6/89 (1A)

FOCUS

WHY do we need to consider a Nation Building strategy?

- The lack of unity within the broad liberation front,
- The lack of discipline amongst activists who believe that the taking of human life is a part and parcel of the strategy of liberation,
- The non-existence of a clear articulate and creative strategy for liberation,
- The lack of true democratic procedures within the broad liberation movements to air views and test opinions

Struggle

- The lack of a code of ethics to govern our struggle for liberation so that whatever actions are taken are within the boundaries of the disciplines and structures laid down by the broad liberation movement,
- The lack of an interchange of ideas, strategies, programmes amongst and between political organisations which have dedicated themselves to the search for liberation.

Bravely

The lack of educational programmes which



POLITICAL activist and journalist STRINI MOODLEY (left) examines and endorses Sowetan's Nation Building in the second and last part of a series. This article is from the Natal publication, Umtapo Focus

will give our youth the opportunity to be able to take informed decisions rather than follow blindly

Indeed it is very rarely that we bravely articulate our concerns about what is going on in the townships

We need to come together behind closed doors and articulate those concerns so that we can correct one another, so that we can learn from one another

The maxim about unity has never yet been proved wrong

Courage

Black people need to have the courage to confront their differences, to accept their mistakes

That can be the only point of departure if we are to seriously consider nation building

Having accepted that, the next step is to acknowledge that Nation Building can only be achieved if it emerges

from the grassroots, i.e. the concept must take root within the black working class

Instinctively most of the oppressed and exploited yearn for peace, comfort, security, freedom from want and hunger

Duty

The leadership, therefore, is duty bound to articulate those needs to give those needs and desires a form and content with which all can identify

That is why Steve Biko's analysis of the South African condition caught flame and spread across the country. It was because he articulated that condition in a way that excited the grassroots — the black community

Therefore, this concept of Nation Building that is being now articulated must excite the black community. It must give them the opportunity to say, "Yes! That is what we want"

Many will argue that the excitement within the black community is prevalent, and manifest for all to see. If it is the case then we are simply exciting a mood without

giving it a constructive and creative content

That is where the complaint of our men on Sowetan takes its point of departure. They say the excitement — if it exists — is self-destructive, non-productive and lacks creativity

As a result we do not seem to be making progress

To truly build a nation, therefore, we need to accept certain basic realities

Realities

Most of our leadership — the doctors, lawyers, churchmen, academics, trade unionists, journalists and teachers are products of the inferior education system of this country

Yet, they are capable of analysing the problems of the society, they are articulate in their expression of horror of the evils that have destroyed the fabric of our community

In the same way we must encourage our young people to educate themselves, to be able to analyse the good from the bad, to be able to carefully evaluate what is right and wrong with the society

We must eliminate the nihilistic tendencies that have gripped the vitals of our young who find it difficult to distinguish between the adolescent fires of rebellion and the nature of the revolutionary struggle in our country, where we have seen, too often in recent times, the distinction of one from the other hopelessly blurred

Cudgels

Our older people must be encouraged to take up the responsibilities that they have shirked for so long, and which had led to our children taking up the cudgels of battle

All the political organisations must be encouraged both inside and outside the country to talk with each other to exchange ideas to engage in healthy debate and to stop looking upon one another as enemies

There is, in truth only one real enemy. At the present time that enemy is doing everything in its power to ensure that the political organisations do not get together. Because when that happens 30 percent of our battle will be won

History

There are sufficient lessons in history not only in this country but everywhere in the world where there has been a struggle to destroy the forces of death and darkness which will indicate the need for us to bury minor differences and come together

Nation Building is about seeking our priorities so that we do not waste time squabbling, bickering and destroying one another.

Wealth

It is about taking decisions about our country, our people our future so that we put an end to death, disease imprisonment police brutality fascism racism and the unequal distribution of wealth

We are not a lost people neither are we a self-destructive people. We have the will, we have the numbers we have the intelligence to lead our society towards a true nation — free from racism, capitalism and fascism

We can and must do it — if not for ourselves then at least for our children and their children



The Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly

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The address is The Councillor/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000 Telephone (021) 461-7117 Inquiries are welcomed.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Tholoe Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg

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Judges to meet ANC

CAF Tim's 23/6/89
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By MALCOLM FRIED
SOUTH AFRICAN Appeal and Supreme Court judges, legal academics and lawyers are set to meet ANC members during a secret conference in Britain, starting today.

The South Africans will be the most high-powered local legal personalities to have contact with the ANC

Confirmed as participants are Mr Justice A J Milne and Mr Justice J W Smalberger of the Appeal Court, Mr Justice J J Fagan of the Cape and Mr Justice J M Didcott of Natal, Professor Den

nis Davis and Professor Hugh Corder of UCT, Professor Laurie Ackermann of Stellenbosch, Professor John Dugard of Wits and Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC

Sources said yesterday that several other lawyers from around the country were also part of the South African delegation

Those named had all left for overseas by early yesterday and most are not expected to return for at least a week.

The conference, organised by world-renowned legal theorist and Oxford University don Professor Ronald Dworkin, is due to last from today until Sunday

Invitations to the event, to be held at a venue in Oxfordshire, were confidential and the ar-

rangements kept strictly secret. Officially, it was planned as an international jurists' seminar. However, it has been reliably learnt that ANC members will also be present.

Relatives of several local participants said the meeting had been long in the planning and meticulously organised.

"Obviously, the judges particularly did not want anyone knowing in advance what was coming," said one source.

All the South Africans are regarded as political liberals.

Mr Justice Didcott has made a series of pronouncements and judgments which, a range of lawyers believe, have made him

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From page 1
Judges
highly unpopular with the government

Professor Ackermann, a former Supreme Court judge, resigned from the bench to take up a chair in human-rights law at the University of Stellenbosch

Professor Davis, Professor Corder and Professor Dugard are also all active in human rights

This latest meeting is the third in a series of encounters this month alone between the ANC and South Africans

The first took place at the beginning of June in Lusaka when a large number of representatives from organisations — including Cosatu and the UDF — met the entire ANC national executive

The second meeting, also in Lusaka, was between members of the United Democratic Universities' Staff Association — representing 18 of the 20 South African campuses — and members of the ANC executive

And, next week, a fourth meeting is due to take place when the biggest single group of white South Africans fly to Lusaka for a series of talks. Topics will range from educational matters, local government and forthcoming events in South Africa

The ANC is not directly connected with organising the Oxfordshire conference.

ANC takes first steps to negotiation with South Africa

The Argus Foreign Service
PRC 23/6/89 11A

LONDON — The African National Congress has taken the first steps along a path that could lead to negotiations with the South African Government.

The banned organisation's leaders have begun an internal debate aimed at thrashing out the framework for talks with Pretoria, it was revealed here yesterday.

However, a national execu-

tive committee member emphasised this, did not indicate a softening of the ANC's terms for negotiations, and there was no early prospect of talks between the two sides.

A document, drawn up by the ANC's national executive committee, is being circulated inside and outside South Africa to determine the parameters of such talks — aims, preconditions, duration, and participants.

The spokesman said here yesterday "It is time for the people of South Africa to elaborate a joint position on the issue of negotiations.

"We are wary of constitutional models being hatched all over the world on our behalf," he added.

The "consultative document" was drawn up at a recent NEC meeting, which had been preceded by a meeting with repre-

sentatives of the UDF and Cosatu. The document asks about issues such as the cessation of violence by both sides, the role of the international community in fostering negotiations and the possibility of setting up transitional government.

It is being circulated among anti-apartheid organisations to establish their attitudes.

● See Page 4

Natal peace talks resume

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF leaders were today due to resume their talks on Natal violence, in which an average of two people a day died in May, according to unrest monitors

The Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group said 31 people were killed in Durban townships in May. This brought to 507 the number of deaths the group had logged in political violence since the beginning of 1987.

In Maritzburg townships, 32 people were killed in May, said the community agency for social inquiry at the University of Natal in Maritzburg. This took the toll to 1 325 since the beginning of 1987.

The total number of deaths in Natal and Kwa-zulu in the past 30 months now stands at 1 832.

After "constructive" talks in Durban on Monday the 10 representatives of Inkatha, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Demo-

cratic Front were due to meet again today.

The delegates have so far declined to make their discussions public. But according to a statement they issued on Monday a report has been prepared to present to their organisations and presidents.

The Cosatu/UDF delegation comprises Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu general secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, acting-publicity secretary of the UDF, Dr Diliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association, Mr Alec Erwin, education officer for the National Union of Metalworkers, and a Cosatu representative from Maritzburg, Mr Siphon Gcabashe.

The Inkatha delegation is Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Frank Mdlalose, chairman of Inkatha's national council, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, a member of Inkatha's central committee, Mr Musa Zondi, national leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, and Mr Nqobizwe Nkehli, a member of Inkatha's central committee from Mpumalanga.

US politicians push for Namibia inspection

The Argus Foreign Service *ARL 45 73/6/89*
WASHINGTON — The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is trying to arrange funds for a fact-finding visit to Namibia.

This follows a propaganda bombardment from lobbyists trying to influence the US Congress on the issue.

A committee spokesman said there had been a "tremendous rush" to push various interests and views. What was needed was an independent congressional delegation to establish the facts at first hand.

Several senators and congressmen are believed

to be planning visits to Namibia during the run-up to the elections.

A campaign has been launched by liberal elements here to maintain a high-profile presence in the territory to counter what they describe as South Africa's "manipulation" of the administration of the elections.

Conservatives in Congress are deeply suspicious of the Namibia peace accords and what is seen to be the selling out of yet another country to Marxist rule.

They say an independent assessment is needed before the establishment of Congress's role in the independence and future development of Namibia.

Hopes for 'new thinking' by ANC

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

Arca
23/6/89
(118)
(100)

MR Herman Cohen, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, will ask the African National Congress when he visits Lusaka next month whether they "are ready" for negotiations with Pretoria

"I'm hoping they are doing their homework right now I will say to them 'I am expecting the South African government to come up with proposals will you be ready?'"

"Some people have said the ANC is not yet ready, which would be most unfortunate I am hoping for new thinking on the part of the black leadership"

He said it was important to recognise that negotiations could not be a "zero sum game It must be dialogue where there can be no losers"

CONCESSIONS

Nelson Mandela would have to be released for negotiations to succeed, and there would have to be concessions from both sides in the run-up to negotiations

"If the government lifts the state of emergency, it seems to me the black leadership should reciprocate, by using only non-violent action I am going to talk about this aspect to Mrs Albertina Sisulu of the UDF next week"

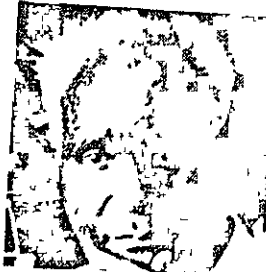
On broader relations between black leaders and South Africa, he said that in talks in the US two weeks ago, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia told him that if South Africa fulfilled its obligations in terms of Resolution 435, "he would enter into dialogue with South Africa, meet Mr de Klerk and attend a regional conference"

President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique had also told him that "all kinds of agreements are possible"

He also mentioned that "diplomatic discussions" were under way on the possibility of Mr P W de Klerk visiting Washington. No firm arrangements had yet been made



Mr Herman Cohen



President Kaunda



President Chissano



23-29/6/89. Wmail 11P

Slogans, songs, sjamboks. It's just another Soweto Day

BY MZIMKULU MALUNGA

MOVING into the Regina Mundi Church yard last Friday, one did not have to be an expert on township commemorations to forecast the likely conclusion to the end of the service

As they had learned in the past 12 commemorations of June 16 — Soweto Day — the people attending the service knew they might end up confronting teargas, sjamboks and perhaps even bullets

A police water cannon tanker was parked just across the street with its barrel pointing at the church door. Next to the tanker was a Hippo filled with policemen and *kiskorsstabels*

Behind the two vehicles, a group of policemen leaned on the many police vans and Ford Sierras

Unity was the theme of the meeting as United Democratic Front and Black Consciousness Movement supporters called for joint action

The main sermon was delivered by president of the South African Council of Churches Bishop Manas Butheza. He also announced that the grave of Hector Petersen, the first victim on June 16, had been desecrated

The last hymn was sung and the crowd began to chant slogans and sing freedom songs. Activists from UDF affiliates and the BCM replaced the priests and speaker after speaker called for unity

But the possibility of unity was threatened when an official of the re-structured Azania People's Organisation, Muntu Myeza, stood up to speak and the chanting crowd refused to let him.

For a moment it appeared as though



A victim vandalised: The abiding symbolism of the Hector Petersen — he was the first student to die in the 1976 Soweto uprising — drove some desperate soul to desecrate his grave on June 16.

Picture: GILL DE VILLEG, Afrapix

the meeting would return to normal but after Myeza had shouted "Amandla" and "Mayibuye", the "roaring young lions" surged forward chanting "ANCI ANCI... UDF! UDF!... Swapo! Swapo!"

This week the BCM said it was "angered and disgusted by the undignified act of political bandy by the delinquent youth of the Charterist movement which disrupted the Regina Mundi commemoration service". The BCM said it had invited other organisations to "join hands" and

participate in the service. The BCM also rejected the allegations made against Myeza — that he was an "agent of the system". The crowd tried to leave the building but the main entrance was still blocked by police and people were forced to use two smaller gates.

A group of policemen entered the church and started hitting people. The sneezing machine began vomiting its poisonous gas. Within half-an-hour, most of the crowd had dispersed and police cars

continued to roam. It was another Soweto Day, just like all the others.

● The police unrest report on Friday read: "Seven incidents of stone throwing and five in which petrol bombs were hurled at private homes and vehicles were reported overnight. All incidents were of minor nature — damage caused was minimal and no injuries were reported. The only serious incident reported was as follows: At Naledi station, Soweto a passenger coach was set alight and extensively damaged"

Suzman and top DP members join party to ANC

Weekly Mail Reporter

HELEN Suzman and several other prominent Democratic Party members are among the 115 white South Africans leaving next Thursday for a three-day conference with the African National Congress.

The delegation, co-ordinated by the Five Freedoms Forum, is the largest-ever to meet the banned movement.

FFF chairperson Mike Olivier confirmed yesterday that about 15 DP members would be attending.

"They will be there in their personal capacities and will not be representing the DP in any way," he said.

About 40 ANC members are expected to attend the conference, which is on the theme "Whites in a changing South Africa".

The event is being funded by the American, Swiss, Canadian, Danish and Dutch governments. Many of the delegates were paying for themselves, Olivier said.

Delegates include 20 leading business people, 23 academics from nine universities, 10 city councillors, five newspaper editors and about 40 professionals.

"The purpose of the conference is to find out first hand what the ANC believes on a number of contentious issues, and to give them a sense of the fears and aspirations of an important cross-section of the white community.

"Delegates will get the chance to put before the ANC the concerns of the white community, and their hopes for the future," he said.

He said the delegation differed from previous groups visiting the ANC in that most of those making the trip were active members of organisations working in the white community.

Over 30 organisations are represented, including the Five Freedoms Forum, Black Sash, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Natal Indaba, Women for Peace, Nusas, white UDF affiliates, Jews for Social Justice and a variety of other human rights and single issue groups.

Olivier said he would not be releasing names of all delegates because he feared that they would be harassed.

Those who confirmed they were attending include Helen Suzman, Peter Mansfield of the Natal Indaba, Dr Robin Lee of the Wits Business School's Centre for Policy Studies, UCT deputy-vice chancellor Professor Woods, Wits deputy vice-chancellor Professor Mervyn Shear, former archbishop of Cape Town Phillip Russel, Peter Brown, Dr Franz Auerbach, Joyce Harris, Raymond Louw, Brother Neil McGurk and East London mayor Donald Card.

Olivier said that unlike previous meetings with the ANC, most of the conference would be taken up with committee sessions on issues of concern to both delegations.

Some of the sessions would deal with issues of debate, including sanctions, violence, negotiations, nationalisation and models for the country's constitutional future.

Another series focuses on strategic questions, such as the role of parliament and of extra-parliamentary groups, the position of women in South Africa's future and the role of business in the process of change.

Commenting that the government might be tempted to exploit the visit in its election propaganda, Olivier said: "I hope they don't go overboard ... because they're going to need to be talking to the ANC themselves soon. In fact such contacts have already been made over the past two years, and there'll be more in future."

Down 't queue-jumping, FWV

Before De Klerk can get close to Bush, he'll have to let UDF leaders see the President

IF President-elect FW de Klerk wants to meet US President George Bush, he will probably have to give United Democratic Front leaders permission to do so first.

Three UDF leaders are waiting for the government to give them passports. Curnick Ndlovu, Tinus Mofolo and Azhar Cachalia are due to leave on Monday in order to see Bush at the end of next week.

They are part of a delegation led by UDF-President Albertina Sisulu and Federation of Transvaal Women President Sister Bernard Ngcube, who have been granted passports and are already in Europe.

If the three do not get passports, it

BY ANTHONY HARBERT

is certain to prejudice De Klerk's chances of being granted the same level of visit as the UDF. De Klerk is due to meet US Secretary of State James Baker soon, but has not yet secured a meeting with the president.

This means De Klerk may be obliged to allow the UDF leaders to see Bush first, making the president-elect third in line behind the UDF and the opposition church leaders who saw Bush last month.

UDF sources say the organisation has not yet decided what it will do if the three do not get passports. The US government is understood to be

putting pressure on Pretoria to allow the resistance leaders to travel.

De Klerk is due for talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher this morning in a meeting that could be important to his campaign for the September election and the long-term prospects of negotiations in this country.

It is expected that Thatcher will be tough with him. Sources in Pretoria indicate that she is not impressed with his reformist rhetoric so far and wants real signs of a movement towards negotiations.

Thatcher was tough with the two other South African ministers she has seen in recent weeks, Pik Botha and

Barend du Plessis.

According to these sources, Thatcher will concentrate on putting across to the South African leader the degree of economic problems his country faces and its vulnerability to pressure on this level.

Though she will not threaten further sanctions, she will point to the country's debt situation.

She is expected to warn him off any involvement in "dirty tricks" in neighbouring states.

On the positive side, she is expected to push hard for the release of Nelson Mandela soon after the September elections and will suggest that

● TO PAGE 2

FW abroad

●From PAGE 1

his colleague Walter Sisulu be released even before then.

She will indicate that the release of political prisoners would make a major difference to her attitude to De Klerk's government.

De Klerk is expected to spell out to Thatcher what he intends to do after the September election.

He appears to have done this yesterday when he met for an hour with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He said afterwards that he had taken the opportunity to convey to Kohl his government's vision of the future of South Africa.

He had told the West German that this vision was based on building trust and consensus with a view to reform and a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

Their talks took place "in a positive and constructive spirit", he said.

During De Klerk's visit, German anti-apartheid groups held a special meeting to highlight allegations of illegal arms deals between the West Germans and South Africa in 1984/5.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement meanwhile claims that De Klerk's visit has aroused widespread anger and protest.

At one rally earlier this week, Albertina Sisulu said De Klerk was "going about trying to convince the international world that he is the new hope for South Africa.

"Yet at home, he does nothing that tells the people of South Africa of his grand plans. We know him as an apartheid man who is committed to separate development."

She called on the British to "send De Klerk home" to abolish the Emergency, unban organisations and individuals, release political prisoners, let exiles return and suspend the "undemocratic" elections.

"Send De Klerk home to do all this, and after-



A placard to greet FW in Bonn Picture: REUTERS

wards talk to him," she said. In the meanwhile, she called on them to increase pressure

The "mass democratic movement" in South Africa is known to be concerned about Thatcher's role in getting negotiations started in South Africa. It is believed that at a recent consultation in Lusaka, involving leaders of the MDM, Cosatu and the ANC, the fear was raised that Thatcher would accept a political settlement in South Africa that excluded groups such as the ANC.



11A
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23-29/89

SACP holds top-secret talks

THE South African Communist Party recently held its biggest and most significant congress since the organisation went into exile in 1963, according to the organisation's mouthpiece, *Umsebenzi*.

High on the agenda of the party's seventh congress — held at a secret location under conditions of tight security — was the possibility of a negotiated settlement to South Africa's conflicts.

A party adopted a new programme at the congress, called "The Path To Power", replacing its 1962 guidelines. The document accepts that the strategies of armed struggle and popular insurrection do not rule out the possibility of negotiations and compromise.

Pretoria, the SACP believes, is attempting to catch the "mass democratic movement" off-guard and to push militant organisations into negotiations while they do not have enough strength on the ground to back their demands.

The programme acknowledges South Africa is not a suitable site for classic guerrilla warfare and says the chance of seizing power in this way appears remote. Instead it stresses the need for mass-based political organisation inside the country to be merged with armed struggle.

The new programme emphasises that divisions within the "white bloc" in South Africa have intensified and says anti-apartheid groups should en-

courage whites to withdraw their support for minority rule.

"The Path to Power" confirms the SACP doctrine that South Africa has been shaped by "colonialism of a special type" — by the existence of a group of white settlers who, having established themselves as an indigenous group, now hold power over the mass of black people in a way that resembles colonial rule.

Following this model, the party programme outlines the need for a "two-stage struggle" in which a "national democratic revolution" will open the way for a transition to socialism.

It insists that the struggle for socialism should not be seen as distinct from the fight for democracy, but notes that nationwide unity would be weakened if socialism were to be emphasised by resistance groups.

The programme was the result of intense discussion and analysis since 1983, says *Umsebenzi*. The party claimed that membership had risen by about 90 percent since the last congress in 1984 and that its popularity has grown among workers inside the country.

Joe Slovo was re-elected general secretary and Dan Tloome national chairperson.

An indication that aspects of *glasnost* have influenced the SACP, the congress decided to reinstate three South African communists who disappeared during Stalin's purges.

Strikes hit post offices

Wmail
23-29/6/89

ABOUT 1 000 postal workers in Transkei stopped work this week in the latest of a wave of sporadic strikes that have hit post offices around South Africa recently.

The strike has closed the main post office in Umtata, and has severely affected work at four post offices in the "homeland".

The striking workers belong to the Transkei Post Office Workers' Association Floyd Mashele, vice-president of Cosatu's Post and Telecommunication Workers' Association, said the strike was a protest against the transfer of unionists to remote post offices in the "homeland"

He said union was receiving reports that the strike was rolling into other depots in the territory

On Tuesday 145 striking workers at Umtata post office were charged with being a "public nuisance", said Mashele Security police were searching for leaders of Trapowa, he added

Transkei's Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, GSK Nota, confirmed the strike had been sparked by the transfer of Noklulanga Dlokweni, an executive member of Trapowa, to Butterworth

● About 100 workers at the Pretoria post office struck on Tuesday after it was announced that the vice-chairman of the Potwa's Pretoria branch would be transferred to a township depot

About 75 workers at the Kempton Park post office returned to work

Hope follows peace meeting

By CARMEL RICKARD

ANOTHER round of Natal talks, said to be crucial to peace efforts in the region, is to begin in Durban this afternoon

It is the second meeting this week of senior leaders from Inkatha on the one hand and the United Democratic Front and the Congress of SA Trade Unions on the other, aimed at finding a way to halt the rising death toll in the Natal sectarian violence.

The same delegates are to represent the two sides and they will meet in the same Durban hotel as on Monday, when talks lasted more than five hours

Both sides were apparently pleased at the progress made during Monday's talks — described as conducted in "the most constructive spirit" — and they expressed the hope that they would be able to set up a joint initiative to bring an end to the violence

Monday's talks began against the background of renewed conflict the police unrest report for the previous 24 hours listed nine people killed in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg townships, as well as several injuries and other violent incidents.

Among the nine were three people killed shortly before last Sunday's peace rally in kwaMashu addressed by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi

However, unrest monitors believe that as the two sides begin to halt the violence between supporters of Inkatha and of the UDF/Cosatu, it could

expose the identity of the vigilantes who are blamed for most of the current killings — and their backers

There is now a growing belief in some quarters that these vigilantes may not be associated with either side and could either be working independently, or at the prompting or with the tacit support of another force

It seems the parties involved in the talks have a similar belief their joint statement committed the participants to beginning the process of exposing and isolating "all those elements that we believe are actually engaged in this campaign of promoting violence amongst our people"

And a senior member of one delegation said he believed the killings were "too ferocious and sustained" to be the work of Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha alone

Regional director of the Democratic Party, Roy Ainslie, said that so far this year, 187 people had died in the Durban townships 40 in January, 30 in February, 29 in March, 47 in April, and 31 in May The June toll had been 10 to date

In the first five months of last year 58 people were killed, compared with 177 over the same period this year

Ainslie said 1989 had seen the additional problem of violence spreading to rural areas like Nyuswa and Ndwedwe, which had previously not been involved

Wmail
23-29/6/89

Strikes hit post offices

ABOUT 1 000 postal workers in Transkei stopped work this week in the latest of a wave of sporadic strikes that have hit post offices around South Africa recently

The strike has closed the main post office in Umtata, and has severely affected work at four post offices in the "homeland"

The striking workers belong to the Transkei Post Office Workers' Association. Floyd Masehe, vice-president of Cosatu's Post and Telecommunication Workers' Association, said the strike was a protest against the transfer of unionists to remote post offices in the "homeland"

He said union was receiving reports that the strike was rolling into other depots in the territory

On Tuesday 145 striking workers at Umtata post office were charged with being a "public nuisance", said Masehe. Security police were searching for leaders of Trapowa, he added

Transkei's Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, GSK Nota, confirmed the strike had been sparked by the transfer of Noklulanga Dlokweni, an executive member of Trapowa, to Butterworth

About 100 workers at the Pretoria post office struck on Tuesday after it was announced that the vice-chairman of the Potwa's Pretoria branch would be transferred to a township depot

About 75 workers at the Kempton Park post office returned to work

Hope follows peace meeting

By CARMEL RICKARD

ANOTHER round of Natal talks, said to be crucial to peace efforts in the region, is to begin in Durban this afternoon

It is the second meeting this week of senior leaders from Inkatha on the one hand and the United Democratic Front and the Congress of SA Trade Unions on the other, aimed at finding a way to halt the rising death toll in the Natal sectarian violence

The same delegates are to represent the two sides and they will meet in the same Durban hotel as on Monday, when talks lasted more than five hours

Both sides were apparently pleased at the progress made during Monday's talks — described as conducted in "the most constructive spirit" — and they expressed the hope that they would be able to set up a joint initiative to bring an end to the violence

Monday's talks began against the background of renewed conflict the police unrest report for the previous 24 hours listed nine people killed in the Durban and Pietermaritzburg townships, as well as several injuries and other violent incidents

Among the nine were three people killed shortly before last Sunday's peace rally in kwaMashu addressed by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

However, unrest monitors believe that as the two sides begin to halt the violence between supporters of Inkatha and of the UDF/Cosatu, it could

expose the identity of the vigilantes who are blamed for most of the current killings — and their backers

There is now a growing belief in some quarters that these vigilantes may not be associated with either side and could either be working independently, or at the prompting or with the tacit support of another force

It seems the parties involved in the talks have a similar belief their joint statement committed the participants to beginning the process of exposing and isolating "all those elements that we believe are actually engaged in this campaign of promoting violence amongst our people"

And a senior member of one delegation said he believed the killings were "too ferocious and sustained" to be the work of Cosatu/UDF and Inkatha alone

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23-29/6/89
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71A

Natal peace talks to resume today

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF leaders were due to resume their peace talks in Durban today on the question of Natal violence — in which an average of two people a day died during May, according to figures from unrest monitors.

The Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group said 31 people were killed in Durban townships in May. This brought to 507 the numbers of deaths they had logged in political violence since the start of 1987.

In Maritzburg townships, 32 people were killed in May, the Community Agency for Social Inquiry at the University of Natal in Maritzburg said. This took their death toll to 1 325 since the beginning of 1987.

After their "constructive" talks at Durban's Royal Hotel on Monday, the 10 representatives of Inkatha, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front were due to meet again today.

The delegates have so far declined to make their discussions public. But a statement said on Monday a report was being prepared to present to their organisations and presidents.

The Cosatu/UDF delegation comprises Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu general secretary; Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF acting publicity secretary; Dr Diliza Mji, president of the National Medical and Dental Association of South Africa; Mr Alec Erwin, education officer for the National Union of Metalworkers of SA; and a Cosatu representative from Maritzburg, Mr Siphso Gcabashe.

The Inkatha delegation is made up of Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general, Dr Frank Mdlalose, chairman of the national council; Mr Velaphi Ndlovo, a central committee member; Mr Musa Zondi, national leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, and Mr Nqobizwe Nkehli, a central committee member from Mpumalanga.

11A

~~3/30~~

~~3/31~~

ANC office
Star 2, 3, 16, 18, 19
bomb blast
injures three

LUSAKA — A bomb exploded in a African National Congress welfare office in Lusaka yesterday, injuring three ANC members, one seriously

It was the third in a series of explosions in the Zambian capital

The victims in yesterday's blast in Lilanda township had leg injuries and were taken to hospital. One might have to have a leg amputated

The Lilanda explosion caused extensive damage to the office, shattering its windows and roof

The ANC has its headquarters in Lusaka — Sapa-Reuter

Forum releases delegates' names

'Influential' persons will talk with ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The largest group of white South Africans yet to meet the African National Congress will attend a conference in Zambia later this month to discuss with the banned organisation the role of whites in a changing society.

The Five Freedoms Forum, which organised the conference, has released the names of some of the 120 South African delegates who will meet 40 ANC representatives in Lusaka from June 29 to July 2.

Prominent educationists are among the delegates, including University of the Witwatersrand deputy vice-chancellor Professor Mervyn Shear, University of

Cape Town deputy vice-chancellor Professor Dave Woods, Sacred Heart College principal Mr Neil McGurk, educationist Dr Franz Auerbach and Dr Robin Lee of the Wits Centre for Policy Studies

Others attending the conference, sponsored by the governments of the United States, Sweden, Canada, the Netherlands and Denmark, include East London mayor Mr Donald Card, former Black Sash president Mrs Joyce Harris and *Southern African Report* editor Mr Raymond Louw

Different

The Five Freedoms Forum said that the delegates represented parties which worked in the white community

The conference would be very different to previous meetings with the ANC, the Forum said

"Not only does it include a large number of influential individuals, but most delegates will be representing specific organisations or constituencies"

AP-7175 24/6/89

Police watching talks with ANC, says Vlok

Political Staff 112

THE police will know exactly what happens at next week's talks between the ANC and a group of more than 100 South Africans, who should tell the full truth when they return, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

If the people who visited Lusaka as the guests of the ANC and the SA Communist Party did not inform the people correctly, "we will be obliged to do it", he said at a medal parade in Pretoria.

Although Mr Vlok strongly criticised next week's "safari" to the "tyrants of Lusaka", he did not hint that any action would be taken by the government to prevent the talks.

It seems that the government now accepts that it cannot stop people from inside South Africa talking to the ANC although it is publicly strongly opposed to these discussions.

Labour Party wants it all ¹¹⁴

Mr. Hendrickse 2/26/89
THE Labour Party was "going for 80 out of 80" seats in the House of Representatives in the September general election, party PRO Mr Peter Hendrickse said yesterday

The LP was aiming to "wipe out" Mr Carter Ebrahim's seven-member official opposition Democratic Reform Party, as well as candidates from any other party planning to contest the elections, he said

The deadline for LP nominations is June 30, and candidates are expected to be announced in the second week of July Mr Hendrickse said the LP planned to hold public and house meetings across the country in the run-up to the September 6 poll

Call Times 26/6/89 (114)

ANC considers talks with govt

LONDON. — The African National Congress has started discussing whether it could negotiate with the South African government and on what terms, an ANC spokeswoman said yesterday.

She said an internal document which considered ways in which apartheid could be dismantled peacefully was being circulated in the ANC. It was also being discussed inside South Africa.

"We do not see any evidence

that the regime is willing to change its policies and make itself ready for talks," she said.

"But we think it is important to prepare a unified position so that if the time comes, we are ready."

The spokeswoman, at the ANC's London office, said the document had been drawn up at a meeting on June 8 of the organisation's national executive in Lusaka in reaction to a "climate of expectation" among foreign govern-

ments.

"It considers such questions as how talks could be conducted and how a transitional administration might be handled. But this is all just theory," she said.

ANC supporters demonstrated in central London yesterday when the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, arrived for talks with the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher — Sapa-
Reuter

An apology from the Charterists please!

From GOMOLEMO MOKAE of Ga-Rankuwa, near Pretoria

WITH some progress being made in resolving the political violence in Maritzburg it may seem inopportune to reopen the scars of violence between the UDF and Azapo.

However the recent disruption of a June 16 commemoration service at Regina Mundi, where Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza was heckled, brings the matter to light again.

A repeat of the Azapo-UDF feud would be a ghastly prospect and the June 16 incident has the potential to kindle the damp fuse of inter-organisational tolerance.

Firstly, I would like to dispel two misconceptions surrounding the disruption of the service.

It has been postulated that the disruption was a result of a personal grudge against Mr Myeza rather than Black Consciousness per se, since other BC exponents were allowed to speak.

What needs to be noted is that Mr Myeza, as the publicity secretary of Azapo, is not only the chief spokesman of the movement but he epitomises Black Consciousness in this country.

It has even been alleged in a Sunday newspaper that Mr Myeza was prevented from speaking because he was seen by the crowd as a spy.

It is not for me to elucidate the progressive, committed political record of Mr Myeza. It speaks for itself.

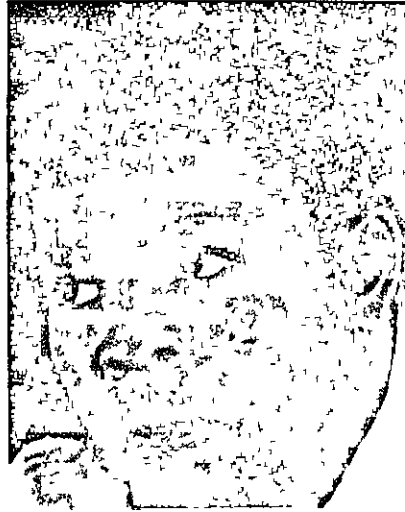
Suffice to say that unsuccessful attempts, had also been made to label the BC's Bantu Steve Biko as a CIA agent.

Ironically, this was after Biko had been liquidated. Strangely enough, members of the political school which attempted to discredit Biko have since sought refuge in the US consulate.

No one calls them CIA agents - because they are not. They are simply a bunch of desperate activists trying to focus the attention of the world on detention without trial.

It is clear the attack on Mr Myeza is an attack on his ideology.

Back to the newspaper report. I would like to comment on the inflammatory position adopted by some black journalists on the topic of in-fighting. The report was deliberately



Muntu Myeza... heckled at Regina Mundi

sensationalised to push circulation rather than keep peace in our townships.

If black editors and reporters are genuine about their concern over killings between black organisations, they should curb such reactionary reports.

Let us briefly view the role played by the University of Natal in kindling the fires of destruction which ravaged this country as the UDF and Azapo forgot their fight against apartheid and fought each other.

Before 1982 there had been verbal clashes between the BC and Charterists over ideology but many saw nothing wrong with this because, in any revolution, there are various tendencies. Usually these groups fight verbally.

In 1982 - when I enrolled at the university - an Azapo meeting at Alan Taylor residence was violently disrupted by a mob chanting ANC slogans. As a first year medical student, I was bewildered by the sight of my seniors going for my jugular because I belonged to a rival

political camp.

Nowadays, some of us are astonished when we see activists disrupting speakers from different ideological camps but those of us who saw supposedly mature students scratching the stickers of rivals off doors are not too surprised.

The gist of my letter is this. If we bring up our youth on a staple diet of political intolerance we will continue reaping a

bloodbath. Only five years back children in the Eastern Cape were conditioned to kill on sight someone from a rival political camp.

Only three years ago I was met with belligerent stares on campus by people who did not wish to know me because I was a BC affiliate.

The truism of the saying "charity begins at home" comes to mind when I saw the same faces become friendly on meeting a strange white face at Howard College. It seemed they did not need to find out whether these whites were Nusas, HNP, CP or ex Rhodesians - and there were plenty of them - before smiling at them.

We can hardly relate to one another as blacks yet we insist on attempting the quantum leap to relating to whites. How sad!

Much innocent blood has flowed under the bridge. Before Uhuru we have been irresponsible and set out to wage a costly Biafra. One does not relish passing the buck but if the leadership of the Charterist movement is genuine about having peace among the oppressed it owes the black community an apology for the irresponsible acts of its supporters.

Furthermore all black organisations need to introduce measures of accountability and responsibility to the black cause in their ranks. That, I am convinced, would be the best tribute to the fallen on '76, who had uniformity of purpose in their uprising.

Different views expressed on Myeza uproar

At last Friday's Regina Mundi service to commemorate June 16, BC exponent Muntu Myeza was shouted down by Charterist supporters. This triggered off a week-long debate on the subject of black unity, or unity for all South Africans, and the reasons behind that action — reminiscent of the tragic days of the UDF/Azapo clashes.

In the last week, *City Press* has been inundated with calls about the incident. Today we publish edited versions of two letters showing what people think of the Myeza incident.

NEW SUPPORT FOR CHARTER

From LUPUNDO MOSHAU of Shayanidima in Venda

I WAS very much disturbed by the *City Press* comment which said people from the Charterist movement had booed Muntu Myeza.

You claimed that those hecklers were unaware that he served six years on Robben Island. You seem to find fault only in those who believe in the Freedom Charter. You were either not at Regina Mundi or you sent junior reporters to cover it.

Mr Editor, please get your facts right before publishing. Here are the facts: the BC people from the upper level of the church began shouting at Dr Max Coleman saying 'Bua Baas! Bua Baas!'

They even booed him when he said the struggle for Namibia is linked to ours. Yet in your newspaper column, *My Way*, you agreed with this when you said, "Namibian Freedom — one step closer to SA Liberation!" Your paper is definitely becoming one-sided.

The reason why the BC movement failed to stop white supremacy is that they were in a minority but wanted to dominate

the entire mass democratic movement. I never supported any group before but I now support the NDM for their clear political stance.

How can a normal person dis-credit people like Dr Coleman,

the late Dr Neil Aggett and the late Dr David Webster who fought for democracy but was murdered by apartheid?

The Helen Josephs of this country cannot be left out. Our struggle is not a struggle of col-

our but a struggle against white domination over blacks or vice-versa.

It is inhuman to be a racist, whether you are black or white.

Sir the BC man who chartered the commemoration service distorted the poetry of a Charterist but you did not mention it.

It is true that the theme was "Unity in Action". But it was wrong to use the words Bua Baas! Bua Baas! It sounds like AWB members using the racist word, *Katfir*.

For us to unite lets call each other comrades, not disparaging names. For Muntu to be sentenced to six years on Robben Island does not mean that his politics are clear.

It is only through non-racialism that SA can reach its goal. Muntu and his BC must note that we are not prepared to re-plate apartheid by apartheid. Blacks are not greedy. We shall overcome by treating whites as human. The wealth shall be shared among all and the doors of learning and culture shall be opened for all racial groups, not blacks only.

The oppressor can also be a black man, like the banustan leaders

COMMENT

Regina Mundi boings

A NOTHER June 16 has come and some Oice more it has left Spraidle throughout the country and

Some of the people who passed these disparaging remarks were not even aware that he served six years on Robben Island. He was among the black community. People who booed him when he said the struggle for Namibia is linked to ours. Yet in your newspaper column, *My Way*, you agreed with this when you said, "Namibian Freedom — one step closer to SA Liberation!" Your paper is definitely becoming one-sided.

11/4
class
25/6/89

New info supremo for ANC

By PETA THORNYCROFT
Harare (11A)

DR PALLO JORDAN, 47, is the African National Congress's new information chief *5/ Times 25/6/87*

He replaces Mr Thabo Mbeki in one of the organisation's most public jobs Mr Mbeki is now heading the Foreign Affairs Department

Dr Jordan was elected to the ANC's national executive in 1985

Born in Cape Town, educated at universities there, in America and in Britain, he is considered to be one of the banned organisation's leading intellectuals

Dr Jordan is one of the younger generation of nationalists now being promoted by the older leaders

He is expected to have a more open approach to the Press than his predecessor who made journalists struggle for information about the ANC and to get access to its policy-makers

Better stone for Hector

By SELLO SERIPE

A NEW and bigger tombstone will be erected to replace the desecrated tombstone of Hector Pieterse

The 13-year-old Soweto schoolboy was the first victim when police fired on protesting pupils on June 16, 1976. He was buried at the Avalon cemetery.

Two black consciousness-orientated organisations - the Azanian Students Movement and the National Youth Co-ordinating Committee - have pledged to rebuild the tombstone after the headstone was smashed by vandals on the eve of the 13th anniversary of the uprising.

Spokesmen for the organisations said it had not yet been decided whether the entire tombstone would be replaced.

A Soweto Council spokesman said the family would need a permit from the cemetery administration to re-erect the tombstone.

SA groups flock to Lusaka, but no talks with Pretoria

By LEN KALANE

THE ANC warned this week that its meetings with top South African judges in the UK over the past two days were not the foundation of long-awaited peace negotiations with the SA government.

The ANC's no-negotiations-yet stance comes on the eve of a meeting between a high-ranking ANC delegation and the largest South African delegation it has yet met - members of the Five Freedoms Forum.

The Forum meets the ANC this week

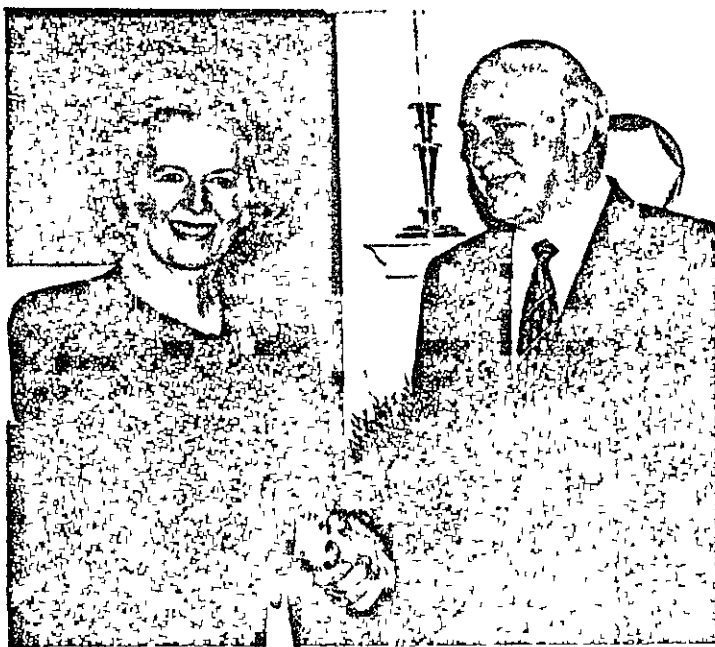
Yesterday's caution from the ANC means the exiled movement is not ready to negotiate with Pretoria - despite FW de Klerk's European visit

The ANC's meeting with several judges - on Friday and yesterday - has been seen in political circles as remarkable, overshadowing previous ANC contact with sections of the white, South African establishment. The meeting was described as a coincidence by the SA Justice Department

The conference - which was attended by SA jurists and representatives of the ANC's legal department - was held in Oxfordshire and included two top Appellate Division judges, Judge Milne and Judge Smalberger. Also there were Judge Fagan of the Cape Division and Judge Didcott of the Natal Division of the Supreme Court

be dismantled peacefully, was being circulated within the ANC.

The spokeswoman said, "We do not see any evidence that Pretoria is willing to change its policies and make itself ready for talks. But we think it is important to prepare a unified position"



National Party leader FW de Klerk gets a warm welcome from British Prime Minister Maggie Thatcher in London.

In an interview with the AFRICAN NEWS ORGANISATION, a high-ranking ANC spokesman revealed a recently-adopted resolution by the ANC's National Executive Committee, confirming that it does not accept negotiations

The spokesman said the NEC resolution reaffirms its "adherence to the October 1987 decision on negotiations and underscores that only the continued escalation of internal resistance, including its armed component, complemented by increasing international pressure, will bring down the edifice of apartheid"

However, the involvement of more and more prominent South Africans in talks with the ANC is believed to be playing a major role in bringing the two closer to the negotiation table

Heads of state in the US, Britain, Portugal and

■ To Page 2

■ From Page 1

West Germany - and leaders of the Frontline States - are also pressuring for talks

At its recent clandestine seventh congress, the SA Communist Party intimated that an alternative to South Africa's political problems could be in a negotiated settlement.

In a documented plan, *The Path To Power*, the SACP substituted its 1962 guidelines and acknowledges that negotiations and compromise could not be ruled out

Meanwhile, the Bush administration's assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, is hoping for "new thinking on the part of the black leadership" of SA

Cohen said "Negotiation between the two parties (the ANC and Pretoria) must not be seen as a zero-sum game. We must have a solution. We are going to challenge both sides and ask them, 'Are you ready?'"

Speculation has also been fuelled by reports that the ANC had begun discussing whether it could negotiate with SA's white rulers

An ANC spokeswoman in London was reported as saying an internal document - considering ways in which apartheid might

AFRICAN NEWS SERVICE
 25/6/89
 (Handwritten initials and marks)

1187 25/6/81

Freedom Charter a 'sacred document'

By SELLO SERIPE

NO amount of pressure will stop the oppressed people of South Africa from implementing the pledges contained in the Freedom Charter, according to Soweto Youth Congress publicity secretary Clive Radebe.

Speaking on the 34th anniversary of the drafting of the document, in Kliptown in 1955, Radebe said although State repression was increasing daily, "the majority have also indicated by their actions that they will not bow down until victory".

The charter was drawn up at the Congress of the

People and was endorsed by the then legal ANC, the Congress of Democrats, the SA Indian Congress and the Coloured Peoples' Congress.

Radebe said the current state of affairs in Namibia was also a source of encouragement to oppressed South Africans.

The charter which has since been adopted by trade unions and progressive political and teacher organisations was also popular with student organisations identifying with non-racism. "Because of its democratic pledges for a future non-racial SA, the charter is a sacred document to almost all the suffering

"It was also a guideline document of the banned Congress of South African Students, which demanded a better education," Radebe said.

The Freedom Charter has also been quoted by defence lawyers when leading evidence in mitigation of sentence.

Radebe said the state of emergency and the restriction of extra-parliamentary organisations would not deter the oppressed from demanding their freedom.

"People are up in arms. They want the charter implemented.

"They want houses and work and are demanding a living wage."

He added that the length of time it took to get into power depended on the role played by peace-loving South Africans towards dismantling apartheid.

"People should also bear in mind that getting power is not an event but a process."

The youth leader said death squads, vigilante attacks and repression would always fail to crush resistance.

"If apartheid lives on, resistance will also mount until our liberation," he said.

ANC will not talk to SA govt

From Page 1 West Germany - and leaders of the Frontline States - are also pressuring for talks.

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Meanwhile, the Bush administration's assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, is hoping for "new thinking on the part of the black leadership" of SA.

Cohen said "Negotiation between the two parties (the ANC and Pretoria) must not be seen as a zero-sum game... We must have a solution. We are going to challenge both sides and ask them: Are you ready?"

Speculation has also been fuelled by reports that the ANC had begun discussing whether it could negotiate with SA's white rulers.

An ANC spokeswoman in London was reported as saying an internal document - considering ways in which apartheid might be dismantled peacefully - was being circulated within the ANC.

The spokeswoman said, "We do not see any evidence that Pretoria is willing to change its policies and make itself ready for talks. But we think it is important to prepare a unified position."

Political comment and news by Sello Seripe. Headlines and sub-editing by C. From 204 Eloff Street East Johannesburg.

Middelburg 25/6/89
Cohen
11A

US wants to talk with SA and ANC

By ZB MOLEFE

US President George Bush's administration does not consider any one black group in South Africa to be exclusive, the new US Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, said this week.

"From our analysis," said Cohen, "there are multifaceted leadership groups in South Africa, including the ANC, the UDF and the Inkatha movement."

Speaking on a satellite link-up with journalists, academics and community leaders in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town, Cohen also said a number of church groups in South Africa "have significant influence on the political scene

"So it seems to me they should all be represented at any bargaining table," he added

Responding to a question, Cohen also made it clear that his government had high hopes for the new South African government which will come into office after the September elections - particularly National Party leader and the man tipped to be the next president - FW de Klerk

When this new South African government takes office, said Cohen, the US "must talk to both the South African government and the ANC and say to the latter 'if the new government of South Africa proposes a dialogue, will you be ready?'"

He continued, "I'm hoping there will be new thinking on the part of the black leadership

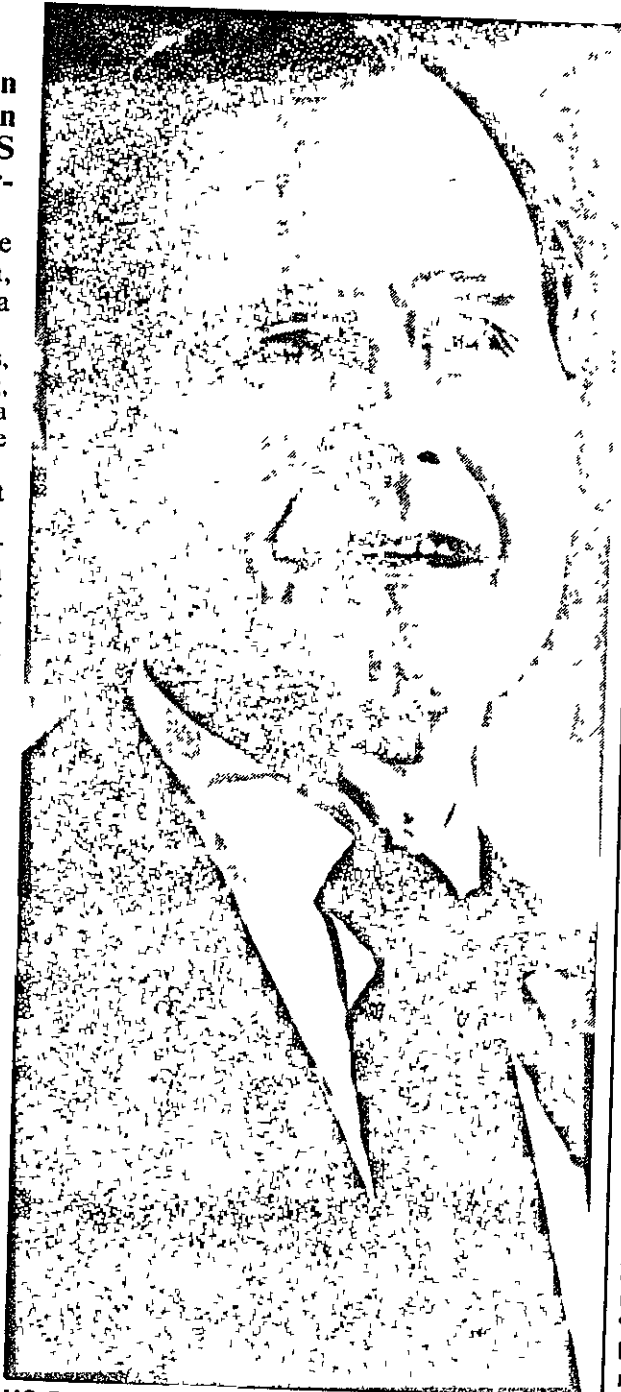
"Are they now working on their own game plan? Because negotiation cannot be a zero sum game

"It must be the type of dialogue where there are no losers. We're going to be challenging both the South Africa government and the black leadership"

On his next trip to southern Africa late next month, he would address the new South African government and the ANC about some proposals along these lines. Cohen said the Bush administration was really interested in a negotiated settlement to end white domination and apartheid - "where every South African citizen has political equality"

But he warned "You can't even begin that unless there is a release of black leaders and the lifting of the State of Emergency so that non-violent political activity can take place"

On the question of the Soviet Union's involvement in Southern Africa, Cohen said it had played a very helpful role - particularly in the completion of United Nations Resolution 435 in Namibia and the departure of Cuban troops from Angola



US President George Bush... really interested in a negotiated settlement to end white domination and apartheid.

Two years for cop who aided ANC flit

CP Correspondent

A policeman who helped two ANC members escape from custody for a R1 500 fee has been sentenced to an effective two years' imprisonment

Sean Demas, 21, was sentenced to three years imprisonment, one year conditionally suspended for three years, with a recommendation that he be given psychological treatment.

Demas, who was stationed at Wynberg Police Station in Cape Town, assisted detainees Adriaan Siphiso Quila and Donisile Smallboy Nokhatywa by giving them a gun. They escaped on January 28 but were later re-arrested

Demas told the court he had been in financial difficulties and, when he was put on cell guard duty, Quila had agreed to help him get R6 000.

Eight days after the escape he confessed. He was held in solitary confinement at Fish Hoek Police Station for two-and-a-half months and at Pollsmoor for two weeks

RD McDougall, who represented Demas, gave notice of appeal

Inkatha: Carefully working to end the Natal bloodshed

PEOPLE are dying in the greater Maritzburg area and people are dying beyond it in areas to which violence has spread

I do not know what the UDF and Cosatu are doing on the ground to bring about peace because we are still in the process of drawing towards each other in the only way that this can be done — carefully, in a step-by-step move to avoid bungling

If I do not yet know what the UDF and Cosatu are doing on the ground, I do know what I and Inkatha are doing on the ground about peace. Above all I know that what we are doing is based on compassion, love for South Africa and the need to establish democratic power-bases among the people

On the human level, we act out of compassion, on the political level we act to stop killing so that democracy may emerge

Inkatha has held more than 100 meetings with the people most affected by violence, in Prayer for Peace rally after Prayer for Peace rally across the length and breadth of KwaZulu/Natal

I personally have already

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, responds, in edited form, to last week's article on the violence in Maritzburg

held a mass prayer meeting at KwaMakhuta which is one of the spots most troubled by violence. I went there to rally the people on the ground — where a people's rejection of violence must take place

Last Sunday I attended a mass prayer meeting at KwaMaspu to rally black South African support for peace initiatives. This Sunday I go to Edendale to hold a mass prayer meeting there with those who are actually being affected by the violence

At these meetings I read a letter from Dr Nelson Mandela to me because in it he makes a clarion call for peace and in the letter it is quite clear that he wants his message of peace to be spread

It is wrong to suggest that I am involved in some kind of seedy programme, or of wheedling my way into pub-

lic favour among more radicalised black South Africans

As leaders are being drawn together by the groundswell of black political forces, any leader who acts in a petty way will be endorsed out of relevance in all strife-torn localities

Inkatha, Cosatu and UDF leaders seeking to establish an agenda and the protocol and circumstances which will make that agenda successful, are all experienced men. There are things that must be done the right way and I am going about doing what must be done the right way

Dr Mandela is the real president of the ANC. If I was not committed to black unity, why would I sing the praises and acclaim the greatness of the real president of the ANC, which has been so hostile to Inkatha for so long?

IIA Sawetan 26/11/89

PRAISE FOR US SINGERS

BLACK artists and prominent community leaders have praised top American pop group, the Commodores for cancelling their visit to Sun City next month.

Mr Jabu Ngwenya, a spokesman for the South African Musicians Alliance, said he had received word from the United Artists Against Apartheid, a US-based organisation that the Commodores had cancelled the trip

Ngwenya congratulated the Commodores for the decision

"When I spoke to the group's manager, she



Sama spokesman Mr Jabu Ngwenya.

expressed her support for our struggle. She claimed to be confused by the controversy surrounding the tour. But I advised her to contact the United Nations," said Ngwenya

Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe, a prominent trade unionist, praised Sama for "being watchdogs on people who militate against the black struggle"

He said the Commodores should also be lauded for their brave stand

Sun International is expected to release a statement this morning. It has advised the public to hold on to their tickets until further notice

The Pan Africanist Congress had earlier released a statement condemning the Commodores visit. The PAC told Ziana, the Zimbabwe national news agency, that the decision by the Commodores to perform at Sun City in Bophuthatswana was "a kick in the teeth" for the struggle against apartheid

ANC DEBATE ON TALKS WITH SA

LONDON — The African National Congress has begun discussing whether it could negotiate with South Africa's white minority rulers and on what terms, an ANC spokesman said at the weekend.

She said an internal document, considering ways in which Pretoria's apartheid system might be dismantled peacefully was being circulated within the ANC, the main group fighting white rule in South Africa.

It was also being discussed in South Africa, where the ANC is banned

"We do not see any evidence the regime is willing to change its policies and make itself ready for talks," she said "But we think it is important to prepare a unified position so that if the time comes, we are

ready "

The spokeswoman, at the ANC's London office, said the document had been drawn up at a June 8 meeting of the organisation's national executive in Lusaka in

reaction to a "climate" of expectation" among foreign governments

"It considers such questions of how talks could be conducted, how a transitional administration might be handled

But this is all just theory," she added

Supporters of the ANC, which has been waging a political and guerilla struggle in South Africa for 30 years,

demonstrated in central London on Friday when the head of South Africa's ruling National Party, F W de Klerk, arrived for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher

As I move in age into the half century mark, I often turn back the leaves in the book of my life sometimes with a great deal of sentimental nostalgia.

Apart from this being purely an indulgence, I believe it might help people like Strim Moodley, who has written an excellent article on my initiative. This will give those who write or speak about me a type of reference, a background within which to place me.

I might mention in parenthesis that I hugely enjoyed the swag in the description that our efforts were similar to the Cervantes character, Don Quixote. That

Henry "Hank" Nxumalo investigated the problem, took it by the scruff of the neck and did a great job about it.

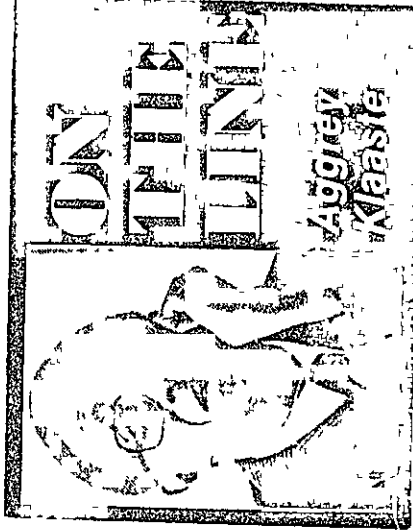
Among other things Hank Nxumalo not only exposed the farm labour conditions but went one better — he got himself arrested and worked on a farm. Those were the days of the vicious pass system, of prison labour, the days when

farmers had total control over the black labour

I hope Strim would also remember that I was weaned by saintly black leaders like Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, a man who lived far beyond his age. Mr Sobukwe was not only a saintly leader, but an intellectual giant. He was in my eyes the embodiment of what I these

Black leaders at the core

of Nation Building



had on my life, have impacted in their various ways on my thinking.

So that in the end Nation Building is a combination of such influences I cannot be seen as original or as separate from the past politico-historical factors in my life and the lives of other South Africans.

I might mention that the influences from various political leaders of the past are still practically effective in my family and personal life. I have members of my own family, who are staunch members of almost all the political ideologies that we are heir to. I love these people just as I respect the leaders who started their movements.

What I am trying to do with Nation Building, is to bring back into the fold all black people I was bitterly criticised by

Wits University students when I said my political or ideological stance was neutral. That is a result of the murderous infighting among blacks that has made the job of our oppressors very easy

Nation Building is not original nor is it the only solution. It is also an endeavour to get in the way of orthodox political movements. It is an attempt, however, quixotic to bring these strands together.

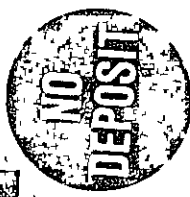
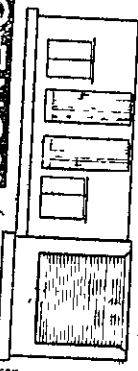
I am ashamed to see how the police laugh at the June 16 anniversary services when we fight one another. I am ashamed to be

painted as someone who despises one black organisation over the other

I am hoping that pragmatic people like me will turn our leaders and their followers into reflective people, people who will not be afraid to look into themselves, and even if there are bad things there to recognise them.

For too many years there has been the type of arrogance that makes people believe they have the monopoly to the political truths of this country and this world. Nobody with any sense in his head can make such an extravagant claim.

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S 822

A historic meeting between the African National Congress and Inkatha will take place soon in an attempt to end the violence in Natal.

The peace conference, possibly in London or Lusaka, will involve ANC national executive committee members and the leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

A major spin-off from that meeting could be the forging of ties, however shaky at first leading to a closer relationship or at least an agreement to accept each organisation's differing anti-apartheid approach, according to sources.

But it has also been learnt the ANC would emphasise that it would not discuss matters outside peace in Natal during the meeting with Inkatha.

Although parties involved in the peace talks last week refused to reveal the nature of their discussions, independent sources confirmed that a meeting between leaders of black political organisations was a priority which was being examined.

"These current talks are the start of a logical sequence of events. The agenda will go beyond peace in the region," said a source.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said last week "if our participation in such a meeting is necessary to end the violence in Natal, the organisation will take part in the peace initiative."

"Everybody wants the peace process to succeed. We all want the violence in the townships to end," the spokesman said.



Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi.



UDF's Archie Gumede

HOPE FOR END TO SLAUGHTER

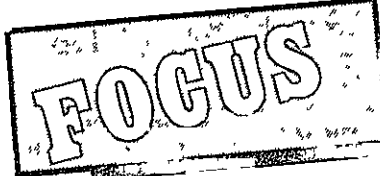
Historic meeting between ANC and Inkatha set up

He was referring to last week's talks between Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu which aimed to stop the violence in Natal.

The ANC spokesman said the organisation would consider a request to take part in a peace conference if Inkatha, UDF and Cosatu made an approach.

Sources in the country believe a meeting of the "big four" would not face the problem of a suitable venue which proved to stand in the way of recent attempts to meet.

They said Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha president Chief



By QURAIH PATEL

Mangosuthu Buthelezi had emphasised recently that without the involvement of the ANC, any peace initiative would probably be futile.

Chief Buthelezi, in his presidential address to Inkatha about two months ago, said that what was needed was a "statement of intent" that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu could sign as separate organisations with Inkatha.

"Inkatha is not likely

to be involved in such initiatives unless there is proof that the leadership of the ANC Mission in Exile support it," said Chief Buthelezi.

Inkatha thereafter adopted a resolution calling on the "presidents and national leaders of the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC Mission in Exile to meet our president and leaders of Inkatha at a mutually acceptable venue so that the political organisations directly involved in the violence can establish a joint initiative in the pursuit of peace in the region."

Last month in it attempts to set up a peace conference, UDF president Archie Gumede sent a letter to Chief Buthelezi calling for a meeting to discuss, among other concerns, how the ANC and other organisations would be involved in the peace initiative.

Sources also refer to a recent letter sent to Chief Buthelezi by imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela who said "Obviously, my fervent hope is to see in due course, the restoration of cordial relations which existed between you and OR (Oliver Tambo) and between the two organisations in the Seventies."

Fight

In his closing remarks at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Friday, Chief Buthelezi said he had told Tambo and members of the ANC executive "that if they wanted a fight they could have one. This year I moved away from that theme."

"As we turn 1989 into Year of Action, it must not be we who fail in the pursuit of national reconciliation and peace based on mutual respect for different groups doing different things, in an overall multi-strategy approach."

He also referred to a recent ANC radio broadcast which called on "all our compatriots inside and outside the trouble torn areas of Natal, whether belonging to the UDF, Cosatu or Inkatha - the primary concern must be that of ending the carnage. It is not us the oppressed who have gained but it is the apartheid regime."

Chief Buthelezi said "I must state I welcome this change in attitude of the ANC's leadership."

The Media Council

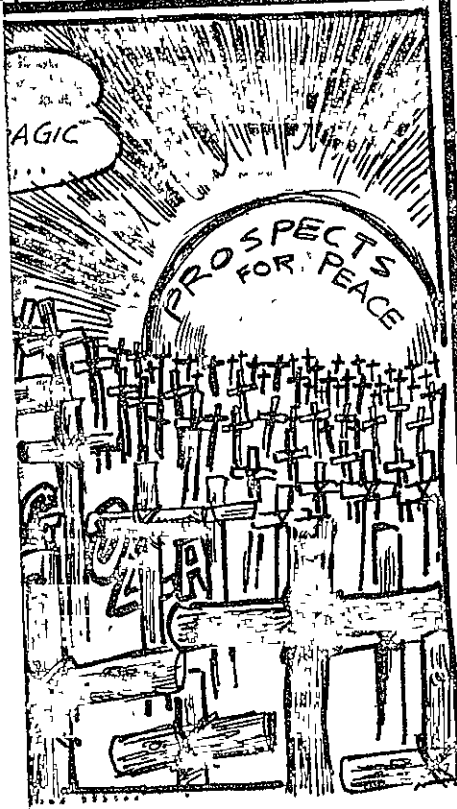
THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlolo. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West Johannesburg.

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11A

Freedom Charter Committee

THE FREEDOM CHARTER IN SEVEN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

As adopted at the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955

Preamble: We the people of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people. That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace, by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality.

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities.

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together equal, countrymen and brothers, adopt this Freedom Charter

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won

RELEASE MANDELA

RELEASE MANDELA

FREEDOM CHARTER — TSWANA

LOKWALE LWA DITSHWANELO LWA KGOLLOSEGO

Jaaka la itseetswe kwa phuthengong ya Batho ka Seetebosigo 26, 1955

TLHAGISO

Rona batho ba Afrika-Borwa, re beya mo pepeneneng ka ntlha ya naga ya rona le gore lefatsho lotlhe le itse Gore Afrika-Borwa ke ya botlhe ba ba nngang mo go yona, ba bantsho le ba basweu, le gore ga go na puso e e ke lopang bothati ka tshwanano ntle le gore e agilwe mo thatong ya batho. Le gore batho ba rona be amogilwe ditshwanano tsa bone tsa botsalo tsa naga, tokogolo le kagiso ka mokgwa wa puso o o ditshokelelong le go sa lekaneng ka maemo. Le gore naga ya rona ga e kitla e nna le leruo kgotsa e nna le tokologo go fitihela batho botlhe ba rona ba tshela ka botsalano, ba tumediswa ke maemo le ditshwanano tse di lekaneng. Le gore ke fela puso ya batho botlhe, e e agilweng mo go ra-teng ga batho e e ka tlhomamang mo ditshwanano tse tsotlhe tsa botsalo kwa ntle ga go kgetholwa ka ntlha ya mmala, morafe, bongwe kgotsa tumelo. Ka jalo, rona batho ba Afrika-Borwa, bantsho le basweu, re lekana ba botlhe, baagi ba naga le bakaulengwe, re itseela lokwalo lo lwa tokologo ya ditshwanano. Gape re baa boikanyegi jwa rona mo go lekeng re le rotlha, re sa sekegele sepe mo thateng le bogatlamelamasisi jwa rona, go fitihela diphetogo tsotlhe tsa temokerasi kgotsa puso tse di tlhaisitsweng mo, di feengwa

- 1 BATHO BA TLA BUSA
- 2 DITLHOPHA TSOTLHE TSA SETSHABA DI TLA NNA LE TETLA E E LEKANANG
- 3 BATHO BOTLHE BA TLA KGAOGANYETSANA LERUO LA NAGA
- 4 LEFATSHE LE TLA KGAOGANYETSWA BOTLHE BAO BA LE DIRISANG
- 5 BOTLHE BA TLA LEKANA FA PELE GA KGOTLA-TSHEKELO
- 6 BOTLHE BA TLA ITUMELELA DITETLA TSA BOTHO
- 7 GO TLA NNA LE TIRO LE TLHOMANO
- 8 DIKGORO TSA THUTO LE BOITEREDI DI TLA BULWA
- 9 GO TLA NNA LE MATLO, TLHOMANO LE THOKGAMO
- 10 GO TLA NNA LE KAGISO LE BOTSALANO

A botlhe ba ba ratang batho ba bone re naga ya bone, ba bue jaanong jaaka re bua mop re re. Dikgololosego tse re tla di twela re emane thoko botshelo jwa rona jotlhe, go fitihela re bona tokologo

FREEDOM CHARTER — XHOSA

UXWEBU LWAMALUNGELO ENKULULEKO

Njengoko luthathwe lunjalo kwintlanganisio yoluntu ngo Juni 26, 1955

INTSHAYELELO

Thina, bantu boMzantsi Afrika, sazisa ilizwe lethu nelizwe lonke. Ukuba uMzantsi Afrika ngowabo bonke abahlala kuwo, abamnyama nabamhlophe kwaye akukho rhulumente onokubanga igunya lokuphatha ngaphandle kokuba usekelwe kwintando yabantu bonke. Ukuba abantu bethu baqhathwe ngamalungelo okuzalwa kwabo emhlabeni wabo, inkululeko noxolo ngohlobo luburhulumente olufumaniseke lungalunganga nokungalingani. Ukuba ilizwe lethu alisayi kuze lityebe okanye likhululeke de kube abantu bonke baphila njegezizalwana, buveyele amalungelo alinganayo namathuba alinganayo. Ukuba ingangu rhulumente ongenamkhethe, osekelwe entandweni yabantu, ongagcina onke amalungelo okuzalwa ngaphandle kokucalucalula lwebala, uhlanga, ubudoda nobufazi okanye inkolelo. Yaye ngoko ke thina, abantu boMzantsi Afrika, abantsundu nabamhlophe, sidibene siyalingana, abami nezizalwana, siyathathe lenkqubo yenkululeko. Kwaye siyacenga ukuzama kunye, singashiyi nanye kumandla ethu nenkuthalo yethu, de inguqulelo zemvano ezidweliswe apha kweli xwebu ziphumelele

- 1 ABANTU BAYA KULAWULA
- 2 ZONKE IINTLANGA ZIYA KUBA NAMALUNGELO ALINGANAYO
- 3 ABANTU BAYAKUXHAMLALA UBUTYEBI BELIZWE
- 4 UMHLABA UYA KWHLULWA-HLULWA NGOKULINGANA KWABO BESEBENZA KUWO
- 5 BONKE ABANTU BAYA KULINGANA NGOKWASEMTHETHWENI
- 6 BONKE ABANTU BAYAKUXHAMLALA AMALUNGELO OLUNTU
- 7 KUYA KUBAKHO UMSEBENZI NOKHUSELO
- 8 IINGCANGOZEMFUNDO NEMPUCUKO ZIYA KUVULWA
- 9 KUYA KUBAKHO IZINDLU NOKHUSELO NOKONWABA
- 10 KUYA KUBAKHO UXOLO NOBUDLELWANO

Bonke abo bathanda abantu babo nesizwe sabo bathi ngoko njengoko apha Ezinkululeko siyakusilwela kwinkalo-ngenkalo, kubomi bethu buphele, de siyifumane inkululeko

FREEDOM CHARTER

NORTHERN SOTHO

LENGWALO LA DITOKELO TSA TOKOLOGO

Ka ga le ile la amogelwa kongreseng ya setshaba ka la di 26 June 1955

TLGAGISO LE MAIKEMISETISO

Rena batho ba Afrika-Borwa, re bega legatong la naga yagabo rena le lefase ka moka gore le tsebe. Gore Afrika-Borwa ke ya bohle ba ba dilago go yona, babaso le babasweu, le gore ga go mmuso wo kotoka o ka nyakago go laola ka ntle ga ge o thelwe godimo ga thato ya setshaba. Ka gore batho ba gabo rena ba niakotswe ditokelo ka matswalo go naga tokologo e khutsa ke mohutatsoko ka mmuso wo o hweditswego ka tlhakatoka le go se lekane. Ka gore naga ya gabo rena e ka se tsogea e atlegile goba e lokologile ka ntle le gore batho ba gabo rena ka moka ba phele ka kopano, ba ipshina ka ditokelo le dibaka tsa go lekana. Ka gore ke mmuso wa temokraso o nnoisi, wo o thelwe godimo ga thato le tumo ya batho, wo o ka moka, re le selo setee, re amogela Lengwalo le la Ditokela tsa Tokologo. Mma re ikhohlelletsa go phegelela mmogo, re sa seketse selo, maatleng le go ba le sebetse ga rena, go fihlele go diphetogo tsa temokraso tse di hlamiweng mo, di thopilwe

- 1 DIHLOPHA TSA SETSHABA KA MOKA DI TLO BA LE DITOKELO TSA GO LEKANA
- 2 SETSHABA SE TLO ABAGANA LEHUMO LA NAGA
- 3 NAGA E TLO ABAGANYWA BOHLE BAO BA E SOMAGO
- 4 SETSHABA SE TLO LEKANA PELE GA MOLAO
- 5 SETSHABA KA MOKA SE TLO IKAKOLA KA DITOKELA TSA SETHO
- 6 GO TLO BA LE MESOMO LE POLOKEGO
- 7 MEJAKO YA GO ITHUTA LE SETHO E TLO BULWA
- 8 GO TLO BA LE NYWAKO, POLOKEGO LE BOIKE TLO
- 9 GO TLO RENA KHUTSO LE SEGWEBA

A bohle ba ba ratago setshaba naga ya gabo bona, gona bjale ka ge re. Ditokelo tse re tla di lwela, bopeleng bja rena ka moka, go fihlela re thopa tokologo ya rena

FREEDOM CHARTER

SOUTHERN SOTHO

LENGOLO LE PHATLALATSANG DITOKELO TSA TOKOLOHO

Jwaleka ha le amohetswe ke Seboka sa Batho ka la 26 Phupjane 1955

SELELEKELA

Rona batho ba Afrika-Borwa re phatlalatsa hore batho ba naha ya rona le lefatsho lotlhe le tsebe. Hore Afrika-Borwa ke naha ya bohle ba pheleng ho yona ba Bats'ho hammohe le ba Basweu. Le ho re ha ho mmuso o ka reng o na le tokelo le matlafatso kantle le ha o thelwe takatsong ya batho. Hore batho ba ha bo rona nketswe tokelo ya bona ya tsawalo ho naha bolokolohi le kgotsa ke mofuta wa puso e tshetshilweng bokgopong le ho sa lekane. Hore lefatsho la rona le ka la atleha kapa la lokoloha ho fihlela batho bohle ba rona ba phele ka bona. Ba na le ditokela tsa ho ekana le menyella. Hore ke ha feela ha re ba le puso e tshetshilweng takatsong ya batho, motho e mong le e mong kantle le kgetholo ya mmala mofuta botona kapa botshetadi kapa bodumedu a ka bang le tokelo ya tsawalo ya naha. Jwale he rona batho ba Afrika Borwa ba Batho le ba Basweu ka ho lekana beng na naha le baena re amohela Lengolo lena la Tokologo. re bile re itlana hore re tla lwana mmoho. re sa baballe letho la matla le sebetse sa rona ho fihlela diphetogo tsa tumellano tse ngotsweng mona di phethahala

- 1 BATHO BA TLA BUSA
- 2 BATHO BA MEFUTA YOHELE BA TLA BA LE DITOKELO TSE LEKANENG
- 3 BATHO BOHLE BA TLA BA LE KABELO MORUONG WA NAHA
- 4 NHA E TLA AROLELWA BOHLE BA TLANGA HO E SEBETSA
- 5 BATHO BOHLE BA TLA LEKANA PELA MOLAO
- 6 BOHLE BA TLA BA LE DITOKELO TSA BOTHO
- 7 HO TLA BA LE MOSEBETSI LE TSHIRELETSO
- 8 DIKGORO TSA THUTO LE MEETLO DI TLA BULELWA BOHLE
- 9 HO TLA BA LE MATLO TSIRELETSE LE BOIKETLO
- 10 HO TLA BA LE KGOTSO LE SETSWALLE

A bohle setang batho le naha ya bona ba bue mmoho jwaleka ha rere. re tla lwanela ditokelo tse, re thusana bopeleng bohle ba rona ho fihlela re fumana bolokolohi

FREEDOM CHARTER — ZULU

ICHARTER YENKULULEKO

Njengokwamukelwa kwayo ku "Congress of the People" ngomhlaqa 26 Juni 1955

ISINGENISO

Thina bantu baseMzantsi Afrika sithi emhlabeni wonke ukuthi uMzantsi Afrika unyawabonke abantu abawakhele abamnyama nabamhlophe, nokuthi akunahulumeni ongaziqwagela ukubusa ngaphandle kokuba kuya ngentando yabantu. Abantu bakithi bephucwa amalungelo abo okuzalwa kwezizwe nomhlabathi, nenkululeko noxolo ngokungalingani kwabantu. Izwe lethu ngeke lize kwezisekelo ezizingalungele nokungalingani kwabantu bonke abantu bakhi bahle lithuthuke noma likhululeke ngaphandle namathuba alinganayo. Umbuso wabantu ngokuzwana bethola amalungelo ngaphandle kwabantu yiwu kuphela onganakela amalungelo abo okuzalwa ngaphandle kokubalukanisa ngabela nobuzwe nobullu nenkoko. Ngakho ke thina bantu baseMzantsi Afrika, abamnyama nabamhlophe kanye silingana siwakhela uMzantsi Afrika nihloboene samukela leCharter yenkululeko silunga futhi ukuzama sibambisene singashiyi lutho okusamandleni ethu kuze kufike lapho izingquko ezifunwa ngabantu zitholake

- 1 ABANTU BAZOBUSA
- 2 ZONKE IZINHLANGA ZIYOKUBA NAMALUNGELO ALINGANAYO
- 3 BONKE ABANTU BAYOKWABELANA NGOKULINGANAYO
- 4 UMHLABA UYOKWABELANA NGOKULINGANAYO KULABO ABAWUSEBENZAYO
- 5 WONKE UMUNTU UYOLINGANA PHAMBI KOMTHETISO
- 6 WONKE UMUNTU UYOKUBA NEGUNYA LOKUSEBENZISA AMALUNGELO OBUNTU
- 7 KUYOKUBA NOMSEBENZI NOKUVIKELEKA EMSEBENZINI
- 8 AMATHUBA OKUFUNDA KANYE NAMASIKO AYOVULEKA
- 9 KUYOKUBA NEZINDAWO ZOKUHLALA (IZINDLU)
- 10 NOKUVIKELEKA NENTOKOMALO
- 11 KUYOKUBA NOXOLO NOBUNGANE

Makuthi bonke labo abathanda abantu bakubo nezwe labo bathi manje njengoba nathi sitho lapha Lokhu kukhululeka siyokulwela sibambene empilweni yethu yonke kuze kufike lapho siyonqoba sikuthole

FREEDOM CHARTER — VENDA

THANDELONZWINA YA MBOFHOLOWO

Sa musl yo tangedzwa kha guvhanganano la vhatu nga Fulwi 26, 1955

TSWIKISO

Rine vhatu vha Afrika Tshipembe ri anela shango lashu na lifhasi uri li divhe. Uri Afrika Tshipembe ndi la vhatu vhothe vhadzulaho khalo vharema na vhatshena nahone a huna muvhuso une wa nga vhila lu song tewo muvhuso nga nnda ha musl zwokha lutamo lwa vhatu. Uri vhatu vha hashu vho tangulwa thendelo ya mabenoapo a shango, mbofholowo na mulalo nga mulandu wa muvhuso wo tewaho u si na mulalo na tshayamulinganyo. Uri shango lashu li nga lashu li nga si bevele phanda kana la vha na mbofholowo u swikela vhatu vhashu vhothe vha tshi tshila nga vhuKOMANA ha vhatu, vha tshi di-phina nga pfanelo na tshiffinga. Uri muvhuso wa vhuvhusavhothe, zwo tewako kha lutamo lwa vhatu u nga tsireledza mabeboapo avho vhothe husa shumisiw tshitalula nga lukanda, lushaka, mbeu na lutendo. Zwenezwo, rine vhatu vha Afrika Tshipembe, vharema na vhatshena, ro tangana, ri tshi fana, vhavhusi, vharathu na vhakomana ri tangedza iyi thandelonzwiwa ya mbofholowo. Nahone ri a fulufhedzisa rine vhane u shengela rothe, ri sa si tshithu kha maanda na fufufhelo na fufufhelo lashu u swikela tshanduko dza vhuvhusavhothe dzo vhwahwa apha dzi tshi kunda

- 1 VHATHU VHA DO VHUSA
- 2 TSHAKA DZOTHE DZI DO VHA NA PFANELO DZI LINGANAYO
- 3 VHATHU VHOTHE VHA DO KOVHEKANA LUPFUMO LU RE SHANGONI
- 4 MAVU A DO KOVHEKANYWA NGA U LINGANA VHUKATI HA AVHO NO A SHUMA
- 5 VHOTHE VHA DO LINGANA PHANDA HA MULAYO
- 6 VHOTHE VHA DO-PHINA NGA THENDELO DZO TEAHO MUNWE NA MUNWE A RE MUTHU
- 7 HU DO VHA NA MUSHUMO WA TSIRELEDZO
- 8 MINANGO YA PFUNZO NA MVELELEL I DO VULWA
- 9 HU DO VHA NA MADZULOI, U TSIRELEDZA HA VHUDIGEDI
- 10 HU DO VHA NA MULALO NA VHUKONANI

Kha hu itwe uri vhothe vha funaho vhatu vha na shango lavho zwino vha ri, samusi ri tshi amba apha. Hey! mbofholowo ri do i lwela, thungo vhutshiloni hashu hothe, u swikela ri tshi wina mbofholowo yashu

FREEDOM CHARTER — TSONGA

TSALWA RA TIMFANELO

Leswi ri tekisiweke xiswona entsombanini wa vanhu hi ti 26 ta June 1955

MASUNSULO

Hina vannu va Afrika Dzonga, ha hlambanya eka tiko ni misava hinkwayo leswaku yi swi triva. Leswaku Afrika Dzonga i ya vanhu hinkwayo lava va hanyaka eka Yona, vantima ni valungu, na leswaku ku hava mfumo lowu wu nga ta londza vutivi handle ka loko ku vekiwe ehenhla ka ku swi lava ka vanhu. Leswaku vanhu va hina va xisive hi timfanelo ta ku velekiwa ka vona emisaveni, ntshunxeko na ku rhula hi ndlela ya mfumo lowu kumiweke eka ku homboloka eka ku va swi nga ringani. Leswaku tiko ra thina ri nga ka ri nga hluvuki kumbe ku nchuxeka ku fikela loko vanhu va ka hina va hanyaka hi vuxaka, va tiphina hi timfanelo to ringana na minkathi. Leswaku imfumo wa vanhu hinkwavo ntsena, lowu nga vekiwa ehenhla ka rifuwo ra vanhu, lowu nga biveleleka eka timfanelo ta ku velekiwa ka vona ehandle ka ku hambana ka mhlovo, nxaka, nimbewu kumbe leswi va swi kholwaka. Hikokwalaha hina, vanhu va Afrika Dzonga, vantima ni valungu, hinkwerhu hi ku ringana, vanhu va tiko na vamakwerhu, ha tinyiketa eka timfanelo. Na kona hi tinyiketa ku pfuna hinkwerhu ya hina na kutikarhata, ku fikela loko mfumo wa vanhu hinkwavo lowu nga vekiwa laha wu cinca na ku wu humelela

- 1 VANHU VA TA FUMA
- 2 TINXAKA HINKWATO TI TA VA NA TIMFANELO TO FANA
- 3 VANHU VA TA AVERIWA RIFUWO RA TIKO
- 4 TIKO RI TA AVARIWA LAVA RI TIRHAKA
- 5 HINKWASO SWI TA RINGANA EMAHLWENI KA NAWU
- 6 HINKWERHU HI TA TIPHINA HI TIMFANELO TA VUMUNHU
- 7 KU TA VA NA NTIRHO NA VUCHAVELO
- 8 MINYANGWA YA DYONDZO NA MFUWO YI TA PFURIWA
- 9 KU TA VA NA TIYNDLU, MBHIYELELO NA VUTSHAMISEKI
- 10 KU TA VA NA KU RHULA NA VUNGHANA

Mo hinkwavo lava va vona na tiko ra vona vaku. Hi ta lwela ku nchunxeka, hi khomanile, vutomi bya hina hinkwabyo ku kondza hi nxhunxeka

The People's Charter

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

These freedoms we shall fight for, side by side throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty

'National Forum a non-starter'

BLACK leadership should not be coerced to join bodies which are flatly rejected by the masses, according to United Municipalities of South Africa president Mr S T Boya

"The establishment of the new national forum is a non-starter because already it excludes a significant section of black opinion," he said

It was significant that it was no longer the need but the methods of negotiation where differences still existed, Boya told an annual general meeting of the East Rand United Municipalities at Espada Ranch at the weekend

"These differences, which have taken the form of preconditions for participation, are a reality and cannot simply be dismissed as the predictable posturing of political groups attempting to secure an advantage at the negotiating table"

An important obstacle to negotiations was the fundamental moral and political rejection among blacks of the group ideology

Reports on law conference misleading - Chief Justice



THE conference in Britain was not a cloak to cover a secret meeting between South African judges and the African National Congress, the Chief Justice, Mr Justice M. M. Corbett, said.

He said "I refer to reports that have appeared in the South African press concerning the conference being held at Newnham Park, Oxfordshire, this weekend. These reports are, I am satisfied, totally misleading in regard to the nature and purpose of the conference."

"It is a small private symposium of approximately 40 participants. It has been convened and organised by Professor Ronald Dworkin, professor of jurisprudence at the University of Oxford. The object of the symposium is to discuss on a scholarly and academic basis legal problems and issues which are of particular relevance to South Africa."

"It affords, inter alia, an opportunity for the South

African participants to argue the case for the South African judiciary, its probity and its independence. The symposium is not open to the press. The participants include practising and academic lawyers and a number of judges from South Africa and other countries."

"Judges from other countries include an eminent British law lord, two English High Court judges, a justice of the United States Federal Court of Appeals and a Commonwealth Chief Justice. All participants have been individually chosen and invited to the symposium by Prof Dworkin."

"If there are persons present who have connections with the African National Congress, then that is coincidental. There may for that matter be other persons present with very different political leanings. No participant has been invited as representative of any body or group."

"Nobody is there representing anybody. The judges attending the conference do not represent the judiciary, or the South African government, for that matter. Nobody at the conference is representing any political organisation. I have spoken by telephone to certain of the judges attending the conference and am satisfied as to these facts."

"I do not believe that attendance of this conference by the South African judges concerned will in the smallest degree compromise their judicial impartiality or independence. I am further satisfied that it is a bona fide conference undertaken in a serious spirit to discuss and debate the matters to which I have referred."

"There is no substance in the suggestion that it is a cloak to cover a clandestine meeting between South African judges and the African National Congress."

Two ANC men at UK law conference

LONDON — The Guardian yesterday revealed more details of the conference in Oxfordshire in which South African judges, legal academics and members of the ANC took part at the weekend.

The newspaper pointed out that in South Africa membership of the ANC was a criminal offence and that judges had passed death sentences on ANC guerrillas.

The Guardian said leaks in the South African press about the conference had annoyed the organisers.

"Under the title, The Concept of Law in South Africa, it has been arranged by Professor Ronald Dworkin, the American professor of jurisprudence at Oxford University."

The paper said the ANC was represented by Mr Zola Skweyiva and Mr Nathaniel Masemola of the organisation's legal department.

The Guardian quoted Prof Dworkin as saying "This is not an ANC initiative. I have invited these people personally. It is a very distinguished academic gathering. I put the proposal to the Ford Foundation which thought it would be a worthwhile exercise."

— Sapa

DP candidates threaten to resign

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

ALL 11 potential Indian candidates for the Democratic Party are threatening to resign from the party and form a new party if their nominations are not confirmed this weekend

Party sources said today the 11 members would form a new party called the Non-Racial Democratic Party

The leader of the DP in the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam, who has issued a virtual ultimatum to the party leadership to contest 11 seats, today declined to comment on whether the group would form a new party

It is understood that the 11 DP members will reject any move to limit DP nominations to the existing sitting three members — Mr Poovalingam, Mr Mammoo Rajab, who was elected vice-chairman of the Natal coastal region last week, and Mr John Iyman

The DP leadership has repeatedly postponed taking a decision on the issue. A strong group in the party is totally against participation in the houses of Delegates and Representatives

The argument against participation is that it would seriously damage links with extra-parliamentary forces

● See page 2.

INSIDE: Weather 2, Finance 11, Letters 12, Racing 14, Sport 15 and 16.

Colony assured of help in case of cataclysm

LONDON — Britain would have an "inescapable" responsibility to take in refugees from Hong Kong if a cataclysm similar to the events in Tiananmen Square were to force them to flee the colony after it is returned to China in 1997, the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said yesterday.

Sir Geoffrey gave no indication of the number of refugees Britain might admit under such circumstances.

Star 15/6/89
Facing the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee, he was asked how Britain would respond if the worst happened, and Hong Kong citizens faced armed repression from Beijing.

He replied: "In the face of that kind of overwhelming cataclysmic series of events, people would seek to exercise their rights as refugees."

"Britain would have to respond and would have to seek to

mobilise international opinion. If the worst were to happen, the response of the United Kingdom for the people of Hong Kong would be inescapable."

Sir Geoffrey did not give a specific promise but said Britain had, like all other countries, an obligation towards refugees.

"In view of our particular connection and our responsibility for Hong Kong, these are responsibilities we would have to take seriously indeed."

"If the scale of the claim were so large, it would underline the point that we would need to secure the widest possible international help in responding to it."

Sir Geoffrey later emphasised, during foreign affairs questions in the Commons, the need to maintain commercial and personal contacts with China, and encourage a return by the leadership in Beijing to "common sense and sanity". — The Independent News Service

Pressure on DP to shun ANC meeting

11693 26/6/89 114

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Pressure is being put on Democratic Party members not to take part in the Five Freedoms Forum conference in Zambia at which the role of whites in a future South Africa is to be discussed with the African National Congress.

FFF and DP sources confirmed that some DP members have already withdrawn from the all-white South African delegation of about 120 people

Among the DP members who will probably still travel to Lusaka on Thursday for the three-day conference with about 40 ANC members is Mrs Helen Suzman.

Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck's name was "still on the list", an FFF spokesman said. However, a senior DP source said the party's executive had requested Mr van Eck not to attend the conference, sponsored by the American, Canadian, Dutch, Swedish and Danish governments. Mr van Eck could not be reached for comment.

The DP source said while the party supported negotiation with the ANC, it was not in favour of "going on someone else's visit with people who do not necessarily share our political agenda".

Turned down

He said most DP MPs and the three co-leaders, Dr Zac de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, had turned down invitations to join the largest white delegation yet to meet the ANC.

"We will make our own visit in due course. Although no definite decisions have been taken, I will not be surprised if it happens next year."

The FFF spokesman said about 20 DP members

would attend the conference, to be held from Thursday to Sunday.

Of those, about 12 were DP officials such as MPs, candidates for the September election, city councillors and constituency organisers.

Ten prominent Nelspruit citizens in the process of compiling a blacklist of the "120 ANC worshippers" do not accept Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's announcement that the government will be closely watching them.

Angered by the government's "unwillingness or inability" to stop the tour, group member Mr Ben van Schalkwyk said "By visiting the ANC and speaking to them these 120 white South African 'traitors' are indirectly becoming partners in the maiming and killing of innocent people."

What was expected of the government, Mr van Schalkwyk said, was that these people should not only be watched but that their names should be made public in order that they be stigmatised and ostracised.

"We want the government to know that South Africans who will be exercising their democratic vote are not taking this matter lightly," he warned.

'SA agents' blamed for (11A)

Zambian terrorist blasts

26/6/87 The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Zambia's secretary of defence and security has told the African National Congress that a recent wave of bomb attacks against ANC targets suggests the organisation has been infiltrated by South African agents

Mr Shapi said the bomb attacks suggested "an inside job"

In a reference to attacks earlier this year in the town of Livingstone, Mr Shapi said the "enemy" had now moved from that town to Lusaka

The ANC has blamed South African agents for last week's bomb explosions which rocked the Zambian capital

The last in a series of four explosions occurred on Wednesday at the welfare offices of the ANC in Lusaka's Lilanda township, seriously injuring three ANC members, one of them a 40-year-old woman

The first of the explosions occurred on Sunday night outside a building housing some of the ANC's offices. There were no injuries

On Monday an unidentified man was blown to pieces in the centre of Lusaka. On that same day another explosion damaged the Emmersdale offices of the ANC, but no one was injured

Dialogue with judges 'not ANC initiative'

LONDON — The African National Congress's dialogue with sections of the white South African Establishment had taken a remarkable turn, with members of the ANC meeting a group of Supreme Court judges at a private conference in the Oxfordshire countryside, the *Guardian* reported yesterday

The newspaper said "With membership of the ANC a criminal offence in South Africa, and with judges habitually passing death sentences on ANC guerillas, the meeting, funded by the Ford Foundation, is being seen as a significant part of the ANC's new efforts to explore ways of negotiating with Pretoria in whatever forums are available

"An internal ANC document

considering options for the peaceful dismantling of apartheid has been circulated within South Africa"

The *Guardian* said leaks in the South African press about the conference had annoyed the organisers

"Under the title, 'The Concept of Law in South Africa', it has been arranged by Professor Ronald Dworkin, the American professor of jurisprudence at Oxford University"

The *Guardian* quoted Prof Dworkin as saying "This is not an ANC initiative I have invited these people personally It is a very distinguished academic gathering I put the proposal to the Ford Foundation which thought it would be a worthwhile exercise" — Sapa

Mar 26/1/89

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Mrs Sisulu to ask Bush for increased sanctions

PARIS — South African activist Mrs Albertina Sisulu will meet President George Bush this week and plans to press him to apply economic sanctions against South Africa.

Mrs Sisulu, the wife of ANC leader Walter Sisulu, was in Paris at the invitation of First Lady Mrs Danielle Mitterrand to attend the three-day International Federation of Human Rights conference.

"My request is for strengthening sanctions against our country, and another will be about the children that are going to be hanged," Mrs Sisulu said during an interview held on the sidelines of the conference.

She said about 80 people are on death row in South Africa, including many children.

"I want the heads of state to force our government to give

those children clemency," she said, adding that she will deliver a similar message in all meetings with political leaders.

President Francois Mitterrand, speaking at the weekend conference, paid tribute to Mrs Sisulu and other women fighting governments that restricted basic liberties.

She said that in her meeting with Mr Bush she would wait to see what he proposed before explaining the position of the black majority in South Africa.

"There will be a lot of things to tell him," she said, adding that she was curious to know why he asked to meet black South African leaders.

The passport that permitted Mrs Sisulu to travel outside South Africa for 31 days was the first she has been granted —
Associated Press

SABC's 'Collage' bars Kumalo's photographs

Staff Reporter

A Johannesburg exhibition by leading photographer Alf Kumalo will not be featured on SABC television — because of its “controversial, political” nature

Mr Kumalo, a photographer for The Star, was told his Market Gallery exhibition, “Women Photographs from a Press Photographer's files”, will not be given time on TV1's Sunday arts programme Collage

An independent film company, which does the Collage diary on behalf of the SABC, had one look at the pictures and said they just wouldn't be acceptable

Ms Wendy Rogers, a spokesman for the company, said the producer of Collage heard about the exhibition and suggested the company “have a look at it”, not realising “how political and controversial it is”

She said if only a few, “not so controversial” pictures were selected to be shown on the programme, this would misrepresent the exhibition to the public

Mr Kumalo's exhibition, which opened last Sunday, has already received high praise from critics.

Kumalo focuses his lens on, among other things, the brutality of forced removals, poverty in shanty township homes and the hardship of rural labour.

Entrance to the exhibition, which contains 32 photographs, is free.

ANC discusses negotiation questions

LONDON — The African National Congress has begun discussing whether it could negotiate with South Africa's white rulers and on what terms, an ANC spokesman said at the weekend

She said an internal document, considering ways in which apartheid might be dismantled peace-

fully, was being circulated within the ANC and in South Africa

"We do not see any evidence the regime is willing to change its policies and make itself ready for talks," she said "But we think it is important to prepare a unified position"

The spokesman, at the ANC's

London office, said the document had been drawn up at a June 8 meeting of the organisation's national executive in Lusaka

"It considers such questions of how talks could be conducted and how a transitional administration might be handled," she added — Sapa-Reuter

(11A)

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National forum

a 'non-starter'

Nov 26/1984
Black leaders should not be coerced to join bodies which are flatly rejected by the masses, says Mr Tom Boya, the president of the United Municipalities of South Africa.

Speaking at the annual general meeting of the East Rand branch of Umsa, Mr Boya said the new national forum was a non-starter "because already it excludes a significant section of black opinion".

Mr Boya said "The greatest fear of many blacks is to take part in negotiating forums which are doomed to failure" — Sapa

Sisulu to press Bush on sanctions



Sowetan 2-16/87

PARIS — Black South African activist Mrs Albertina Sisulu who will meet US president George Bush next week plans to press him to apply economic sanctions against South Africa and to call for action on human rights

Sisulu, the wife of Walter Sisulu, was in Paris at the invitation of First Lady Danielle Mitterrand to attend the three-day international Federation of Human Rights conference that ended this weekend

Her husband and fellow leader of the outlawed African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, have been imprisoned in South Africa for more than 22 years

"My request is for strengthening sanctions against our country, and another will be about the children that are going to be hanged," Sisulu said during an interview held on the sidelines of the conference

She said about 80 people are on Death Row

in South Africa for cases that are considered political

Sisulu said the group included children, but no minors under the age of 18 currently are on Death Row

Force

"I want the heads of state to force our government to give those children clemency," she said, adding that she will deliver a similar message in all meetings with political leaders

President Francois Mitterrand, speaking at the conference on Friday, paid tribute to Sisulu and other women who are fighting governments that restrict basic liberties

Under a four-year-old national emergency renewed last week, Sisulu has been placed under house arrest and prohibited from speaking in public or leaving Johannesburg without permission

She said that in her upcoming meeting with

Bush, she would want to see what he proposed before explaining the position of the black majority in South Africa

"There will be a lot of things to tell him," she said, adding that she is curious to know why he asked to meet with black South African leaders

The passport that permitted Sisulu to travel outside South Africa for 31 days is the first she has been granted by South African authorities — Sapa-AP

NACTU, AZAPO GET INVITATION

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BLACK consciousness and Africanist organisations were excluded from the planning stages of the coming anti-apartheid sports conference to be held in Johannesburg on July 15 because they did not have sports desks.

This was said yesterday by Mr Krish

By LEOGANG HASHATSE

Naidoo of the National Sports Council who are organisers of the conference

The two-day conference will be held at the University of the Witwatersrand Naidoo, however, said invitations were sent at the weekend to Nactu,

Azapo and Azasm, as well as 317 other extra-parliamentary bodies

Initially the NSC invited all sporting organisations and the sporting desks of opposition groups to plan for the July 15 and 16 gathering since this was a sports occasion, Naidoo said.

Unity

Since Nactu, Azapo and Azasm did not have sports departments they could not be invited at that stage, he said

Naidoo emphasised that the major objective of the meeting was to foster the unity of the oppressed through sports and prepare sportsmen and sportswomen for an

apartheid-free future society

Commenting on the question of unity, Mr Oupa Ngwenya, spokesman for the BCM, said "We support all efforts to build unity"

Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, Nactu's assistant secretary, said it would be a tragedy if the differences in the political and labour spheres were allowed to stop unity

National Forum (11A) **members called** **'men of destiny'**

By ALINAH DUBE

Sowetan 27/1/69
THE future depended on what the National Forum did, the organisation's chairman for the Transvaal, Mr Zikhali Ndlazi, said at the weekend

He was speaking at the Mamelodi launch of the Northern Transvaal region of the NF. He said members of the NF could rightly be called men of destiny.

He said "This is the time to plan for the future." Various black political groups had to see to it that black people were represented at the highest government level and provided with adequate housing and proper education, he said.

"Groups of reasonable South Africans may differ about the means to achieve a democratic, non-racial, free and just South Africa, but we are all agreed that violence is not the right tool to be used," he said.

A Mamelodi councillor, Mr Simon Mokone, has been elected convenor for the Northern Transvaal region. The region consists of branches in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Soshanguve, Refiloe, Belabela, Thabazimbi, Nylstroom and Messina.

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2 Cape Times, Wednesday, June 28, 19

UDF leaders meet with ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Three high-ranking UDF leaders yesterday held talks in London with representatives of the ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).

According to an AAM statement last night, discussions had centred on developments both in South Africa and internationally, as well as an assessment of the success of the protest campaign against NP leader Mr FW De Klerk during his visit to Britain.

The UDF delegation was comprised of executive chairman Mr Curnick Ndlovu, national treasurer Mr Azar Cachalia and national executive committee member Mr Titus Mafolo.

According to the AAM statement, they "stressed that, despite the re-imposition of the state of emergency, the struggle against apartheid being waged by the mass democratic movement in South Africa is being intensified".

The UDF delegation are on their way to Washington where they will join UDF co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu for talks with President George Bush.

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NP unveils plans to negotiate

THE National Party is to unveil plans for the next five years this week which could, under eased conditions, lead to negotiations with organisations such as the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress.

However, the organisations like the ANC and PAC would also

have to make a quantum move to close the current gap between the Govern-

ment and themselves, party sources said. At the moment the NP

remains adamantly opposed to negotiations with the ANC, actively attempting to stop any meetings with it by individuals and organisations

The five-year plan of action will be unveiled at the NP extraordinary federal congress in Pretoria tomorrow

Azapo bomb threat

11A 23/6/84
THE Azanian People's Organisation received a bomb threat from a woman caller yesterday. They suspect the caller to be white. *Sowetan*

Mr Vuyo Kapa answered a telephone call and was told by an agitated woman that the offices in Wanderers Street, Johannesburg, "should expect something big and it is going to be a bomb"

Mr Jackie Hlapolosa, who was also in the office at the time, said they took the threat seriously as buildings, housing anti-Government groups such as Cosatu and the SAC in Johannesburg, Witwatersrand Fellowship Centre in Kooledoort and the SACBO in Pretoria had been bombed

Activists meet

Sowetan 24/6/89 (11A)

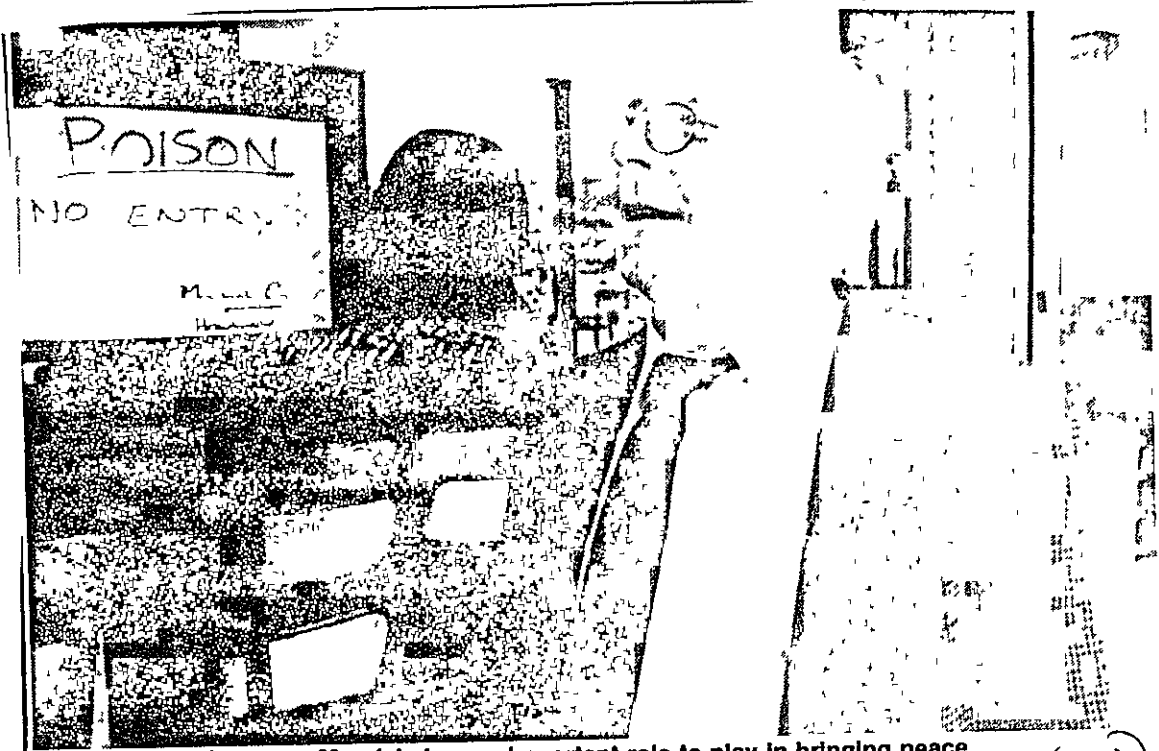
LONDON — Anti-apartheid movement and African National Congress representatives in London met a delegation of the United Democratic Front in the British capital yesterday.

In a joint statement released in London last night, it was said the UDF delegation comprised its executive chairman, Curnick Ndlovu, national treasurer Azar Cachalia and national executive committee member Titus Mafolo.

The UDF representatives "passed through" London yesterday en route to Washington where they are to join UDF co-president, Mrs Albertina Sisulu for a

meeting with President George Bush. The statement said

There was agreement on all sides that there was no evidence of any "change of heart" on the part of the South African government", the statement said. Further discussions are planned on the return of the delegation to London, the statement added — Sapa



Blum says Mandela has an important role to play in bringing peace.

Blum denied visit with jailed Mandela

Sowetan 28/6/89

(11A)

THE West German Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Mr Norbert Blum, was denied an audience with the imprisoned ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday, Mr Blum said in Pretoria.

He was addressing reporters after an unscheduled meeting with Coetsee after the State President, Mr P W Botha, redirected him to Coetsee regarding permission to see Mandela.

Pretorians stopped to stare in amazement as the short but dapper Blum cut short his meeting with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to walk up Pretorius Street — pursued by scores of West German and foreign cameramen and empty dip cars — to the Ministry of Justice a block away.

Blum told newsmen afterwards he had also expressed his opposition to capital punishment, and pointed out that if the Upington 14 were executed, there would be "worldwide unrest", because the convicted people had merely been at the scene when the crimes were committed.

Blum added that it was not really important whether he personally saw Mandela, but it was important that Mandela be afforded an opportunity in playing a role in finding a solution to South Africa's problems.

"Mr Mandela has an important role to play in bringing peace to a situation that is full of conflict," said Blum — Sapa

CAK Trinks 28/6/89

11A

DP in racism row over Delegates

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE rumblings in the Democratic Party about whether to participate in the elections for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates burst into the open yesterday when a DP MP publicly criticised "some" party leaders for opposing such a move.

The MP, Mr Mahmoud Rajab, said the attitude of these DP members was "tantamount to gross racialism, as is the attitude of the UDF which condones participation only in the white House of Assembly".

Mr Rajab, who is vice-chairman of the DP's

Natal Coast region, also disclosed in a statement that the regional executive had recommended participation in the House of Delegates.

The DP's national board is scheduled to meet on Monday to consider the thorny issue of whether to participate in the elections for the other two Houses.

It is committed to defending the seats held by three House of Delegates MPs, Mr Rajab, Mr Pat Poovalingham and Mr John Lyman.

However it has not yet decided whether to fight any other seats in the Houses.

Some DP members believe that the party

will jeopardise relationships with extra-parliamentary groups if it participates in the elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

However, other DP members believe the party should use every possible opportunity to gain footholds in all elected bodies, including the coloured and Indian Houses.

Should the national board decide to restrict itself to the three Delegates seats, there seems little doubt that there will be a break-away from the party by those who want the party to fight seats in all three Houses.

In his statement, Mr Rajab said, "Some leaders of the DP, who apparently regard the

votes of white radical students and members of such organisations as the Black Sash as more important than correct policies and principles, have angered the more than 2 000 Indian South Africans who are members of the DP and who are represented strongly in a number of House of Delegates constituencies."

These leaders argue it would be correct to contest the three seats but not the others, he said.

Mr Rajab added that if the DP board rejected participation in the House of Delegates it would be "a serious blow to the non-racial character of the DP."

Japan gives R1,7-m

THE Government of Japan has contributed R1,7 million to the Kagiso Trust for disadvantaged South Africans for the year 1989.

Consul-general of Japan, Dr. Shinsuke Horiuchi, made the presentation to Mr. Eric Molobi, acting chairman of the Kagiso Trust, Dr. Beyers Naude, yesterday.

Horiuchi said: "The Government of Japan firmly believes that the uplifting of the disadvantaged South Africans is one of the key elements which considerably contributed to the solution of the South African problem."

"This financial contribution is to support the projects mainly in educational and medical areas for the people disadvantaged by apartheid."

He said the Government of Japan desired that the problem of apartheid in South Africa would be solved peacefully as early as possible.

It has appealed to the South African Government on various occasions to take necessary steps for fundamental reforms aimed at abolishing apartheid and to all parties concerned to begin talks toward a peaceful solution.

25/6/87

Sapa. (11A)

'Military thinking is receding in leadership'

ANC ready for new initiative

11A

Sowetan
28/6/89

LONDON — In a marked change in tactics the ANC is gearing up for a diplomatic initiative, according to an influential political newsletter here.

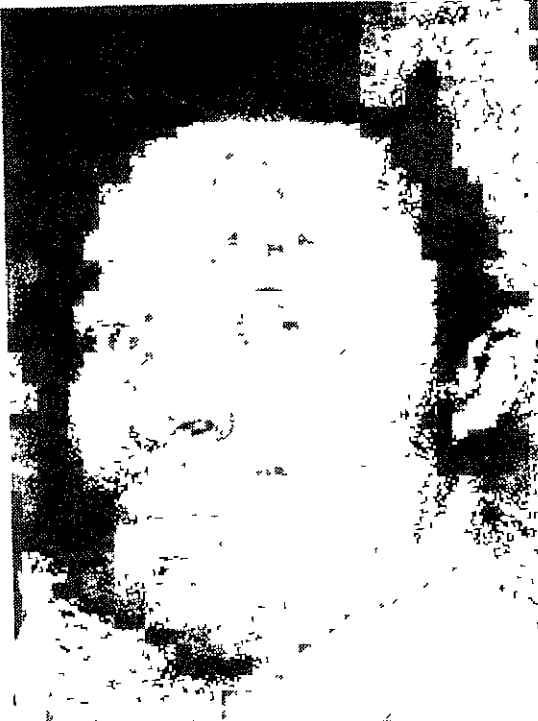
The fortnightly *Africa Confidential*, in its June 22 edition, says this new emphasis reflects the organisation's "diminished military prospects" since last December's Namibian accord and the expulsion of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, from Angola.

It also says the morale among ANC fighters is now "dangerously low".

"Frustration stemming from the military setback has come into the open with a spate of shooting incidents among ANC cadres in Lusaka, including one senior official who shot his errant wife with an AK-47"

In 1988 the ANC launched its most sustained bombing campaign in an effort to disrupt the October municipal elections

This, according to *Africa Confidential*, rep-



Thabo Mbeki . . . tipped as Tambo's successor.

resented an effort by hardliners led by Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani to "alter the established policy of avoiding attacks on civilians.

"This has backfired on Hani. His standing in the organisation has de-

clined since his strong showing in early 1988. He is now seen by many, including some members of the South African Communist Party, as too reckless to be considered a successor to ANC president Oliver Tambo. However, Hani retains a

near-divine status in South African townships

"The military thinking which has dominated the leadership in recent years is now receding. The hardliners have been further weakened by the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union

Status

All this, suggests the newsletter, has underpinned the rise in status within the ANC of Thabo Mbeki, Hani's long-term rival for the leadership

It says that political confusion within the National Party is allowing the ANC to develop its constitutional initiative unopposed

"A recent half-baked attempt at modification of the 1983 constitution by the then Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis met with no favour from the president-in-waiting F W de Klerk, and is reckoned to be one of the reasons for Heunis' resignation"

Blum not allowed to meet Mandela

CAP-7m18 28/6/89

PRETORIA. — West Germany's Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Mr Norbert Blum, was yesterday denied an audience with imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, Mr Blum said here.

He was addressing reporters after an unscheduled meeting with Mr Coetsee after President P W Botha redirected him to Mr Coetsee regarding permission to see Mr Mandela.

Pretorians stopped to stare in amazement as the short but dapper Mr Blum cut short his meeting with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to walk up Pretorius Street — pursued by scores of West German and foreign cameramen — to the Ministry of Justice a block away. — Sapa



Dr Dawie de Villiers

APR 65
29/09
11A

Democrats asked to leave meeting

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

A GROUP of people, apparently Cape Action League members, disrupted a meeting in Rylands because they thought "it was some sort of election meeting", said Democratic Party member, Mr Herbert Hirsch.

Mr Hirsch and two other DP members were told that the party was not welcome on the Cape Flats or in the mass democratic movement because it was a ruling-class party with "collaborators"

They were later later asked to leave the meeting, in Samaj Centre

They "would have welcomed the opportunity of talking and listening to members of the mass democratic movement. We desire constructive discussion with anyone on the future of our country", Mr Hirsch said

INVITED

The meeting was not a DP meeting, said Mr Hirsch, who with Western Cape regional chairman Mr Bill Sewell and University of Cape Town lecturer Mr Jannie Hofmeyer, had accepted an invitation from residents to explain the party's policy

Before accepting Mr Sewell had emphasised that the election would not be discussed because "the regional executive of the DP made a decision in May not to fight any seats in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives in this area"

● Mr Sewell and Mr Hofmeyer were not available for comment today because they are on their way to Lusaka for talks with the African National Congress

ROW OVER SPORT UNITY TALKS

THE Black Consciousness Movement has condemned the National Sports Council for claiming that the BCM was not invited to talks on unity in sports because they did not have sports departments.

The movement was reacting to a statement by NSC spokesman Mr Krish Naidoo who said on Tuesday that the BCM and Africanist groups were not invited to earlier talks because they did not have sports desks

The programme for the sports congress was also released yesterday Africanist and Black Consciousness organisations are not included

Africanist and BC organisations that were contacted had not yet received their invitations

Naidoo said these were sent out at the weekend

Shocking

Mr Oupa Ngwenya of Azapo said "It is shocking and mischievous to suggest that Azapo did not have a sports department, particularly when it can be recalled that it was Azapo's sports secretariat that led the campaign against the British Soccer XI in 1981

"This is known to the UDF and the general public

"Naidoo did not bother to find out from Azapo whether it had a sports department or not, but decided on his

By **LEBOGANG
HASHATSE**

own that we did not have one

"Azapo's sports desk has in the past also liaised with the United Nations, Sanroc and various other international and national organisations on sports matters

"It also participated in the drawing up of various strategies in the sports boycott," he said

Sipho Maseko, publicity secretary of Azasm, also said they had a sports desk

Liberal and other educational institutions have banned us from their campuses, claiming that Azasm is not representative of black students

Naidoo, in response, said while he did not want to make an issue out of the sports desk factor, they in the NSC genuinely believed that the organisations in question did not have sports departments

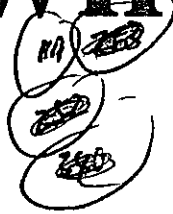
"If they do have such departments we will only be too glad to deal with them," said Naidoo

11A

Sowetan 29/6/89

Court order against town committee

CA/1/1/85
29/6/85



Staff Reporter

THE Lingeletu West Town Committee has been ordered by the Supreme Court to take the necessary steps to ensure that "kangaroo courts" are not held.

The order follows an urgent application brought by Mrs Franscina Matiwane and her son, Mr Luthando Matiwane, for an order restraining the committee and one Mr Magqaza from assaulting them or "convening any form of informal court" or imposing any punishment.

Mr Justice H L Berman further ordered that the town clerk, Mr Graham Norman Lawrence, should read the court order to all the committee's employees, all the councillors and then report to the Supreme Court.

He ordered that Mr Magqaza be restrained from assaulting the Matiwanes and from convening any informal court until a final order is made. The costs of the suit will stand over until then.

In an affidavit, Mr Matiwane said he had been fetched at home by members

of the council and asked why his mother had not appeared in "court".

He was taken to a place resembling a prison cell and was asked why his mother had not paid a fine relating to his "having seduced and rendered my girlfriend pregnant".

They threatened to whip him if he did not return to "court" on June 17 accompanied by his mother, he said.

Mrs Matiwane told the court in an affidavit "I am not liable in law for the act of my son, who is now a major. But I fear that the threats made to my son will be carried out and I may also be arrested and kept in custody."

In an affidavit Mr Lawrence, chief executive officer of the Lingeletu West Town Committee, said that the committee had duties of a municipal and not of a judicial nature.

He denied that the committee had a court or conducted court proceedings. He said anyone driving a committee vehicle to the Matiwane house had done so without the committee's authority.

Mr Justice Berman said Mr Lawrence's affidavit was totally inadequate.

Cape Times
Prove it, 27/6/84
says ANC *114*

LONDON — The ANC has challenged the British Intelligence Digest to produce evidence the magazine claims to possess that the organisation was planning to assassinate Mr Nelson Mandela

In a statement from Lusaka yesterday, the ANC categorically denied the claims, repeated recently in the South Africa press

The ANC said there was not, and could never be, a conspiracy to assassinate any of its leaders, least of all Mr Mandela

Such reports served only to provide ready-made alibis for "racist death squads" in their campaign of assassinations and attacks against the ANC, they claimed.

),
sic

A SUPREME Court hearing asking police to produce three missing Port Elizabeth activists has been postponed again with the families of the missing men no closer to finding them than when they disappeared four years ago.

And it is unlikely that the lengthy hearing, postponed last week for lawyers to prepare arguments, will ever bring them closer to solving the riddle of where the leaders are today.

In April 1985, Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation leaders Qaqauli Godolozzi, Siphon Hashe and Champion Galela disappeared mysteriously, shortly after organising a highly successful three-day stayaway.

The "Black Weekend", as it was called, resulted in them receiving widespread press exposure and death threats.

Between the time of the stayaway and Hashe's disappearance, four petrol bombs were thrown into his home in an apparent assassination attempt.

The day before their disappearance, Godolozzi spoke to Methodist minister Max Madlingozi about his fears for his life.

On May 8, the three men were allegedly instructed to meet a British Consul member at the HF Verwoerd Airport. UDF vice-president, Henry Fazzie, was also asked to meet the consul member, but he had other work to do at the time.

According to evidence led by Mzandile Fezi, an airport worker, the men were allegedly approached by three plainclothes and four uniformed policemen and taken away in a vehicle. He was later dismissed by South African Airways.

The men were then seen at Louis Le Grange Square. A witness, Olive Jacobs, said she had asked Hashe what he was doing there and he had told her he had been arrested by security police at the airport.

The men were later spotted at the Algoa police station and then at the Alexandria police station in August 1985, where they were last seen.

Riddle of missing PE men still unsolved



Two detainees and a bakery truck driver gave similar descriptions of the men.

Victor Sizane, who was detained at the time, received a note in a matchbox from the next door cell. The note said "It is me, Godolozzi, who are you?" When he saw Godolozzi later, his head was wrapped in bandages.

Sizane was allegedly offered R400 by the attorney for the respondents, CJ Mouton, to say he had not seen the men.

After his first day of giving evidence, Sizane was knocked down by a car. The court adjourned until he was able to proceed, on crutches.

All evidence of the whereabouts of the men was denied by security police.

Captain H Schmidt, former station commander at the Alexandria police station, denied the three men were ever detained but conceded it possible that a detainee could be threatened and forced to use false names by his captors.

Captain JH van Taak, former station commander at Louis Le Grange Square, denied the three men were held but admitted that security police could have brought people to their offices without his knowledge.

A constable stationed at the Alexandria police station conceded that their occurrence book for 1985 contained incorrect and false entries. - PEN

(11A) Smith 29/6-5/7/89.

Ironic meeting between ex-SB and ANC

By LOUISE FLANAGAN

AN ironic twist to a visit by a group of white South Africans to Lusaka this week is a likely meeting between a former security policeman and an ANC guerilla whom he put behind bars for 18 years

East London's mayor and former SAP member, Donald Card, relentlessly hunted ANC members in the Eastern Cape in the 1960s

One guerilla he apprehended was Steve Tshwete, now a high-ranking member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC in Lusaka

This week the ANC said they were aware of

Card's background and were prepared to meet with him as he had in the meantime "changed his views"

Card, who left the security police 18 years ago, said he had changed a lot since then

"Let me say that I changed many, many years ago in my involvement in the SAP and in investigations of terrorist activities

"At that stage, being a policeman, I just saw it as criminal offences and that these people were being arrogant and we couldn't put up with it," he said

As a security policeman, Card was responsible for jailing many local activists. He worked mainly on sabotage cases during the

early days of the ANC's armed struggle in the 1960s

"I know Steve very well," said Card. "He phoned me after he came out of jail. I put Steve away for 18 years and he was one of the leaders of the ANC here at the time"

Card said he had found plans of a power station, target of a ANC sabotage plan, in Tshwete's room

Card was also involved in the Rivonia trial and many other cases in the Eastern Cape and Transkei

At one stage he had painted his face black

• TURN TO PAGE 3

(11A)

ANC visit

• FROM PAGE 1

and infiltrated a Poqo group planning an attack on East London

Card has also been accused of assaulting and torturing detainees.

He admitted to only a limited involvement in this

"You know, you go to pick up someone and there's a problem and they start fighting and you get involved as well," he said.

He dismissed other allegations as "absolute nonsense"

He said he was aware that people may be against him, but hoped that people in Lusaka would accept him. He said he was honoured to have been invited on the trip

Card has been supporting the idea of talking to the ANC for years

"It's a waste of time to talk to sell-outs, you've got to talk to people who are involved"

MONO BADELA reports from Johannesburg that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is expected to promote his peace initiatives for South Africa at a meeting with the South Africans

Kaunda, who is also chairperson of the Frontline States, will address the 120 delegates, at his own request, at a special function at the State House

The importance the ANC attaches to the three-day conference, organised by the Five Freedoms Forum, is shown by the fact that its president, Oliver Tambo, will also address the conference which officially starts on Friday

Kaunda is believed to be spearheading moves to find a peaceful solution for South Africa's political problems. He extended an open offer earlier this month to meet with the new National Party leader, Mr FW de Klerk

This week's conference is the third this month between the ANC and white South Africans

A group of jurists, including Supreme Court judges, participated in a private conference in London last weekend which included members of the ANC

Earlier this month a group of 21 academics from various universities visited Lusaka

Smith 29/6-5/7/89

What UDF group will tell Bush: Increase the pressure

By ANTON HARBER
TIGHTEN financial sanctions against South Africa — that's what United Democratic Front leaders will tell US President George Bush this morning.

A member of the five-person delegation, UDF Treasurer Azhar Cachalia, said yesterday they will tell Bush. It is their view that the South African government reacts only to maximum pressure.

"We will be asking his administration to focus on three kinds of financial pressure: no rescheduling of debts, no new loans and the denial of trade credit," he said.

The delegation, which is led by UDF President Albertina Sisulu, will also focus on human rights contraventions in South Africa — describing "all the formal and informal repression that's taking place."

"Our emphasis will be on asking the Bush administration to use its influence to assist in creating a climate in South Africa that is conducive to free political activity," he said.

The delegation — which also includes Cumick Ndlovu, Titus Mofolo and Sister Bernard Ncube — will visit the White House this morning. They met Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen on Wednesday and were due to meet late yesterday with Secretary of State James Baker.

Speaking from Washington, Cachalia said the delegation would tell Bush they believed Pretoria was involved in a sophisticated diplomatic offensive to get the world to believe things have changed — or are about to change — in South Africa.

● Continued on PAGE 2

UDF's message to Bush: Time to toughen up

●From PAGE 1

"Our view is that, in terms of our own experiences, we're not optimistic. We say that before (President-elect) FW de Klerk sneaks into backdoors all over the world, he must speak to the people of South Africa."

On the meeting with Cohen, who is due to visit South Africa next week, Cachalia said he showed an important grasp of the issues in South Africa. "It is clear the agenda of the US government is to see how they can assist the negotiating process," he said.

"The one issue everyone is in concord about is negotiations. We are telling them that we don't believe the South African government has shown any intention of negotiating with representative organisations, now or in the future."

"We are saying that the US government must assist by pressuring the South African government to allow for the creation of a climate that is conducive to normal political activity, which would be a pre-condition for negotiations."

After the meeting with the UDF delegation, the assistant secretary of state said he was pleased to hear what the UDF said about negotiations.

"The UDF is thinking about how to develop negotiated positions for the inevitable time where there will be a bargaining process for a new constitution in South Africa."

"I was very heartened to hear Mrs Sisulu and her associates say they're making plans to consult with their own members and their own friends on their vision for a new South Africa," he said.

Handwritten notes:
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 30/6-6/7/89

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LUSAKA SURPRISE

A BIG surprise awaits about 120 South African whites who meet with the ANC today.

**SOWETAN Reporter
and Africa News
Organisation**

Henz Grosskopf, a white activist wanted by the police in connection with the death of several people in the Krugersdorp bomb explosion in 1987 will be in the banned organisation's delegation.

The white contingent is the biggest group to leave South Africa for Lusaka. Grosskopf has played a major role in organising the conference which officially starts this morning, putting him in a totally different role. From a white ANC military commander to an ANC member taking part in a

conference which will discuss negotiations in depth

According to a Five Freedoms Forum statement issued in Lusaka yesterday, the South African delegation to the three-day conference will include 120 people representing a cross-section of organisations and parties who work in the white community and who share a goal of bringing about an end to apartheid

The conference — with the theme "the role of whites in a changing

society" will be focused around the role of whites in bringing about change in the present circumstances of impasse in South Africa, and the participation of whites in a future non-racial South Africa

One of the central points of the FFF is that of negotiation. "True negotiation with many recognised leaders is not on the Government's agenda," says the statement

Although there will be intense debate about the role of negotiation and the "who, how and when" of negotiations, the FFF expects that views on this issue will differ substantially.

It adds "We attempt to supply a platform for debate to aid the process of change. We recognise that a future South Africa cannot be approached in ignorance of the major political players. We regard the ANC as the political representative of a large portion of South Africans"

The conference will also provide the people from inside South Africa with the opportunity to present their strategies for change and their standpoints on various issues

The FFF believes that conferences of this nature ease the climate for the Government to move into eventual negotiations with the ANC

No indaba for union

THERE was no reason for Africans to participate in the campaign for a negotiated settlement with those who occupied their land

This was one of the resolutions adopted by about 1000 delegates at the annual general meeting of the National Union of Wine, Spirits and Allied Workers (Western Cape branch) in Worcester near Cape Town

The union also resolved to form an education unit

Source for 30/6/87

11A

SOWETAN Friday June 30 1989

ANC/SACP Alliance strategy

THE ANC/SACP Alliance still intended continuing its strategy of violence against South Africa and its inhabitants, the Chief Deputy Commissioner of the SAP, Lieut-Gen Johan van der Merwe, said at Hammanskraal.

Addressing a passing out parade at the police college, he said this emerged from interviews American journalists conducted with ANC leaders in Lusaka recently

B.

What others think of the 5-year plan

Sowetan 30/6/81

THE National Party's plan of action announced yesterday showed that the danger to the government was from the left and not from the right, the co-leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan, said yesterday

Speaking at a meeting in his constituency of Randburg, he said the document which was aimed at saving the NP in the coming election, contained the same basic fault it had been making for the past five years



Tom Boya

The plan would be of no use if the cornerstones of discrimination still remained on the statute book, the president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, said

In a statement in reaction to the five-year plan announced at the NP congress yesterday, he said that while Umsa welcomed the plan, the test would be whether the NP voters in the forthcoming elections, also wanted peaceful negotiations.

Umsa

The biggest union in South Africa said that while the country was sinking deeper into crisis, all De Klerk could offer was "revamped versions of old formulae"

The National Party showed that nothing new could be expected under Mr F W de Klerk's leadership, the Congress of South African Trade Unions said

'Disquiet among white workers' (11A)

Protest at *Sowetan 20/6/89* giant plant

MILITANT protests in which workers carried ANC and South African Communist Party banners and brandished cut-outs of AK47 assault rifles has caused disquiet among white workers and management at the giant Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage.

Mr Ronnie Kruger, public affairs director for Volkswagen said the protests at lunch-times were part of nation-wide "living wage" negotiations.

Kruger said some of the workers got carried

away and had thrown in some political statements. He said it was felt that these statements were best ignored and everything had settled down again.

Agitated

White workers at the plant were agitated when workers displaying banners supporting the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

Some workers carried replica AK47 rifles, rubber mallets and pieces

of wood. One poster showed Mr P W Botha in a coffin. There were other posters bearing the words "Viva ANC", "Viva SACP", "Botha is a dog", and "Searle and Rautenbach are dogs", referring to the company's managing director, Mr Peter Searle and employee relations manager, Mr Johan Rautenbach.

The demonstrations took place during a two-week period when Numsa members were demonstrating for wage increases and national bargaining power —
Sowetan Correspondent

'Disquiet among white workers'

11A

Protest at giant plant

Sowetan 30/6/84

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The demonstrations took place during a two-week period when Numsa members were demonstrating for wage increases and national bargaining power. — Sowetan Correspondent

of the horses before making up his mind. So he's just hoping that something comes up before tomorrow morning. Pic ROBERT MAGWAZA useful information on tomorrow's big race

Reaction to NP's 5-year plan for SA

THUMBS DOWN

Sowetan 30/6/89

IIA



F W DE KLERK

BLACK leaders yesterday scoffed at the National Party's proposed five-year plan aimed at getting blacks involved in determining the country's future.

By MOKGADI PELA

yesterday, will serve as the party's election manifesto

Some of the features of the plan included

- Greater emphasis on freedom of association in group formation
- The setting-up of institutions in which leaders of all groups can participate in the

discriminatory laws, particularly the Population Registration Act on which apartheid hinges, The five-year plan, which was being discussed by the federal congress of the party

• To Page 2

Sowetan 30/6/89

Plan is a fraud

IIA

• From Page 1

- creation of a new constitutional future.
- Possible acceptance by the NP of a Bill of Rights as part of the future negotiated constitution.
- Decriminalisation of the Group Areas Act. and
- Lowering of personal income tax and company tax

Reacting to these moves an ANC spokesman said the bottom line was still the same, namely political rights based on groups

The "fact that blacks and whites will vote separately does not meet our demands", the spokesman added

The PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Gora Ebrahim, said the National Party's position was an attempt to placate the international community by saying that it was moving towards reform

"We maintain that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be eradicated," he said

BCMA's publicity and information secretary, Vuyisile Qunta, said his organisation was totally indifferent towards these announcements

"John Vorster asked to be given six months during which the world would see a changed SA and 12 years later we are being told about a five-year plan," Qunta said.

Cas Coovadia, publicity secretary for Actstop, said the Government's plan was a fraud.

The Government had not spelt out what it meant by black leaders "As for the Group Areas Act being decriminalised we feel it is inhuman and consequently cannot be improved. It must be scrapped," Coovadia said.

A spokesman for Steve Biko Foundation, Nkosi Molala, said blacks were no longer looking towards the "illegal" Botha African régime for direction. For blacks the Government has outlived its imposed usefulness

contest - Page 4

Nation Building seminar

11A Sowetan 30/6/69

A SEMINAR to explore the concept of Nation Building is to take place on August 12 at a Johannesburg venue still to be announced

Mr Sam Mabe, assistant editor of the *Sowetan*, will lead the

day's programme by giving an exposition on the concept, Nation Building. The programme will be hosted by the Education Opportunities Council

His talk will be followed by a critique by

Mr Eugene Nyati, the director of the Centre for African Studies in Johannesburg

Mr Sedupi Ramokgopa, Funda Centre director, will speak on "Nation Building — its practical implications"

apt Mrs 30/6/87 110
**Sisulu meets
Bush today**

JOHANNESBURG. —
United Democratic
Front co-president Mrs
Albertina Sisulu is due
to meet US President
George Bush today, the
United States Informa-
tion Service (USIS) said
yesterday.

Assistant Secretary of
State Mr Herman Cohen,
who met Mrs Sisulu yes-
terday in Washington,
said that Mr Bush want-
ed "to hear directly from
a leader of the black ma-
jority" on the situation
in South Africa.

"She has been in the
front line and she will be
able to inform him what
it means and advise him
as to what US policy
should be," Mr Cohen
said. — Sapa

...ies were actually sold

's market lease extended

Reporter
 Market Square is to be
 for five years to flea-
 Mr Bob Hayward
 ids — at a rental of
 cluding rates, esca-
 ar
 ns will also be im-
 in connection with
 traffic flow around
 landscaping of the
 on the Square
 e the council indi-
 e terms of lease
 agreed to by Mr
 Shields, who origi-
 square as a flea-

a lease of almost
 essed interest in
 of Greenmarket

Council said the
 square could be
 se on a short-term
 possibly, and dur-
 nd Cape Festival

This would have to be negotiated
 from time to time on a separate basis

Earlier this year, the amenities and
 health committee decided that be-
 cause Mr Hayward and Mr Shields had
 introduced the highly successful flea-
 market on the square, tenders would
 not be invited for the lease

Instead negotiations would be en-
 tered into for their continued use of
 the square

It was understood that the develop-
 ers who had been interested in con-
 structing a parking garage beneath
 the square had abandoned the plan
 after a feasibility study showed it
 would not be economically viable

• Councillor Mr Neil Ross said
 tables and chairs should not be
 stacked up and left on the square
 when not in use.

Mr Louis Kreiner agreed, but said
 the lessees had recently lacked secur-
 ity of tenure and without this had
 been unwilling to invest in the equip-
 ment needed to take the tables and
 chairs to storage elsewhere

in the correct positions"

DP to ^{CHL}
 try to ¹¹⁴
 resolve
 seats
 dilemma

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party
 will today attempt to re-
 solve the thorny issue of
 whether it should partic-
 ipate in the elections
 for the House of Dele-
 gates and the House of
 Representatives in the
 September 6 elections

Its decision, which is
 to be taken by the execu-
 tive of its national board
 in Cape Town this morn-
 ing, has already caused
 tensions and could lead
 to a split by some of its
 black members if the DP
 decides to restrict itself
 to only defending the
 three seats held by its
 House of Delegate MPs

The DP MP for Spring-
 field, Mr Mahmoud Ra-
 jab, has said that if the
 party decided not to par-
 ticipate in the elections
 for the two Houses, this
 would be tantamount to
 racism

Mr Rajab was backed
 publicly yesterday by
 the DP MP for Belhar,
 Mr Archie Poole

If the DP decide not to
 put up candidates in the
 House of Delegates in the
 House of Representa-
 tives, its "non-white"
 members will be second-
 class members, Mr Poole
 said

DP names two more ex-Nats

THE Democratic Party yesterday named two more
 ex-Nationalists as candidates for the September 6
 election

Mr Attie Engelbrecht, a Boland farmer and
 brother of former Springbok rugby wing Jannie
 Engelbrecht is to contest the Piketberg seat, where
 Dr Dawie de Villiers is the sitting MP with a safe NP
 majority. The CP has not yet named a candidate

Another former Nationalist, Mr Chris du Preez,
 33, will stand for the DP in Vereeniging, which is
 held by the Minister of Education and Development
 Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. The CP has named Mr Bar-
 end Keet as its Vereeniging candidate

WILLIAM DERRY

10% DISCOUNT
 ON ALL FRAMING AND FRAMED
 PRINTS IN JULY

Too late for
 classification
 DEATHS

WOOD

115 fly out to see ANC

Star 30/6/89 11A
By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The largest South African delegation to meet the outlawed African National Congress left from Jan Smuts Airport yesterday for a three-day conference on the role of whites in a changing South Africa

Organised by the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), the conference in Lusaka will be attended by about 115 South African and 50 ANC delegates

FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier said at a news conference that while SA delegates shared a desire for a non-racial, democratic country, they held widely divergent views on how such a society should be achieved

"We respect the diversity of the delegation and do not expect delegates to speak with one voice," he said

Delegates were attending a function at the invitation of

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda last night

ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo will address the opening session of the conference today

Among the SA delegates are 23 academics from nine universities, 20 businessmen, 16 journalists including five editors, city councillors, church workers, trade unionists, educationists, students and individuals from the Democratic Party

Black unity needed to defeat Boksburg racism SAIRR

Political Reporter

Despite the apparent success of the black consumer boycott in Boksburg, a broad consumer movement and unity between black townships were needed if the Conservative Party's apartheid policies were to be defeated.

This was said yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations in a publication, *The Boksburg Boycott*, written by researchers Harry Mashabela and Monty Narsoo

They pointed out that black protest against the CP-controlled town council's reiteration of municipal apartheid had been led by an alliance of groups previously hostile to each other.

Extra-parliamentary groups and local management committees in neighbouring townships such as Vosloorus and Reiger Park were working together in opposition to the CP's resegregation of Boksburg

However, problems could strain the alliance for example conflicting strategies regarding the general election, and friction about the possibility of more militant action by extra-parliamentary groups if the protest did not achieve its aims quickly.

STRONGER ORGANISATION

The researchers pointed out that stronger organisation and more sustained strategic thinking were needed to "defeat" the CP.

"Some protest leaders see consumer action as a means of directly pressurising the council by reducing its revenue

"But only a protracted withdrawal of buying power is likely to damage the council's finances. Even this would only have a limited impact as much of its revenue is collected from industry, which is relatively unaffected by the protest"

However, they continued, an attempt by white business to forge an alliance with the black communities had failed

Other avenues which could be followed by white business were the desegregation of business-controlled amenities and the strengthening of township business by providing it with capital, expertise and goods and services at special rates

UDF group in US to meet Carter

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United Democratic Front delegation led by Mrs Albertina Sisulu has been invited to Atlanta this weekend by former president Mr Jimmy Carter

Members of the group are to meet President George Bush in the White House today.

A spokesman for the delegation, Mr Azar Cachalia, said it had been received warmly by leaders of Congress on Wednesday and had had interviews with the US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, and the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen.

The delegation is to address a media conference at the National Press Club today after meeting Mr Bush

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Black leaders today overwhelmingly rejected the National Party's five-year plan of action, and said only scrapping of apartheid would create a climate conducive to negotiation.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said the NP's plan was sugar-coated-apartheid. It proved the NP and leader Mr F W de Klerk were still wedded to white minority rule, white privilege, racism and domination.

The plan was "nothing more than a plan for disaster and yet another slap in the face of the oppressed."

NO SOLUTIONS

Cosatu said it hoped the international community, and those who asked Mr de Klerk be given a chance, would realise the NP, regardless of its leader, had no solutions to the conflict.

"If the NP wants to find out what the people of South Africa want, the answer is simple release our leaders, unban our organisations, take your troops out of our townships. Then create the conditions for free political expression by repealing all laws which inhibit that freedom.

"We will go to our people and find out what they want. They will mandate their organisations

Black leaders call for end to apartheid laws

and leaders to speak on their behalf. This is called the democratic process, something F W and the NP seem to be totally contemptuous of."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Denmark yesterday the NP's election programme was designed to make apartheid more comfortable.

The president of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), Mr Tom Boya, said the scrapping of all discriminatory laws would prove the NP was sincere about negotiation.

Speaking at the University of Cape Town yesterday, the president of the South African Institute of Race Relations and the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, said all South Africans across the entire political spectrum had to be involved in negotiations.

Actstop publicity secretary Mr Cas Coovadia also rejected the plan and called for the immediate scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

The exiled ANC, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) have also rejected the plan.

n, on and off the July course

Big race the highlight of a five-star TV weekend

By Dan Side

'Security a priority'

Settlements in south-western Africa had no bearing on the security situation in South Africa, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said

Security should still be a high priority, he told the NP federal congress in Pretoria yesterday.

The NP believed the police should be adequately equipped and "the force levels of the SA Defence Force have to be maintained in such a way as to provide a security blanket covering the entire country"

The SA Communist Party/ANC alliance, the PAC and other instigators of unrest were still active in spite of the state of emergency, he claimed

On dialogue with the ANC he said "How can terrorists, regulated by violence, assist in bringing about democracy when they oppose democracy?"

Tutu spurns plan

HILLEROED (Denmark) Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday rejected the National Party's election programme, saying it was designed to make apartheid more comfortable rather than to dismantle it. "We don't want apartheid more comfortable. We want political power," Archbishop Tutu said. "We are not interested in reform. We want to see apartheid abolished." He was in Denmark to visit a festival of the Danish national church - Sapa-AP

30/6/87



THE NATAL PEACE TALKS ARE FINALLY UNDER WAY. THESE ARE THE KINDS OF PROBLEMS NEGOTIATORS FACE

IN a dingy fast-food outlet, across the road from the terminus in Pietermaritzburg where people wait for buses to the city's black townships, a 10-year-old boy slips a silver coin into a video machine called "Vigilante"

Before the game begins, messages flash on to the screen explaining that thugs have made off with a blonde beauty called Madonna and that it is the duty of the player to rescue her. "Law and order has broken down," says the machine. "The police cannot stop the thugs. You must defend the people's turf."

Just a 20-minute bus ride away, in the sprawling settlements that straddle the war-ravaged Edendale valley, the ethics of a video game become the grim reality of township life.

Despite the fact that more than 1 300 people have died in a civil war that has raged in Pietermaritzburg's black townships since 1987, only a handful of killers have been convicted — even though notorious "warlords" who rule many of the settlements have been implicated in affidavits by scores of eye-witnesses.

The response of the police has fre-

Where real life imitates the

A video game, favourite of township children, chillingly echoes real life: 'Police cannot stop the thugs. You must defend the people's turf.' Despite the fact that 1 300 hundred have died in Natal's violence, very few killers have been convicted EDDIE KOCH reports

quently been to call for more witnesses to come forward with evidence. But in at least two cases, such people have been gunned down after giving their account of a murder to the courts or other authorities.

Over the past two years it has become a belief in the townships that members of the police collaborate with the "warlords" in their attacks on young militants and trade unionists.

Learning to fight from a machine

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

TEN-YEAR-OLD Mkhululi grips the knobs of the video machine called Vigilante with excitement and becomes engrossed in the game. Mkhululi, whose name means "Liberator", plays the game because "I want to know how to fight when there is a need to", he says. Mkhululi comes from Mpophomeni, near Howick in Natal. This is the township in which the Sarmcol strikers reside and it has been subjected to repeated raids by vigilantes from the neighbouring area of kwaShifu. In Mpophomeni we fight. Here in the game there is only one person against the entire mob but in Mpophomeni there are many of us. Those who die, die and those who live, live," he says while delivering a series of punches and karate kicks to thugs that appear on the screen.

Mkhululi, who is spending the school holidays in Pietermaritzburg with his mother, a domestic worker in the city, says he is familiar with war and with torture.

He keeps losing the game to a particular tough guy and fetching another 20c to play again. He says the tough guy reminds him of a very force vigilante in Mpophomeni.

When they fight in Mpophomeni there is only one chance to live. Yet in the game there are numerous opportunities to resurrect oneself.

In Mpophomeni small children fought big men, he says. The hero of the screen is a little chap in blue jeans who takes on all the heavies in town.

Mkhululi returns to the machine, this time to win. As he knocks down each of his opponents words flash onto the screen. "Law and order has failed. But the vigilantes have won. Vigilantes now rule the city."

At the funeral early this month of trade unionist Jabu Ndlovu, who died of third-degree burns after her home had been torched by right-wing vigilantes, police allegedly sjambokked mourners and then stopped a bus and

ordered the occupants to alight in an area controlled by warlords. As a result two young men were allegedly stabbed and treated in hospital.

"Police action at the funeral has once again exacerbated tension in

Pietermaritzburg," said the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa). Numsa repeats the call that an urgent independent commission of inquiry into police conduct is essential to restoring peace and legality in the

He who drinks the 'comrades' water must be a comrade

THE crack of a bullet fired into the air by the occupant of a shack in Inanda is a sharp reminder that the congested shantytown on the outskirts of Durban is one of the most volatile flash-points in Natal's civil conflict.

"They are just checking to see that their amaqwasha (home-made rifles) are working properly. It's also a warning that they are ready to attack at any time," said a resident of the area, who calls himself Joe.

More than 100 people have been killed in Inanda since the beginning of 1987 and the Piesangs area has been the site of particularly intense fighting this year.

Until recently Joe and his family lived in Piesangs Two — a buffer zone between a shanty district known as Shayazafe ("beat until he dies"), inhabited mainly by Inkatha supporters, and a section of Inanda called Newtown A, where United Democratic Front sympathisers have a stronghold.

The story of how the family came to be identified as "comrades" and driven out of their homes by "othelweni" (vigilantes) from Shayazafe provides a graphic instance of how local conflicts over scarce resources in the informal settlements have become embroiled in interecne clashes between rival political groups.

Tensions developed with the creation, in 1982, of a site-and-service scheme at Newtown in Inanda. There the Urban Foundation, a private development agency, provided residents with toilets and water supplies and assisted them in building their own houses.

Black businessmen, professionals and factory workers, who could af-

A clash over a set of disputed taps led to an attack on 'Joe' and his family, reports EDDIE KOCH

ford to pay for the sites and houses, tended to move into the site-and-service scheme. As a result, some areas in Newtown came to be dominated by members of Cosatu trade unions and militant youth and scholars. Many of the shacklords, on the other hand, tried to bolster their authority through allegiance to the kwaZulu government and Inkatha.

The endemic instability of the shantytowns was compounded by rivalry between house owners and shackdwellers over Newtown's superior resources — and these social tensions became increasingly embroiled in the wider political conflict between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu.

Heather Hughes, a researcher at the University of Natal, reports that early this year landlords, or "shacklords", heightened the conflict by telling their tenants they could take over houses in Newtown if they attacked "troublemakers" and UDF/Cosatu supporters who lived there.

"For shackdwellers this must have seemed the easiest — or only — way to acquire decent housing. 'It is a fight between the haves and the have-nots,' one resident explained. There was then retaliation by the 'haves' who closed off access to bus stops, water points, the clinic and even schools (in Newtown) against those from the shanties," says Hughes in



Homeless ... Joe in the house that was burnt down after he drank from the 'comrades' water

Picture PETER BENNETT

an article published in the latest Black Sash newsletter.

Joe's family, who lived in a shanty area adjoining Newtown, then made an agreement with the township residents which allowed them to continue using the water. As a result, they were attacked one night by vigilantes from Shayazafe and hounded out of their homes.

"They said if we were using the taps of the 'comrades' then we must have been 'comrades' all along," said Joe.

As a result of the attack, his family has been forced to take refuge in Newtown A. They now align themselves with UDF supporters in the area — and in this way a local tiff over access to water has become embroiled in, and exacerbated by, the broader polarisation between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu.

Now the gunshots that echo around the valleys of Inanda on most days symbolise the simmering state of civil war that exists between residents of Newtown A and Shayazafe.

"The struggle for resources is a major factor in the fighting here," says Democratic Party MP Peter Gastrow. "It is a powder keg situation if one community is cut off by another from critical resources."

Any agreement for lasting peace in Natal will clearly have to find ways to limit the way in which political differences have precipitated social tensions in the informal settlements around Durban into uncontained civil war.

A PEACE BREAKTHROUGH COULD BE AN ANNOUNCEMENT AWAY

FOLLOWING historic peace talks between representatives of Natal's warring groups, a significant breakthrough appears just an announcement away.

Participants in the peace talks are remaining tight lipped about what happened during their discussions, but there is no doubt that both sides are working urgently towards an "off-shore" meeting between Inkatha, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress.

Last week's two meetings were intended to pave the way for a joint peace initiative, and a lot of ground-

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

work had to be done — the two sides had apparently conflicting peace programmes, for example, and there is still the question of a venue for talks.

However, the decision to hold a second round of talks within a week was promising, as was the fact that the participants from the two sides were unchanged.

The statement issued at the end of the second meeting was even less informative than the one which followed the first, but it noted that both

sides had "now agreed on the format and contents of a joint report" which would be finalised and submitted to the organisations and presidents of the two sides.

Thus appears to mean that the two proposals for a peace initiative have been reconciled, although this compromise still has to be approved by the organisations.

A key player at this stage remains Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He is anxious that peace talks take place in Ulundi, but is also keen for discussions with the ANC, and he could decide that it was worth trading one off against the other.

Buthelezi has refused to be present at talks not held in Ulundi but he nevertheless tested the atmosphere of last week's talks in absentia, with a tough statement entitled "We must do the right thing now."

His eight-page memorandum was read to the first meeting and was subsequently released to the media.

The tone was hardly conciliatory, with harsh innuendos about the hidden agendas of Cosatu and the UDF and a demand for their "vicious vendettas" against Inkatha to stop.

Despite any disquiet this may have caused, delegates returned four days later to continue their discussions.



Faithful followers Inkatha supporters at a prayer rally in Edendale on Sunday

Picture CLINT ZASMAN

Seen with high-power ANC group: Grosskopf

THE African National Congress is sending a delegation of 40 people, led by President Oliver Tambo and 20 executive members, to its meeting with 120 white South Africans in Lusaka this weekend — indicating the importance it attaches to the meeting.

The top-level ANC delegation to the conference, entitled "Whites in a changing South Africa", also includes Secretary General Alfred Nzo, SA Communist Party Chairman Dan Tloome and SACP Secretary General Joe Slovo.

Slovo and alleged guerrilla Hein Grosskopf are among six whites who will represent the ANC. Grosskopf, who is director of protocol for the visiting ANC delegation, confirmed to delegates that he is a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe. But he was reluctant to say more.

This is the first time Grosskopf has been seen in public since he was named by Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok as the man responsible for several bombings.

Grosskopf's mother accused Vlok of "convicting" her son in absentia. To add to the mystery, the ANC remained silent on the question of whether Grosskopf was a member.

His presence in Lusaka is the first confirmation that he is indeed an ANC cadre.

Other white ANC delegates to Lusaka this week include military leader Ronnie Kasrils and two members who recently went into exile after serving prison sentences, Jeremy Cronin and Derrick Hanekom.

Meanwhile, the group from South Africa, the largest-ever delegation of whites to meet the ANC, flew out of

The ANC delegation to Lusaka this week to meet the Five Freedoms group includes Oliver Tambo himself. And among many other senior delegates, is the controversial Hein Grosskopf.

Johannesburg yesterday

They were due to attend a banquet at State House in Lusaka, hosted by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, last night.

The group, which includes several prominent businessmen, academics and city councillors, ignored warnings by Vlok that they were being "naïve" and that the ANC would attempt to "recruit" them.

The conference is a joint venture by the Five Freedoms Forum and the

ANC, and is being funded by six governments, several European foundations and by the delegates themselves.

FFF Chairman Mike Olivier said there had been some attempts by security police to intervene, but that in general the official response had been "relatively low key".

He said some delegates had been phoned by members of the security branch asking for information and that an attempt had been made to get the list of passengers travelling to Lusaka from Zambian Airways. He said a "mystery" telex had been sent to the travel agent with the false information that the Lusaka hotel booking had been cancelled.

There had also been "noticeable surveillance" of several of the conference organisers. And the FFF office

received several abusive phone calls during the week.

Olivier said the delegates — 66 men and 48 women — were drawn from 14 centres in the country.

The delegation includes 15 lecturers and nine professors from nine universities, 22 businessmen, 10 journalists and editors, nine teachers, six lawyers, four church ministers and three farmers.

Olivier said about 20 Democratic Party members, including 10 city councillors from six cities, were attending — all in their personal capacities. Among them are former Houghton Progressive Federal Party MP Helen Suzman, DP Groote Schuur candidate Dene Smuts, DP national youth chairman Michele Guitler, East London mayor Donald Card and Cape Town Council executive member Frank van der Velde.

About 30 other organisations are represented.

The businessmen include Wits Business School dean Andy Andrews, Shell (SA) director Peter Hugo, PG Bison executive director Christo Nel, JCI chief economist Ronnie Bethlehem, Mill and Industrial chairman Alex Anderson and Tony van Ryneveld of the Urban Foundation in Cape Town.

Two white unionists from the South African Boilermakers Society will also be attending.

The conference, which was opened by Tambo and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, ends on Sunday.

Much of it will be taken up with commissions covering topics such as sanctions, violence, South Africa's constitutional future, the role of parliament, nationalisation, the role of business in change and South Africa's educational problems.

Discussion papers have been prepared by Olivier (an overview of white South African politics), James Selfe (on the DP), Van Zyl Slabbert (a political prognosis), Dr David Welsh (on the National Party and the right-wing), Christo Nel (on the role of South African business), and David Shandler (on extra-parliamentary opposition).

Commenting on the purpose of the visit, Olivier said he hoped it would ease the climate for dialogue between "South Africans at home and those in exile."

"Ironically this kind of visit eases the climate for the government to engage in talks with the ANC," he said

Among the delegates

AMONG the South African delegates are Transvaal Teachers Association president Hugo Ackerman, Pretoria Boys High principal Malcolm Armstrong, Sacred Heart headmaster Neil McGurk and Dr Franz Auerbach.

Journalists include Star editor-in-chief Harvey Tyson, *Sunday Times* assistant editor Brian Pottinger, *Natal Witness* editor Ritchard Steyn and *Southern Africa Report* editor Raymond Louw.

Other delegates include former Cape Town archbishop Bishop Philip Russel, Professor David Bosch of Unisa's theology faculty, Wits and University of Cape Town deputy vice-chancellors Professor Mervyn Shear and Professor David Woods, Peter Brown of the Liberal Democratic Association, Professor Johan van der Westhuizen of Pretoria University's law faculty, Steven Friedman of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Professor John Gear of the Wits Medical Faculty, Professor David Welsh of the UCT Politics Department and advocate Wim Trengove.



PHOTO BY WITZENDRECHT FOR THE PRESS. **Freedom riders Mike Olivier and Gail Neke of Five Freedoms Forum arrive in Smuts Airport before flying out to Lusaka.** Other pictures: GAIL DE VILJEG, Afrapix; SCHLOEG 156NW 52.

video games

area"

Police headquarters in Pretoria replied by saying the funeral had been used as a political platform and the allegations were part of a "propaganda ploy" to discredit members of the force

The union's claims were followed by reports that a young man had been severely assaulted by a police patrol in Mpophomeni, a township near Pietermaritzburg, on June 16. After being arrested and taken to a nearby police station, the boy was released and all charges dropped. He has drawn up an affidavit with the details and is considering laying charges

The alleged attack took place despite a supreme court interdict restraining police from harassing the residents of Mpophomeni, and lawyers are considering initiating legal proceedings

The Mpophomeni interdict was granted last month after the court heard evidence that police had failed to intervene while the township was being attacked by vigilantes and that police officers had themselves participated in assaults on residents

In Imbali, a township at the centre of the conflict in Pietermaritzburg, reports are rife of police patrols that pick young men up in the streets and take them to a local football stadium where they are made to lie on the ground before being sjambokked. City lawyers say they have documented at least five such incidents.

KwaZulu police have confirmed they are investigating reports that white men, dressed in civilian clothing and driving unmarked cars, were involved in fighting which left nine people dead in the Durban township of kwaMashu after a peace rally



Colleagues carry the coffin of trade unionist Jabu Ndlovu. His funeral saw strong police action, which has allegedly worsened tensions in Pietermaritzburg

Picture: ARON MAZEL, PPC

called last weekend by the Zulu nationalist movement, Inkatha

Law and Order Minister Adriaan

Viok has defended the use of false number plates on police vehicles which patrol the townships of Pietermaritzburg. "In combating crimes during clandestine police actions it is often necessary for the SA Police to make use of vehicles which cannot be identified by means of their number plates or otherwise," he told parliament earlier this year

Each of these episodes in the Natal violence took place after lawyers for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) released a dossier containing details of 29 incidents in which police and Inkatha warlords allegedly co-operated in the shooting, detention, interrogation and harassment of township residents

After the dossier had been released, the Department of Law and Order issued a statement saying each of the incidents would be investigated and people who made claims about police collaboration with Inkatha would be asked to give evidence. General Henne de Witt said police were investigating the possibility that Cosatu, by publishing the dossier, had violated restrictions imposed on it under the Emergency.

But the theme of the dossier is echoed by the statistics, gathered by researchers at Natal University's Centre for Adult Education, which show that of the identified incidents of violence in 1987, 368 were initiated by Inkatha members while 113 were sparked by members of the United Democratic Front or Cosatu. Yet during the last State of Emergency the vast majority of those detained were linked to either Cosatu or the UDF

The lawlessness in Natal's townships led to a march last week by some 50 women from Mpumalanga on the local police station. The mothers demanded to see the station commander to complain that members of his riot unit had been living with Inkatha members and took part in attacks on UDF supporters

The women also claimed members of the riot police had participated in petrol bomb attacks on houses in the township and that innocent people had been sjambokked and assaulted by members of the unit

Police denied the allegation about petrol-bombing as being "so far-fetched it does even warrant comment". They said police in Mpumalanga were not allowed to reside with private residents and that the unit had not even been issued with sjamboks. Since they started working in Mpumalanga, no assault charges had been filed against the police, the statement added.



Prayer rally ... 'Warlord' David Ntombela with supporters in Edendale this week. Picture: CLINT ZASMAN

A feudal system, with 'shacklords' as barons

A MILLION people live in the burgeoning shantytowns on the perimeter of Durban, which sprawl for kilometres over the undulating valleys and hills to the north of the city.

The settlement has almost no basic social services, except for water which can be bought at points along the main road or collected from the rivers when they are flowing. Three years ago the unemployment rate stood at 45 percent and is now believed to be much higher.

Much of the land, destined to be incorporated into the kwaZulu "homeland", has been owned in freehold by African and Indian landlords for decades. Since the 1950s, when people were removed from the nearby settlement of Cato Manor and settled in Inanda, there has been no formal system of local government

A major obstacle to peace is the continued activities of "war-lords". A "warlord" is one who commands a group of vigilantes, extracts tribute in the form of taxes and special levies from residents and rule over an area from residents and rules over an area from the authorities

Two groups fall under the category of "warlord" — "shacklords" who

**A powerful local man appoints himself lord of the shack dwellers, allocates plots and extracts taxes. Soon he becomes a 'warlord'.
By THANDEKA QGUBULE and EDDIE KOCH**

rule the mushrooming informal settlements around Durban and "strongmen" who control sections of the formal townships around Pietermaritzburg.

Different sets of conditions seem to generate the two types of "warlords" found in Natal

In the informal settlements, the practice of colonising unpopulated areas has emerged. This is either done by landowners or a powerful man who settles on the land, establishes an "army" of unemployed people and designates the area his own.

He appoints himself lord of the shack dwellers, allocates plots, charges rent and extracts taxes. He is able to evict "tenants" who refuse to meet these conditions

In Inanda, for example, they collect

a variety of taxes from residents — a monthly land tax of R5, an Inkatha joining fee of R5, a road fee of R7 and another R7 for a bridge to be built. The "tenants" also pay R5 for the maintenance of the "shacklord's army". Sometimes a levy of R5 is collected for the legal defence of a "warlord".

Weaker "slumlords" are also invaded by stronger "shacklords". In Inanda the "shacklord" of a section called Mshayazafe attacked a neighbouring area called Piesangs, forcing the residents to flee or accept his rule.

In formal townships a symbiotic relationship appears to have developed between vigilantes, local councillors and *indunas*. Many "warlords" rose through local government structures particularly community councils

But vigilante groups existed before the war. Called *Oqonda* — meaning to make straight — the vigilantes were used by community councillors to "straighten out" criminal elements

As the nationwide protest of 1984/85 spread to Natal, the vigilantes began to comb the townships for any political activists

Some "warlords" were recruited from the ranks of common criminals,

according to a highly placed source in the kwaZulu administration.

There are also reports of businessmen who became vigilantes after their shops were boycotted. Ex-politicians have also become "warlords"

One of the most notorious "warlords" in Edendale, Schizo Zuma, was a taxi driver before the conflict in Natal.

In 1986 he was allegedly involved in an attack by young "comrades" on the home of "warlord" Abdul Aweta. The "comrades" were defeated and Zuma crossed the floor. He was then used to reinstate pro-Inkatha chiefs in Vulindlela, a semi-rural area near Edendale, who had been attacked by "comrades" in 1987, according to the source in the kwaZulu administration.

Natal University academics Mike Morris and Ian Edwards, who are co-ordinating a research project on the economic and social roots of the conflict in Natal, say that the shacklords are akin to "small feudal lords who are perpetually trying to extend the size and area of their fiefdoms"

"Frequently one shacklord will send their troops to take over the shacks of another shacklord."

BLACK POLITICS
July 1989

Cape Times

Midweek Homefinder Inside

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Opp. Amb 19/7/83 (11)

THE MANDELA FAMILY

Members of the Mandela family arrive at Victor Verster Prison for Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday yesterday. From the left are Ms Maki Mandela, one of Mr Mandela's daughters, with her son Kweku (in the anorak), Zondwa Mandela (in the suit), son of Mr Mandela's daughter Zindzi (behind him in the black leather cap), Mrs Winnie Mandela (in black leather with brown hat), grandson Thembile Mandela (in front of her), and Ms Maki Mandela's 15-year-old daughter Tutwini (in the jersey with her arm around another of Zindzi's children, Zoleka)

Report — Page 3
Picture ALAN TAYLOR

Woman burnt in new Natal violence

OPK TWP
19/7/89

11A
3/2/89

JOHANNESBURG — A gang shot dead a woman they had forced off a bus in Natal this week and then set fire to her body

According to police the gang first shot the woman, fatally wounding her, then poured petrol over the body and set it alight

Three more deaths at Mpumalanga were reported to the KwaZulu police yesterday morning, a police spokesman said

This brings the death toll in this area for the past four days to 24

The Kwazulu police reported a sharp increase in violent crime in the region at the weekend when 36 people were murdered and nine cases of attempted murder reported

Thirty people were arrested in connection with the crimes

The violence in the area, which is near Maritzburg, is believed to be political and it goes against the trend of relative peace after talks between Inkatha and the UDF-Cosatu alliance

Colonel Jan Fourie, district commandant of the KwaZulu police, said it was difficult to say at this stage what was the cause of the violence

Worst in two years

Colonel Fourie said the situation in the Mpumalanga township was still tense and there was a strong police presence

Groups monitoring unrest said the weekend death toll was the worst carnage in more than two years of fighting between the UDF and Inkatha

Representatives of Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu met in Durban last month in a bid to settle their differences and until this weekend's flare-up unrest monitors had noted a reduction in fighting

Unrest monitors could not say what had caused the Mpumalanga killings

Mr Pierre Cronje, Democratic Party MP for Greytown, said he was planning to go to Mpumalanga to try to find out what had caused the latest fighting

The Inkatha Institute has completed a comprehensive two-year study on the violence in Natal which has claimed the lives of almost 2 000 people since the conflict started four years ago

The director of the institute, Mr Gavin Woods, says he hopes the findings of the report will help to end violence in the region. He said the report would be sent to parties concerned, including the Kwazulu government, political parties, church organisations, the UDF and academics

According to the report more than 90% of investigated incidents of violence were carried out by black youths between the ages of 14 and 25 — Sapa

CP makes a meal of Mandela

11P

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Government is now trying to play down President Botha's meeting with African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela as the Conservative Party threatens to turn it into the main issue of the election campaign

Deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg issued a statement last night saying the NP's "new relationship with the ANC was fast becoming the dominating issue" of the election

And CP general secretary Mr Andries Beyers said the CP was changing the whole thrust of its campaign to focus on the Mandela issue

Apart from a brief statement that

there had been no change in the NP's insistence that the ANC renounce violence before the Government would talk to it, the NP has been largely silent over the last few days

Star 19/7/84
Dr Hartzenberg said "The CP will see to it that the NP's new approach to the ANC will be brought to the attention of every voter in the country"

The meeting was not a breakthrough for the country as the NP claimed, but for Mandela, the ANC and the communists

Mr Mandela had said he still stood for everything he had stood for over the past 26 years and the NP now stood against almost everything it had fought for over the past 75 years

'Social visit' by police scorned by activist

Sowetan 19/7/89

11A

A Lenasia political activist says he was visited by seven plain-clothed policemen at his house on Monday night in what he sees as harassment.

Basneer Lorgat (35) said that a Captain Ackerman told him that it was a social visit, but the men asked him about a Transvaal Indian Congress conference to be held in Lenasia soon.

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Captain R. Bloomberg, declined to comment, saying "We are not prepared to establish whether the allegation is true or not."

In a statement yesterday Lorgat said "I object in the strongest terms to my wife and children being subjected to police harassment. Besides police action we have recently been subjected to telephone calls by people identifying themselves as members of Die Wit Wolwe."

Lorgat is the secretary of the Peoples' Education Committee in Lenasia and pioneered the opening of the Lenasia Hospital through the Lenasia Hospital Campaign Committee.

Azasm slams 'corrupt' company

By Sue Valentine,
Education Reporter

The corruption that led to the closure of a company which pledged to pay fees to 30 students at various universities has been condemned by the Azaman Students Movement (Azasm)

The owner of Excellent Negotiators and Distributors, Mr E A Ali, alias Ali Andy Erickson, is believed to have fled the country and is said to be indebted to First National Bank for R20 000, according to a report in the *Sowetan*

Most of the students are from the Vaal Triangle and each one needs to pay between R2 500 and R4 500 in university fees this year

One of the students, Mr Nthatise Selela, a third-year B Sc student at Rhodes said attempts to get emergency relief from several prominent education and church organisations had failed

Azasm publicity secretary Mr Siphon Maseko said "The unscrupulous and corruption-riddled actions of the company is nothing else but a microcosm of a broader 'cashing-in' and misappropriation of funds which casts a dark shadow on the black community."

He said this disastrous path was led by "the owners of capital who reap millions out of our parents' labour and inject back an insignifi-

cant amount for conscience-cleansing

"This represents nothing else but gross abuse of the destitute nature of black students"

Azasm called on church bodies and those "who have entrusted to themselves the right to solve the crisis in education" to meet the financial demands of the students so that they could pursue their careers

Inquiries about the fund-raising effort should be directed to the chairman of the committee, the Rev Richard Mokolo at (016) 94-3734 or the Rev Koaho at (016) 94-1643.

Great 'contest between two cunning old bulls'

11A

Star 19/7/89

Sifting through the statements and reactions to the Mandela-Botha talks, a curious point emerges: those closest to the ANC leader ideologically seem to fear most that he may have been lured into a trap and that his status as prisoner may have put him at too great a disadvantage in the ensuing battle of wits.

Thus, immediately after news of the meeting broke, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, described the meeting as a stratagem devised "by the ruling minority to sow confusion in the minds of black people and the outside world".

The statement, issued on behalf of the Mandela family and community leaders in Soweto, has a defensive tone, it stresses no significance should be attached to a meeting taking place in the "context of a prisoner and his captors".

The possibility that Mr Mandela may have used the meeting to his own advantage — and to that of the "people's movement" as he refers to the ANC — does not seem to have been considered.

The ANC itself was similarly careful to downplay the importance of the talks, as if it, too, feared that the Government rather than Mr Mandela would make political capital out of the meeting.

'PR exercise'

It dismissed the talks as a "public relations exercise" designed to appeal white voters in the election and to impress world opinion.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) sounded a cautionary note in its statement, it warned that the Mandela-Botha talks had to be seen in the context of the ongoing police investigation into the death of the young black activist, Stompie Mkhetsi.

Deep suspicions about Government motives apart, the SACC's counsel of caution was prompted by two specific developments.

The first was a radio report on the Government-controlled SABC

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

The recent meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and President P W Botha was seen by one political observer as a "contest between two cunning old bulls". And as the dust settles on that initial and historic contact in Mr Botha's office in Cape Town a fortnight ago, a fascinating question arises: Who outmanoeuvred whom?

that a police dossier linking Mrs Winnie Mandela to the death of 14-year old Stompie had been handed to the Attorney-General.

The second was the news that police had raided Mr Mandela's original Soweto home (presumably as part of their investigation into Stompie's death) while the ANC leader was talking to Mr Botha.

It was against that background that the SACC warned "It is our view that the Government has an ace up its sleeve — namely the Stompie issue".

But Mr Mandela himself was not without cards — to extend the SACC's metaphor — in his exchange with Mr Botha.

Mrs Helen Suzman, who visited Mr Mandela shortly after his meeting with Mr Botha, says "Don't underestimate him".

Assessing the situation, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, who has done more than anyone else to promote dialogue with the ANC, says "I haven't the slightest doubt that the ANC has gained enormously".

Dr Slabbert draws attention to the vast sums of money spent by Mr Botha in his decade-long propaganda campaign depicting the ANC as part of a communist-inspired total onslaught.

He concludes "Now he (Mr Botha) ends up saying, I wasted it all. Come and have a cup of tea".

Mr Mandela's statement on the meeting suggests, on close reading, a man who is choosing his words carefully and seeking to turn the situation to his advantage.

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town wonders

whether the talks were not part of a wider Government strategy to drive a wedge between the internal and external wings of the ANC by manoeuvring Mr Mandela into "rejecting armed struggle".

Mr Mandela's statement, however, makes it clear that his position has not changed "over the past 28 years".

The phrase "over the past 28 years" is not coincidental. The ANC's armed struggle began 28 years ago, when, in 1961, as a sequel to its banning its underground army Umkhonto we Sizwe launched its first sabotage attacks.

Reading between the lines, Mr Mandela appears to be saying he still endorses armed struggle — he was one of Umkhonto's original commanders — and will continue to do so until, and unless, the banning of the ANC is lifted.

Doubts removed

Any doubt over Mr Mandela's meaning is removed by his clarifying point "dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, the ANC is the only way of ending the violence and bringing peace to our country".

Later on he says "I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage".

He seems to be saying he is not a supplicant begging for his freedom.

Mr Mandela comes across as a man who knows his own mind, one who is coolly aware of his aims and who, at the age of 71 and after 27 years in jail is determined to pursue them with all his being.



Mr Mandela not begging for his freedom



President Botha "come and have a cup of tea"

Cohen hopeful on Govt-ANC talks

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Both the African National Congress and the new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, were talking negotiation, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, said on his return from a 10-day visit to Africa.

Mr de Klerk was looking for ways to negotiate and the ANC was working on a negotiation strategy, he said.

Interviewed on the television programme CNN International Hour yesterday, Mr Cohen's optimistic remarks and his complimentary statements about Mr de Klerk are expected to weigh heavily in favour of President Bush deciding to meet the National Party leader at the White House within the next week or so.

He said of Mr de Klerk: "He's a younger man. He's a man of ideas. He likes to listen. And I think he understands that South Africa cannot advance and the white community cannot be safe unless they reach a political settlement with the black majority.

"He's now looking for ways to reach that settlement. I believe



Mr. Cohen ... De Klerk "a man of ideas who listens".

that after he gets elected president in September, he will take some new initiatives."

Mr Cohen said Mr de Klerk wanted to negotiate: "He told me that he will be looking for ways, he will be looking for the true African leaders.

"I also stopped in Lusaka to talk to the ANC leadership on my way home, and I told them: 'De Klerk is going to want to negotiate. Will you be ready?' And they told that they're now actively working on a negotiation strategy.

"So that's why I'm optimistic. Both sides are talking negotiation," Mr Cohen said.

(News by D Braun, 6807 Montivideo Square Ct, Falls Church, Virginia, USA.)

IN KEEPING with our traditional way of life, the most eloquent, powerful presence at last week's Standard Bank Festival of the Arts in Grahamstown was off-stage.

And like a stage director, the absent presence is shaping the action. The Mandela gambit caused an- gushed soul-searching. All this could change the course both of the festival and of the wider arts ecology and put the sponsors, Standard Bank, on the spot.

The issue at Grahamstown was which comes first, power or negotia- tion. The mass democratic move- ment (we'll come back to them) has said in essence that power must pre- cede negotiation and negotiation about power can only occur once power-sharing has been accepted in principle.

The festival, initially intended as a celebration of the enduring monu- ments of the English language, began in 1974.

It was mainly a white, middle- class affair until the early Eighties

Waiting in the festival's wings

Blumy 19/7/89

11A

when, during one festival, audiences looking across the town saw from the monument troops at work in the townships. At that point, high art, representing writers distant in time and space, seemed an evasion of the "realities" of South African life.

Since then, the Foundation, prod- uced by its sponsors, the bank, which had its reputation on the line, began wooing the black national commu- nity — as potential audiences or pro- ducers but mainly as consumers.

Last year, the UDF, acting for a loose alliance of community and union movements and following ANC policy guidelines, dissuaded its members, sympathisers and affil- iates from attending the festival. This year, its Stalistically named The Cultural Desk (The Desk for short) simply withheld approval on the grounds that they had not been in- volved in the actual planning of the

resent the arts community they don't have to check those decisions out with a constituency

In the existing festival structure, decisions tend to be insulated from day-to-day political events. It's a "The show must go on" attitude which to political zealots seems frivolous and insensitive

Money is the key to the future festivals' success and associated is- sues of power. At present the bulk of the bank's sponsorship goes to pre- tige, mainstream events staged by recognised bodies, many already re- ceiving State subsidies. The financial risks are greater for fringe events which receive less support and no State help

Power in designing a festival will depend on who makes the decisions about whose money should be spent on what theatre and in what propor- tions. This puts the bank in a punc- devolving economic power to the MDM acting with festival organisers may be as risky as not.

movement. Right or wrong, this is neither helpful nor practical. Clothed or unclothed, the emperor has imperial office. Given the ano- nymity of MDM spokesmen — which the movement says is a political necessity during an emergency — discrediting is inevitable

But such responses are visceral and defensive. Artists and audiences, black and white, generally want a festival which is not considered ex- clusive, either intentionally or by default.

So the next issue is How can power be shared? In mass democrat- ic movements, as negotiators with unions have found, decision-making is collective. An artist is expected to stay close to the community's feel- ings and desires. Present festival de- cision-making assumes that the ar- tistic accomplishment of its members gives the authority to rep-

festival, though they had been con- sulted about it

This is the crunch — a shift from a desire to be consulted about the festi- val to a requirement that the mass democratic movement actually shape it. (The requirement nicely parallels the objections of Iscor's unions to its employee share-own- er-ship scheme, namely that they were presented with an arrangement they did not arrange.)

Responses to the Mandela gambit resembled the outrage and distress displayed when black separatism first emerged, in the Seventies.

One response is to challenge the credentials of the MDM, arguing that it is neither mass, democratic nor a

REVIEW

11A B1041, 19/7/89



Makatho Mandela (left) and his son, Mandla, the son and grandson of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, arrive at the Victor Verster Prison yesterday on the elder Mandela's 71st birthday, carrying gifts of fruit and flowers wrapped in the ANC colours. picture REUTER

Public servants to press for immediate pay rise

PRETORIA — The Public Servants' Association (PSA) will meet Administration Minister Dawie de Villiers before the end of the month to press for immediate 15% pay rises for 750 000 central government and provincial workers

PSA directors claimed that civil servants' salaries were running 20% behind the private sectors' at the end of the first quarter this year, even taking into account the 15% increase given to all public sector workers in January

PSA GM Hans Olivier said the PSA was also pushing for improved housing benefits. The R50 000 ceiling for mortgage in-

GERALD REILLY

terest subsidies was unrealistically low and failed to take into account the escalation in property prices.

Also on the agenda would be the "pathetically" inadequate amount set aside for occupational differentiation increases in the Budget

Meanwhile, the Teachers' Federal Council is giving urgent attention to linked associations' demands for salary adjustments. A meeting with National Education Minister F W de Klerk is expected soon

Thatcher moves ANC to ponder negotiations

MIKE ROBERTSON 11A

BRITISH PM Margaret Thatcher's role in southern Africa emerges in an ANC discussion paper as a major factor in the organisation's decision to seriously address the issue of negotiations

The discussion paper says that the issue of negotiations arose as the ANC advanced with its three-pronged strategy of mass political action, armed struggle and international isolation of SA's regime

"We must be prepared to deal with all consequences of our victories. One of these consequences may be, as has been the case in all the countries of southern Africa where liberation movements took up arms, that at a certain point the enemy might decide that it is ready to talk seriously," the paper says

However, other sections of the document express concern that British and other peace initiatives in southern Africa are developing to a point where the ANC could be caught unprepared

It says "It is in light of the overall international, regional and national situation that various forces raise the matter of a negotiated resolution of the South African question as an issue that should be put on the agenda now

"The new US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, has stated publicly that during his tenure of office he will pay daily attention to this question. Margaret Thatcher is engaged in a series of discussions with apartheid Cabinet Ministers with the same objective in mind. Even the chairman of the Frontline States, President Kaunda, has called for negotiation now" BIDAM 19/7/84

The document adds: "The reality we face, therefore, is that all manner of forces, both within our country and internationally, will be taking various initiatives on the issue of negotiations

"These initiatives will, among other things, seek to set parameters for such negotiations, including such questions as the aim of negotiations and who should sit around the negotiation table

"For example, Thatcher has already said the principle of one person one vote should be applied in such a manner as recognises the existence of 'groups'. She has said the Pretoria regime would have to

To Page 2

ANC 11A

negotiate with leaders of all groups. In this context she has specifically mentioned such people as Gatsha Buthelezi

"It is clear that the British government will seek to propagate these views throughout the world and seek their acceptance by the largest number of countries, to the exclusion of a view that might emanate from the ANC and the democratic movement of our country"

From Page 1

To counter this, the ANC had to discuss ways to keep hold of the initiative. This would involve defining positions on issues such as the preconditions for talks, the aims of negotiations and who should sit at the negotiating table

Discussing negotiations should not affect the overall aim of the ANC, which was to destroy the "apartheid regime" through, amongst other things, armed struggle

Mandela family reunion lasts six hours ^(1/10)

CAPE TOWN — On his 71st birthday yesterday ANC leader Nelson Mandela spent nearly six hours with the 16 family members who visited him at his house in Victor Verster Prison.

Some of his grandchildren had never seen him before. His wife Winnie said afterwards that it had been "a wonderful reunion for the family", who had flown in from the US, Johannesburg and East London.

"It was not a birthday party, we have no cause to celebrate," she said at a crowded Press conference outside the prison gates afterwards.

^{B | Day 19/7/87}
Own Correspondent

Her husband did not anticipate his release this year. The question of his own release had always been the last on his personal agenda with the government, she said.

The freedom of the people he went to prison for and the freedom of his ideas were more important to him, she said.

She said she had no authority to confirm that her husband would have a meeting soon with trade union leaders.

"He has personally asked the government to allow him to communicate with

the people, particularly with the trade union leaders, including the National Union of Mineworkers.

"He intends to see these people within a very short time," she said.

Her husband acted in consultation with the leadership behind bars and the ANC outside, she said.

Fifteen-year-old Mandla Mandela said his grandfather had been happy and well, and had talked to him about his school in Swaziland.

● Picture Page 3

Happy birthday Nelson

SOWETAN
Correspondent

THE top structure of the NP and party leader Mr F W de Klerk was aware of the meeting between State President Mr P W Botha and imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Cape Town on July 5

This was claimed by Mrs Winnie Mandela after a six hour visit to her husband at Victor Verster Prison outside Paarl yesterday

Winnie and a group of about 20 close relatives celebrated Mr Mandela's 71st birthday in Mandela's house on the prison grounds yesterday

In a disorganised Press conference outside the prison grounds she said her husband could not send any political messages because he is still a prisoner

Asked whether the family discussed Mandela's meeting with the State President she stressed that it was a family meeting and that politics was not discussed

She did say, however, that the NP and De Klerk were aware of her husband's meeting with the State President, although both have seemed to ignore this meeting.



Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Makgatho Mandela carry gifts of fruit and birthday cards into the prison yesterday.

● To Page 2

Mandela birthday

Sowetan 19/7/87

● From page 1

She said Mandela was "in perfect health" but still a prisoner. It was no day for rejoicing although it was his birthday, but it was "a wonderful day for the children".

"For the first time in 28 years we could spend more than the regulation 45 minutes with our comrade, father. It was a wonderful family reunion," Winnie said.

She said he sent his love to all those outside the prison. She said he was "in full contact with the leaders of the ANC and other leaders behind bars".

Asked whether she was more optimistic, after the meeting, that his release was imminent she replied "not at all".

Mr Makgatho Mandela, a son out of his first marriage, who last saw his father in December 1987 said Mandela had not changed much.

"It was wonderful to share his thoughts again."

His 15-year-old grandson Mandla, who travelled all the way from Swaziland for the meeting, said his grandfather was "absolutely delighted to see us all and we are hoping to have another family reunion soon."

Negotiations are part of general struggle — ANC

By Mike Siluma

The African National Congress (ANC) has called on anti-apartheid forces inside and outside South Africa to formulate "a common view" on a possible negotiated settlement, but has strongly warned that this should not affect the forces' "strategic task" of "destroying the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people". *Star 19/7/87*

Referring to recent international and national developments, the ANC points out that "the question of a negotiated settlement is being raised with growing insistence", necessitating a discussion of the issue by "the ANC and the democratic movement as whole in order to arrive at a common view".

The ANC sees the formulation of a common position on negotiations not as a substitute to its campaign of "mass political action, armed struggle and the international isolation of the apartheid system", but as part of the unfolding struggle.

PARTICIPATION

According to the ANC's "discussion paper", distributed in South Africa, there has developed an international "tendency towards detente and a relaxation of tensions", as well as a desire to resolve regional conflicts by negotiation.

The participation of South Africa in the Angolan-Namibian settlement was "wrongly viewed by many sectors in world politics as proof that the South African regime is committed to the resolution of conflict by negotiation".

At the same time British Prime Minister (Mrs) Margaret Thatcher was "engaged in a series of discussions with the apartheid Cabinet Ministers" with the intention of getting negotiations going.

"Even the chairman of the Frontline States, (Zambian) President Kenneth Kaunda, has called for negotiations now," said the paper.

Other factors bringing the question of negotiation to the fore included:

- A change in National Party leadership and that party's statements that it was willing to negotiate.
- A recognition that the "apartheid system is immersed in a deepening political and economic crisis from which it cannot extricate itself".

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Lusaka shuttle yields nothing concrete

A DELEGATION from Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) returned from their passage to Lusaka with "no consensus on a joint statement, but a substantial measure of agreement between the two (LHR and ANC) delegations on the need to protect individual rights and the nature of a Bill of Rights to achieve this purpose," according to Mr Jules Browde, the national chairman of LHR

In response to a question posed to the delegation on whether the LHR would consider visiting the PAC, there was initially a shuffle of feet, a blush here and there, followed by Browde saying "We were invited to Lusaka by the ANC. If the PAC extends an invitation to us we would consider it seriously"

When the Five Freedoms Forum returned from Lusaka they had a similar message. The ANC valued input and encouraged dialogue in Lusaka

LHR executive mem-

The ANC has not formulated a clear long-term strategy on detailed economic issues such as fiscal and monetary policy or exchange control, as they see themselves as a liberation movement and they welcomed input in this regard. The organisation recognised that the African experience with socialism was fraught with problems — Mr Gavin Evans, Five Freedoms Forum

Executive (11A)

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Mr Brian Currin said the ANC "saw these talks (between LHR & ANC) as just the beginning of many more to come"

By dint of the invitation to the lawyers and the "valued input" by other pilgrims to Lusaka, it would appear as if the ANC is still in the process of formulating a blueprint

For many years the organisation has prudently stayed close to the Freedom Charter

FOCUS

Faced with doubts at grassroots level after its meeting with top level business in 1985, the ANC was forced to make up for what appeared to be a grave error

Four years later they still entertain the opinions of people like the LHR, FFF and the other South

Africans who regularly trek to Lusaka

To date all the pilgrims have been high profile personalities - with something to lose as it were. Gavin Relly Danie Craven, the FFF and now LHR to name but four. At grassroots level these visits mean little

It is simple arithmetic that three plus four equals seven. Applied to the situation here at grassroots people need a set of inalienable rights and there are certain requirements needed to fulfil them

There is a variation on the above analogy though. Ten less three also gives seven. Now the question. With all these visits to the ANC, is the liberal South African trying to prevent the loss of three?

One thing is certain nobody has been going to the ANC to provide the four to achieve the seven

Just how porous the ANC's blueprint for a future South Africa is, remains unclear. All the pilgrims of the last few weeks said there were no clear policies in specific



Anglo American Corporation chairman Gavin Relly enjoyed a trip to Lusaka

There was merely "agreement and a need for input"

Nobody mentioned anything concrete and everybody used the phrase "frank and open" liberally

Meanwhile there is a dramatic vision of the return of exiles charging through streets of fire on horseback and flashing the victory sign

rank and file everyday person feature in the ANC's future South Africa?

In it's guidelines for a "democratic South Africa" the ANC's constitution provides for a Bill of Rights, which, according to the LHR, does not differ very much from that of the South African Law Commission

The ANC's major ob-

Is the ANC seeking a mandate from the liberals and what does this mean to the oppressed?

But who will line the streets when the horsemen come? Will it be toothless peons in worker garb or the pilgrims who have beaten a path through the African bushveld to Lusaka and whose input was so valued?

How then does the

jection was to group political rights and a constitution structured on ethnicity. The LHR said the Law Commission's paper in some respects seemed intent on securing white privilege

The ANC's Bill guarantees the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race colour creed or sex

Contrary to the message brought back by the FFF of "no clear detailed economic policy" in its constitutional guidelines the ANC promises a mixed economy, with a public sector a private sector a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector

It is a clearly defined policy by any standards close to the belief that the African experience with socialism was fraught with problems"

This explains the ANC's terms of endorsement with the FFF, LHR, Craven Louis Luyt and others and the discomfort in their relations with the disenfranchised people of South Africa.

After all, the pilgrims to date all return to their comfortable middle class homes.

Is the co-operation with the liberals a strategy or a principle?

Either way it makes little sense



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The address is: The Councillor/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000 Telephone (021) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Tholoe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West Johannesburg

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Birthday visit Mrs Winnie Mandela and other members of the Mandela family gather outside the Victor Verster Prison yesterday for their five-hour meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela
● Picture by Alf Kumalo

Mandela not predicting release in 1989

Star 19/1/89
Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela "definitely" does not expect to be released this year and plans to meet trade union and community leaders soon, Mrs Winnie Mandela told a sometimes chaotic impromptu press conference outside Victor Verster Prison yesterday.

Mrs Mandela and 15 members of the Mandela clan, including her daughter, Zinzi, grandchildren, and two children from Mr Mandela's first marriage, spent more than five hours with the African National Congress leader on his 71st birthday yesterday.

FAMILY REUNION

"A wonderful family reunion" was how Mrs Mandela described the visit.

She was aware of moves to arrange a meeting between Mr Mandela and community leaders and trade unions

"He has persistently requested the Government to allow him to communicate with the people, particularly with union leaders. I anticipate that this is what's being worked on at the moment because I think he intends to see those leaders within a very short time."

She commented on Mr Mandela's expectations of a release "His exact words were 'there will be no release, definitely not this year'."

"He did not anticipate any release. He has said it before that the question of his release has always been last on his personal agenda with the Government."

Mr Mandela's freedom was of no particular consequence as "it is the freedom of the people he went to prison for and that of his political colleagues which is of consequence."

The meeting between Mr Mandela and President Botha was not discussed

at the reunion in Mr Mandela's prison house near Paarl. "This was a family gathering and no occasion to discuss political issues."

Mr Mandela had mentioned in passing that he had seen his fellow-Rivonia conspirators at his house on Friday.

"It was not really the first time he was meeting them. Whatever Comrade Mandela does he is in full consultation with the leadership behind bars and with the ANC outside. He must have met them, therefore, in the context of seeing his political colleagues, and there is no specific significance."

She had no message from Mr Mandela, who was in perfect health.

US PRESSURE

Of yesterday's visit, the first time that both sides of the Mandela family had seen Mr Mandela together in 28 years, Mrs Mandela said it had been a wonderful time, especially for the grandchildren, "some of whom had not seen him before."

● The US government was putting a lot of pressure on the South African Government to release Mr Mandela, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, said yesterday, reports The Star Bureau in Washington.

Mr Cohen said on the TV programme CNN International Hour he was surprised at Mrs Mandela's statement that Mr Mandela had told her he would not be released this year.

He said "I'm a bit surprised, because I know the South African Government wants to release him and they know they cannot find a solution to South Africa's problems as long as he is in prison."

So I think they're looking for a way to release him and we're putting a lot of pressure on them to release him."

Bush likely to decide on De Klerk invitation today

Star 19/1/89

WASHINGTON — President Bush is expected to decide today whether to invite the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, to meet him in the White House.

The excellent impression Mr de Klerk made on the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Herman Cohen, is, according to sources, almost certain to clinch a meeting in the White House.

The Bush administration is keen to act as the catalyst to bring the various South African parties to the negotiating table, and part of its strategy is to meet a broad range of South African leaders.

If Mr Bush gives the green light to

the meeting, the White House is likely to point out that he has recently met church leaders led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and a United Democratic Front delegation led by Mrs Albertina Sisulu. Meetings with other leaders, including Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi and the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, would also be on the cards.

If Mr de Klerk does come to Washington, it will have to be either next week or in the first week of next month. Sources say he cannot accommodate a visit after that date because of his commitments in the election campaign. — Associated Press

● See Page 2

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THIS IS WHAT MAKES IT A VERY RARE

ANC has great talent reservoir, says Keegan

By RUSSELL MICHAELS, Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress is not the rigid ideological organisation it was made out to be, says Cape Town City Councillor Clive Keegan

He was speaking at a Five Freedoms Forum report-back meeting in Claremont last night, following a four-day visit to the ANC in Lusaka earlier this month

Mr Keegan said the ANC regarded themselves as South Africans in temporary exile

INTELLECTUAL CALIBRE

"It is a pity that the ANC which has such a powerful reservoir of talent should languish so far from home. I was impressed by the intellectual calibre of the people we met

"It was striking that the ANC was not the rigidly hidebound organisation it was made out to be."

Mr Keegan said the ANC would not abandon violence until certain preconditions were met

"These are the lifting of the ban on political organisations, freeing all political prisoners and detainees, lifting the emergency and the removal of SADF and paramilitary forces from the townships"

Mr Keegan said a stalemate had been reached between the State and the ANC as each prescribed conditions

He said it was paramount to "strengthen the liberal traditions in our society. It is deeply threatened by left and rightwing extremists"

Ms Beverly Roos, FFF committee member and Democratic Party member, said the group was warmly received by the ANC

The trip was funded by the governments of Switzerland, Denmark, Canada, the United States and Holland

Cape Democrat delegate Mr John Green said there were 12 commissions during the four days. Each lasted six hours and covered education, parliament's role, violence, the armed struggle and sanctions

SINGLE EDUCATION SYSTEM

"The ANC was well-informed about South Africa's education set-up and they want a single education system

"They saw the armed struggle as a legitimate response to apartheid but conceded that political power could not come from the barrel of a gun

"They denounced attacks on soft targets and said their cadres were under strict orders to avoid civilians. They had always been opposed to necklacing

"However, they were in favour of mandatory sanctions but didn't want a protracted campaign," Mr Green said

(News by R Michaels, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

From page 1

advisers provisionally agreed 10 days ago that Mr De Klerk would meet Mr Bush during a fleeting visit to Washington on July 25 and 26. It appeared, however, that these dates were never finalised with Pretoria.

The administration was clearly unhinged after receiving a letter from more than a hundred congressman opposing a White House meeting because it would send "a terribly wrong signal" about US policy on South Africa.

In the Senate, however, the meeting had strong support among both Democrats and Republicans, and there were reports last night that several senators were trying to salvage it by pressing the White House for a firm date.

The extraordinary refusal by Mr De Klerk to meet the foreign minister of the most powerful nation on earth has all the markings of a face-saving exercise, particularly as Mr Bush has recently received a number of anti-apartheid activists at the White House. These include Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude.

A possible meeting between Mr Bush and Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan would have further served to compound Mr De Klerk's political embarrassment.

The reason offered last night for Mr De Klerk's refusal to meet Mr Baker — that his programme was too full before the election — is unlikely to convince observers, as Mr De Klerk has been able to find time to meet a wide range of leaders in Europe, Africa and even in South Africa's own homelands since the election date was announced.

In addition, Mr De Klerk, who is not contesting a seat in the September election, found time to holiday in Hermanus before his latest African Safari.

● Sapa-AP reports from Lusaka that President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday that he had invited Mr De Klerk to meet him any time.

Dr Kaunda said he had offered to meet Mr De Klerk in Livingstone in southern Zambia "on any day that is acceptable" to the man designated as South Africa's next State President.

'Astonishing' ANC accord

Staff Reporter 11A

THE ANC felt strongly that the skills of whites were indispensable in a new South Africa, a speaker at a report-back meeting on the recent conference between the ANC and a Five Freedoms Forum delegation said last night.

It was crucial that a political climate be created in which whites "felt comfortable and that they be financially rewarded commensurate with their contribution", Mr John Green told the meeting.

The conference between an ANC delegation and 116 whites took place earlier this month.

Mr Green said "an astonishing degree of accord was found to exist" in talks.

The Facts

IN reports of a meeting addressed by Mr Aron Rubinsztein, who has stated he is standing in the coming election as an independent candidate in the Claremont constituency, the Cape Times referred to him as a "self-confessed anarchist" (Issues of 5 July and 14 July 1989).

Mr Rubinsztein has objected to this description and states that what was re-

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New PAC stand on violence

From GRAHAM LINSOTT
Special Correspondent

DURBAN. — The banned Pan Africanist Congress has issued a statement from London in which it condemns violence, congratulates Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his attempts to negotiate with whites and — by strong implication — denounces sanctions

The statement was issued by the Natal region of the PAC-in-exile and repudiates an earlier one issued by the PAC office in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

The statement is signed by Mr Velekhaya Shange, who describes himself as chairman of the Natal region-in-exile.

It has been circulating in Durban's black community and

is surprising because the PAC has long been regarded as more uncompromising than the ANC

The statement says: "We congratulate the president of Inkatha, Prince Dr MG Buthelezi, and his executive on the mighty efforts to convince South African whites and the world that negotiations on the conflict between whites and Africans in South Africa are of cardinal importance for human progress."

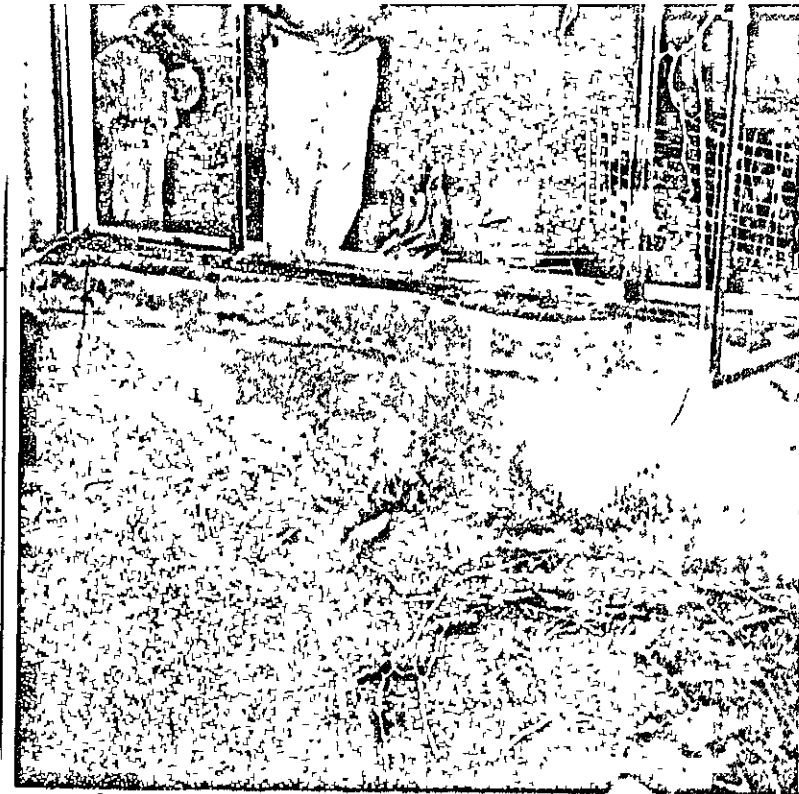
It appeals to the Inkatha-affiliated trade union, Uwusa, to be vigilant in securing employment for workers so there can be peace in the cities.

"We denounce violence in any form, for it yields undisciplined society ..."

Star

20/7/89

11A



Mr Usuf Lorgat (right) with his nephew, Hanif Cassim, at the extensively damaged house of his brother in Azaadvilie, near Krugersdorp.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Azaadvilie shock at West Rand bombing

By Stan Hlophe

The vice chairman of Azaadvilie Management Committee, Mr Hassin Varachia, condemned the bomb blast at the West Rand home of a colleague

Mr Varachia said the management committee was "very disappointed" about the attack, which almost destroyed the home of Mr Hassan Lorgat

Five houses nearby had their windows, ceiling, and lights shattered by the blast, which was heard up to about 10 km away. A big hole in the ground where the device was planted was found in front of the Lorgat home.

No one was injured in the 12 15 am attack

Mr Lorgat and his family were flung from their beds by the blast

When The Star arrived at the scene, members of the West Rand uniformed and security police were investigating.

"My wife and children are still reeling from the shock. After the blast I went out to investigate and saw something burning," Mr Lorgat said.

"I did not see anybody or hear a car driving away. It is a miracle that nobody was hurt."

Mr Varachia said there was no reason for the blast because his committee was apolitical and merely serving the interests of the Azaadvilie community

"We have nothing to do with the politics of this country. We hope those responsible for such a callous act will realise their actions are worthless."

ANC 'bogged down' by outdated policies

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

For the Government to negotiate with the African National Congress would be tantamount to "bargaining with your rapist over how much pain you will endure", the National Party's parliamentary candidate in Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb, said last night.

He was speaking at a public meeting in the constituency which is held by Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, a strong supporter of negotiation with the ANC.

Only about 100 people braved the cold to listen to Mr Babb's address, much of which was devoted to attacking the ANC.

Mr Babb said the ANC was still committed to violence and socialism, policies which were being rejected by the majority of South Africans.

The Government would not negotiate with the organisation unless it renounced violence.

Commenting on jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's re-

cent meeting with the State President, Mr P W Botha, Mr Babb said the two leaders' jointly expressed commitment to peace had given a new dimension to the objective of a negotiated political settlement.

However, Mr Mandela's viewpoint was very different from what was happening in Lusaka.

While the NP had, over the years, adjusted to change, the ANC was still bogged down by outdated policies of the 1950s.

Mr Babb said most African leaders foresaw a Nationalist victory at the polls.

"They want the NP to have a large mandate to carry on with its role of regional developer and stabiliser."

● Somali businessman Mr Hassan Weheli last night became the first black person from an African country to publicly endorse the candidature of a Nationalist on a party-political platform. Mr Weheli, an export trader living in South Africa, shared the platform with Mr Babb.

(Report by Esmaré van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

ANC fears loss of world support 11A

By Stanley Uys, The Star Bureau 20/7/87

LONDON — The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), made up mainly of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu, is alarmed that some of its "closest friends" — including the Soviet Union and China — are supporting moves towards negotiations between the South African Government and the black liberation movement.

So the organisations want to establish an all-Africa position that will be endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity at its meeting on July 29-31.

This has been disclosed in a document which was drawn up by the organisations at a meeting in Lusaka on June 6-7.

The document shows signs of panic over the MDM being forced to enter into negotiations with the South African Government before it is ready for such talks.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher's government is proposing to establish a new contact group on the lines of the quartet which produced the Namibia settlement plan, says the document.

● See Page 2M for the full text of the document.

SUICIDE, SAYS NAYCO

11A

THE ANC, Cosatu and the mass democratic movement were committing political suicide by being in favour of a negotiated settlement without pre-conditions

This was said by a spokesman of the National Youth Co-ordinating Committee, Mr George Ngwenya

He said Naycco, a youth organisation subscribing to the Black Consciousness philosophy, rejected a negotiated settlement if no pre-conditions were attached

He said "Naycco will support negotiations only if they are about the transfer of land to its rightful owners, the release of all political prisoners and if the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania are to be involved as well

"At the moment the authorities are in a very powerful position to be forced into giving in to

Sowetan 20/7/89
SOWETAN reporter

our demands The liberation movement as a whole has yet to demonstrate its power to be party to talks.

"Therefore these negotiations will give the

Government a free hand in dictating terms to the oppressed While we are not opposed to peace, we are convinced that any peace which will be arrived at through pressure from oppressors will be meaningless"

Peace hunt is still on

Peace talks will continue in Natal next week, in spite of the rising death toll in strife-torn townships around Maritzburg which has reached 30 since the weekend — including 24 in the Mpumalanga-Georgetown area.

Leaders involved in the talks yesterday made urgent efforts to establish communication between the two sides to help prevent further violence.

The Commissioner of the kwaZulu Police, Brigadier Dries Laas, said after spending several hours in the Mpumalanga area that he was shocked to find that there were still signs of the disturbances, including barricaded streets.

Extra policemen have been moved to the area.

In Howick yesterday, a strong contingent of police was standing by to prevent simmering tension between rival groups becoming open fighting.

— Staff Reporter, Sapa.

(11A)

(11B)

1. ONCE MORE the question of a negotiated settlement of the SA question is being raised with growing insistence. It is therefore necessary that the ANC and the democratic movement as a whole should discuss this issue in order to arrive at a common view.

2. VARIOUS factors in world politics have brought this matter to the fore. Internationally, there is a tendency towards detente and relaxation of tensions. This process is accompanied by serious efforts to resolve outstanding problems through negotiations.

3. IN ADDITION to the issues of nuclear disarmament and the reduction of conventional forces that are subjects of negotiation by the Nato and Warsaw Pact countries, efforts are also being made to address the matter of regional conflicts. This process has in varying degrees, affected such areas as Central America, Western Sahara, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Sudan, Ethiopia and South Western Africa.

4. THE Pretoria regime has participated in the negotiations concerning South Western Africa and is party to the execution of the agreements arrived at, which involve the withdrawal of the SA army of occupation and the Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola as well as the implementation of the UN plan for the independence of Namibia. The fact of these agreements is wrongly viewed by many sectors in world politics as proof that the SA regime is committed to the resolution of conflict by negotiation.

5. THESE sectors also view the change of leadership in the National Party, with F W de Klerk replacing P W Botha as signalling the possibility of a change of policy as a result of which the Pretoria regime would enter into negotiations to end the apartheid system. Furthermore, to encourage this view, leading spokespersons of this regime have been making various statements suggesting that they are ready to enter into negotiations to end the system of white domination.

6. THERE is also recognition of the fact that the apartheid system is immersed in a deepening political and economic crisis from which it cannot extricate itself. The assumption is therefore made that these objective conditions themselves oblige the Pretoria regime to seek a way out through negotiations with the genuine representatives of the people of SA.

7. IT IS in the light of this overall international, regional and national situation that various forces raise the matter of a negotiated reso-

ANC discussion paper on the issue of negotiations

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The ANC, worried that it may be caught off guard by a sudden move to negotiate in SA, has decided to prepare for negotiations. Business Day publishes the text of the ANC discussion paper as a contribution to the developing debate

lution of the SA question as an issue that should be put on the agenda now. The new US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen has stated publicly that during his tenure of office he will pay attention to this question. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is engaged in a series of discussions with apartheid Cabinet ministers with the same objective in mind. Even the Chairman of the Frontline states, President Kaunda has called for negotiations now which could possibly include a reconstituted Eminent Persons' Group which would work with the Frontline states. The European Community countries have publicly rejected calls by the Frontline states to impose new sanctions against apartheid SA, arguing that F W de Klerk should be given a chance.

8. THE reality we face, therefore, is that all manner of forces both within our country and internationally, will be taking various initiatives on the issue of negotiations. These initiatives will, among other things, seek to set parameters for such negotiations, including such questions as the aim of the negotiations and who should sit around the negotiating table. For example, Mrs Thatcher has already said that the principle of one person one vote should be applied in such a manner as recognises the existence of 'groups'. She has gone on to say the Pretoria regime would have to negotiate with the leaders of all groups. In this context, she has specifically mentioned such people as Gatscha Buthelezi. It is clear that the British government will seek to propagate these views throughout the world and seek their acceptance by the largest possible number of

countries, to the exclusion of views that might emanate from the ANC and the democratic movement of our country.

9. IT HAS however, always been our view that the resolution of the SA question is first and foremost the responsibility of the people of SA supported by the international community. In this regard it is therefore clear that it should be the people of SA who set the parameters for any process of negotiations affecting our country.

10. ALREADY in October 1987, the National Executive Committee of the ANC put out a statement on the issue of negotiations. Among other things that statement spelled out what the apartheid regime would have to do to create a climate conducive to negotiations including the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and ending the state of emergency. It stated that the aim of negotiations should be to transform SA into a united democratic and non-racial country. It addressed other questions, such as the termination of the armed conflict and the duration of the negotiations.

11. THE question that has now arisen is whether there is a need to have a look at this statement with a view to its expansion by the incorporation of other elements.

12. THIS is particularly important in the light of what we have stated above, that various forces internationally are working on detailed plans concerning the issue of a negotiated settlement of the SA question. It should also be expected that the Pretoria regime itself is

involved in discussion further to elaborate its negotiating plan which has always pursued the objective of co-opting the oppressed so that they act as partners in the perpetuation of the system of white minority domination.

13. AMONG others the regime has already addressed the question of the preconditions for negotiations by insisting that the ANC must first of all renounce the armed struggle and prove over a period of time that it has indeed abandoned this form of struggle. It has stated that the aim of the negotiations should be to produce an arrangement whereby according to the language of the regime, no group dominates the other. It has passed legislation enabling it to create its negotiating mechanism which it calls a National Council. This scheme visualises that the apartheid State President would preside over this process as a "neutral" person and that any agreement arrived at by this council would have to be endorsed by the apartheid tricameral Parliament. The regime is looking at these and other elements of its negotiating strategy to take the initiative into its hands by ensuring that it sets the agenda for negotiations.

14. AS A revolutionary movement it is however our task and responsibility that we should at all times keep the initiative in our hands particularly with regard to strategic questions. The issue facing us is how to keep the initiative in our hands on this strategic matter of negotiations. What positions should we elaborate to ensure that it is our opponent who is forced to respond to us and not the other way around? Clearly, as a revolutionary move-

ment we cannot afford to fall behind the regime and allow ourselves to fall into a defensive posture, with the regime maintaining the offensive.

15. PART of the answer to this question must be that we ourselves should elaborate our positions on various questions concerning negotiations and set the agenda on this issue so that we give no opportunity to the apartheid regime and its international allies to impose on us and the people a process that would be designed to safeguard the interests of the racist minority.

16. IN THIS context we would therefore have to address such issues as the aim of any negotiations, the preconditions for genuine negotiations, the nature of the mechanisms for negotiations, and therefore the question who would sit at the negotiating table, the cessation of hostilities by both sides, the possibility of the formation of a transitional government, the duration of the negotiations and the role of the international community in any negotiated resolution of the SA question.

17. DISCUSSION of the whole question of negotiations in no way affects and should not affect, the overall strategic operation of our movement and the tasks that arise from that orientation. Our strategic task is the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people. This we seek to achieve through mass political action, armed struggle, the international isolation of the apartheid system and by ensuring that the ANC plays its proper role as the revolutionary vanguard of our struggling people.

18. THE issue of negotiations has arisen precisely because of the advances we have made on all these fronts which have led to the emergence of the crisis of the apartheid system to which we have referred. We must continuously intensify our offensive on all these fronts with the sole aim of transforming SA into a united democratic and non-racial SA. At the same time we must be ready to deal with all consequences of our victories. One of these consequences may be as has been the case in all the countries of Southern Africa where the liberation movements took up arms that at a certain point the enemy might decide that it is ready to talk seriously.

19. WE MUST therefore treat the issue of negotiations as one that also involves struggle, a struggle by other means and a struggle that is a continuation of our offensive for the fundamental transformation of our country. Such positions as may emerge in the course of our discussions should therefore be such that they strengthen our overall offensive and defeat all attempts to disarm us and immobilise the people.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE/David de Kock

11A

Cosatu, UDF, ANC detail problems of their struggle

This is the full text of the official report of a two day meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, on June 8 1989 between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), executive members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the full National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC).

It is the official record of the consultations and has been distributed on a confidential basis to those who attended. It is intended to serve as a study document for the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). It reads: The meeting dealt with the key issues facing our struggle. The agenda covered the following issues: 1. ASSESSMENT; 2. Negotiation (for a political settlement); 3. Way Forward (Campaign).

1. ASSESSMENT: A presentation from the Mass Democratic Movement (ANC, UDF, Cosatu etc) covered the question of the crisis facing the regime, its inability to find a direction to break out of the crisis and the growing unity and confidence of the Mass Democratic Movement. Several weaknesses of the Mass Democratic Movement were also raised, viz our inability to effectively implement programmes of action, ineffective communication with grassroots levels, our dependence on foreign funds, our failure to make use of favourable conditions, and our inability to effectively counter enemy propaganda.

In summary on this point we concluded that our strategic perspective remains one of offensive action against the regime, and that the "volcanic material" of an upsurge is building up. We need to ensure, therefore, that our programme of action is capable of fitting up the imagination of the people and building up action to increasingly higher levels.

2. NEGOTIATIONS!

Our discussions on this issue produced the following general perspective. In 1987, when the issue of negotiations was receiving much attention internationally, the ANC made its stand clear, that is that it could not consider negotiations unless certain preconditions were fulfilled. For example, that political prisoners should be released, the state of emergency should be lifted, etc. The apartheid regime was not prepared to make any move and the whole issue of negotiations subsided.

Recently, however, as a result of the increasing pressure being placed on the regime from all quarters and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again. There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987. As a result it is necessary for us to collectively review our position on negotiations. Our perspective in doing so is to find the appropriate response that lends itself to this initiative in a manner that:

- Does not create confusion or division in our ranks
 - Does not result in the demobilisation of the masses
 - Results in us maintaining the initiative against the regime
- It is necessary also to maintain the perspective of continuing on all fronts with mass action and resistance in general, as the discussion around negotiations is not seen as an alternative approach to struggle.

The ANC, UDF and Cosatu concede, in a study document drawn up in Lusaka, that there are clear signs that the South African Government will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set by the ANC in 1987. The document outlines a plan to recapture the initiative. Here is the full text of the document as it will be published in the next issue of the London-based publication Front File.

Information regarding negotiation initiatives: 2.1 BRITISH Britain has been preparing for Mr P W Botha's departure. They have been cultivating links with blacks, white liberals, businessmen, etc. The Foreign Office also wants to establish links with the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC, but Downing Street believes that a solution can be found without the ANC.

2.2 USA: The Americans want to inflame a process of "contact, dialogue and negotiation". They believe objectives for such a process of negotiation will develop in the course of meetings. They believe this is what happened in the negotiations over Angola and Namibia.

2.3 PIK BOTHA/THATCHER MEETING: Mr Pik Botha told Mrs Thatcher the reformers in the Cabinet have the upper hand. Mr F W de Klerk's Transvaal base is reduced and as a result he has to rely more heavily on the "reformers". The reformers want Mrs Thatcher to influence Africans to enter the process of elections, etc.

2.4 CONTACT GROUP IDEA: Britain does not support far-reaching changes. It is considering initiating a new contact group. Such a contact group would have to consist of representatives of the big powers. When the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) initiative was established, the ANC argued that the regime was not ready for negotiations. Nevertheless, despite pressure, the EPG still came to South Africa. The question of what our response to this type of initiative could be needs to be considered again in the light of current conditions.

2.5 F W's PLAN FOR A "REPRESENTATIVE FORUM": Mr F W de Klerk is working on a proposal to have negotiations without the ANC. He is planning some kind of "representative forum" of all race groups which is likely to be set up quite soon. At the point of the establishment of this forum, it is anticipated that Mrs Thatcher will move to give South Africa access to the world. Her campaign against sanctions will take on a new intensity. Presently there is already some kind of anti-sanctions campaign.

2.6 FRONTLINE STATES: Zambia has a preoccupation towards negotiation and has already stated its desire, should South Africa establish its bona fides, to invite South Africa to a Frontline States meeting. Mozambique and South Africa already have much contact and Comrade Eduardo Dos Santos has said - in response to the view that we must be in a position of strength before we enter negotiations - that "we may not have the time to develop that position of strength".

There have been indications of large amounts of aid that could be given to the Frontline states to help them to develop.

re-build their economies should the South African "issure" be resolved. One factor preventing that at the moment is the constant destabilisation caused by South Africa. The pressure this places on the Frontline states is to be sympathetic to any kind of political settlement is obvious.

The role played by the Frontline states in ensuring that the Zimbabweans continued with the Lancaster House settlement needs to be remembered. Part of Mrs Thatcher's mission in southern Africa recently was to win support from the Frontline states for her planned initiatives.

27 OTHER ALLIES: At a recent meeting between the Chinese and our comrades, the Chinese made a distinction between the ending of apartheid and the ending of white rule. Their view was that we should be prepared to move slowly and accept modification of the status quo as a starting point. There are indications from the Soviet Union that they would be prepared to work for a peaceful settlement of the South African issue side-by-side with the West.

The contact group being proposed by Mrs Thatcher could include some of our closest friends. The state of emergency will be lifted after the September elections. Comrade Mandela and other high profile political prisoners will be released. Comrade Walter Sisulu is expected to be released very soon, well before the elections, legislation to be passed to allow blacks in parliament, and a black could even be brought into the Cabinet. There is a person already being mooted in their circles for this position. Together with this, an announcement will be made by Mr F W de Klerk inviting all South Africans to an open-ended, "hinda" conference to negotiate a new dispensation for South Africa.

Gold Rush finalists draw on Tuesday

The 16 finalists in line to win R1 million in the Operation Hunger Gold Rush Six will be drawn in Sandton on Tuesday.

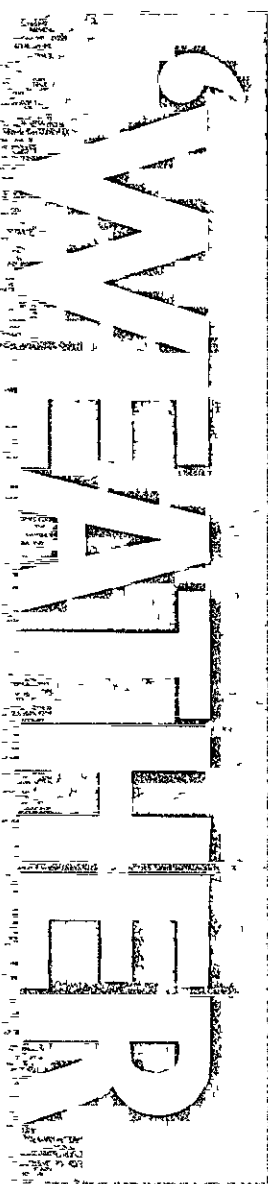
Mrs Ina Perlman executive director of Operation Hunger, said in a statement the draw would be held in the Sandton City Fountain Court on Tuesday at 11pm.

Offering at the draw would be the mayor of Sandton, Mr D Greyvenstein.

The 16 finalists in Gold Rush Six will be drawn first followed by the 200 consolation prize winners.

The final will be held at Zwartkops Raceway, Pretoria and the decisive

WE CAN'T PROMISE YOU
WARMER WEATHER -
BUT WE CAN PROMISE YOU



At the Commonwealth summit in Malaysia in the second half of October, Mrs Thatcher expects to announce a process of political settlement and call for sanctions to stop. This would put pressure on the ANC to become involved in this process and stop the armed struggle.

For this reason it is important that we should all have the same agreed positions both inside and outside South Africa. We have a strategy to remain in control so those who intervene have to deal with our position. Our position should become an all Africa position. This is crucial to our ability to influence the rest of the world. The Frontlines states have a crucial role in this.

PTD

Boost for teacher unity

From KAREN EVANS

PORT ELIZABETH. — Unity talks between six teacher bodies in the Eastern Cape will receive a major boost when they hold a mass rally later this month

The six teacher bodies are the African Teachers Association of South Africa, the Cape Teachers Professional Association, the Eastern Cape Teachers Union, the East London Progressive Teachers Union, the National Education Committee and the Teachers Association of South Africa.

Talks began in earnest with the African National Congress (ANC) in April 1988 and continued among teacher bodies throughout South Africa

According to a representative of one teacher body, local progress with talks was slow because organisations differed on strategy.

Another problem was that channels of consultation within some organisations were still being set up, while talks in other centres were progressing

The interim chairperson said each teacher body

had to accept that there were differences.

"But the important thing is how to work around differences to achieve the common objective of unity in action, which would realise the aim of a unitary structure," he said.

According to a teacher, the regional initiative has been given much impetus by the enthusiasm, willingness and commitment of the organisations.

The regional co-ordinating committee, comprising five delegates from each organisation, is looking at a variety of joint projects such as workshops, winter-schools, sport tournaments and the possibility of a resource centre.

A mass rally, with Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo as the main speaker, will be held to officially launch this initiative in the Eastern Cape

The theme of the rally will be "Teachers Unite"

A national co-ordinating committee will be set up once regional co-ordinating structures are established. A timetable for the attainment of a national unitary structure will then be set

— PEN

20-26/7/89



South



Walter Sisulu

WALTER MAX ULYATE SISULU was a key leader of the ANC during the years of its transformation from a pressure group to a mass movement

He was secretary general from 1949 to 1954, and together with Mandela was a founder of the ANC Youth League

Sisulu is as old as the ANC itself being born in Engcobo in the Transkei on May 18 1912, the year of the ANC's formation

At 17 he travelled to the Witwatersrand first to work in a dairy and then later on the gold mines

He then worked as a kitchen boy in East London where he came into contact with Clements Kadhah's Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU)

He returned to Johannesburg in the early 1930s, where he took a series of factory jobs to finance his high school education. In 1949 he and several colleagues established a small real estate agency

As Sisulu's political involvement developed, so his racial views evolved. In the Youth League he was opposed to co-operation with whites and a staunch proponent of African nationalism

But a trip in 1953 to Europe, Russia and China, arranged by South African communists, and his work with Indian leaders during the Defiance Campaign, modified his views

He became sympathetic to both non-racialism and socialism. In 1954 he was a strong supporter of the multi-racial Congress Alliance

Sisulu's first brush with the authorities came during the Defiance Campaign when he was sentenced to a nine months' suspended sentence in 1952

Already prohibited from attending gatherings in 1954 he was ordered by the government to resign from the ANC

His involvement continued behind the scenes and in 1956 he was charged in the Treason trial. He was acquitted in 1961, but state harassment remained constant

He was detained during the 1960 state of emergency, placed under 12-hour house arrest in 1962, and sentenced to six years in jail for furthering the aims of the ANC in 1963

Out on bail while his case was on appeal, he disappeared underground and was rearrested when police apprehended the Umkhonto High Command in their raid on the Rivonia farm on July 11 1963

Sisulu's family have always shared his political commitment and his suffering

In 1944 he married Albertina, a nurse, who was active in both the ANC Women's League and the Federation of South African Women. She is now a co-president of the restricted United Democratic Front.

One of Sisulu's four children, Zwelakhe, is the editor of the New Nation, and is currently restricted after spending two years in detention without trial

Govan Mbeki

GOVAN ARCHIBALD MVUNYELINA MBEKI was a key figure in both the ANC and the Communist Party during the 1950s and 1960s

He is also an intellectual, a journalist and a published author

Born in 1910 in the Nqamakwe district of the Transkei, he was educated at various mission schools including Healdtown

In 1937 he graduated from Fort Hare University with a BA and a diploma in education, and in 1940 completed a B Econ in Social Studies through Unisa

Much of his early political involvement was in the Transkei. He opened a co-operative store in Idutwya after his political involvement led to his dismissal from teaching

He was elected secretary of the Transkei African Voters Association in 1941, and in 1943 was elected to the Transkei Bunga. From 1944 to 1946, he also served on Fort Hare's governing council

A keen writer, he published his



Mandela: A symbol for Rivonia trialists

SEVEN high-ranking African National Congress leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment with Nelson Mandela in the Rivonia trial.

They were Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi and Ahmed Kathadra.

Wilton Mkwayi, a member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, who took over the High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe after the Rivonia trial, was arrested later that year, and was also sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mbeki and Goldberg have since been released, but their fellow trialists are still behind bars. SOUTH sketches the lives of these remarkable men, who have shared the hardships of prison life with Mandela.

first book "The Transkei in the Making", in 1939

In 1946 he published a booklet on co-operatives called "Let's Do It Together", and in 1964, after the Rivonia trial, his "South Africa. Peasants' Revolt" was published

He was also the editor of New Age in Port Elizabeth in 1955, and had previously been a director of The Guardian

Mbeki joined the ANC in the mid-1930s, but it was mainly during the 1950s, when he lived in Port Elizabeth, that he became a key ANC organiser. That the Eastern Cape became such a strong Congress area is often ascribed to his talents

In spite of being banned, he played an active background role in the Congress of the People in 1955 and in the ANC until his detention in 1960 under the state of emergency

In 1962 he was charged under the Explosives Act after spending several months in solitary confinement. He was acquitted on a technicality and then served with a house arrest order

He ignored the order and went underground until 1963 when he was arrested in the Rivonia raid and sentenced to life imprisonment

Mbeki was released in November 1987, and is now restricted to his Port Elizabeth home

The ANC leader is married with four children one of whom Thabo, is an ANC executive member in Lusaka

Andrew Mlangeni

ANDREW MOKETE MLANGENI was nicknamed "Robot" by the ANC leadership, because he was reportedly so efficient

He was the ANC regional secretary in Soweto from 1958 to 1960 and a key figure in the 1961 All In Africa conference at Pietermaritzburg

Mlangeni was born into a working-class family in Prospect township in Johannesburg in 1926

He worked as a golf caddie to put

himself through his Junior Certificate, which he completed at St. Peter's in 1946. After leaving school he worked first as a clerk and later as a busdriver

He joined the ANC Youth League in 1951, and in 1956 became the branch secretary in Johannesburg

After the ANC was banned, Mlangeni ran messages for MK. However, at the Rivonia trial, the state alleged that Mlangeni had stored dynamite in his home and had recruited youths to leave the country for military training

Mlangeni is married and has four children.

Raymond Mhlaba

RAYMOND MHLABA became the first ANC leader to be arrested in the 1952 Defiance Campaign after he led a group of black protesters through the "Europeans Only" entrance at New Brighton railway station in Port Elizabeth

For Mhlaba, though, it marked a decade of intense political activity

In 1942 he joined the Communist Party and was district secretary for Port Elizabeth from 1946 until the party was banned in 1950

He was also local chairman of the ANC between 1947 and 1953 and a leader of the Eastern Cape boycott in 1949. Govan Mbeki his fellow Rivonia trialist, was a particularly close colleague of Mhlaba's

Banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, Mhlaba was nevertheless elected to the Cape executive of the ANC in 1954

He defied a later banning order by slipping out of the country for military training. When he returned he worked underground in Johannesburg until his arrest in 1963

The son of a policeman Mhlaba was born in Fort Beaufort in 1920. He completed 10 years of schooling, the last two at Healdtown, before dropping out for financial reasons

Mhlaba has six children, three from his late wife Joyce, and three from his current wife Dideka Heliso,

whom he was eventually given permission to marry in 1986

According to Joe Mhlaba, son of his first marriage, Mhlaba is never offended when people talk about the release of Mandela without mentioning the other trialists

"He believes Mandela is symbolic of the rest of them — like Kool and the Gang"

Ahmed Kathrada

AHMED MOHAMED KATHADRA was just 17 when he went to prison for the first time

He had left school to become a full-time worker in the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council and was sent to jail for civil disobedience

As chairman of the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1952, he became a key figure in the Defiance Campaign. With other Congress leaders, he was tried and sentenced to a nine-months suspended jail term

He was banned two years later, and was one of the 150 Congress leaders charged with treason in 1956

He was detained for five months during the state of emergency and in 1962 was placed under 12 hour house arrest. A few months later he went underground

Kathadra was born in the Western Transvaal in 1929 into a scholarly Muslim family who were followers of Ghandi. He was sent to school in Johannesburg from the age of nine

Elias Motsoaledi

ELIAS MOTHOPE MOTSOALEDI was one of the major trade union leaders in the ANC

Born the son of a migrant labourer in Sekhukunieland in 1942 Motsoaledi began to work in Johannesburg as a domestic worker after he completed his primary schooling

Later, as a worker in a boot factory he joined the Leather Workers' Union and the Communist Party

In 1949, as a furniture factory

worker, he became chairman of the African Furniture Mattress and Bedding Workers Union. He was also active in both the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and Sactu

As ANC branch secretary in 1950, he helped organise worker stayaways in the Denver Men's Hostels

During the 1950s, Motsoaledi was plagued both by ill health and the authorities

He was first banned in 1952, while in hospital with tuberculosis. He was detained for three months under the 1960 emergency and then again under the 90 day solitary confinement law in 1963

Later that year he was found guilty under the Sabotage and Suppression of Communism Acts in the Rivonia trial and was sentenced to life imprisonment

Motsoaledi is married and has several children

Dennis Goldberg

DENNIS THEODORE GOLDBERG, the only white person convicted in the Rivonia trial, was a successful civil engineer turned military engineer in the service of Umkhonto we Sizwe

The son of Communist Party members Goldberg was born in Cape Town in 1933 and went to Observatory Boys High School

He graduated with an engineering degree from the University of Cape Town in 1955 and then worked for the Cape Town City Council

Goldberg was an active member of the resistance in the 1950s playing a prominent role in the Congress of Democrats, and helping to organise the Congress of the People in Klipfontein in 1955

He later served as an executive member and president of the COD before it was banned in 1962

He joined Umkhonto we Sizwe after being detained for four months in the 1960 emergency, and was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia trial

While in Pretoria Central Prison, he waged a long battle for more humane treatment of political prisoners, particularly for access to newspapers and the radio

Although he lost a court case against the Prisons Department in 1978, the authorities gave in to the demands of political prisoners because of public pressure

Goldberg was released from prison in 1985 after being offered freedom in return for renouncing violence. He was immediately banished to Israel by the government and now lives in England where he works in the London office of the ANC

Wilton Mkwayi

WILTON ZIMASILE MKWAYI escaped arrest when the police raided Lilletsleaf farm at Rivonia in July 1963, as he was out organising at the time

He also escaped detention in the 1960 emergency while he was appearing with 149 other Congress leaders in the Treason trial

He left the court building during a tea break, and returned to find the police had thrown up a cordon. In spite of his explanations that he was one of the accused, the police refused to let him in

While he was arguing with the cops outside, the security police were inside detaining his fellow trialists

So instead of going to detention, he went underground. After military training abroad he slipped back into South Africa where he operated for Umkhonto we Sizwe until his arrest in 1964

Mkwayi was born near Middeldrift in the Cape in 1923, the eldest son of a member of the Zikhlahleni village council of elders

He left school in Standard Four to work as a labourer a clerk and later as a stevedore in Port Elizabeth

He was a union organiser for the African Textile Workers in PE in the 1950s, and later the treasurer of Sactu

In 1987 Mkwayi was given permission to marry his long-time companion Irene Khumalo - 21 years after first applying to do so. Irene died recently

MANDELA GETS A NEW SUIT

Sowetan 26/7/84



NELSON Mandela's special suit which he will wear when he gets his law degree from Unisa was delivered to him at Victor Verster Prison yesterday.

Lawyers were tight-lipped about the delivery, but solid sources said it had been dropped off at Victor Verster by an employee of an Athlone firm of attorneys, E Moosa and Associates

So far the SA Prisons Services has declined to say when Mandela will get his LLB, awarded to him in absentia in May, or who have been invited to attend.

Leaders

However, it appears that Mandela, who lives in a warder's home at Victor Verster Prison, has invited trade union and community leaders to the function

Meanwhile, the last of the Mandela clan flew out of Cape Town bound for the Transkei on Tuesday.

With them went Miss Maki Mandela, Nelson Mandela's daughter from his first marriage, and her three children

SOWETAN Correspondent

The stunning Miss Mandela has been studying in America, but she and her three children, two sons Dumani and Kweko and a daughter, will stay on in South Africa for a while

Research

She plans to return to Cape Town towards the middle of next month to do some research on rural workers.

The Mandelas who left Cape Town are young Mandla Mandela, the son of Makgatho Mandela, one of Mandela's two sons from his first marriage, his mother, Mrs Zobdi Mandela, his father, and his brother Ndaba.

On the same plane went Miss Nandi Mandela and Miss Ndileka Mandela, the two daughters of the late Mr Thembekile Mandela, another son from the first marriage

Opt 7/20/7/89

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Sincerity needed for ANC talks

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC would respond positively to negotiations if there was a sincere approach by the government, Democratic Party candidates Mr Tian van der Merwe and Mr Jannie Momberg said yesterday

"I have very little doubt that if a sincere approach is made from the government's side that there will be a positive response from the ANC," Mr Van der Merwe said

Mr Momberg said "I really believe that they have shifted in their approach to negotiations

and their willingness to discuss with the National Party their reasons for not negotiating at this stage is a positive development"

Both Mr Van der Merwe and Mr Momberg were part of a four-person DP delegation which met a top-ranking ANC delegation in Lusaka on Saturday

Mr Van der Merwe said the discussions were "long and very serious" while Mr Momberg described them as "brutally frank"

Mr Momberg said "We should talk to the ANC. The government should talk to the ANC"

"I think the DP and ANC have the same ultimate end product — a non-racial democracy — but it

is on how we get there that we differ"

Both Mr Momberg and Mr Van der Merwe said the DP delegation had clashed with the ANC over the use of violence

Mr Van der Merwe said "I think one must accept that there is enormous mistrust and it will require a very substantial new approach from the government side to bridge the gap created by the mistrust, but I nevertheless have no doubt that it can be done"

"However, it is clear that the approach has to come substantially from the government. The ball is in the government's court"

(Report by B Streek 122 St George's St Cape Town)

ANC: Talks 'a reality'

11A
Smith
20-26/7/89

THE African National Congress has placed negotiations firmly on the agenda

In a position paper that has recently become available, the exiled movement says it sees negotiations as a logical "consequence of our victories"

"One of these consequences may be, as has been the case in all the countries of Southern Africa where the liberation movement took up arms, that at a certain point the enemy might decide that it is ready to talk seriously

"We must therefore treat the issue of negotiations as one that also involves struggle, a struggle by other means and a struggle that is a continuation of our offensive for the fundamental transformation of our country"

In an appeal to democratic organisations in South Africa, the paper says it is necessary for the democratic movement as a whole to discuss the issue of negotiations "to arrive at a common view"

Tensions

It says a negotiated settlement of the 'South African question' was being raised "with growing insistence"

"Various factors in world politics have brought this matter to the fore. Internationally there is a tendency towards detente and relaxation of tensions. This process is accompanied by serious efforts to resolve outstanding problems through negotiations"

It says various world forces are making efforts to address regional conflicts. The fact that South Africa was party to negotiations in Namibia and Angola was "wrongly viewed" by these forces that it was committed to the resolution of conflict by negotiation

"It is in the light of this overall international, regional and national situation that various forces raise the matter of a negotiated resolution of the South African question as an issue that should be put on the agenda now"

TURN TO PAGE 2

ANC on negotiations

FROM PAGE 1

Referring to possible initiatives by Britain, the United States and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the paper says the reality the ANC faces is that "all manner of forces, both within our country and internationally, will be taking various initiatives on the issue of negotiations"

"It has however always been our view that the resolution of the South African question is, first and foremost, the responsibility of the people of South Africa, supported by the international community

"It is therefore clear that it should be the people of South Africa who set the parameters for any process of negotiations affecting our country"

It said the ANC, as a "revolutionary movement" should hold the initiative, particularly with regard to strategic questions

"What position should we elaborate to ensure that it is our opponent who is forced to respond to us and not the other way round?"

"Clearly, as a revolutionary movement, we cannot afford to tail behind the regime and allow ourselves to fall into a defensive posture, with the regime maintaining the offensive."

The answer was to elaborate positions on various questions concerning negotiations and to set the agenda

Some of the questions on negotiations that need to be addressed are preconditions, mechanisms, the cessation of hostilities by both sides and the possibility of a transitional government, the ANC said.



REUNITED: True to form, church worker and sports administrator Ngconde Balfour attended the National Sports Congress "sports summit" at the weekend — barely 36 hours after he was released from almost six months solitary confinement under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act

Balfour, vice-president of the Western Province Council on Sport, was released without charge. Detained on February 20 this year, he went on a hungerstrike for 17 days during his detention

Here he is happily reunited with his wife Kanyisa and 18-month-old daughter Nellie

PIC YUNUS MOHAMED

● Reports on the NSC conference on Pages 22 and 24

ARLWS 20/7/87

ANC fears Red-SA links

From STANLEY UYS
The Argus Foreign Service

to "pre-empt any other initiative".

LONDON. — The "mass democratic movement," principally the ANC, UDF and Cosatu, is alarmed that some of its "closest friends" — including the Soviet Union and China — are supporting the moves towards "negotiations" between the South African government and the black liberation movement and that it could lose the initiative.

Accordingly, the three organisations hurriedly want to establish an all-Africa position that would be endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity at its meeting from July 29 to 31.

They see this as the only way

This is disclosed in a document drawn up by the three organisations at a meeting in Lusaka on June 6 and 7 and circulated confidentially to leading members for study and comment.

The document betrays signs of panic over the "mass democratic movement" being forced to enter into negotiations with South Africa before it is ready for such talks.

The document refers to Zambia's "predisposition towards negotiation" and its plan to invite South Africa to a frontline summit this year.

(Report by S Uys, 32-33 Hatton Gardens, London, W1)

● Full text — page 19.

COPY T. K. 21/7/87 (1/11/87)

UDF pleads for ongoing pressure

BRUSSELS. — In a meeting with the Belgian Foreign Minister on Wednesday, a South African delegation called on Belgium to maintain pressure on the South African government and, in particular, to make every effort to ensure that South Africa's foreign debts are not rescheduled.

Mr Cachalia and Mr Eric Molobi met the Belgian minister, Mr Mark Eyskens

It was the first time the newly appointed minister had received anyone from South Africa.

"The message (to Mr Eyskens) was that the South African government is misleading the international community into believing they are about to abandon apartheid," he said.

He said the minister informed them that Belgium and other European countries remained sceptical of the South African government's stated intention of abandoning apartheid. — Sapa

11 years' jail for **IIA**

PAC commander

SEP 21/71 87
PIETERSBURG — A Pan Africanist Congress member found guilty on charges of terrorism was sentenced yesterday in the Pietersburg Regional Court to 11 years' imprisonment.

Abram Magagula (31), of Everton near Vereeniging, was convicted of terrorism, possession of weapons, ammunition, and hand grenades, and of being a member of the PAC. The magistrate, Mr G J J van de Venter, acquitted Magagula on a charge of entering the country illegally.

The court found that Magagula was a deputy commander of PAC's military wing, the Azania People's Liberation Army, and that he had trained in Tanzania and Libya. — Northern Transvaal Bureau

Bacher talked to ANC in Britain

South African cricket chief Dr Ali Bacher confirmed yesterday that he met representatives of the African National Congress during his recent visit to Britain.

Dr Bacher, managing director of the South African Cricket Union, said in a statement he had met two ANC officials over lunch.

SK 21/7/87 (IIA)
"It was essentially a briefing session in which I outlined our development programme," he said. — Sapa.

11A 90
UDF group
sees Belgian

Minister ^{81pam}
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BRUSSELS — Wednesday's meeting between the UDF and Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens went very well, UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia said yesterday.

He and Eric Molode represented the UDF at the meeting with the newly appointed Foreign Minister, Eyskens' first with anyone from SA.

"The message from the UDF was that the SA government is misleading the international community into believing they are about to abandon apartheid," he said.

"For this reason we informed the Foreign Minister that pressure on the SA government must be maintained, and in particular we felt efforts should be made to ensure that SA loans are not re-scheduled."

The meeting concluded the UDF group's foreign tour, which included meetings with US President George Bush, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and West German Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. — Sapa.

THE document on page 6 of our paper today shows to what extent FW de Klerk and the National Party have been able to confuse the world and to send some sections of the liberation movement jumping for their panic buttons.

In his diplomatic offensive De Klerk has been more persuasive than PW Botha suddenly leaders of various nations are convinced that there is a

movement towards a negotiated settlement
The Americans and the British are now pushing the liberation movement towards talking to the Government
This sense of euphoria developed after the signing of the tripartite accord

Settlement must include oppressed

11/1A

governments, not because of them

There is no need for the South African liberation movements to panic and believe that a settlement can be reached in this country without including them such a settlement will not meet the demands of the oppressed

All the people who are talking negotiation in the fashion in which it is being discussed today, should remember Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the unlamented Zimbabwe/Rhodesia

He excluded himself from the future of his country and his people

We should not forget that the Republicans who are in the Administration in Washington now are the same people who opposed the limited sanctions that America imposed in 1986

Anybody who thinks that these people have suddenly become altruistic is naive

Margaret Thatcher's opposition to sanctions and to the South African liberation movements is well-known It is not surprising that she is at the forefront of the new initiative

In the West, the liberation struggle has had support in spite of Western

tripartite agreement was signed, President George Bush wrote to Savimbi "I also want to assure you that American diplomacy will continue to encourage African and other interested governments to provide maximum support to a process of negotiation leading to national reconciliation in your country

"Until that objective is achieved my administration will continue all appropriate and effective assistance to Unita"

Policy

The Washington Post said a Bush aide had made it clear that "all appropriate assistance" meant continuation of covert military help for Savimbi

The Americans use different logic when it comes to South Africa

The man responsible for American policy on Africa, Herman Cohen, has said that he thinks the present set of sanctions against South Africa are enough, he would like to see these being used as a carrot to induce South Africa to get to the negotiating table

He says that South Africa should be told that if it makes progress, then the sanctions would be decreased. He sees this as a positive use of sanctions

between South Africa, Angola and Cuba last December Some people are patting themselves in the back, arguing that this was a triumph of diplomacy over "violent revolution"

All the people who were involved in the talks leading to that agreement - that includes the Americans and the Soviets - know that it was no such triumph

The negotiations came at a particular point in the fighting: the Angolans realised that their country was being turned into a desert, the Russians and the Cubans could not continue pouring men, money, and machinery into Angola, but most important of all, the South Africans could no longer carry the costs of the war in the south west corner of the continent

If the South African economy was thriving and the costs were not that high, that war would still be continuing


And if Swapo had not fought its fight, South Africa would still be sitting comfortably in Namibia

Ironically, the Americans have demonstrated that they understand this perfectly.

The US has been arming Savimbi and Unita in Angola to fight the MPLA In January this year, after the

PERSPECTIVE

Poe Phoe



APR 21/7/89

PAC brands Shange as an 'Inkatha fraud'

Own Correspondent 119

LONDON. — Zulu refugee Mr Verelkhaya Shange, who claims to be a London representative of Natal Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members living in exile, was yesterday branded as a "fraud" who was actually linked to Inkatha.

A statement issued by Mr Shange published in a Durban newspaper yesterday congratulated Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his attempts to negotiate with Pretoria and his opposition to sanctions — suggesting there was a split in PAC ranks.

But Mr Ngila Muendane, the PAC's chief representative in Britain, said: "This is such an obvious dirty trick that no self-respecting newspaper would give it the time of day, unless the purpose was to deliberately spread disinformation to South Africans of all races."

He said Mr Shange had lived in Britain for some 13 years as a refugee, and had been "closely associated" with Inkatha for the past 10 years.

Mr Shange could not be contacted in London yesterday to comment, but Inkatha representative Mr Ben Skosane vehemently denied that his office had any part to play in Mr Shange's statement.

National Party, had met in Maputo

Moi leaves on state visit

NAIROBI — President Daniel arap Moi left early today for Mozambique for a two-day official visit *Star 21/7/89*

A week ago President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique announced he had invited the Kenyan president to help to define the next steps in his nation's peace process

Among those accompanying President Moi were Mr Bethuel Kiplagat, permanent secretary in the foreign ministry, and three Cabinet Ministers — Sapa-AP

By Peter Feldman

MMBABANE — Eric Clapton, the king of rock guitarists, met King Mswati III of Swaziland at a special reception in his honour at the palace last night

The British musician arrived with a large entourage of backing musicians, managers and friends at Matsapa Airport yesterday

He was presented with a Swazi assegai and spear by the executive of the King's Trust for whom he

Clapton honoured by the King

will be performing at an anniversary concert tomorrow night

In a brief conversation with the press, Clapton said he did many

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New light on meeting expected from F W

11A By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk is expected to throw light on the controversial meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela when he addresses the congress of the Cape NP in Somerset West tomorrow

The Cape NP will also use the congress to say goodbye to Mr Botha and to its previous leader, Mr Chris Heunis, who resigned as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning at the start of the month

Mr Botha, Mr Heunis's predecessor as Cape leader, is expected to attend the congress after snubbing the NP by refusing to attend its federal congress last month

A motion of thanks to the President for his contribution to the party will be passed tomorrow

A party will be held for Mr Heunis and his wife at a Somerset West hotel tonight *Star 21/7/89*

Acting Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers — who is almost certain to be confirmed as Cape leader at the congress tomorrow — said today the NP's five-year action plan for the election would be tabled and debated at the congress

It was not clear, he said, if any new light would be thrown on NP policy As there would be only one day of debate, there would not be much opportunity

The two policy aspects which would be focused on were the economy and constitutional development

He said Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis would not be attending the congress to take part in the debate on the economy as it was a Cape congress

Dr de Villiers said he was sure that

the congress would be held "in the same positive spirit" that prevailed at the recent federal congress

The congress started today with closed sessions of the Cape head council and a conference of election candidates Tomorrow, the provincial leader, two deputy chairmen and the chief secretary will be elected

The discussions on the economy and the constitutional future of South Africa will be held tomorrow afternoon before Mr de Klerk closes the congress

Much attention will be focused on his expected clarification of the Botha/Mandela meeting

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations

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NELSON MANDELA

The climate of release

If P W Botha sent out the first official signal of Nelson Mandela's impending release by taking tea with him at Tuynhuys, the process of preparing the climate for this momentous event seems to be under way

The next step, according to Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, is to "listen to what National Party (NP) leader F W de Klerk has to say on Saturday," when the president-in-waiting is expected to release a statement on the P W/Mandela tête-à-tête. This would be an "elucidation of what was said" at Tuynhuys, according to Van der Merwe. Whether De Klerk would spell out what the "plan" is — what P W's meeting with Mandela is supposedly part of — remained to be seen.

Van der Merwe also said the next step depends on how things develop — by which he meant the security situation. Asked to comment on Winnie Mandela's remark, that "the political climate has not changed," the minister replied "Then people should start doubting her political judgment." Of her statement, "I have no reason to believe that he will be released soon, I do not believe that this will be his last birthday in jail," Van der Merwe said "Who knows I made no predictions about when he'll be out."

He added that government would like Mandela to go free — but not at all costs "It remains dependent on surrounding circumstances."

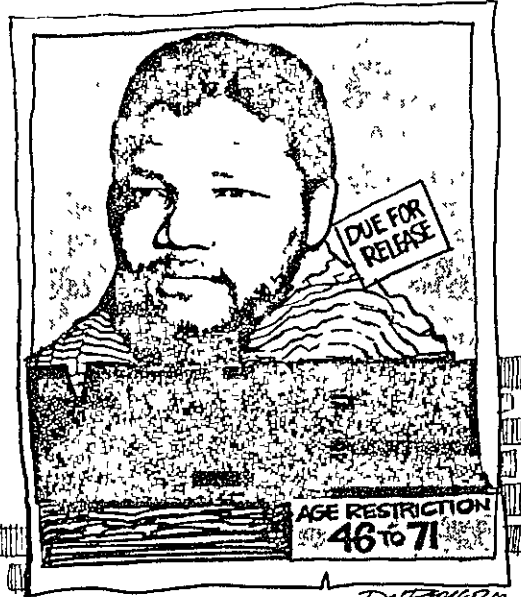
Mandela was visited last week by his Rivonia trial co-accused, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni. Helen Suzman then spent two hours talking to him at his Victor Verster prison house, and on Tuesday (July 18) the Madhuba clan, Mandela's family, spent time with him on the occasion of his 71st birthday.

"I must stress," said Mrs Mandela of the birthday, "this is not a celebration. We are delighted to be together as a family, but we would rather have met at home, outside the prison." Evidently rehabilitated since the "mass democratic movement" distanced itself from her in the wake of the "Stompie" debacle last year — when savage revelations about her "soccer" team emerged — she added that Mandela's birthday was "traditionally a day of prayer." She did not think that anything "politically has happened to convince me, or to make me optimistic, that he will be released soon. The political climate has not changed."

Meanwhile, the Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*, this week called for the release of

Mandela on his birthday. It repeated its call of last year at this time, saying "Mandela should be freed and negotiations should be started."

On that score, however, a great deal still remains to be done. Significantly, the ANC reportedly has a "discussion paper" now circulating in SA, which warns against being forced on the defensive by government re-



leasing Mandela. It calls on the mass democratic movement to prepare itself in order to set the agenda on the issue of negotiations, which various forces, internally and internationally, could be preparing to engage in — essentially, says the ANC, to protect the interests of the minority.

After her visit, Mrs Mandela said her husband was "in full contact with the leaders of the ANC and other leaders behind bars." This would seem to confirm the suggestion that Mandela had informed the ANC about meeting Botha.

Mandela's advocate and family friend Dullah Omar said after the birthday meeting that "the bottom line was 'Free Nelson Mandela — unconditionally.'"

LABOUR RELATIONS

Tidy settlements

Three significant industrial relations deals were clinched this week. They include wage agreements in the metal industry and at OK Bazaars, plus a most liberal labour dispensation for employees at strike-dogged Mercedes-Benz.

Twelve on trial in Delmas III

By PHIL MOLEFE

THE remote Eastern Transvaal town of Delmas is becoming a centre of big political trials. What is expected to be called "Delmas Three" is set down for August 1 in the Delmas Circuit Court.

On trial are 12 Pretoria activists facing charges of treason, murder, attempted murder, terrorism, participating in the activities of the African National Congress and alternative charges under the Arms and Ammunition Act.

Charges relate to a series of hand grenade attacks and explosions in Mamelodi and Pretoria in early 1988.

The 12 — Moeketsi Rodney Toka, Godfrey Velaphi Mokope, Francis Pitse, Ernest Thoboki Ramadipe, George Mathe, Johannes Malaka, Peter Holmes Maluleka, Phuthi Bernard Mokgonyana, Joseph Nkosi, Thapelo Reuben Khotsa, Reginald Noah Legodi and Alfred James Kgasi — allegedly received training from the ANC either inside or outside South Africa.

Among the 12 are members of the Mamelodi Civic Association, Mamelodi Youth Organisation, Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (Sayo) and Ga-Rankuwa Youth Organisation (Gayo).

The state alleges that during early 1988 the 12, or some of them, were involved in a shoot-out with police in Mamelodi in which three policemen were killed.

Other charges relate to an explosion in Sterland, a cinema complex, and near a Juicy Lucy in Pretoria.

Families and community organisations in Pretoria have expressed anger at the switching of the trial to Delmas, saying the move will cause great inconvenience to those wishing to attend.

The president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, Mathole Motshekga, urged the authorities to transfer the trial to Pretoria.

(S) (FR) W. M. M. M.
21-27/7/89

The ins and outs of Nelson's guest list

THE list of people Nelson Mandela wants to see in coming weeks appears to be growing

It is now widely believed he will soon be meeting trade unionists and community leaders from within the "mass democratic movement"

An audience with representatives of South Africa's biggest trade union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and its largest affiliate, the National Union of Mine-workers, will be the first in a series of meetings, it is understood

Names have been put forward to the Prisons Service on a list compiled at Mandela's request. The list includes advocate Dullah Omar, chairman of the restricted United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, and trade unionists Elijah Barayi, Jay Naidoo and Cyril Ramaphosa

Others said to be on the list include prominent Western Cape UDF activists Trevor Manuel, Willie Hofmeyr (both of whom are restricted) and Cheryl Carolus, as well as the restricted chairperson of Cape Democrats, veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Amy Thornton

Sister Bernard Ncube, advocates George Bizos and Ismail Ayob, former Robben Island prisoner Govan Mbeki, Mandela's friends Yusuf and

The selection — and, more especially, omission — of activists to see ANC leader Nelson Mandela has stirred controversy in the Western Cape, reports GAYE DAVIS

Amina Cachalia, and his official biographer, sociologist Professor Fatma Meer, are also on the list, as is Johannesburg businessman Yusuf Surtee

Mandela spent several hours last Friday with fellow Rivonia trialists Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Raymond Mhlaba, as well as ANC leader Wilton Mkwayi, with whom he was imprisoned on Robben Island. Their names were also on the list submitted to the Prisons Services

The UDF's Omar this week declined to confirm or deny the existence of the list of names

However, he said the aim of any meeting between Mandela and community leaders and activists would be that of an "information session, to enable him to get a viewpoint"

On the selection process, he said "If it were left to the MDM, we would want to meet our constituents, throw it open to members and get an



Host and guest. Elijah Barayi poses with Mandela picture at Cosatu congress
Picture REUTER

elected delegation to see him. That would be our choice, and I'm sure that would be Mandela's, too

"The problem is we are living under a State of Emergency and large numbers of people have been restricted

Mandela's wife, Winnie, this week said she was aware of moves to arrange meetings between him and community leaders. "He has persistently asked the government to allow him to communicate with people — community leaders and the trade union movement — and this is being worked on at the moment."

Speaking outside the gates of Victor Verster Prison in Paarl, where she and 15 members of Mandela's family spent a six-hour visit with him on Tuesday, she said:

"Whatever he does he is in full consultation with the leadership behind bars and the African National Congress outside"

On Mandela's release she said "His exact words were there'll be no release, definitely not this year"

However, the question of Mandela's release was always last on his personal agenda.

"His own freedom is of no particular consequence. It is the freedom of the people he went to prison for and that of his political colleagues which is of consequence"

The recent meeting between Mandela and Botha was not discussed, she said "This was a family gathering, we discussed family matters"

To residents of Paarl's black township, who joined the vigil outside the prison in cold driving rain and greeted the family with a *toyi-toyi* and freedom songs, she said "He is grateful for the support from the comrades outside. He sends you his love, he remembers you and pledges solidarity with you"



PRESSURES THAT MAY PROPEL THE STATE TOWARDS PEACE TALKS

The 'total onslaught' and beyond

PRESSURE FROM THE ANC

Gavin Evans

THE rapidly-changing regional and international scenario, combined with internal pressures, have pushed the government so far that the rhetoric of "total onslaught" has had to be replaced with the rhetoric of negotiations.

But this in turn has placed the "mass democratic movement" and the African National Congress in a position where they need to flesh out a coherent position on the process of reaching a negotiated settlement. For the ANC the issue is not a new one. The rationale for its armed struggle has always been that it is a means of ensuring a democratic solution — either through negotiations or through an armed seizure of power.

Greater focus was given to this question in October 1987 when the ANC's national executive committee spelt out what the government would need to do to "create a climate conducive to negotiations".

The release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, the ending of the State of Emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the

townships were emphasised as moves the government would have to make for negotiations to begin. Over the past few weeks discussion papers arising out of a recent meeting between ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and United Democratic Front representatives have been widely discussed within the country.

In one paper, the ANC emphasises that "the question of a negotiated settlement is being raised with growing insistence", necessitating widespread discussion on the issue by "the ANC and the democratic movement as a whole in order to arrive at a common view".

At the same time, it is stressed that this should not affect the "strategic task" of "destroying the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people".

According to UDF leader Murphy Morobe the key aim of the process of

discussion is to "harmonise areas of difference which exist between various areas and organisations in order to reach a uniform position". In addition, he said, there was a need to reach a greater understanding about the process of negotiations. The differences which exist appear to be minor, and concern emphasis rather than principle.

For example at last week's Cosatu congress, one of the conditions for negotiation agreed on was the "confinement of South African Police/South African Defence Force barracks". The ANC however has limited this to "the withdrawal of the SADF and paramilitary forces from the townships".

While in the past some groups suggested the demand for the repeal of all apartheid legislation as a condition, this has not been expressly stated by either Cosatu or the ANC.

The ANC instead calls for the "abrogation of those apartheid laws that seek to criminalise legitimate political activity". In general both the ANC and the MDM have shifted away from talking of "pre-conditions", and instead emphasise "removing obstacles to negotiation" in order to create a climate for a political settlement.

At the recent Five Freedoms Forum-ANC meeting in Lusaka, a senior ANC representative stressed that the "present climate was hostile to negotiations" and that the onus was on the government to remove the obstacles blocking a negotiated settlement.

"For example, in order for the ANC to participate meaningfully in the negotiations there must be conditions that make it possible to consult with

its constituency," he said. The need for free political discussion prior to a negotiated settlement was stressed at the Cosatu congress.

There was a strong sense that any bogus negotiation process should be avoided, and that the question of full mandates should be linked to creating a free political climate, said a Cosatu representative.

Exactly what an acceptable process would involve is still being discussed in MDM circles.

"What is clear," said Morobe, "is that there needs to be an acceptance by all parties about what we are negotiating about — that the end point is a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa."

ANC President Oliver Tambo suggested recently that the movement would be prepared to suspend violence once the process of negotiation was embarked upon.

ANC representatives have however rejected any "unilateral moratorium" to suspend violence.

The issue of the mechanism for negotiation is still being canvassed by the MDM, though there appears to be a strong view favouring the election of a constituent assembly.

"A constituent assembly would prevent the negotiations being conducted in terms of skin colour and the claims of each group to representivity could be tested. It would also draw the people into the process, give it legitimacy and ensure that the decisions were supported," a senior ANC representative said.

New violence won't stop peace talks

TWO of the leaders involved in the peace talks aimed at ending violence in Natal vowed that the talks would go on in spite of the violence tearing apart the community of Mpumalanga (half-way between Durban and Pietermaritzburg).

At least 25 people were killed over the past four days

And as top brass of the KwaZulu police went on an all-day tour of the violence-ravaged township on Wednesday to hold meetings aimed at working on a plan to restore peace, unrest spilled over to Mpophomeni near Howick, fuelling speculation over the future of the talks

The education officer for the National Union of Metalworkers of SA, Mr Alec Erwin, said they needed to continue to bring about the end of the killings in Natal

He said, from various unrest monitoring groups, there had been a decline in violence in Natal since the talks started and he hoped that they would not be affected by Mpumalanga

The chairman of Inkatha's National Council and member of the Inkatha delegation to the talks, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said the bloody clashes at Mpumalanga were not the sort of thing that should stop parties from going on with the talks

"It means we must apply our minds even more intensely at the talks and appeal to the



Mr Frank Mdlalose . . . appeal to community.

community to stop fighting," he said

Mdlalose said it was unfortunate that the clashes between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu camp would keep on happening, but these should not be allowed to interfere with the talks

He said he had a telephone conversation with one of the UDF/Cosatu peace members yesterday and they both agreed that it was unfortunate that the clashes occurred and that they should not be allowed to occur

They also discussed the importance of putting an end on vilifications of members from both camps

"We agreed that it was wrong for any of our members to call leaders with their first names and to use abusive language against leaders for any organisation," he said

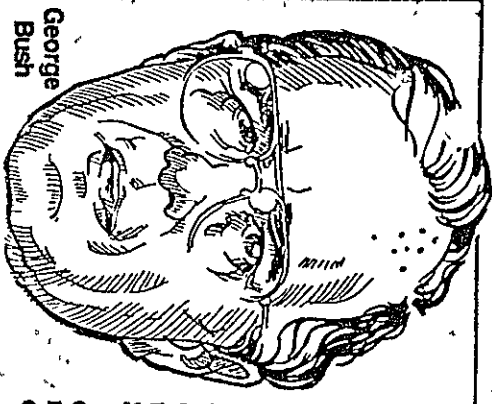
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THE WORLDWIDE WAZIMANI

The paper for a changing South Africa

Volume 5, Number 28 Friday July 21 1989 to Thursday July 27 1989



Sorry, De Klerk, the UDF beat you to it

IN an extraordinary diplomatic turnabout, President-elect FW de Klerk has been upstaged by the United Democratic Front leaders currently touring Western capitals.
De Klerk, in a bid to avoid the embarrassing uncertainty of not knowing whether President George Bush will see him in Washington, has turned down the invitation to see Secretary of State James Baker.
This comes only weeks after De Klerk's government was forced, under pressure, to waive the restriction orders on UDF leaders and return their confiscated passports to allow them to go to

Washington, London and Brussels to meet world leaders.
As it is, De Klerk had to take his place in the queue to see Bush behind the UDF leaders — Albertina Sisulu, Azhar Cachalia, Thius Mafolo and Sister Bernard Ncube — who were personally invited by the US president, and an earlier delegation of church leaders campaigning for the isolation of De Klerk's government.
The message of the UDF leaders to Bush was clear: don't believe De Klerk's promises of re-

form and don't see him until he proves he is serious about political change.
This was dubbed an "anti-diplomatic mission" by Cachalia.
"I don't think that we were the only reason, but I think we were one factor in getting Washington to rethink the De Klerk visit," he said this week.
Their visit was followed by a letter from over 100 US congressmen asking Bush not to see De Klerk next month. It seems the UDF visitors, who met the full spectrum of American political leaders, started a wave of opposition to De

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P. 7.0



Wend 21-27/8/89

BUSINESS

ANC campaigns to stop debt rescheduling

By MOIRA LEVY, London

WITH less than a year to go before South Africa's \$11-\$13-billion debt agreement expires, the African National Congress has launched a 16-country campaign for more stringent financial sanctions

At a weekend think-tank in London, attended by representatives of church organisations, anti-apartheid groupings and development agencies from the United States, Europe and Asia, and members of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, initiatives were planned to halt the rescheduling of South Africa's international debt.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement has already started the campaign with a threatened boycott of National Westminster Bank

Other banks targeted by the campaign are Credit Lyonnais of France, Union Bank of Switzerland and US and West German banks represented on the 13-member Technical Committee responsible for negotiating the debt rescheduling

The international campaign to halt debt rescheduling includes demands for

- A stop to gold loans or gold "swaps"
- Guarantees from banks not to extend new loans or any other forms of credit to South Africa
- The termination of trade credit facilities and import and export credit guarantees
- Creditor banks stop taking advantage of the exit clauses which enable their debts to be con-

verted into long-term loans or equity.

At the meeting, an ANC representative warned against "being duped" by signs that South Africa's new generation of leaders was moving towards negotiations. Recent reform initiatives were described as an attempt to create a climate of expectations conducive to renegotiating the rescheduling of the foreign debt.

The representative told the meeting: "Tragically, instead of facing reality and taking steps to fundamentally transform society, the regime's strategy is to create the impression that apartheid is being dismantled"

Other speakers warned that Pretoria's efforts to win the goodwill of the banks by promoting a "position apparently amenable to negotiations and reform" will be shortlived. "The experience of the past four years indicates when Pretoria has secured the banks' acquiescence to rescheduling deals, the regime reverts to internal repression and external aggression"

Economists stressed there was an urgent need to act immediately on formulating a new, stronger sanctions package

In a paper delivered at the meeting, UK economist Paul Goodeson said the next two years would be crucial, as the economy was particularly vulnerable while the debt was being renegotiated

Sanctions introduced in the coming year

would have a two-fold effect, he said

Firstly, they would reduce export earnings, thereby reducing the foreign exchange available for debt repayments

Secondly, "by destroying the belief that South Africa is 'over the hump' with regard to international sanctions, they will have a major indirect effect on the terms and conditions on which the debt is rescheduled"

Goodeson called on Europe's socialist governments or coalition partners — France, Spain, Belgium, Luxembourg and Italy — to implement the measures passed by the Socialist International, including a ban on coal and agricultural imports

This would have the direct effect of reducing South Africa's export earnings by more than \$969-million. And the psychological impact would be considerable. For example, it would account for approximately 72 percent of South Africa's coal exports to the European Community and about 30 percent of its coal exports worldwide

If the Netherlands and Germany introduced the same import restrictions, South Africa would suffer a further cut of \$598-million in its export earnings.

The representative of a group of Non-Governmental Organisations said the campaign aimed to "ensure that the banks are forced to take political factors into account in their dealings with South Africa".



THE FORCES WHICH ARE PUSHING THE COUNTRY TOWARDS PEACE TALKS, OR PULLING IT AWAY

Our new Great Divide:

SOUTH AFRICANS have many ways of dividing themselves by race, class, language, ideology. Now there is a new division between the optimists and the pessimists.

The optimists — who seem to dominate the media — are telling us that negotiations are in the air, that State President PW Botha's meeting with his prisoner Nelson Mandela was a breakthrough in this process, and there is a real possibility of the government sitting down to talk to the African National Congress in the near future.

The pessimists, like most other

South African groups, have already splintered into two camps. The first one is made up of those who say there is nothing happening, there was no significance in the Botha Mandela tea party, and this country is still ruled by a bunch of white racists who are determined to hold onto power.

The second category of pessimists would argue that a great deal is happening, but all it really adds up to is

that Mandela and the ANC are selling out by getting involved in negotiations without any real transfer of power. They are, in this view, contemplating a political half-settlement that will not go all the way to satisfying popular demands.

What all these groups have in common is a belief that substantial negotiations over the country's future are a real possibility in the near future.

They have good reason to believe it, as other stories on this page indicate growing international pressure, a deteriorating economy, the apparent failure of the securocrat led attempt at an internal political solution after three years of Emergency, a disintegrating ruling party. All of these things have combined to put the issue firmly on the political agenda.

The problem, however, is that

while it is easy at the moment to see negotiations as a real possibility, there is little sign yet of anything actually happening. All we have so far is a secret tea party at which, according to both tea drinkers, neither "policy matters" nor Mandela's release were discussed, and leaked hints that president elect FW de Klerk has told Western leaders that he will be initiating drastic reform

For the CP, a meeting arranged in heaven

THE glee in the Conservative Party over the recent 'courtesy call' discussions between President PW Botha and Nelson Mandela shows that talking to the African National Congress is not regarded as a sellable commodity among conservative white voters.

For the CP the Mandela Botha meeting was manna from heaven.

There was also some relief in the Democratic Party that the ANC, the very issue the government exploited so effectively in the May 1987 election against the Progressive Federal Party, had been defused and confused.

There was good reason for the CP and DP reaction bashing the ANC — whether Mandela in prison or the organisation in exile — has been a major vote-getter in previous elections. To white voters, the ANC has been portrayed as the symbol of everything they fear — black takeover, communism, one-party state, murderous terrorists who put bombs in supermarkets, nationalisation of assets.

The state has mobilised enormous resources, from the security establishment to its propaganda wings, to perpetuate this image.

This tactic, however short-sighted, was very successful by subtly linking the ANC and the PFP — indeed, during the 1987 election, white voters might have thought they were virtually the same thing — the NP was able to inflict a serious setback on the PFP, capturing a number of their seats and making the CP the official opposition.

PRESSURE ON THE STATE

Own Correspondent

Now, suddenly the very man behind the 1987 strategy to scare white voters into the NP, President PW Botha, is talking to the leader of the ANC — and, *noagal*, in the midst of an election campaign.

The NP will undoubtedly try to exploit the same white fears again before September 6. For instance, a concerted anti-guerrilla attack or a cross-border strike in August would help show voters that the government is not 'soft' on security.

But it won't be the same "tea party" has changed that for ever. And Mandela has not renounced violence as Botha insisted is necessary to secure his release.

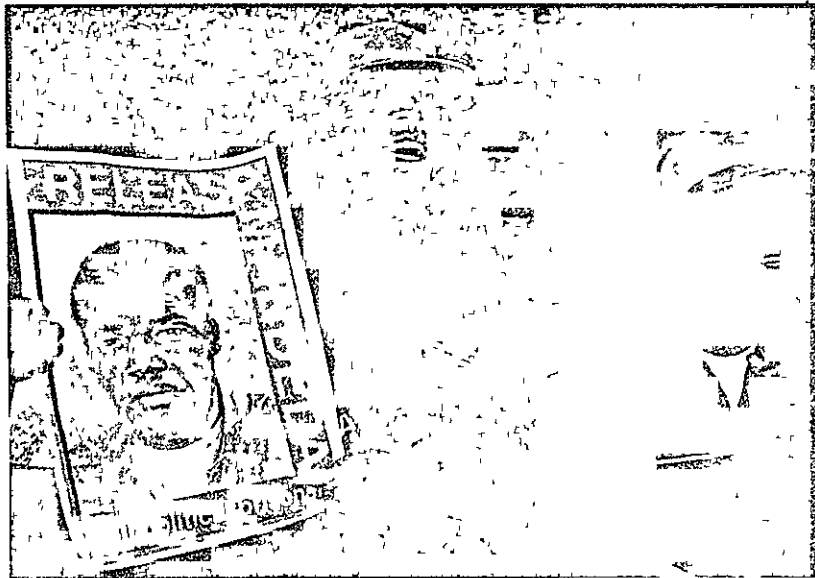
Undenied reports particularly in Western capitals that Mandela is to be released after September 6 also complicates the issue for the NP.

The Nationalist dilemma has been demonstrated by the statements made by its chief information officer, Con Botha, MP for Umlazi.

Botha told Canadian Broadcasting Corporation this week that the PW Botha/Mandela meeting could be likened to commanders-in-chief in a war situation "sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce".

His comments implied the government was at least considering a ceasefire with the banned organisation.

● TO PAGE 6



The Botha-Mandela tea party has raised hopes — but can expectations be met?

Picture: Reuters

Stamping hard on our Achilles heel

THE line from business, government and anti-apartheid leaders is the same: the debt crisis is South Africa's Achilles heel. Far more than trade sanctions or disinvestment, it's been financial sanctions which have crippled the country.

With negotiations due next year between South Africa's financial authorities and its foreign bankers, and with the country's gold and foreign exchange reserves having fallen to dangerously low levels, the foreign debt situation is providing a powerful pressure for positive political signals, in other words, for negotiation.

Financial sanctions have been crippling because of their blanket effect on economic growth. South Africa's economic growth rates have in the 1980s fallen far short of population growth rates so that the country's ability to provide jobs or infrastructure for its people is severely limited.

For the government, that places a limit on its ability to finance its reform policies. It also means high tax rates, high inflation and high interest rates, all of which make life difficult for economists. For business it places a limit on profitable investment opportunities and is a barrier to confidence. For ordinary people, it means high inflation, high unemployment and declining living standards.

Some R25-billion has flowed out of the country in the past four years. Reserve Bank estimates show that if South Africa continues to have capital outflows equivalent to four percent of its total output a year, as it has done since 1985, the economy can grow by only two percent a year. But if instead the situation were reversed and capital flowed in at this rate, the economy could grow by four or five percent a year.

Anglo American chairman Gavin Rely offered his own version of the conflicting pressures on economic resources in his annual statement this week. Stressing South Africa's need

FINANCIAL PRESSURE

Hilary Joffe

for a five to six percent annual economic growth rate (and its inability to achieve this as long as the country remained a capital exporter), he said "The South African pot is never big enough to feed the claims of a civil service spawned by white nationalism, an army bred to cope with an assumed communist onslaught, the demands for education, health services, housing and infrastructure for a population growing at a self-destructive rate, and not least the expectations, personal as well as political, of those who have been willing to participate in the tricameral parliament."

The financial sanctions issue has come to centre stage for two reasons. One is that the economy was in better shape in 1987/88 than it had been for some time, showing positive growth in contrast to the economic decline of 1985/86. But the result was that it came up against the limits imposed by financial sanctions and started running rapidly out of gold and foreign exchange reserves.

The second looming pressure is the debt negotiations between South Africa and its foreign creditor banks due early next year, which cover some \$9-billion owed to the banks. The current agreement between South Africa and the banks expires at the end of June 1990. While it's almost certain the negotiations will happen and the debt will be rescheduled (the foreign banks do, after all, want to get their money back), the question for South Africa's financial authorities is whether the terms of the agreement will be harsh or manageable.

What they are trying to do is to get foreign banks individually to roll over the debts until 1997 and they have had some success in persuading Swiss and United States bankers to

do so, relieving some of the pressure.

Such successes have met with protest from anti-apartheid movements abroad. And with the debt negotiations coming up next year, activists here and abroad have taken the opportunity to strike at the "Achilles heel" in an attempt to push for negotiations. So this week in Britain, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and End Loans to Southern Africa announced they planned a 'major international campaign' against UK-based National Westminster Bank, aimed at stopping the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt.

The AAM's move follows a campaign initiated last month by South African church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Allan Boesak, who wrote to foreign creditor banks demanding they refuse to reschedule South Africa's debt next year unless the government committed itself to a series of conditions, including negotiations towards a non-racial democratic society and an end to repressive measures.

The bankers have, in response, shown no signs of refusing to reschedule the debts. But they have been pressured to come out against apartheid and NatWest for one, said this week it would make rescheduling conditional upon certain changes.

The anti-apartheid movements' and leaders' new strategies arrive against a backdrop of the relative failure of the old ones. They have not managed to achieve comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the government's major trading partners. And while trade sanctions and disinvestment have had an impact on the economy this has been unquantifiable and is far from bringing the country to its knees.

But the effect of financial sanctions has been clear — and the pressure to address them politically will intensify in coming months.

DeSo Business page

For the CP, gift from heaven

● FROM PAGE 4

Con Botha also described the jailed ANC leader as a "key figure" in any future negotiation about South Africa's constitutional future.

The NP leader, FW de Klerk, is expected to talk about these issues when he makes the closing address at the NP's Cape congress tomorrow, but his publicity chief has highlighted the party's dilemma.

The NP will continue to condemn violence, it will reaffirm its determination to confront all those who use violence, it will again attack the revolutionaries and the communists and it will try to portray the DP as "soft" on these issues.

But, the fact is its approach and pre-conditions have changed, marginally but significantly.

For white voters, the issues have changed. The unsellable commodity of 1987 — talking to the ANC and releasing Mandela — is now on the cards. One question in the 1989 election is whether the voters will buy it.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

optimists and pessimists

steps after the September election De Klerk's promises to the likes of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher fall into a similar category South Africa's white leaders have often told the world that they will soon take drastic political action — and by now the world is not going to get excited until they see real proof that such promises will be kept.

So lurking behind all the optimism

about negotiations lies another dreadful scenario: that the government is raising expectations, partly as an election campaign and partly to buy time with the international community.

When it fails to meet what are by now very high expectations, then the country is in for a terrible onslaught, the combined wrath of the world, the possibility of more internal unrest,

and all the economic and political implications of this. The government would then have no choice but to fall back on rule by repression, and turn back to the ever-present Emergency regulations to maintain power.

There is one other interpretation being bandied around. Negotiations always start with demands and counter-demands being put on the table — and that has already happened in the

sense that we know what both sides are demanding of each other. Once both sides are stating their positions, and responding to each others' statements, then the process has already begun, even if it is only at a very early stage.

The problem is that at this point both sides still mean very different things when they use the word

"negotiation". It is one of the many words — like "democracy", "moderate" and "non-racialism" — that have become so cheapened by rhetoric and abuse that they can be used to mean entirely different things by different parties in the South African conflict.

All one really can do at this stage is weigh up the forces pushing the country in one direction against those pushing the government in the other — as the *Weekly Mail* attempts to do on this page.

Anton Harber

For now, the US will let Britain do the batting

PRESSURE FROM ABROAD

Shaun Johnson

IN both Pretoria and Lusaka, political strategists are being subjected to a severe arm-twisting. The pressure is being exerted from a distance, but is acute nevertheless.

It is now conventional wisdom that the foreign policy paths of the West, East and Frontline states have effectively converged — a "negotiated political settlement" in South Africa is suddenly alluring to all.

But how much pressure can the international community invoke? And how tractable are the objects of their attention? In plain language, can they force a settlement of their choosing?

The answers, respectively, are, a lot, quite, and of course not.

Two recent working documents on the issue of negotiations — the product of discussions between ANC and "mass democratic movement" leaders — explicitly address the question of international machinations.

In a "Report on Consultations" dated June 6, it is noted that "as a result of increasing pressures being placed on the regime ... and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again".

Britain's initiatives appear to give cause for most concern. It is feared that Whitehall could be envisaging a negotiated "solution" which falls short of one-person one-vote in a unitary, non-racial democracy.

The documents refer to Margaret Thatcher's alleged acceptance of Pretoria's concept of "group protection", and her natural affinity (due to his commitment to "free enterprise") with KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Butheletz.

It is not Britain's initiatives in isolation that are giving most pause for thought, however. The United States appears content — according to new Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen — to let the British make most of the running for the moment.

The style of British diplomacy has altered markedly since the arrival of activist ambassador Sir Robin Renwick in 1987. His hands on approach has placed Britain as the foreign power most integrally interested in this country's future.

Cohen is happy to concede that "the British have a major role to play" in ending negotiations. "We welcome British leadership in this problem," he said at the end of last month.

This does not imply US inactivity, however. Cohen foresees "greater efforts at what I call multilateral diplomacy ... You will see greater efforts in consulting with (other industrial countries, especially the UK and West Germany) ... co-ordinating our ... I have already been to London and Bonn to begin these consultations".

Resistance groups are convinced that Whitehall is in favour of a "restraint Persons" type con-



Margaret Thatcher

tact group, which, in the words of the discussion paper, could well include longstanding allies of the ANC, like Zambia.

British sources say it is far too early to consider such a specific step — and indeed deny that they are playing quite the Machiavellian role ascribed to them — but the fears of the resistance strategists persist.

"Even the chairman of the FLS (Frontline states), President Kaunda, has called for negotiations now." It is remarked somewhat ironically in a "Discussion paper on the issue of negotiations" Kaunda's open-ended invitation to FW de Klerk for a meeting, issued this week, lends weight to the impression.

Further, it is thought that the Soviet Union, China, and Frontline state leaders such as Angola's Jose Eduardo dos Santos, would not be averse to such a "contact group" proposal.

It is accepted that there are potential benefits for all. The Soviet Union is said now to be less concerned with regional influence than regional prosperity, and that prosperity would be most welcomed by South Africa's beleaguered neighbours.

The state has been far less frank to acknowledge diplomatic pressure. Foreign Minister Pik Botha was quick to remark, after the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha, that it had not been brokered by an outside party.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the government's new (and still little more than rhetorical) commitment to some form of "negotiations" has a lot to do with the messages it is receiving from abroad.

It is clear that neither Thatcher nor US President George Bush will offer Pretoria an indefinite period of grace.

Serving notice that the Bush administration would play "a more activist role on the issue of internal constitutional change in South Africa," Cohen let it be known that "if progress ... is not made, say, over a two-year period after the new government takes office in September, it would be very difficult for the US government to hold back the forces that are looking to increase pressure ...

"I think this would be true not only in the United States, but would be true in western Europe and Japan as well."

Cohen added, quite starkly, that "sanctions have had a very major impact on the development of new thinking in South Africa."

Spectre of the 'hung' parliament

PRESSURE ON THE RIGHT

Ivor Powell



Eugene TerreBlanche

WHEN they comment on the forthcoming elections, there are three people far rightwingers refer to. Oddly, none is a candidate — but all three, they say, contribute to the likelihood that after the elections, there will be a hung parliament.

The first member of the improbable triumvirate is General Jan Christiaan Smuts. Our rightists remark "Remember how Smuts was talking to the king, touring around Europe, playing the great international statesman during the run-up to the 1948 elections? He was more concerned with his international image than domestic politics — and he got a big fright when he got back home."

FW de Klerk, they predict, though his orthodoxy is unlikely actually to lose at the ballot box, is going to get a similarly rude awakening when the Conservative Party sweeps the parliament of the Transvaal, most of the Free State, the Northern Cape and the north of Natal.

The second person the ultra-rightists talk about is Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche. After allegations made by *Sunday Times* columnist Jani Allan that TerreBlanche had been, often drunkenly, pursuing her and had once passed out at her front doorstep for the night, as well as his ignominious withdrawal from the parliamentary battle, the political future of the former independent Rustenburg candidate is seriously in doubt.

But mostly, the right is talking about jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. The news of his tea party with President PW Botha cost the National Party an estimated four percent of the vote, according to a survey published last week in *Rapport* — a result which will, according to rumour, be confirmed by a different poll scheduled for publication in this week's *Sunday Times*.

"Anything below 45 percent support for the National Party," predicts Professor Sampie Terreblanche of Stellenbosch University, "and we're in for a hung parliament."

But more importantly for many observers, PW's bombshell has led to very significant clashes and disagreements over election policy within the National Party itself.

While, up to this point, the NP has been following the rather surprising strategy of fighting the election to the left, hoping rather to stem the Democratic Party threat than to keep voters from crossing over to the Conservative Party, now the party's approach seems less coherent.

This week NP information officer Con Botha all but publicly repudiated the president by reaffirming his party's oft-repeated refusal to enter negotiations with the ANC until the organisation was prepared to renounce violence. Mandela, meanwhile, was telling the world that he still believed what he believed 28 years ago when he was a driving force in the formation of Umhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

"The earth has moved for the Nationalists since the PW-Mandela meeting," Mark Swilling of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies comments. "The whole context has changed, and to them it looks very scary indeed. They're shedding the scale far faster than they anticipated, and in the general panic the

According to Derby-Lewis, the CP is likely to capture a minimum of between 59 and 62 parliamentary seats. Such is the manifest support in the plateland that nobody outside of the NP is predicting that the party will hold many more than 80 seats — raising the possibility of a coalition government.

Derby-Lewis also draws attention to the fact that the CP's strongest support base is in the Transvaal, and that the Nats are likely to be relatively weak in that province.

NP leader De Klerk is also Transvaal leader of the party. His position, especially in view of the threat posed by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — now leader of the strongly NP Cape Province — places him in a very vulnerable position if the battle for leadership is renewed.

But these are not the only reasons that CP supporters are smiling. Finally the millionstone that is TerreBlanche has been cast off from around their neck.

When the Jani Allan scandal first broke at the end of last year a senior CP spokesman compared him to an animal wounded through the lung, not visibly in distress, but bound, sooner or later, to fall.

Now with the withdrawal of his ill-starred Rustenburg candidacy, suggestively followed by the latest round of allegations regarding the AWB leader and the *Sunday Times* columnist into the CP fold" **ⓂTo PAGE 6**

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
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The University of Natal rejects apartheid. It is an equal opportunity affirmative action University.

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Applications are invited from suitably qualified Zulu speaking persons for the above post in the Education Programme of the Institute of Natural Resources. Based in Pietermaritzburg, the successful applicant will contribute to various agricultural and rural development projects aimed at assisting the establishment of small scale commercial farming in KwaZulu.

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The salaries offered will be determined according to the qualifications and/or experience of the successful applicants.

Application forms details of the salaries package further particulars of the posts and conditions of service are obtainable from the Personnel Section, University of Natal, P O Box 375 Pietermaritzburg 3200. Telephone (0331) 83320 fax 83497.

ALWAYS THE BEST PEOPLE FOR THE JOB N6615

ANC, SA bankers meet

By BARRY STREEK

THE deputy governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Jan Lombard, and the head of the Development Bank, Dr Simon Brand, have attended a closed-doors conference about the South African economy with members of the African National Congress.

The two were among 25 South African economists and businessmen who met 19 members of the ANC, two Soviet Africa experts and 15 other academics from different countries in Lausanne, Switzerland, between July 8 and July 15.

The focus of the conference was current and post-apartheid economic policies.

Though all the participants attended in their private capacities, Dr Lombard and Dr Brand are both top figures in South

Africa's financial establishment and both have close links with the government

Among other South Africans attending the talks were the acting chairman of the National Manpower Commission, Dr Frans Barker, the managing director of the Standard Bank, Dr Conrad Strauss, the chief economist at Rand Merchant Bank, Mr Rudolf Gouws, and the managing director of the SA Perm, Mr Bob Tucker.

Among the ANC delegates were Mr Barney McKay, who was described as a "government consultant" from Zambia, Dr Manto Tshabala, head of the post-apartheid student group in Lusaka, and Mr Raymond Mokoena, of the ANC's interior department in Lusaka.

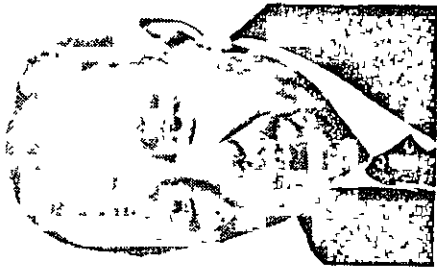
The conference organisers were Profes-

sor Pieter le Roux of the Institute for Social Development at the University of the Western Cape and Professor Nicolas Jequier of Lausanne University

Dr Lombard could not be contacted yesterday as he was out of his office, but a spokesman for Dr Brand confirmed that he had attended the conference

The two Soviet participants were Mr Yevgeny Tarabin and Mr Vladimir Tikhomirov, both of the Institute of African Studies at the USSR Academy of Sciences

No statement was issued after the conference, but the participants were reported to have agreed that the South African economy was in a crisis because of apartheid and there was urgent need for change.



BANKER ...
Dr Lombard

CAF 1145 2-21-70 7 114

Don't test Nat hospitality too far, Mr Weheli

SO one Hassan Haji Ahmed Weheli has made it into South African history books. For the man from Somalia has gone on record as being the first black man to speak from an election

meeting platform in support of a National Party candidate. Of course, Mr Weheli has also received other honours. Last year, he received the State President's Award for Exports from South Africa — the reason, for which, I suspect Mr Weheli is so grateful to the Nats.

As a former resident of Zimbabwe and Kenya, and having travelled through 40 other countries in Africa (his words), he told the enthusiastic Nats that he felt freer here than anywhere else.

I am a great believer in freedom. Freedom of association. Freedom of expression. It is, therefore, his right to speak in support of Mr Glenn Babb and the National Party. I also believe

Write
On!

JOE (11R)
LATAKGOMO



him when he says he feels freer here than in any other African country.

But then, it is just as important to reveal the naivety of people like Mr Weheli, lest white South Africans start talking of another major breakthrough in relations between our troubled country and the rest of Africa.

First, Mr Weheli has now applied for South African citizenship, I gather. He seemed to speak as if it was only a matter of time before he got the vote ("I do not yet have the vote...")

How naive can some people be? First of all, Mr Weheli is black. No black has voting rights in South Africa — so what makes him think he will get the vote?

Secondly, the South African Government has been at pains trying to strip black South Africans of their citizenship. But then, I would not be surprised if he thinks he could get the vote by speaking highly of the Nats. Perhaps he needs to speak to other blacks from African countries and find out whether they have the vote here now.

I gather that Mr Weheli has been living in this country for some time. Clearly, he does not live in the black townships. If he did, he would know the conditions there — and for heavens sake, I don't wish anybody to try to compare the black townships here with the townships in other African countries.

He should rather compare the black townships with the relative opulence in the white townships. And, also, because he is not classified as a diplomat, he would have needed a special permit to live in a white area.

Private schools

If he did not do that, then he would be an illegal and would, therefore, have to watch out for the Government's new Group Areas Task Force (Gatforce), which will hound him out of the white area because of the colour of his skin.

Also, if he has children, he would know that he would have had to send them to schools in the township if he were not able to afford the fees at a private school. Fortunately, trade go-betweens normally make a packet and he would, therefore, be able to send his children to a private school.

Thousands of black children have been jailed without trial under a variety of laws. Perhaps Mr Weheli has seen it all before in some or other banana republic, so it does not bother him any longer — as long as he feels free enough to run his own business.

But the National Party and the Government certainly have a dismal record. I hope that Mr Weheli gets the vote and, South African citizenship. I certainly would not wish to have anything to do with a party and government with this kind of record.

FW.
St. Times, 23/7/89
**Ball in
 ANC's
 court** *11A*

By LESTER VENTER
 Political Correspondent

THE road to direct talks between the Government and the ANC was open if the banned organisation followed the example of Nelson Mandela, National Party leader F W de Klerk said yesterday

In a speech to the Cape congress of the NP, Mr De Klerk said he wished to involve "recognised leaders" in the search for a solution acceptable to the majority of South Africans

But in tackling one of the most sensitive issues in the coming electoral campaign, he made it clear there would be no relaxation of the Government's insistence that participants in any talks had to first reject violence

The meeting between President Botha and Mr Mandela had confronted the ANC with a clear choice, said Mr De Klerk

Dialogue

"Is the ANC prepared to follow the lead given by him (Mr Mandela) and to commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions?"

"If it does, it can become involved in the peaceful process of dialogue and negotiation"

"The ball is squarely in the court of the ANC and not, as some people want to make out, in the Government's court," he said

"As long as the ANC persists with its policy and acts of violence and intimidation and refrains from clear and honest commitment to peaceful solutions, it excludes itself from the peaceful process of change in SA

"The National Party will, within this framework,

□ To Page 2

2 SUNDAY TIMES, Ju

**Road to
 talks
 is open,
 say Nats**

St. Times 23/7/89

□ From Page 1

continue its efforts to broaden the base of participants in the peaceful pursuit of negotiated solutions

"We are not afraid to talk to people who differ from us. But we are not prepared to compromise with violence and terrorism"

Mr De Klerk also explained his view of the difference between the concepts of "abandoning violence" and "commitment to peaceful solutions"

He said the latter approach was "more positive" but made it clear he would expect participants in negotiations to abandon violence as part of the commitment to peaceful solutions

Mr De Klerk criticised visits and discussions by others with the ANC

He said this gave the ANC a measure of legitimacy which contradicted the legal and factual position and "circumvented" talks with the Government as the "responsible authority"

He said these visits were financed mainly by foreign governments, many of whom wanted to further their own interests

Mr De Klerk said he had supported the planning of the Mandela-Botha meeting

Report by L J Venter, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town

... about their snack

De Klerk sowing division

Sowetan 24/7/89

11A



ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has accused the National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, of trying to drive a wedge between Mr Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress

According to a statement released by the Archbishop, he was

responding to a speech at the Cape congress of the National Party at the weekend in which De Klerk reportedly asked whether the ANC was "prepared to follow the lead given by Mandela and commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions"

wrong.

"Our liberation movements have sought change peacefully since before 1910 (the date of union)," he said in the statement.

"It is his government which forced the ANC and PAC to turn to violence by banning them and it is his government which must unban them and create conditions conducive to negotiations."

Statement

In the statement, Tutu also challenged De Klerk's assertion that, on the question of negotiation, "the ball is in the ANC's court."

The archbishop said in the statement from Johannesburg yesterday that De Klerk had his history

"His crude attempt to try to drive a wedge between Mandela and the ANC is deplorable, and indicates that he is not serious about negotiations," said the archbishop in the statement. - Sapa.

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Cape Times 24/7/87

Chief tells of Mandela visit

UMTATA — Rumours of "possible" release of Mr Nelson Mandela gained momentum at the weekend here when a chief, who formed part of the delegation that went to visit the jailed ANC leader at Victor Verster Prison, made a report back to a large group of the Tembu clan

Chief Bangilizwe Joyi told nearly

2 000 people at the Sitebe great place that he informed Mr Mandela about the latest developments on the paramount chieftainship position of the Tembus

Mr Mandela said when he gets released he would like to address all the paramount chiefs in Transkei, Chief Joyi said

Teachers muzzled over electioneering

Education Reporter

1264
24/7/57
11A

COLOURED teachers have been prevented from publicly electioneering on party political matters, according to a circular issued by the Department of Education and Culture.

In a circular to regional chief inspectors and inspectors of education, college rectors, school principals, teachers' associations and regional representatives, the department has outlined the "political and civil rights" of teachers.

The department says they can be members of political parties and serve on their committees without permission of the director-general.

However, teachers may not post up, distribute or hand out any notice, document, poster or any matter whatsoever "evoking support for, or opposition to a political party or relating to the election of of a person as a member of parliament or a provincial council or committee".

Teachers who are members of a divisional council, city council, municipal council and village management board may not take part in "any discussions or voting in connection with any matter involving a dispute between the said council, committee or board and the government".

Teachers who fail to comply with the instructions could be charged with misconduct in terms of the Coloured Persons Education Act
(Report by D Cruywagen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Mandela: Editor charged

Govt Times 24/7/84

Staff Reporter

AN Oudtshoorn community newspaper has been charged under the Prisons Act for publishing a photograph of Mr Nelson Mandela last year.

Saamstaan's editor Mr Derek Jackson has to appear in Oudtshoorn Magistrate's Court on September 20

Most major English newspapers and some Afrikaans papers published photographs of Mr Mandela


after his meeting with President P W Botha on July 5

A spokesman for Saamstaan said the summons stated that the publishing of the photograph in the December issue was done without the permission of the SA Prison Services

Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) president Mr Bob Kernohan yesterday said it was disturbing that so long after the event Saamstaan was singled out to be charged with the offence

PAC stands on Violence

Sowetan
24/7/89

11A


THE Pan Africanist Congress has rejected claims that it had renounced violence and sanctions.

The organisation was reacting to reports in South African newspapers which claimed it

had taken a drastic departure from its current policy on negotiations and the armed struggle.

An official of the ex-

ternal mission of the organisation said his organisation still regarded the armed struggle as the principal form of struggle.

On negotiations, it said the PAC was prepared to negotiate

the transfer of power to the African people and still the return of their land, a position recently stated by its president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, at the United Nations.

The PAC also said it stood firm on its support for sanctions.

Several newspapers recently quoted a statement issued in London and signed by a Mr Velekhaya Shange who described himself as chairman of the Natal region of the PAC-in-exile.

He said in the statement which circulated in Durban: "We denounce violence in any form, for it yields undisciplined society."



ZEPH MOTHOPENG

Star published 'secret' report of Lusaka talks

Star

By Stanley Uys,
The Star Bureau

11A

24/7/89

LONDON — The simultaneous publication in South African newspapers last week of two different documents outlining the approach of black anti-apartheid organisations to the question of "negotiations" with the South African Government has created some confusion

Both documents are products of the two-day meeting held in Lusaka, Zambia, on June 6-7 between the ANC, UDF and Cosatu

The document published in The Star is the official report of the meeting and was intended for limited circulation only to leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement (principally the three organisations)

This explains the document's frankness and its admission that the organisations are under irresistible pressure from their "friends" to prepare for negotiations. The document was intended to remain secret.

The other document was prepared by the Mass Democratic Movement internally in South Africa and was intended for wider circulation to MDM members and for eventual publication.

This second document is virtually identical to the statement drawn up by the ANC in June, updating the organisation's 1987 position on negotiations.

De Klerk
New 24/11/89
has history

wrong, 110A
says Tutu
108A

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has accused the NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, of trying to drive a wedge between Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC

According to a statement released by the archbishop, he was responding to a speech on Saturday at the Cape Congress of the NP in which Mr de Klerk reportedly asked whether the ANC was "prepared to follow the lead given by Mr Mandela and commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions"

The archbishop said in the statement, yesterday from Johannesburg, that Mr de Klerk had his history wrong

"Our liberation movements have sought change peacefully since before 1910," he said in the statement

"It is his government which forced the ANC and PAC to turn to violence by banning them and it is his government which must unban them and create conditions conducive to negotiations"

"His crude attempt to try to drive a wedge between Mr Mandela and the ANC is deplorable, and indicates that he is not serious about negotiations," said the archbishop

op - Sapa

The flag must go, says Hendrickse

PORT ELIZABETH — The South African flag was a symbol of "white domination, injustice and theft" and would have to go, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday. (11A) ~~30/8/87~~

Addressing an election meeting at Patensie, Rev Hendrickse said every nation should be proud of its flag, "a symbol of nationhood" and binding. *Star 24/7/87*

The South African flag did not serve this purpose and would have to make way for a truly South African flag.

The present flag, he said, containing miniatures of the flags of the two Boer Republics and the Union Jack, represented the history of whites in South Africa.

South Africa also needed a new national anthem which would act as a binding symbol, he said.

People "of colour" could not identify with the words of "Die Stem" and would join their black brothers in singing "Nkosi Sikelel' i-Africa".

The Labour Party leader said a new South Africa would have to see a marked re-distribution of land, and added that there was enough for all if it was shared fairly.

Land which had belonged to the coloured people, he said, had been stolen by whites — land which had been worked by these people and for which they had died.

Earlier, he criticised the Government for wanting Mr Nelson Mandela to "join hands" in the search for peace while he was still in jail.

"First he must be free — then he will be in a position to join hands with the Government," he said. — Sapa.

(News by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)



DP asks Govt to let ANC meet Mandela

Star
24/11/89 Political Staff 11A

CAPE TOWN — The key political row over talks with the African National Congress has taken a fresh turn with the Government being asked to give an ANC delegation safe passage to hold talks with its jailed leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The request has been made by Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, following his meetings with the ANC last week.

There was no immediate response today from Government spokesmen.

Mr Malan said the ANC and Mr Mandela should be able to confer to establish their position on negotiations.

At the weekend, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk cleared up confusion over the NP position at the NP Cape congress, attacking groups that had held talks with the ANC.

Mr de Klerk said the road to direct talks was open if the banned organisation followed what he claimed was the example of Mr Nelson Mandela and committed itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions.

Restrictions

De Klerk
Nov 24 1989
has history
wrong, *110A*
says Tutu
~~200A~~

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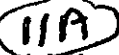
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"His crude attempt to try to drive a wedge between Mr Mandela and the ANC is deplorable, and indicates that he is not serious about negotiations," said the archbishop — Sapa

Mandela talks about his release

Star 24/7/89
UMTATA — Rumours of the possible release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela gained momentum at the weekend in Umtata when a chief, a member of the delegation that visited Mr Mandela at Victor Verster Prison, reported back to a large group of the Tembu clan.

Chief Bangilizwe Joyi told nearly 2 000 people at the Sitebe great place he had told Mr Mandela about developments regarding the paramount chieftainship of the Tembus. 

Mr Mandela had said he wanted to address all the paramount chiefs in Transkei once he was released. 

Mr Mandela had requested the Tembus to prepare a place for him. — Sapa.

Argus 25/7/89

Suspect held after church leader's death

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Round-the-clock investigations have led to the arrest of a suspect after the shooting death of the Reverend Londa Shembe, leader of the 500 000-strong Nazareth Baptist Church, in April this year

Major Charl du Toit, police public relations officer for Port Natal, confirmed today that a man had been arrested in Gindlovu by members of the Durban Murder and Robbery Unit

Mr Shembe, 45, was shot dead when two unknown gunmen burst into his home at 4am on April 7. The men entered through an open window and threatened Mr Shembe's wife Patricia before shooting him

INKATHA, UDF LINKS

It was the second attempt on the life of the religious leader, who was very popular with his community. In 1980 Mr Shembe survived an assassination attempt.

Through his church, Mr Shembe maintained links with both Inkatha and the United Democratic Front

Major Leonard Knipe, head of the Durban Murder and Robbery Unit, said detectives had

made the breakthrough after receiving information. A man was arrested on the Natal North Coast

Meanwhile, detectives from the unit have arrested four suspects after a R77 000 armed hold-up at the Natal Provincial Administration social pension office in Umgeni Road last week.

Police said the suspects were arrested in Clermont and Umhlangeni and that police had taken possession of R14 000 in cash as well as goods allegedly bought with the stolen money

PAC row — old wounds open

LONDON - The call for negotiation and an end to violence by the breakaway Natal region of the PAC has opened old political wounds here - and prompted a new flurry of attack and denial by all three parties concerned.

The statement, issued by Mr Velekhaya Shange, in the name of "the Natal region in exile (Ibutho/regiment-Ukhuphinkunzi) of the Pan Africanist Congress", praises the

"mighty efforts" by Chief Buthelezi to convince South African whites and the world that negotiations in the conflict in South Africa "are of cardinal importance for human progress"

It also denounces violence in any form, and attacks the April 18 statement from PAC headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam that the movement was unable to negotiate with the South African authorities

The statement was swiftly attacked by the PAC office in London, and branded it as "an obvious dirty trick" by a man who had been "closely associated" with Inkatha for 10 years.

"He definitely does not speak for us," said London-based PAC spokesman Rodney Funeki.

And Mr Joe Mkwana-si, the PAC's administration secretary, currently in London from Dar-es-Salaam, said

"Our position is absolutely unchanged. We know Shange well, and he in no way acts as a mouthpiece for the PAC. His statement therefore is completely invalid."

He branded Shange as an Inkatha supporter "who just hasn't openly declared himself a member of Inkatha".

Inkatha's chief representative, Mr Ben Skosane, also denied Shange had any connection with his organisation. But he added "We know him as a Zulu living in London, but it is just a smear to say this is a bit of disinformation by Inkatha."

But according to Shange himself, it was the PAC which was out of step with the real needs of the people of Natal, and of the rest of South Africa.

25/7/89
New ANC attacks feared 11A

Police expect a sharp increase in terror attacks as the September general election draws nearer.

SAP Public Relations chief Major-General Herman Stadler said yesterday the aim of the renewed offensive by the ANC would be to intimidate voters.

He was speaking after a man and a woman were killed in two of three Cape blasts on Sunday night. All three explosions, on the eve of nomination day, were at courthouses where nominations were registered.

Police are closely watching organisations like Cosatu and the United Democratic Front to counter alleged plans by the "Mass Democratic Movement" to launch a widespread campaign of militant defiance against the elections.

This was claimed today by security sources following the speech by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok in Fochville last night in which he disclosed "alarming information" that the movement planned several measures including petrol bomb attacks on candidates and disrupting hospital services.

Spokesmen from the MDM were not immediately available to comment on the claims.

Mr Vlok said the plan had been outlined in a document circulated at Cosatu's third national congress in Johannesburg this month. Main elements were

- On July 30, buses and parks to be occupied to cause disruption
- On August 2, crowds to go to hospitals for medical treatment — thereby disrupting services
- On August 9 or 10, a march on either the Union Buildings or National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk's residence in Pretoria
- On August 15, a petition to be handed in at the Union Buildings or Parliament
- House visits by activists to intimidate people not to vote
- Petrol-bomb attacks against candidates
- A slogan campaign against the election
- People restricted under the emergency regulations to seek asylum in embassies

'Send message

Mr Vlok said the campaign was planned when more than 20 MDM activists met the hierarchy of the "ANC/SACP alliance" in Lusaka on June 5

The meeting was ostensibly to discuss a future political system for South Africa "But this was not how they kept themselves busy. They hatched plans to plunge the country into violence on an extended scale"

Conservative Party defence spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe wondered if Mr Vlok was not "trying to send a message to those people in his own party who were cohorting with the ANC in a brotherly way"

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said "I have no knowledge of the plot, but it is common knowledge that they will be campaigning against people coming out to vote"

"If indeed disruption of hospital services and petrol bombs are being planned, that would be highly irresponsible"

Dr Max Price of the National Medical and Dental Association said "It's ludicrous to say that sick people presenting themselves to hospitals for treatment are part of a revolutionary strategy. For the Government to label this as revolutionary indicates the poverty of their policies"

(Report by C Kotze of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg, and P Fabricius of 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Staff Reporters

Star 26/7/89 11A

'MDM plans polls violence'

Vlok claims widespread militant campaign hatched in Lusaka

DEATH ROW OVERFLOW

S.N.S.

But fewer get the hangman's noose

119

news

By DESMOND BLOW

SOUTH AFRICA'S death row population is growing so rapidly that additional cells are being built at Pretoria Maximum Security Prison to accommodate the overflow.

The latest figure for condemned prisoners is 283, the vast majority black.

There are 228 black prisoners awaiting execution - including two women - and 39 coloured, 11 white and five Asian men.

Earlier this year the Minister of Justice, Kobus Coetsee, revealed that death row was 43,5 percent overcrowded and that additional death cells were being built.

At present some death row prisoners are being held in other prisons in Pretoria because Pretoria Maximum is so full.

However, all condemned prisoners must eventually go to Pretoria as it is the only prison in South Africa where prisoners are executed.

Lawyer for Human Rights Brian Currin says there are more prisoners on death row now than ever before in South Africa.

"One reason is "mob" political trials where as many as 14 people have been condemned to death at once.

The second is the strong campaign against capital punishment, which has led to fewer writs of execution. Since October last year Lawyers for Human Rights have successfully brought 13 stays of execution.

Currin said only 39 prisoners had been hanged so far this year, compared with an average of 12 a month since 1980 - a drop of more than 50 percent.

The death row cells are also packed because a condemned man has several legal avenues to appeal against conviction and this can take time.

He can also apply for a stay of execution for further legal remedies and can petition the State President for clemency.

Though death row prisoners must try every available means to save themselves this means they live longer - perhaps for years - with the horror of the hangman's noose over their heads, said Laurel Angus of the Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.

"The only humane solution is the abolition of the death sentence," she said.

We have a dream

SOME interesting Naton Building that arguments have been we hold from time to advanced in some of time with members of the consultations on the community.

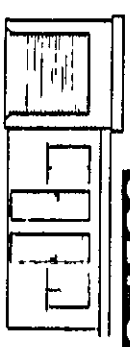
What worries me a bit are some of the things people say we ought to be doing to make Naton Building effective.

Some say the weakness of the concept is that it has no ideological foundation; others that without an organisation to translate our ideas into action it will be difficult to measure the success of the concept.



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908-4754

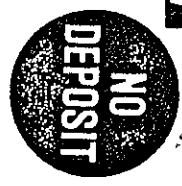
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START YOUR OWN

I have difficulty with both arguments and would be happy to get further input. At the bottom of divisions in our political and labour movements are ideological differences which have led to violence in some instances. These are differences we may not be able to do anything about for some time.

Preach

Naton Building seems to be capable of serving that purpose. And if through Naton Building we preach the empowerment of the masses and the development of our human resources, discriminating against some of our fellowmen simply because they subscribe to the wrong ideology would not make sense. It would militate against our objectives as it would divide a nation that is already divided.

We therefore believe that to make progress in our struggle we need a common denominator that will appeal to all tendencies so as to make it possible for us to achieve common national objectives despite our ideological differences.

A post-apartheid South Africa might be ruled by people subscribing to the ANC, PAC or BCM/A ideology, for example. It would therefore serve all our interests if all our leaders and the masses who will be building a new social, political and economic order are sufficiently empowered and enabled to live up to the challenges of creating a new society.

When we talk of rebuilding structures that have collapsed in our communities, we are referring to the institutions of home, school, church, government and business. All of them are to serve us as a nation with no regard to our ideological differences.

In a new South Africa, citizens will have to be highly politicised and empowered in all disciplines of life. When we said that we on the Sowetan had no political ambitions, we meant that we did not want to run for the leadership of political parties, nor do we want to use Naton Building to compete with existing political organisations.

There are many paths leading to the realisation of that dream. Some paths are long, short, crooked or straight, but all are intended to lead us to the realisation of a common dream. And to realise that all those paths because they complement each other.

Some people say the political path is the only way to freedom, but we say it is one of many which have to be used simultaneously.

The articles on Naton Building in the Sowetan should be seen as signposts pointing to other strategies we believe our people should consider now and not after liberation.

Sam's NOTEBOOK
BY SAM MABE

11R

COMMENT

Telephone (011) 673-4160

Dilemma

BY last night the police had still not identified the couple who were blown to pieces when a bomb exploded opposite the Ath-lone Magistrate's Court at the weekend

But truth is that there will soon be weeping in at least one family in this country, and not because of natural causes

All in all there were four separate blasts in the Western Cape at the weekend

The bombs could have been planted by people opposed to the present system of government, who want to derail the September 6 elections, or by rightwingers who want to embarrass the Government by saying it is soft on security

Either way, the death of two South Africans in such circumstances is a very sad reflection on this country

It is obvious that the majority of South Africans are opposed to apartheid, want it dismantled and will go to any lengths to dismantle it. And it is obvious that a tiny minority wants to hold on to power for whites.

Only the Government can resolve this dilemma. The National Party has the clout to bring all the parties in this country to the negotiation table to resolve the country's crisis. It has the power to call an open-ended indaba where a new constitution would be hammered out after input from all.

Instead of doing this, the Government is playing politics. The National Party's Five-Year Plan and the stage-managed meeting between PW Botha and Nelson Mandela are not the solution. The country needs bold action if the deaths of more South Africans are to be avoided.

Sowetan Cosatu is believed to have circulated a discussion paper almost similar to the one issued by the ANC recently, seeking the views of its member unions on the question of a negotiated settlement in South Africa. Could you elaborate on this issue?

NAIDOO I am not aware of such a paper but we have had discussions within our ranks with the ANC and our allies in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). The resolutions from our congress reflect our position.

The resolution (on negotiations) was adopted as a result of discussions within our ranks as well as consultations with a wide range of organisations.

On the question of negotiations we wish to make it clear that we have never opposed genuine negotiations, particularly as a trade union federation. We are involved in negotiations on a daily basis, thousands of negotiations. But what we are saying is that there has to exist a climate in which the parties to a negotiation process must prove their bona fides.

We are saying for example that the ANC has been forced to embark on the armed struggle because of the refusal of the regime to negotiate. Until the regime creates the climate there can be no genuine negotiations.

Because it is responsible for the crisis we find ourselves in, the regime should unilaterally create a climate in which there is free political activity. They can do that only if they unban the organisations, release all political prisoners, allow all exiles to return and repeal discriminatory legislation.

Our view is that because the police and the army are instruments of repression, they have to be confined to their barracks.

Sowetan On the anti-apartheid coalition pro-

posed by the congress, can you explain how it is going to work?
NAIDOO Well, what we are seeing here is that increasing numbers of



Jay Naidoo ANC forced to embark on armed struggle

UNITY IS OUR GOAL

Sowetan 26/7/89

FACTS



Worker power in action

Our political cartoonist is still on holiday.

but by the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the unaffiliated unions as well.

If one looks at the peace initiative in Natal we have drawn together different organisations to end the violence there.

We have proposed to convene the anti-apartheid conference to plan the democratic alternative to apartheid.

Sowetan What kind of action do you intend to take at this conference?

NAIDOO We would not like to pre-empt the meeting but we hope that there are many organisations and influential people who are against apartheid and who can be brought together to determine a programme of action.

It is obvious that the mass-based organisations of the democratic movement will be the driving force behind that coalition.

Sowetan There were objections to your inviting certain individuals and organisations to last year's banned anti-apartheid conference. How do you intend to address this problem?

NAIDOO We are very confident that we will avoid many divisions this year in the sense that it is a process that must involve debate among the people. There were many weaknesses that we identified in the previous conference that there was not enough time for consultation and that not all organisations were involved in the process of working towards the coalition or conference.

What we intend to do this year is begin discussions with what we see as the important forces in the struggle: the churches, Nactu, black consciousness groups and even black business.

Sowetan There is a feeling in some circles in the labour movement that the summit is just a ploy by Cosatu to absorb Nactu and its affiliates into its structures. What is your response to this?

NAIDOO I think that we would disagree very strongly with that view. We treated Nactu even though we are much bigger than them as an equal partner in this process. If one looks at the first summit they had 250 representatives just as we had. There is no intention from our side to impose through our numbers, our views on them.

Sowetan There is a feeling that Inkatha is about to be included into the MDM fold following the recent developments in trouble-torn Natal. How true is this?

NAIDOO In Natal, we have been taking part in peace initiatives involving local organisations there. The congress endorsed the positive steps taken by Cosatu and UDF towards building peace in Natal. A meeting of the presidents of the ANC, Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha and their delegations has also been proposed. We have not discussed unity. This is as far as the whole matter is gone.

people even those who have traditionally supported the Government, are losing faith in its ability to provide a solution. This is why we see the regular treks being made to Lusaka, almost on a daily basis.

This is because the people see the ANC and Nelson Mandela as providing the real solutions to the country's crisis.

We also see that the results of our struggle have produced these forces of social change, forces that are disenchanted with the apartheid regime. It is therefore our duty and responsibility as the MDM to extend our political and moral influence to these forces.

We believe that these forces can be united around a particular unifying perspective of a non-racial, democratic South Africa and opposition to the state of emergency, repression, the Labour Relations Act (LRA) and the banning of our organisations.

The process towards the coalition has already started. If one looks at the Workers' Summit or the current campaign against the LRA, it is being waged not only by Cosatu

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlolo. Sub-editing headlines and posters by Sydney Mathabane. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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26/7/89

Cricket boss in secret ANC talks

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — South African cricket boss Dr Ali Bacher had secret impromptu talks with senior ANC officials here last week, top anti-apartheid sources confirmed last night.

Dr Bacher, managing director of the South African Cricket Union (Sacu), presented the ANC with a video of the Sacu's work with black children in the townships and explained their policy.

Contrary to reports in South Africa, he did not even mention the issue of a rebel England cricket tour and was "not silly enough" to ask them to support sports contact.

The ANC's message to Dr Bacher was that if the Sacu respected the sporting wishes of the majority of South Africans and the children it worked with, they would honour a total moratorium on foreign sports contact.

The Sacu was told that both the Sacu and South African society were still woefully short of reaching standards of equality and non-racial achievement that would make them acceptable to the majority of South Africans.

A spokesman for the ANC declined to comment on the meeting with Dr Bacher, but warned that the Sacu would alienate itself and destroy any claim it made to be representative of most South African cricketers if it went ahead with a rebel tour next year, as reports claim will happen.

Approached for comment in Johannesburg last night, Dr Bacher would neither confirm nor deny that he or members of the Sacu had met the ANC, or would meet it in the future.

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Transition to post-apartheid era discussed

Top economists in secret ANC talks

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

Two of the Government's top economic experts have had secret discussions on the country's economy in a post-apartheid era with ANC economists and Russian and East German experts on Africa.

Professor Jan Lombard, deputy governor of the Reserve Bank, and Dr Simon Brand, chief executive of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, were among 25 South African economists, financiers and academics who attended the six-day conference in Lausanne earlier this month.

It is believed to be the first time officials at such a high Government level have held discussions about the economy with the ANC.

The Star understands that other members of the group were the acting chairman of the National Manpower Commission, Dr Frans Barkler, and Mr Estian Calitz of the Department of Finance's Central Economic Advisory Service.

Private sector

The private sector was represented by Dr Conrad Strauss, managing director of Standard Bank, Mr Rudolf Gouws of the Rand Merchant Bank, and Mr Bob Tucker, managing director of The Perm Building Society.

Experts from the major South African universities also attended, as did representatives of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Dr Brand, who confirmed he and Professor Lombard were at the talks, said the presence of

the ANC and others at the meeting did not mean it was "cloak and dagger stuff".

He said in a statement "There was a conference on the economic policy of South Africa. It was, although it was not stated as such, on the post-apartheid period. We did not use that term."

"The conference was arranged by a Swiss public administration institute (Institut des Hautes Etudes en Administration Publique).

"They invited a number of people from South Africa and academics from the United Kingdom and Europe who specialise in southern Africa. There were some ANC people."

Details of the talks, held from July 9 to 13, are disclosed in the "Southern Africa Report", edited by former newspaper editor, Mr Raymond Louw.

It says Professor Lombard read a paper on monetary and fiscal policy and Dr Brand delivered a paper on economic co-operation.

Issues such as agriculture, economic growth and the growth crisis in South Africa, the role of the private financial sector in a future South Africa, unemployment, and economic growth "in a transitional economy" were discussed.

"Southern Africa Report" says the aim of the gathering was for South African economists to discuss issues with ANC economists.

The focal point was the transition from an apartheid society to a post-apartheid South Africa "and on the economic methods which would be employed to achieve a smooth transition".

Delegates were said to have agreed the economy was in crisis because of apartheid.

Team of 12 at N Korea Congress

Jan 26/1989

11A

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Twelve South Africans attended the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in North Korea last month

It was the first time in nearly 30 years that a South African delegation had attended

The group included representatives from the South African Youth Congress, Nusas and the South African National Student Congress. It was led by Mr Mpho Lekgoro of the youth congress

The delegates' first stop was in Lusaka, Zambia, where they joined an ANC group led by secretary-general Mr Jackie Seleba

"Anti-imperialism solidarity, peace and friendship", was the slogan of the festival

The festival's preparatory committee produced a document calling for support of the "liberation struggles" in South Africa, Namibia, Nicaragua and Palestine.

Delegates said the release of Nelson Mandela was often discussed. France suggested he be nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize

nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Stav 261 7/89
'Show us you are changing'

MAPUTO — President Joaquim Chissano has called on the South African Government to renounce regional destabilisation and make fundamental internal changes as evidence of its stated willingness to abolish apartheid and introduce far-reaching reforms.

"The Frelimo party encourages dialogue with the ANC and all South African patriotic forces so that South Africa may become a just and democratic society," Mr Chissano said. — Sapa-AP.

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~~(S)~~ (11A)

By DAVID WELSH, Professor of Southern African Studies at UCT, who took part in the Lusaka conference with the ANC.

IN THE hypothetical event of a free and democratic election in South Africa the ANC would receive the votes of at least 60% of the black population. On the other hand, according to survey data, only 2% of the white population supports the ANC's constitutional proposals for universal franchise in a unitary state. That, in a nutshell, is the South African problem.

Unless the ANC is brought in from the cold and induced to participate in a process of constitutional negotiation, the South African deadlock will continue, with horrifying long-term consequences.

It was with these premises in mind that I joined the most recent safari to Lusaka, under the leadership of Mike Olivier of Five Freedoms Forum. The 115 of us were a mixed bunch, unified only by our common lack of real political leverage in white politics.

We were received graciously and hospitably by the ANC, whose members are genuinely pleased to receive first-hand news from "home", as they all unfailingly call South Africa. Homesickness and nostalgia are among the characteristics you notice first. Sophistication, intelligence and determination come a close second.

Hardliner

The temptation for some is to romanticise the ANC and to be swept away in a tide of euphoria. We saw the diplomatic face of the ANC — the charm of Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan and the benign wisdom of Oliver Tambo. They have finely-honed skills and an ability to state the ANC's position with firmness and dignity.

The "other side" of the ANC, which we did not see, is best represented by the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, Chris Hani, reputedly a tough and uncompromising hardliner. The longer the armed struggle continues the more likely it is that the hardliners will capture the key leadership positions.

A number of us were critical of the ANC's commitment to "armed struggle" and comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We were quite unable to shake them out of their implacability and arguments that sanctions and violence are counter-productive were dismissed.

This is tragic, but no one could produce an effective reply to the ANC's claim that its taking up arms, after nearly 50 years of scrupulous commitment to non-violence, was the inevitable response to the State's own violence.

We were told of the letter written by Chief Albert Luthuli to Prime Minister J G Strijdom in 1957 pleading for him to show statesmanship in stemming the spate of discriminatory legislation and urging him to talk to the ANC and other organisations. The insulting reply, from a secretary, promised to find an opportunity to lay the letter before the Prime Minister. We were further told that presumably no such opportunity had arisen, since nothing further was heard.

Armed struggle

While I remain unconvinced of the case for "armed struggle", and fearful of the implications of civil war, I have to acquiesce to the ANC's claim that its capacity for violence and its ability to promote "mass action" represent

ANC leaders suspect Nat government's good faith

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Black, collectively, have acquired a veto power in South Africa and the sooner whites recognise this the less protracted the conflict will be.

Publicly, the ANC avers that the white oligarchy is not as strong as is commonly supposed, privately, many do recognise its strength and accept that armed struggle is merely one of several pressures to be exerted on the South African Government to force it to the bargaining table. It also firmly believes that such reforms as the Government has made are actually strategic retreats caused by the domestic and international pressures exerted on it.

A stongly-held ANC view is that apartheid is incapable of being reformed. It will not countenance any proposed dispensations in which elements of compulsory segregation will be retained. Whites have to understand just how galling and intolerable an affront to black dignity is any form of discrimination.

Suspicion

I have no doubt the ANC is keen to negotiate, although it will not do so unconditionally. It requires the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the commuting of death sentences imposed on those convicted of political offences and the withdrawal of troops and para-military police from the townships. Moreover, it says it will not participate in negotiating structures, such as the National Forum, that have been generated by the apartheid system itself.

There is a pathological suspicion of the Government's *bona fides* — which is hardly surprising — and a general belief that F W de Klerk's recent declarations are merely re-statements of "the same old thing" and "a rearguard action to preserve apartheid".

At the same time many ANC people have a genuine fear of increasing hostility and South Africa's economic decline. Moreover, despite claims to the contrary, there are pressures from the Soviet Union for the ANC to seek a political rather than a military "solution".

Democrats

The belief, assiduously promoted by South African propagandists, that the ANC dog is wagged by the Communist Party tail, is untrue. In fact, as several

true CP people have been more-or-less completely assimilated into the ANC.

In any case, the Communist bogey can hardly be exploited in the traditional way, given the virtual collapse of Marxism-Leninism as a credible system. I was amazed to hear well-known Communists in Lusaka talking like born-again democrats. One such person, much demonised in South Africa, told me of his strong support for Mr Gorbachev, and when I asked him if he saw any chance of the Soviet Union proceeding along the lines of Poland and Hungary, where multi-party systems are in the process of being established, he replied "I hope so".

He went on to denounce one-party systems as recipes for tyranny. "Once the bastards get in you can never get rid of them".

Coming from someone who has swallowed Stalinism, the brutal repressions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland without a peep of (public, at any rate) protest, this was hopeful.

I had long discussions with various ANC people who had drafted the 1988 Constitutional Guidelines, which are an amplification of the Freedom Charter. I was impressed with the modest and scholarly Zola Skweyiya with whom I participated in a session on constitutional options.

Minorities

The ANC's demand is for universal franchise in a non-racial, unitary state but in discussions I gained the impression that they accepted my argument that in the South African conflict no party or movement was likely to find itself in a position to impose its own constitution. They were entirely amenable to the proposition that divided societies must, at all costs, avoid "winner-takes-all" outcomes.

Our constitutional discussions were too lengthy to summarise but suffice it to say that my impression is that the ANC is aware that minorities may have entirely reasonable (and not simply residually racist) fears under majority rule. Areas of possible compromise and agreement are there.

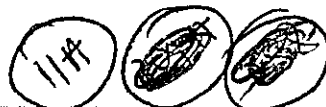
Finally, it needs to be said that the non-racial ethic is fundamental to the ANC's political culture. It has not always been easy for the ANC to defend this position but, to their great credit, they have done so and, as far as they are concerned, non-racialism is

'RED LINKS A SNAG'

THE NG Kerk says the ANC's communist links and its involvement in violence remain a serious stumbling block in the way of discussions on the organisation's future role in South Africa. (S) (IA)

In the latest issue of its mouthpiece, *Die Kerkbode*, the NG Kerk says there is considerable naivety among many of the South Africans who have held talks with the ANC, as well as the wishes of the ANC and "its fellow-traveller," the South African Communist Party.

Die Kerkbode said those holding such talks should be very certain that the price asked for peace was not too high. Sowetan 2-11-89



27/7 - 2/8/89

From MARLAN PADAYACHEE
DURBAN. — The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) launched its anti-election campaign with a mass rally in Durban this week following a successful 10-day, no-vote foray into the heartland of a verkrampste Natal South Coast town.

The rally in the Durban City Hall marked the beginning of what promises to be a bitter political campaign spread over 40 days between anti-apartheid activists and the two main "pro-system" parties, the Solidarity Party led by Durban businessman JN Reddy and Amichand Rajbansi's National Peoples Party.

The UDF's Dullah Omar was billed as one of the speakers at the pre-election rally.

The NIC, the country's oldest political party which was formed by Mahatma Gandhi almost 100 years ago, caused a stir last week when about 150 members turned up at a Democratic Party (DP) meeting in Amanzimtoti, stronghold of the Conservative Party.

This was the first time in the history of anti-apartheid politics that one of its exponents attended a white political rally and staged a symbolic walkout protest.

White electorate

Said Dr Farouk Meer, secretary of the NIC "We told the DP to stick to white politics and stay out of the House of Delegates election. They were adamant that they would field candidates in the Indian election and our group walked out of the town hall"

Earlier, the NIC delegation were allowed to hand in a memorandum which outlined reasons why the DP should not participate in the Indian elections, and Meer later addressed the largely white electorate on the issue.

But matters came to a head when the DP's Zac de Beer flatly rejected the NIC's suggestion that the party steer clear of Indian politics.

Farouk Meer explained that the strategy of attending pro-election meetings was part of the first phase of the campaign

Phase two, he said, would include

Activists stage anti-election blitz

high-powered rallies in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, regular door-to-door visits in the various constituencies stretching from Port Shepstone on the Natal south coast to Pietermaritzburg in the Natal Midlands, as well as a pamphlet blitz.

The NIC is to produce an "election manifesto" of its vision of a future South Africa next week.

Meer admitted that his movement is the weakest in Ladysmith and Newcastle: "We are relying on our Pietermaritzburg branch to muster no-vote support in the outlying country districts. It is difficult to have an organisational base in the northern Natal towns".

So far, NIC members have wrecked two meetings during their 10-day blitz on supporters of the tricameral parliament, including a meeting organised and addressed by the NPP's Amichand Rajbansi in Umkomaas on the Natal south coast last week.

The meeting grounded to a halt after local residents and about 40 NIC activists joined forces and took the sacked Cabinet Minister to task.

Wrecked meeting

"Give me 60 minutes," Rajbansi pleaded to a hostile crowd before someone allegedly sabotaged the sound system and cut him off. A bitter Rajbansi later accused the NIC of "gatecrashing" the meeting.

Last weekend the activists were on the march again and this time they wrecked the meeting of the newly-formed Natal Federal Party in Chatsworth.

Speakers and delegates were heckled and jeered as they attempted to put a strong case for participation in the September 6 elections.

The police were called to restore order. The public meeting was abandoned, but the party continued with a closed session at which it was decided to contest 20 seats.

The director of the Gaysands Restaurant, Selvan Naucker, said he had laid a charge against an "unruly and uninvited group of people who gatecrashed" the NFP meeting.

In Durban, Major Charl du Toit, police spokesperson for the Port Natal Division, confirmed that police were investigating claims of an alleged violation of the Liquor Act.

Responding to Rajbansi's attack on his organisation, Meer said there was "already an anti-Rajbansi tirade" when the NIC supporters arrived at the Umkomaas meeting.

"We merely gave the local protest guidance and direction and the opposition against Amichand Rajbansi grew and became uncontrollable. He was ordered off the stage by the police."

Of the NFP meeting, Meer said "We did not gatecrash it. We registered and were given party badges, plus tea and a promise of bryani lunch if we stayed on. The meeting refused to vote on the issue of participation and we left after the police were called in."

Polling stations

Meanwhile, the 10 000-strong Indian teachers union, the Teachers Association of South Africa, has received a spate of complaints from parents and teachers about the use of Indian schools as polling booths in Chatsworth and Phoenix, the city's largest Indian townships.

Said newly-elected president Poo-bie Naucker "Education and politics do not mix and the use of schools as polling stations is not conducive to sound education."

"This situation is unacceptable because it is not healthy for schoolchildren to become pawns in a political game which is sensitive and one that has been rejected by the majority of the people."

A spokesperson for the Home Affairs said other government-owned properties, including some schools, would be used as polling booths. He refused to comment on the complaints from parents and teachers.

(Report by M Padayachee, of 1 Dinapur Rd, Merebank.)

ANC denies poll 'violence' plans

11A
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From MONO BADELA Movement (MDM) this week denied they were planning the violent disruption of the September 6 elections.

In a statement issued in Lusaka on Wednesday, the ANC denied it had devised a "militant defiance campaign" in conjunction with the MDM.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, claimed this week he had "startling information" that certain organisations planned several actions against the elections, including petrol bomb attacks on candidates and the disruption of hospital services.

Cosatu's assistant secretary, Sydney Mufamadi, said anti-election activities were "openly canvassed and non-violent in their nature".

"We are not surprised at all by the Minister's speech. It is essentially the same as the one made before the last election, the one before that, and the one before that.

"We would only be surprised if people were taken in yet again by the NP's worn-out propaganda," Mufamadi said.

"They are once again planning to place the black leadership behind bars

"They are raising the same old tired tactics to stir paranoia and fear among the white electorate and to justify taking action against the MDM."

Mufamadi said the Minister was attempting to turn actions of "protest and defiance" into something sinister

(Report by M Badela, 52 Summonds St, Johannesburg)

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Don't be silly, Dilley, say Weil and Ackerman

Cart Times 27/7/89

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Staff Reporter

LEADING retailers this week rebutted claims by Nationalist candidate for Simon's Town Mr Harry Dilley that supermarket "monopolies" were responsible for profiteering at the expense of consumers

Mr Dilley, the NP MP for Simon's Town, said earlier this week at a meeting in Kommetjie that petrol price rises did not push up the price of food. He added "Ask Mr Raymond Ackerman who is a super-retailer."

Consumers were being hammered because of the monopoly among food suppliers and the big companies were making astronomical profits — but the government was being blamed, he said.

"That is nonsense because the government has not got a lot to do with the price of food," Mr Dilley said.

Approached for comment, Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman said he agreed with Mr Dilley that the price of food was rising. A recent survey found staple food prices had risen 12%-13% from last year.

"But examples of where the government is at fault include the allocation of licences to sell wine, bake bread and sell petrol," he said.

Illustrating this, he said Pick 'n Pay had only 36 wine licences for its 108 stores, would "love to bake bread"

and could "immediately" sell petrol between four and five cents cheaper than the fixed price.

"I urge the government to take the lead in implementing privatisation and deregulation, and to be much stricter towards monopolies," he said.

And chairman of the Checkers chainstore group Mr Clive Weil said yesterday while it "did not help to point fingers at any one person" the government could not claim to be blameless in its contribution to inflation, price rises and concentration of economic activity.

"We are all responsible for inflation, but it's not fair to say supermarkets are making excessive profits. Checkers, for example, is making slightly less than 1% on pre-tax turnover. It does not help to be simplistic," he said.

Inflation was a reflection of the country's poor political image which, in turn, influenced the value of the rand and the gold price.

Likewise, low productivity was a function of inferior education.

Referring to Mr Dilley's remarks about the influence that petrol price increases had on the cost of food, Mr Ackerman said:

"The man in the street is being hammered by the petrol price, which does marginally bring up the price of food."

(Report by C de Villiers 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



'Children of 1985'

By CHIARA CARTER
ALWAYS jovial and with a song in his heart.

This is how friends and family knew Robert Waterwitch (left) who died with Bonteheuwel youth leader, Coline Williams, in a bomb blast at the Athlone Magistrate's Court last Sunday night.

Waterwitch, who celebrated his 20th birthday a week before the blast, was a student at the University of the Western Cape.

Well-known in activist circles, he was an executive member of the Cape Youth Congress and the chairperson of the Belgravia Youth Congress.

Waterwitch matriculated at St Columbas High School in Athlone, after which he studied at the University of Cape Town where he was a prominent member of Sansco.

He was described by his un-

TO PAGE 3

'Children of 1985'

FROM PAGE 1

cle, Mr Basil Snyers, as a "family person"

"Robbie's mother is divorced and his brother suffers from muscular dystrophy. The family has always been very close," said Snyers.

The other blast victim, Coline, visited the home of her former school friend, Ashley Kriel, two weeks ago to give flowers to his mother.

This week, Williams' badly mutilated body was identified by her mother in the Salt River mortuary as one of two people who were killed in a bomb explosion outside the Athlone magistrates court last weekend.

The explosion was one of a series which rocked the Peninsula last Sunday night.

A founder member of the Bonteheuwel Inter-Students Congress (Bisco), Williams, 22, played a key role in mobilising pupils during the 1985-1986 uprising.

She was held in detention under the state of emergency for 11 months.

After her release, she became active in relief work for families of political prisoners and was currently the co-ordinator of the Relief sub-committee of the Bonteheuwel branch of the Cape Youth Congress.

Both Williams and Waterwitch were devout Catholics and Williams was a member of the Bonteheuwel branch of Inter Church Youth (ICY). She was currently doing an ICY drama course.

Close friends this week emphasised that the couple's strong religious convictions had led to their "deep commitment to fight injustice".

Funeral

"They were, like the Forbes trialists and countless other young South Africans, children of 1985," a friend commented.

"The experiences of that generation of student activists stayed with people like Robbie and Coline. They could not turn their backs on the fight against oppression," he said.

Both the deceased lived with their parents and were last seen by their families on Sunday.

When they had not returned home by Tuesday, their parents contacted lawyers who were advised by police at Athlone police station on Wednesday morning to go to the mortuary.

A funeral for both victims will take



Coline Williams

place on August 5 at the Bonteheuwel Catholic church and there will be separate vigils in Athlone and Bonteheuwel and a service at UWC next week.

'Same old tricks to stir white fears'

Vlok allegations a poll ploy - MDM

Staff Reporters

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has rejected as "worn-out propaganda" allegations by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok that anti-apartheid organisations will launch a campaign of militant defiance against the September election.

In a statement yesterday, the MDM said Mr Vlok's attack was entirely predictable and followed the pattern of government strategies during previous elections campaigns.

Mr Sydney Mufamadi, assistant general-secretary of the union federation Cosatu, read out the statement at a press conference in Johannesburg.

State of panic

At a public meeting in Fochville on Monday, Mr Vlok disclosed "alarming information" that the MDM planned several measures including petrol bomb attacks on candidates and disrupting hospital services.

In its statement, the MDM said "The Nationalists are in a state of panic resulting from the daily disintegration of their rule. They are using the same old tired tactic to stir up paranoia and fear among the white electorate, and to justify taking action against the MDM."

"The Minister attempts to turn actions of protest and defiance, which have been openly discussed, into something sinister and conspiratorial." The MDM said whites should ask themselves

Why most South Africans protested peacefully against apartheid and the "racist" elections. The MDM's actions relating to the elections had been planned openly and were non-violent.

"This is in contrast to the violent and repressive actions of the State. While the white leaders are campaigning to be elected, they are once again planning to place the black leadership behind bars under the state of emergency."

"This is a recipe for disaster. Such actions by the State are precisely what would precipitate the kind of uncontrolled violence which Mr Vlok is accusing us of planning."

It was the democratic right of people who were excluded from the elections to call on people not to vote.

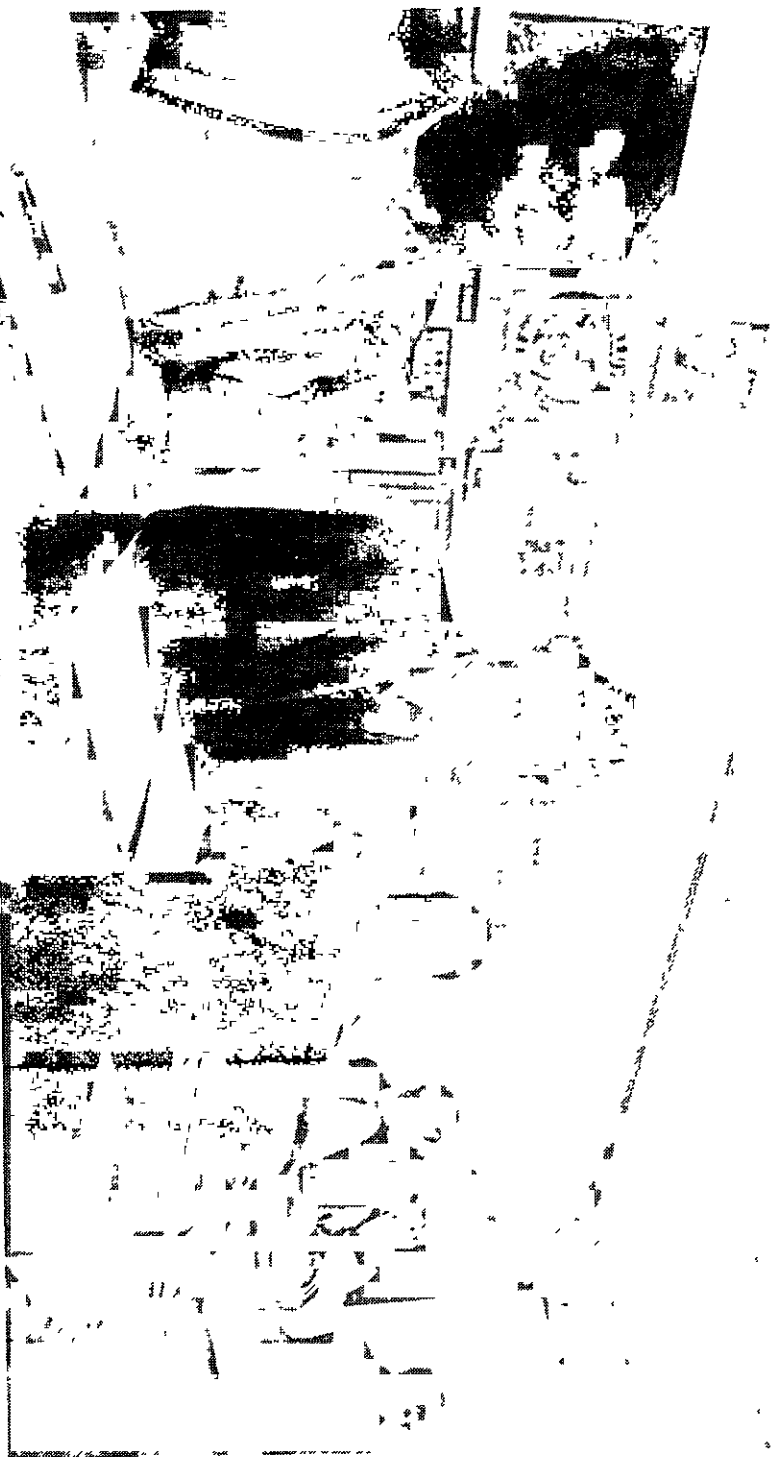
The ANC, in a statement yesterday from Lusaka, denied it had devised a "militant defiance campaign" in conjunction with the MDM.

Actstap spokesman Mr Cas Coovadia, said "We would like to make it clear that these actions are intended to be organised and non-violent. Mr Vlok's allegations of petrol bombs are devoid of any truth."

SA Council of Churches spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said it was a Government ploy to accuse anti-apartheid organisations of trying to sow disruption each time an election is called.

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said "I have no knowledge of the plot, but it is common knowledge that they will be campaigning against people coming out to vote."

(Report compiled by E. van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Leading activists in the Mass Democratic Movement yesterday announced a defiance campaign against segregated public facilities. From left are Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sydney Mufamadi, the United Democratic Front's Mr Mohammed Vally Moosa, Actstap's Mr Cas Coovadia and SAHWCOC's Dr Atzel Dassoo.

● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Apartheid: US (11A) UK 'not genuine'

LUSAKA.— Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed nationalist leader Walter Sisulu, says she doubts whether the United States and Britain are genuine about uprooting apartheid.

Mrs Sisulu, who visited the United States and Britain, said British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher was still against sanctions and President Bush had told her he could not commit himself *She 277767*.

A member of Mrs Sisulu's delegation, Sister Bernard Ncube, said there would not be any negotiations while Mr Nelson Mandela was still in jail, detainees were not released, the ANC was not unbanned and the state of emergency was not lifted —
The Star Africa News Service

MDM defiance confirmed

AN extensive defiance campaign to coincide with the September general election is being planned by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), starting at the main whites-only hospitals on August 2.

Announcing the campaign at a Press conference in Johannesburg attended by Western and Japanese diplomats, leaders of the MDM said blacks would present



Picture Page 2

11A

themselves for treatment at hospitals in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Vereeniging, Durban and Dundee

More than 30 community, trade union, and student organisations which form part of the MDM are backing the campaign. They include Cosatu, Actstop, Black Sash, Nusas, Namda, Jodac, the Detainees Aid Committee, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress.

SIPHO NGCOBO

Although the MDM did not want to disclose other defiance actions, it is believed they could include black township children presenting themselves at white schools

In a statement, the participating organisations said they had no faith in what they described as the NP rhetoric that facilities and amenities would be desegregated

"We see, in fact, attempts by the NP to tighten up some of the laws that make race the criterion for the provision of basic services and needs. We see the effects of laws like the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act, Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act and other racist legislation on our people," said the statement.

"We are no longer prepared to submit

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Defiance



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From Page 1

ourselves to or support laws that deprive our children of relevant education. We are no longer prepared to submit ourselves to laws that deprive us of adequate recreation and that render us homeless when houses for whites lie vacant."

The SA Council of Churches said the MDM's strategy gave peace its only chance in SA. "It is in this light that we support this initiative for peaceful and non-violent action."

In response to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's speech that police were keeping 30 MDM leaders under surveillance for planning pre-election violence, the MDM warned this would be disastrous for government.

"Locking up leaders of the MDM in the run-up to the election, as feared by the movement, is a recipe for disaster."

The MDM said such actions by the state could precipitate the kind of uncontrolled violence that Vlok was accusing the move-

ment of planning.

The MDM said the Minister was attempting to turn actions of protest and defiance which had been openly discussed into something sinister and conspiratorial.

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that National Health Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk said government knew of the MDM plans.

The planned action, he said, formed part of the general confrontation by radical elements in a pre-election bid to embarrass government. He said everything possible would be done to maintain standards of health care.

Daan Kirsten, MEC in charge of hospital services, appealed to those who planned the action to demonstrate in some other way to make whatever point they had in mind but to leave health services alone.

Report by Siphon Ngcobo 11 Diagonal St Johannesburg and Gerald Reilly 216 Vermeulen St Pretoria

ANC accused of supplies racket

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

11A

African National Congress commanders and leaders are allegedly selling off supplies intended for insurgents inside South Africa and provided by Scandinavian countries, according to the South Africa Police.

Police said this information had been gleaned from various ANC defectors during questioning by the security forces.

According to the SAP public relations directorate, the defectors say the supplies were being seized by key ANC personnel and then sold for hard cash.

A ready market is said to exist on the black market in countries such as Zambia for these goods. Cash is then said to be pocketed by the ANC black marketeers, the sources said.

Clothing is said to form a large part of this illicit trade.

The defectors, according to the SAP, claim the selling off of the goods intended for insurgents in South Africa has caused considerable tension within the ANC in Lusaka.

2 men seen running from Alex clinic fire

Staff Reporters

Alexandra Health Clinic's nurses' hostel in Wynberg was badly damaged by fire early today after a security guard and staff heard two explosions and saw two men, one of them white, running from the scene.

Staff did not get a clear view of the second man.

While doctors and nurses suspect the fire was caused by a petrol bomb, the police and fire brigade said it was caused by an electrical fault.

Nurses were slightly injured as they battled to escape the blaze through broken windows.

Dr Tim Wilson, head of the clinic, said there was no immediate evidence of a petrol bomb, but a security guard heard two explosions and saw the two men running from the scene.

In nearby Alexandra only 15 minutes later, the flat of Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO) president, Mr Paul Mashadile, was damaged in a petrol bomb attack. A plastic petrol container was found at the scene.

Police and fire department officials who were called to investigate the clinic blaze said they suspected the fire was caused by an electrical fault.



Heroes of the Alex Health Clinic fire
Mr William Baloyi (left), Mr Nimrod Panyo and Mr Solomon Mdav.

"The security guard said he heard an explosion, saw people running away, and thought a petrol bomb had been thrown. But we found no traces of anything to support this," said a fire department spokesman.

The explosion heard could have been glass shattering from heat, he said.

"The fire damaged the sitting room and spread to the kitchen area. The bedrooms were not damaged and fortunately the security guard managed to wake the nurses in time," he added.

Sister Eugene Ngwekazi said she heard strange noises in the building at about 3 30 am.

"When I opened my door the passage was full of smoke. With my neighbour we crawled through the smoke towards the front door."

"Although I am still shocked I am lucky I wasn't injured. Most of the other nurses had to get out of the building through windows and were badly cut," she said.

The flat of the president of the Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO), Mr Paul Mashadile, was petrol-bombed at about 4 am today.

No-one was injured in the attack but considerable damage was caused.

Mr Mashadile told The Star he was asleep when a loud bang woke him.

The room was ablaze and he rushed to the next bedroom to wake his flat-mate, Mr Jacob Mshah, general secretary of AYCO.

"We both rushed to the front door. We doused the flames with water and managed to get out," he said.

Mr Mashadile said they found a 2 litre petrol container outside.

They are both restricted in terms of emergency regulations and confined to the flat between 6 pm and 6 am.

MASS

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ACTION

MOVE

Mass action

From Page 1

Dr Willie van Niekerk, warned yesterday health authorities would not allow standards of health care facilities to drop because of any planned disruptions in the run-up to the September 6 general election.

In a statement, Dr van Niekerk said it had been learned from reliable sources people would in the near future be transported in large numbers to hospitals and clinics outside their normal service areas to disrupt health services by exerting abnormal pressure on management.

A call was made to all anti-apartheid forces to start a process of non-violent direct action against segregated facilities and amenities.

"This action will start

with the desegregation of the whites-only hospitals," he said.

As from Monday morning people are to present themselves for medical treatment at the Johannesburg Hospital in Parktown, the Vereeniging Hospital in the Vaal, the Paardekraal Hospital on the West Rand, the HF Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria and in addition, the Addington Hospital in Durban, Greys Hospital in Pietermaritzburg AND the hospitals in Dundee and Port Shepstone.

In a statement released by Cosatu also yesterday, the trade union said: "Any actions planned by the Mass Democratic Movement concerning the September election were openly canvassed and non-violent in their nature."

SOWETAN Reporter

THE Mass Democratic Movement's peaceful mass action aimed at eradicating apartheid starts on Monday.

The MDM, an alliance of the United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions and other organisations which uphold the Freedom Charter, made this announcement at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The announcement confirms claims by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, at a meeting in Fochville on Tuesday night in which he disclosed that mass action by extra-parliamentary organisations was planned.

Violence

However his allegations of planned mass-scale violence and intimidation were rejected by all officials in the mass democratic movement.

"This is their usual scare tactic" was the general comment from activists.

A spokesman for the organisers said if the State continued to uphold its apartheid structures on the one hand, and on the other condemned apartheid, then the people will

Alliance names Monday as the start

dismantle it for themselves.

"We are no longer prepared to support laws that deprive the majority of the people in our country of equal and free health services, relevant education and adequate recreation.

"Furthermore, we refuse to remain silent when we are rendered homeless while houses in white areas are standing empty," Mr Mohammed Vally Moosa said at the Press conference.

"Only direct action by the people can rid us of these laws and open all facilities and amenities to all of the people of South Africa," Moosa said.

Meanwhile, the Minister of National Health and Population Development,



Mr Mohammed Vally Moosa speaking at the conference.

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency

To Page 2



No wedding cake for Mandla

YOUNG Mandla Nyamza, above, has been denied what should have been one of the happiest days of his life.

Mandla's parents, Tony Yengeni and Lumka Nyamza, are both on trial for terrorism in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

They were due to get married on Thursday and had applied for permission from the South African Police for five-year-old Mandla to attend the wedding.

Hour-long reception

But the bouncy youngster was refused permission to attend both the hour-long ceremony and the reception.

The couple's lawyer, Mr Mike Evans, said the police would allow only Yengeni's father and Nyamza's mother to attend the ceremony.

Evans said police had also refused to allow relatives who had travelled to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape to attend the reception.

A lawyer is the only additional person who will be allowed to attend the 40-minute celebration.

Further representations were made to the Prisons Service but at the time of going to press no response had been received.

South 27/7 - 6/8/89

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Kaunda praises Sisulu

LUSAKA.—Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda has called on more South African women to join the anti-apartheid struggle.

Kaunda said this here this week when he met Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of the jained ANC leader Walter Sisulu.

Mrs Sisulu will arrive home this weekend after an international whistle-stop tour which included meetings with British premier Margaret

Thatcher and United States President George Bush.

Kaunda praised Mrs Sisulu and the contribution her family had made to the liberation struggle. He said the name was of historic importance to Zambia and the Frontline States.

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this edition by M Williams; sub-editing, headlines and posters by R Fisher; and cartoons by D Carelse, all of 95 Sir Lowry Rd, Woodstock.



Sisulu

27/7 - 2/8/89

ULUNDI. — Inkatha, Co-
satu and the UDF have
called on their members
to "strive towards unity
to enable the oppressed
to strike telling blows
against the common en-
emy".

A joint statement is-
sued here yesterday
after a meeting between
the three organisations
on violence in Natal says
they were "deeply ou-
traged at the spate of
senseless violence in
Mpumalanga and other
areas resulting in the
loss of life and limb of
people who would other-
wise be alive to pursue
our struggle against
apartheid to the end"

"This (violence) hap-
pens while we have em-
barked on talks to bring
about peace among the
oppressed and to stop
the continuation of
senseless killings and
destruction of property
of innocent people in the

UDF,
Inkatha
plea for
unity

hope that the peace pro-
cess will have a chance
of being implemented"

The three called on
their members to:

● "Give leaders of our
organisations a chance
of implementing the
peace process by desist-
ing forthwith from fur-
ther acts of violence
against fellow op-
pressed

● "Close ranks and
strive towards unity
which alone will enable
the oppressed to strike
telling blows against the
common enemy" —
Sapa

Alex activists are back on the streets ... with brooms

By KEITH MADONSELA

THE Alexandra Action Committee is back on the streets again

The committee, lead by trade unionist Moses Mayekiso, is spear-heading a township clean-up campaign which began at the weekend

The AAC is back in action after three years, following the lengthy treason trial of five of its members, including Mayekiso. The five were acquitted earlier this year.

According to a statement by Mayekiso after the event. "The whole of Alexandra township was full of activity for the first time since early 1986, when all such activities were clamped down upon."

It seems the AAC can still count on the support of the Alexandra residents. More than 3 000 people participated in the clean-up, which was supported by the Alexandra Youth Congress (Ayco), and Alexandra Student Congress (Asco).

This follows the failure two weeks earlier of a clean-up campaign called by the Alexandra Town Council. Residents believe the call by the council was intended to pre-empt the action of the AAC. But residents ignored the council's campaign

On Saturday people piled refuse from backyards and hostels in front of their gates and on street corners, which was later collected by refuse trucks organised by the AAC

People sang while they cleaned — undeterred by the presence of the security force. Members of the South African Defence Force and South African Police monitored the proceedings, filming with video cameras.

Welcome for Winnie

A GROUP of women dressed in the khaki, green and black uniform of the Federation of Transvaal Women stepped out of a minibus in Alexandra township last weekend — they had come to help with the "clean-up" campaign organised by the Alexandra Action Committee.

There was a familiar figure among those bending to gather up the scattered refuse: Winnie Nomzamo Mandela. She was greeted with warm smiles by the knots of residents who had gathered.

It was yet another sign of her gradual reintegration into the mainstream of anti-apartheid organisations — and Alex's leaders saw it as such.

According to AAC chairman Moses Mayekiso, Mandela's presence "strengthened the clean-up campaign — youths started singing, despite the presence of soldiers patrolling the township".

The AAC says Mandela warmly accepted the invitation to take part in the campaign. Mayekiso added: "The invitation to Winnie should be seen against the background of the mass democratic movement's stated wish to integrate her back into the structures."

Mayekiso added: "When I phoned to invite her, she was preparing to attend a meeting of Fedtraw. And she has promised to help in future campaigns in Alex."

11A

28/7 - 3/8/89

Winnie

Star 28/7/89

CIA

RESOLVES

TO ADOPT THE FOLLOWING PROGRAM OF ACTION

We must mobilise a National Defiance Campaign against all Unjust and Discriminatory laws. We commits ourselves to mobilising every Cosatu member to take part in this ongoing Defiance Campaign, that will culminate in a week of militant mass action during the first week of September.

The components of this campaign will be

(a) Mass action to defy the Unjust segregation of Health facilities. On the 20th July we will mobilise our people all over the country to present themselves at all segregated health facilities and demand that they be opened to all our people.

(b) Mass action around all other segregated facilities that have been denied to our people. On the 30th July we will mobilise our people to demand that all facilities in the areas of

- EDUCATION
- TRANSPORT
- HOUSING
- JOB OPPORTUNITIES
- PUBLIC AMENITIES
- etc.

be available to all our people.

(c) Mass action to unban all banned and restricted organisations. On the 30th August we must mobilise the efforts of every freedom loving South African in un-banning our organisations by

- Participating in Mass Rallies
- Participating in Street Processions and Demonstrations
- Openly displaying the colours and Logos of all banned organisations on every street, bus-stop, home and public place.
- Preparing media (posters, pamphlets, stickers etc.) that call for the un-banning of all banned organisations.
- Holding of Press Conferences where leadership figures

within the various banned organisations will openly declare their intention to continue operating publicly

- Planned all these actions in a decentralised manner so that regardless of what action the Regime may take on that day, the campaign must be effectively implemented in every part of the country.

An extract from the disputed document on which Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok apparently based his claim that the Mass Democratic Movement was calling for the violent disruption of the September elections. According to Cosatu, the document was merely a draft resolution which was never discussed by its congress.

Minister criticises Charter

5 Jan
28/1/89
By Craig Kotze,
Crime Reporter

Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Leon Wessels lashed out in Soweto yesterday at the ANC's Freedom Charter, claiming the "burning of schools and homes by the outlawed organisation" was based on the document

Speaking at the opening of the new Klipfontein Police Station, he said the document had nothing to do with the visualisation of a future South Africa

"It is simply a document by which the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance attempts to involve South Africans in their revolutionary offensive," he said

"By misleading our people with these transparent promises, the revolutionaries try to incite our people to violence and to misuse them for revolutionary purposes"

Identifying housing and education as the most urgent needs in South Africa today, Mr Wessels said "Terrorist organisations which intend bringing this country to its knees have been using these aspects as the main thrusts of their campaigns to create violent disorder"

(Report by C Kotze, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson, J M Patten and J de Villiers, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg

11A

Sowetan 28/7/89

Cosatu, Inkatha close ranks on black on black violence

INKATHA, Cosatu and the UDF have called on their members to close ranks and "strive towards unity to enable the oppressed to strike telling blows against the common enemy."

A joint statement issued here yesterday after a meeting between the three organisations on violence in Natal says they were "deeply outraged at the spate of senseless violence in

Mpumalanga and other areas involving their members and resulting in the loss of life and limb of people who would otherwise be alive to pursue our struggle against apartheid to the bitter end."

"This (violence) happens while we have embarked on talks to bring about peace among the oppressed and to stop the continuation of senseless killings and destruction of property of innocent

people in the hope that the peace process will have a chance of being implemented to the benefit of us all"

The three called on their members to:

- "Give leaders of our organisations a chance of implementing the peace process by desisting forthwith from further acts of violence and hostility against fellow oppressed.

- "Close ranks and strive towards unity which alone will enable the oppressed to strike telling blows against the common enemy."

The statement said the organisations reiterated their previous call to the Press to report "in a manner conducive to the peace process and thus help us in this difficult task of restoring peace and reconciliation among our people".

ANC leader 'went further than Govt required'

Viljoen questioned on Mandela release

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Mr Nelson Mandela had gone further than was required of him by saying he was prepared to work for peaceful solutions, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid said last night

He was replying to a member of the audience at a National Party meeting in Silverton, Pretoria, who asked why Mr Mandela had not been released, since he had committed himself to peace

Dr Viljoen told the audience of about 60 that the Government would have to look carefully at the implications of what Mr Mandela had said

Clashes with ANC

The importance of what he, as a leader of the ANC, had said was that it clashed with the standpoint of the ANC

The ANC said the only way to effect change was through violence and revolution and that it was only prepared to negotiate the transfer of power

"In my opinion Mr Mandela said a very important thing, that he was prepared to work for peaceful solutions"

This went further than had always been required of him — to renounce violence

By implication he had renounced violence and that was something the Government would have to look at very carefully, Dr Viljoen said

It would also have to look at the reaction from the ANC. In the ANC were those who were committed to violence and revolution and those who believed in negotiation

Dr Viljoen said the Conservative Party's policy of partition as described in its election manifesto would lead to "coercion, violence and possibly even a bloodbath"

The policy would require millions to be resettled as the CP philosophy was that each group had to be in the majority in its own homeland

The CP had proposed a series of economic measures to influence people to move voluntarily

But it was an illusion to think people would move voluntarily in such large numbers. It would only take place with "unthinkable violence"

Dr Viljoen said the Democratic Party was in danger of losing credibility over the "world of promises" in its economic manifesto

It promised to double the size of the police force, link pensions to the inflation rate, give large increases of aid to the aged, introduce a poverty relief programme, reduce GST and petrol tax and scrap metering of local telephone calls — and at the same time reduce State spending

(Report by P Fabricius, 218 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Gov 28/7/89



11A

Desegregation: a simple question of medical ethics

Star 21/8/84
The MDM's hospital desegregation campaign has been labelled by Government Ministers as an expression of resistance to the September 6 elections

Health Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk said he believed protesters would be transported to hospitals and clinics to clog them, a move which formed part of a general confrontation to embarrass the Government.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said the MDM planned a "militant defiance campaign" against the elections and the Transvaal MEC for hospitals, Mr Daan Kirstein, has warned that the only people who will suffer will be the patients.

The MDM has rejected these claims.

In an interview with The Star yesterday, a spokesman for the National Medical and Dental Association (an MDM supporter) said the aim of the campaign was not to disrupt hospital services or for masses of people who were not genuinely ill to turn up at white hospitals

"This is not a subversive campaign. There is no violence or coercion and there is no intention to disrupt the hospital services. The authorities are attempting to turn an issue of human rights and dignity into a confrontation," the spokesman said

Nearest hospital

He said the MDM was encouraging black people who were ill not to travel long distances to black hospitals but to go to the hospital nearest their homes

"For instance, those black people living in Hillbrow or domestic workers in Johannesburg should not have to travel the 15 km to Baragwanath when the Johannesburg Hospital is just 2 km away," he said

"What sort of society says to a sick black child living in Hillbrow 'We will not treat you here, you must go to Soweto because according to our policy there are no black children living in 'white' Johannesburg'?"

"Only a society which is so entrenched in its racist ways that it can feel no shame can say to a black family 'Because you are black you must take your child to a hospital which is 15 km away instead of this one which is 2 km from where you live. You must catch two buses to get there after your working day is finished. Visiting hours end at 7 pm. Too bad if you cannot get off work early to make the journey'."

"Those of us supporting this campaign are simply distancing ourselves from that inhumanity. Anyone who opposes the desegregation campaign identifies himself with this most callous racism," the spokesman said

He said the MDM had enlisted the support of general practitioners who would refer their black patients to the nearest hospital, be it black or white-designated

"The purpose of the campaign is not to create a crisis in white hospitals or to have any detrimental effect on white health care," he said, pointing out that the number of people needing admission on August 2 was likely to be small

Asked what the MDM would do if a pa-

Next Wednesday sees the start of the Mass Democratic Movement's (MDM) passive campaign against hospital segregation. Its call on black patients to present themselves for treatment at white hospitals has drawn much criticism. **TONI YOUNGHUSBAND**, The Star's Medical Reporter, reports.

tient had to be transferred because there were no beds available, he said the hospital was urged to transfer on the basis of the care needed and not on colour

"If someone needs specialised care he should be admitted to Johannesburg but if his needs are less important he could be transferred, regardless of race," the spokesman said

Eight hospitals have been selected by the MDM. They are the Johannesburg Hospital, the Vereeniging Hospital, H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria, Paardekraal Hospital in Krugersdorp, Grey's in Maritzburg, Addington in Durban and the hospitals in Dundee and Port Shepstone

The Namda spokesman said "There are two main reasons why these hospitals have been chosen

- "We have a network of sympathetic doctors in these areas who will ensure that their black patients are properly looked after at the white hospitals and not transferred once the publicity has died down

- "These hospitals are in areas where no equal facilities exist for black patients, who are forced to travel kilometres to a black institution"

Climate of negotiation

He said the MDM would carefully monitor conditions at these hospitals after August 2 to ensure patients were not transferred after the initial publicity

In reply to accusations that the MDM's campaign was an aggressive move in "an existing climate of negotiation" he said denying black people medical care because they were black was in direct opposition to the process of negotiation

"If the Government is serious about negotiating a peaceful solution to this divided country, it has to create a climate of negotiation first, it has to take the initiative. Desegregating and equalising essential facilities is the first step to creating that climate

"If it does not take this opportunity to move forward, if instead it reacts and suppresses, it will have the blood of the aborted negotiation on its own hands," he said

He said Namda challenged Dr van Niekerk and Mr Kirstein to say publicly that sick black patients would not be turned away from white hospitals

"The issues are simple and ethical. No doctor who has signed the Hippocratic Oath, and this includes Minister van Niekerk, can hold his or her head up high while working in the state services where they are forced to make medical decisions based on someone's racial classification," he said

Copy of draft resolution is released to The Star

By Mike Siluma

Cosatu yesterday rejected Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's allegations that it planned a violent disruption of the elections, and released to The Star a copy of a draft resolution tabled at its congress and apparently referred to by Mr Vlok. (11A) ~~(11A)~~

Cosatu said the resolution was not discussed by congress due to time constraints. It challenged Mr Vlok to produce the document he referred to.

The 3½-page document begins by noting the continued state of emergency "aimed at frustrating the people's struggle for freedom and liberation".

It says: "The apartheid regime has created a situation of rampant inflation, soaring food

prices, economic stagnation and increasing unemployment."

It accuses "the apartheid regime" of continuing its attacks on "the working class" by promulgating the Labour Relations Amendment Act, and identifies "the need to intensify the struggle against the apartheid regime". Star 28/7/89 -

The document then goes on to list a number of proposed actions to be taken in opposition to the Labour Act, separate amenities and the banning of anti-apartheid organisations and individuals.

While calling for mass political action, the document does not call for violent acts.

● See Page 2 for the "Programme of Action" listed in the document.

that did not get away

'Violence' accusation is denied

Vlok, Cosatu clash over poll protest

11A

Star 28/7/89

By Mike Siluma and Craig Kotze

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) have clashed heatedly over whether the Mass Democratic Movement is planning a non-violent campaign against the general election

Cosatu and the Democratic Party have called on Mr Vlok to produce documents on which he based his claims

Speaking in Springbok, northern Cape, last night, Mr Vlok rejected as a smokescreen the MDM statement that its anti-election defiance campaign was non-violent. He warned again that violence would not be tolerated.

But Cosatu, a member of the MDM alliance, rejected the Minister's allegations and challenged him to prove them in court.

An MDM spokesman has elaborated on its planned protest against segregated hospitals next week, saying only genuinely ill black patients would be called on to report to white hospitals in their area.

Cosatu said the document apparently referred to by Mr Vlok — a copy of which was released to the media — was in fact a draft resolution, tabled at the congress but not discussed due to time constraints.

Although the spirit of the document reflected "the mood of the congress and the people as a whole", Cosatu had yet to discuss the resolution officially.

Cosatu's assistant general secretary, Mr Sydney Mufamadi, said a number of actions and dates which the Minister claimed the document contained were not even mentioned in the draft.

A proposal that people go to hospitals and demand that health facilities be desegregated was, he said, distorted by Mr Vlok to read "people must disrupt medical services".

'Evil plans'

Last night Mr Vlok warned that disruption of hospital services could cost lives and said: "I warn instigators of violence: stop these evil plans, they will not be tolerated."

Referring to the MDM and the ANC/Communist Party as the "revolutionary alliance", he said it did not believe in peaceful development. "They stand by the four pillars of their revolutionary offensive, and mass militant action forms an important part of it."

Or is Cosatu now distancing itself from its blood-brother in plans they made in Lusaka?

"We know what mass militant action means. This week we saw it in the Western Cape among pupils, when private vehicles were stoned and tyre barricades erected."

Mr Vlok said an ANC pamphlet titled "ANC call to the workers of South Africa: defeat the racist labour law forward to militant mass action" had been distributed.

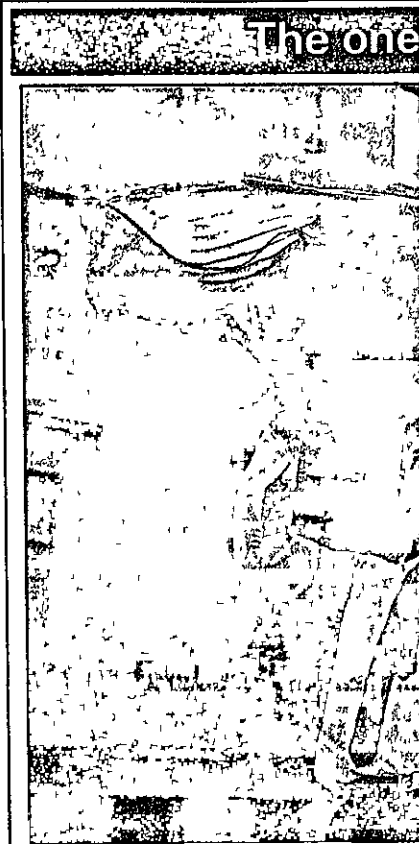
The "militant mass action" it referred to did not mean "non-violent actions", he said. It is open and brutal violence.

Mr Vlok said a march on a provincial hospital by 2 000 pupils at Fort Beaufort on July 20 had been part of the MDM plan.

He said he could not understand why people turned to violence when the Government was committed to peaceful development, including the right to vote.

Cosatu also attacked DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer on the issue, saying it was appalled that he had given credence to Mr Vlok's "fabrications".

(Report by M Siluma and C Kotze, both of 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



Nothing fishy — Mr David Deminey of Alberton holds model made to prove his catch was not merely any

Jo'burg blasts: police pursue possible link

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Police are investigating whether two of three terror blasts on the Reef last night are linked to the Mass Democratic Movement's alleged campaign of militant mass action, a spokesman said today.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe said police had expected "attacks of this nature".

He made the statement after suspected mm limpet mines exploded at the J G Strijdom Hospital in Johannesburg and at a public toilet in Joubert Park.

No one was injured in the Johannesburg blasts and damage was very slight.

In a third explosion, in Soweto, a suspected ANC member apparently blew himself up while trying to plant a mine at the Midway station, police said.

Colonel Malherbe said "We have

reason to believe it is linked to the explosions and this possibility.

"The police this nature and necessary measures senseless attack."

The J G Strijdom at 8 40 pm in a north side of a limpet mine was under a tree.

The Joubert Park at 11 30 pm on marans and Kle.

Soweto police establish the 8 killed in last n blast.

He is the 4 himself up this end, two suspects were blown up Cape Town

Handwritten signature and scribbles.

A CELEBRATED anthropologist and exiled member of the African National Congress, Professor Bernard Magubane, called writer Don Mattera "the bard of the liberation struggle" in the foreword to the American edition of Mattera's novel, *Sophiatown Coming Of Age In South Africa*

Mattera's novel wins top award

Don leaves to launch his Azanian Love Song abroad

BY MICHAEL TISSONG

This week, Mattera received a prestigious award for the novel from Africa Network in America of which another exiled South African, Dennis Brutus, is the chairman

A Japanese book agency also wrote to him asking for permission to publish the novel in Japan. Mattera was also granted a three-month trip to Sweden to launch his anthology of poetry, *Acimani Love Song*. He will be leaving next month

launched at the Swedish Book Fair in Gothenburg on September 7

"I have been invited to the book fair by the Swedish publishers at their expense and will travel and lecture at schools and deliver my poetry"

Two years ago he won the Steve Biko Prize in Sweden "in recognition of the ideals fostered by Steve Biko in his writings

and in his life and found in Mattera. He has also won the Kurt Tscholky Award from World PEN, the AIDA Prize in France and another given by SOS Racisme International.

The citation of the Award Certificate from Africa Network - written by a panel of American English school and university teachers - says: "This is in grateful recognition of the publication *Sophiatown Coming Of Age In South*

Africa and for your services to the Kwanzaa principles of unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, co-operative economics, purpose, creativity and faith."

Mattera said his expired passport was lost for more than a year and his applications for another one were turned down four times. "It was only through the intervention of a German official that I was granted one last week, but it is valid for a period of

only three months "The Swedish authorities have, however, given me a visa for the three-month period."

Prior to that he was refused a passport when he was invited to attend the Southern African Muslim Youth Conference in Lusaka in August last year, again when he was invited to Athens to attend a United Nations meeting on the cultural boycott in September last year; and again when he was invited to attend the launch of the American edition of his novel in Boston in April this year.

The novel is published in South Africa under the title *Memory Is The*



Weapon and in Britain as *Gone With The Twilight*

"It has sold well in Britain and America. The *New York Times* has three carried reviews Two were by South Africans living in America and another was by the newspaper's own book reviewer

Don Mattera will be leaving for Sweden next month.

Mattera said he did not understand why the CNA Book Prize in South Africa has not considered his own book and another by exiled South African Lewis Nkosi, *The Making Birds* "We get praise abroad, but not in our own country"

Settlement must include oppressed



THE document on page 6 of our paper today shows to what extent FW de Klerk and the National Party have been able to confuse the world and to send some sections of the liberation movement jumping for their panic buttons

In his diplomatic offensive De Klerk has been more persuasive than PW Botha suddenly leaders of various nations are convinced that there is a

movement towards a negotiated settlement

The Americans and the British are now pushing the liberation movement towards a negotiated settlement

tripartite agreement was signed President George Bush wrote to Savimbi "I also want to assure you that American diplomacy will continue to encourage African and other interested governments to provide maximum support to a process of negotiation leading to national reconciliation in your country

Until that objective is achieved my administration will continue all appropriate and effective assistance to Unita

Policy

The Washington Post said a Bush aide had made it clear that "all appropriate assistance meant continuation of covert military help for Savimbi.

The Americans use different logic when it comes to South Africa. The man responsible for American policy on Africa, Herman Cohen has said that he thinks the present set of sanctions against South Africa are enough he would like to see these being used as a carrot to induce South Africa to get to the negotiating table

He says that South Africa should be told that if it makes progress, then the sanctions would be decreased. He sees this as a positive use of sanc-

governments, not because of them

There is no need for the South African liberation movements to panic and believe that a settlement can be reached in this country without including them such a settlement will not meet the demands of the oppressed

All the people who are talking negotiation in the fashion in which it is being discussed today, should remember Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the unlamented Zimbabwe/Rhodesia

He excluded himself from the future of his country and his people

We should not forget that the Republicans who are in the Administration in Washington now are the same people who opposed the limited sanctions that America imposed in 1986.

Anybody who thinks that these people have suddenly become altruistic is naive

Margaret Thatcher's opposition to sanctions and to the South African liberation movements is well-known It is not surprising that she is at the forefront of the new initiative

In the West, the liberation struggle has had support in spite of Western

Another burial for King Sabata

THE body of King Sabata Dalindyebo — which was buried after allegedly being stolen by his arch-rivals, the Matanzima brothers — is to be reburied by his supporters.

A meeting of 2 000 Thembus at the weekend also decided to have Sabata's remains examined by a pathologist, to see if he died naturally and whether his body was tampered with.

The decision — impossible under Matanzima rule — marks the end of a bitter wrangle over Sabata's burial and comes months after the Thembu regional authority handed the powerful paramountcy back to Sabata's

By LOUISE FLANAGAN

son, Buyelekhaya.

Although Sabata Dalindyebo died some years ago, his legacy has lived on to haunt the Matanzimas. As the widely respected king of the Thembus, Sabata was Kaiser Matanzima's arch-rival. After years of harassment by the Matanzimas, he was deposed and fled into exile to join the African National Congress.

After Sabata's death in April 1986, his followers brought his body home to Transkei for burial.

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And back home in Washington, the chaos within the Democratic Party, which controls both houses of Congress, has given the president's legislative team considerable freedom in really important matters such as tax policy, budget deficit reduction, rescuing the bankrupt savings and loan industry and even in defence spending

So the operative order of the day is simple don't rock the boat

But what this soft-walking policy also does is make the White House extraordinarily pliant when it comes to dealing with vociferous minority opinion groups Whether it is issues such as gun control, abortion rights, the Middle East or, even, SA, Bush has been willing to go along in order to get along

So it was last week that the White House stood by while the US Senate voted the first mild restrictions on the official State Department talks going on with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) By a wide vote the senior chamber ordered the State Department not to meet with any PLO leader known to be active in terrorist activities — which covers most of the top leaders of that group By a narrower vote the Senate shelved a conservative demand that all talks with the PLO be halted

And so it was that the Bush advisers yanked back a private invitation to De Klerk when 100 members of the house signed a letter commending the Tutu and UDF visits to the White House and "demanded" that the president bar the National Party (NP) leader

The 100 representatives (out of 435 members) who signed the anti-De Klerk letter constitute the ultra-liberal wing of the house and included the expected mix of black leaders such as William H Gray, Louis Stokes and John Conyer, and liberals such as Barney Frank, Joe Kennedy, Patricia Schroeder and Howard Wolpe Clearly, Bush can expect no thanks or future goodwill from this group for yanking back on the De Klerk visit

In truth, part of the reason for the Bush display of spinelessness can be blamed on the fact that the State Department has not yet come to grips with a firm outline of what it wants American policy to be in southern Africa now that it is generally believed — indeed discounted in advance — that the Cuban troops will leave Angola and that Namibia will soon cease to be a UN concern

Part of the blame for this laggardly attitude lies with the inability so far of Henry "Hank" Cohen, the successor to Chet Crocker as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, to push a coherent set of policy goals for the region through the bureaucratic layers of the administration

So the question really is how much longer will it take for the Bush administration to decide just what it wants to accomplish — if anything — in post-Angolan settlement southern Africa as well as what those goals will be Until that decision is made, the White House will continue to react to the last voice that speaks loudly enough ■

SA-US AFFAIRS

Back-seating F W

Don't try to apply logic or any kind of deductive reasoning to the decision of the White House — after much vacillation — not to have President George Bush meet F W de Klerk less than a month after meeting Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rev Allan Boesak and key leaders of the UDF

At its simplest, the Bush administration has been rushing at such a speed to accommodate the political needs of the president's new best friend, Mikhail Gorbachev, and in playing the saviour's role in Poland and Hungary, that such unimportant theatres of American foreign policy as the Third-World debt crisis, the Middle East and — not least — southern Africa are being given a kind of "benign neglect"

In fairness, Bush has been busier than any president within recent memory His foray from Warsaw to Budapest to Paris was a general triumph notwithstanding his failure to win a commitment from the other Group of Seven leaders to concentrate on rescuing Mexico before trying to save any of the other major debtor countries That single failure was due more to the wish of Britain, Germany, Italy, Japan and Canada to avoid offending host Francois Mitterrand who wants a single, fits-all debt rescue plan for a whopping 34 countries which owe a staggering US\$1,5 trillion in foreign debts

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NATIONAL Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, would not be invited to the United States after he became president under current political conditions a UDF delegation was told by US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

Neither would be De Klerk have met United States President, Mr George Bush, if he had gone to the United States before the election.

Natal president of the restricted UDF and local activist, Mr Curtnick Ndllovu, who was part of the UDF delegation which met United States President Bush and British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, earlier this month said Baker had told the delegation that it would not be acceptable for De

'De Klerk not wanted'

Klerk to visit the United States as president.

Speaking at a mass democratic movement meeting in Durban, Ndllovu said both Western leaders had agreed that the MIDM, the ANC and other organisations had to be part of negotiations. Bush, who was "appalled by conditions in South Africa", had

agreed with the UDF delegation that there should be a united, democratic South Africa. During the 30-minute meeting he had asked the delegation to tell him what it was like to live under an apartheid regime. It had been the first time that Thatcher had met members of the

movement and she had also agreed the state of emergency should be lifted, organisations should be unbanned and exiles allowed to return.

In the United States some people had argued that De Klerk should be given a chance with his five-year plan.

But this had been rejected because other national Party leaders,

going back to Mr John Vorster, had asked to be given a chance and nothing had happened. Ndllovu said they had met resistance from both Thatcher and Bush on the sanctions issue.

Squatters move to camp

MORE than 50 000 squatters from three squatter camps in Tokoza and Kaitleng townships will be resettled at the Rietfontein resettlement camp on the East Rand during August.

The resettlement of the squatters was disclosed by the Transvaal Provincial Administration MEC, Mr John Mavuso, who is heading the Government's squatter resettlement project.

He said Rietfontein was being serviced by the Government which is to provide water taps and ablution facilities before allocating self-service sites.

The largest number of squatters will be from Dunusa in Tokoza which presently has more than 20 000 people. The Kaitleng squatter camp is home to more than 16 000 squatters.

The rest will come from Tumbokvestontien which is on the outskirts of Tokoza.

Tokoza Town Council's acting town clerk Mr Sydney Qwabe yesterday said the resettlement project did not include people living in backyards.

LET US SHARE ISCOR'S OFFER to workers

The State and Iscor Company are offering all employees of the giant steel producer - black and white - shares in a bid to encourage wider share ownership among all South Africans later this year.

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday, Iscor's manpower manager, Mr Johan Prinsloo, they were offering employees an attractive package of 150-million shares at the listing of the giant steel company.

Participation in the National Union of employees, will be offered

share scheme by Iscor's 58 000 employees is entirely voluntary and will be extended to all full-time employees who are working for the company and its subsidiaries on August 31, 1989 and who are still in service when the offer opens, according to Mr Prinsloo.

The package consists of three offers. Firstly 100 free shares will be offered to all full-time employees of Iscor and its subsidiaries, the full cost of which will be carried by the State.

Secondly, all employees, will be offered shares offered to employees, with the preferential shares making up the other 50 percent.

Iscor management is going out of its way to communicate details of the employee share offer scheme to its staff, and among other things, will establish public information offices at all its centres," Prinsloo said

Rip-off is alleged

AFRICAN National Congress commanders and leaders are allegedly selling off supplies intended for insurgents inside South Africa police say.

This information was said to have been gleaned from various ANC defectors during questioning by the security forces.

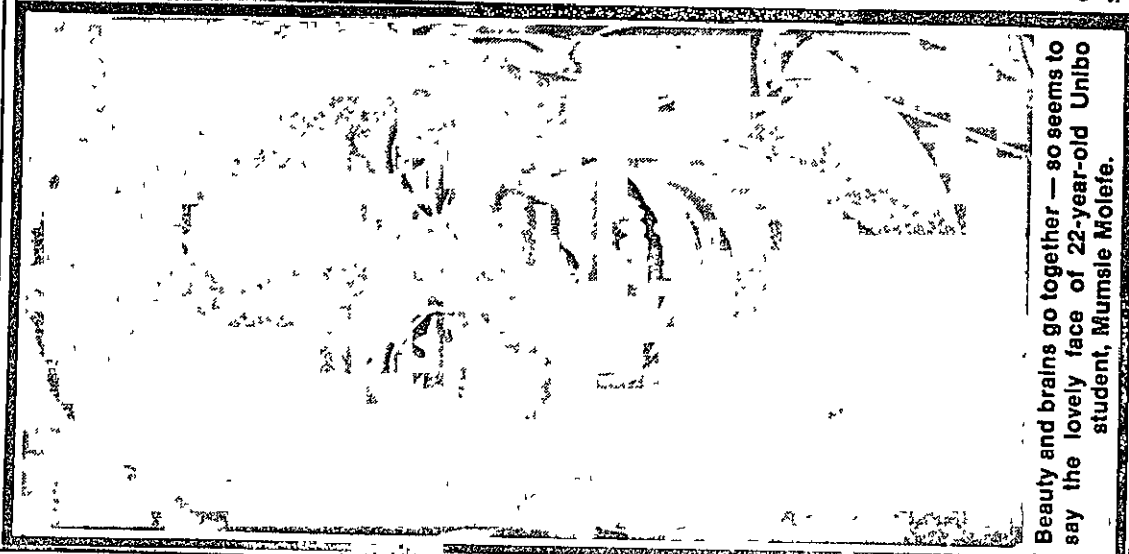
shares at a 20 percent discount on optional, deferred payment terms over a maximum period of three years. The number of shares offered to each employee will depend on job grading, he said.

Thirdly, the State is also setting aside almost 5 percent of Iscor's issued shares for staff on a preferential basis. Allocation will be equal to the number of shares for which each employee qualifies under the discount scheme.

The 100 free share and 20 percent discount shares will make up 50 percent of the 150-million shares offered to employees, with the preferential shares making up the other 50 percent.

Iscor management is going out of its way to communicate details of the employee share offer scheme to its staff, and among other things, will establish public information offices at all its centres," Prinsloo said

"Damelin makes it easy!"
Mr. J P Brummer, Principal, Damelin Correspondence College



Beauty and brains go together - so seems to say the lovely face of 22-year-old Unibo student, Mumsie Molefe.

11A

w mail

Lusaka talks 'eased Jewish fears of ANC' says Auerbach

By BELINDA BERESFORD

A MEETING with the African National Congress in Lusaka earlier this month served to allay Jewish fears about their future in South Africa, according to Jews for Social Justice chairman Dr Franz Auerbach

He was speaking at a report-back meeting about a special discussion between high ranking members of the ANC and Jewish delegates. Participating in the talks were national executive members Pallo Jordan and Ronnie Kasrils.

During the report-back at the University of the Witwatersrand this week, Auerbach said the discussions had been positive and "had served to reassure the South African Jewish community"

Speaking after the meeting he said: "Jews as a minority group in South Africa, and elsewhere, tend to worry about the future, particularly when it is likely to contain major changes in society."

Auerbach added that the ANC would allow the Jewish community to continue to support the state of Israel, although "as a liberation movement the ANC supported other liberation movements, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation ... [they] regarded the Palestinians as another oppressed people"

Another delegate, Anne Harris, said that the ANC were "surprisingly undogmatic" and had "no intention of nationalising everything ... Whites in South Africa would have to expect a degree of discomfort".

The report-back was postponed for two weeks after the synagogue where it was scheduled to be held withdrew its facilities following "a number of threats" over the telephone.

Members of the Jewish Board of Deputies also received a tip-off that there would be a confrontation outside the synagogue if the meeting went ahead.

cause because the protesters don't have the right to vote."

However, the DP felt it was "risky" to use hospitals — where there was a shortage of services and personnel — as a focal point for the protest as this could endanger the health and even the lives of patients.

The Conservative Party, responding to the MDM's defiance campaign, said yesterday that it expected the government to invoke powers at its disposal and take firm action against the movement. — Sapa and Political Staff

(Report by Dirk van Zyl, 514 First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria, Raphael Banda, Kine Centre, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, and Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Vlok lied: He can sue us — Cosatu

11A
CMT Trnts 29/7/89

JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu has challenged the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to take it to court for defamation of character after accusing him of lying.

According to the organisation, central to Mr Vlok's allegations against Cosatu and the MDM (Mass Democratic Movement) was his claim that a document setting out a programme of defiance and violent disruption of the September elections was "distributed at Cosatu's Congress held on July 12 to 15".

Cosatu said this was a lie. — Sapa

NEWS

SA women have long struggle ahead to make their voices heard

WILLIAM MACLEAN 11A

WOMEN are at the cutting edge of political change in South Africa, but you would never know it from everyday public debate.

Sexual discrimination spans racial and social divisions in South Africa, a conservative society where politics is widely considered a male preserve.

Even in the field of National Party politics, from which blacks are excluded, women appear rarely on radio and television talk shows or on public platforms.

There has never been a woman cabinet minister. Women occupy just nine of the 308 seats in the tricolour parliament, reserved for whites, Coloureds and Indians, and five of the 60 seats in President Botha's advisory council.

But women are at the forefront of the struggle against race segregation and are especially active in thousands of extra-parliamentary community groups working at local level.

A prominent example is Mrs Albertina Sisulu, who this month met President Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Mrs Sisulu was the leader of a delegation of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front (UDF) touring Europe and the United

States. Like fellow delegates Sister Bernard Ncube, a nun, and Ms Jessie Duarte, she is more used to working away from the limelight, leading grassroots organisations of a kind routinely hampered by Government restrictions.

South Africa's thousands of mainly black women activists form a central pillar of the anti-government opposition, leading anti-government figures said in telephone interviews.

They work as organisers, lawyers, union negotiators and teachers. They plan and manage work-stayaways and rent boycotts, write newsletters and train fellow activists.

Relatively little is heard of them because reports on the activities of their groups are often restricted by media curbs enforced under a three-year-old state of emergency. They also face male apathy and opposition.

"Women are the ones who are active at grassroots level," said sociology professor and veteran activist Fatuma Meer.

"The fact that you don't see them up on platforms does not detract from the fact that there is a lot of

anti-apartheid movement since the 1950s. They spear-headed protests against the extension of pass laws, which restricted the movement of blacks into "whites-only" areas, from men to women.

Black women have also gained some influence in the informal business sector, running shops and lucrative shebeens.

"It's still very hard for a woman to get herself heard. But we're climbing up," said Mrs Sally Motlana, life president of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches and manager of a Soweto trading store.

"We know that men alone cannot reach the goal of liberation. Men and women both are in the struggle, men and women are in exile, men and women are in prison."

Mrs Sheena Duncan, a white woman who has campaigned for black rights for a quarter of a century, said black women faced enormous obstacles in cam-

aigning for equal rights. "Their lives are such a daily grind that most of them haven't got the energy to take the challenge and make it a priority," Mrs Duncan said.

Abortion is illegal for all races in most circumstances. Under most marriage contracts, women cannot get credit or sign documents without their husband's consent. There is no statutory provision for equal pay for women or for maternity leave.

Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mrs Helen Suzman, two women known for their anti-apartheid work, have, over the years overcome different forms of sexual prejudice.

Mrs Mandela, married to jailed black leader Nelson Mandela, once wrote, "In the earlier years, if I said something it was Nelson's wife who said so. I was no individual."

Anti-government veteran Mrs Suzman, for seven years the only woman in Parliament, said she was treated with traditional male courtesy by male colleagues and "never gave a damn" about occasional comments about a woman's place being in the home.

"I was seen as a tough old boot. Once a male MP told me I had a man's brain. He meant it as a

compliment. Little did he know his was the last brain I would care to have," she said.

Mrs Sheila Cameron, an MP of the National Party, said there was a lot of chivalry towards women MPs in Parliament. "We're treated like china dolls. When you finish your speech they come up to you and say 'how charming'."

The NP is fielding 11 women candidates, the Democratic Party 10 and the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties two each in September general elections.

Participation by women in local government has increased steadily in the past decade. One in every 10 of the country's 7 000 town councillors is now a woman.

But town councillors interviewed said women were still reluctant to put themselves forward for political office because they felt their traditional role was in the home.

Mrs Duncan commented, "The importance of the white woman's vote is not recognised in the community — and it's women's fault. They haven't demanded that their voice be heard." — Reuter

Medics fear for the sick if conflict breaks out at hospitals invaded by MDM

MEDICAL authorities are bracing themselves for a national defiance campaign on Wednesday which, they fear, could disrupt services to the sick and result in turmoil at hospitals if there is conflict between protesters and police

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has claimed that protesters would invade buses and parks on Monday and Tuesday. He said police believed systematic protests would continue up to the election on September 6.

Organisers of the defiance campaign have asked sick black people to present themselves for treatment at whites-only hospitals on Wednesday — the start of a campaign which, organisers say, is aimed at desegregating all public amenities.

Peaceful

Yesterday the organisers announced they would make their campaign an international issue. The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), a coalition of radical opposition groups, said it had sent a memorandum to world organisations and foreign governments.

It had assured international sympathisers that the purpose of its campaign was peaceful. It also rebutted Mr Vlok's allegations that the protest was a smokescreen for a plan to violently disrupt the elections.

"We are calling on our people to conduct the campaign in an orderly, disciplined and peaceful manner," the memorandum said.

"If the Government persists with its hysterical over-reaction, it will have to

By MANDLA TYALA

accept full responsibility for the problems which result.

"The solution is simple — throw open the doors of all segregated facilities to all the people of South Africa."

Meanwhile, in other developments yesterday

● The Anglo American Corporation, the country's biggest private sector employer, warned that it would take disciplinary action against employees who used facilities to which they were not entitled in terms of their seniority.

Anglo said it noted with concern the defiance campaign called for by the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

It said in a statement: "It is the policy of the corporation to provide facilities, wherever possible, to all employees according to skill and seniority, regardless of race. In an attempt to avoid violence on the proposed campaign, discussions have been held with union officials."

"Management hopes that these discussions will continue in order to resolve specific problems on discriminatory practices through normal and peaceful means."

Lives

"The unilateral and confrontational actions proposed by Cosatu will polarise racial attitudes and jeopardise further progress towards full integration."

● Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan appealed to the MDM to reconsider its strategy of using hospitals as a focal point of its campaign.

He said such protests

could endanger the health and even the lives of patients.

● The National Medical and Dental Association, an alternative organisation to the Medical Association of Southern Africa, said it supported the defiance campaign.

The eve of the mass protest has seen a spate of bomb blasts on the Reef and an outbreak of violence in the Western Cape.

About 2 000 pupils at Fort Beaufort, apparently jumping the gun, have already marched on a local provincial hospital to demand medical treatment.

While apprehension gripped white hospitals around the country yesterday, a war of words continued to rage between the Ministry of Law and Order and the MDM.

Fines

Mr Vlok has claimed the aim of the protest was to cause a climate of unrest similar to that which prevailed in 1984.

Transvaal health authorities have announced that all hospital premises will be restricted and only those with permission will be admitted.

People defying this rule would be liable to a fine of R2 000, or imprisonment of up to two years.

The MDM accuses Mr Vlok of using untruths to prepare the public for a crackdown on anti-apartheid activists.

An MDM spokesman responded by saying it was clear that health workers and medical people themselves favoured desegregation of health services, and that the Government was the impediment.

30/7/89
S/Tues

Charter can act as catalyst to a new society (11A)

SI Times 30/7/89

THE ruling, dominant group has in many ways contributed to the building and the success of our country

No matter how repulsive its continued hegemony over all of us may be, its contribution in the fields of technology and so on are acknowledged. But its entire contribution, let alone its existence, remains threatened.

Its cultural symbols — the Voortrekker Monument, the museums that commemorate its domination of the indigenous people, the 1820 Settlers Monument and a host of other such symbols — cannot and will not be allowed to exist in an apartheid-free society, which has been built on the ruins, ashes and blood of fellow South Africans.

However, if there is a timely and statesman-like resolution of our conflict, then there is a distinct possibility that all South Africans will recognise that we as a people must co-exist.

If this co-existence does not take place, then disaster will follow for all.

In setting a new course for all South Africans, the Freedom Charter relates to and offers the opportunity for the total transformation of our country.

It offers the scope for all South Africans to develop a new attitude, a new philosophy, a new faith, a new spirituality — basically a new society.

The creative opportunities it facilitates do not only demand or

Mewa Ramgobin

a vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress calls for negotiations now

ensure our break from the dominant culture, but the charter also affords us the opportunity to tear ourselves away from our own parochial and sectional tendencies which militate against our own liberation.

Stifled

What is to be done by us, as South Africans, to make our country worthy of living in by all who love freedom? How do we create the circumstances in which we begin the processes for achieving freedom?

First, South Africans cannot expect the oppressors to take the lead towards this liberation if only because in de-humanising others they too have become de-humanised.

Second, from our "stifled" humanity as the oppressed we have to wage the struggle for a fuller humanity. The question to ponder is "How?"

Let us explore the ways

● Are we to wait for the deepening crisis in the State to take its course?

● Are we going to sit on the sidelines, waiting for the antagonistic forces to take their course, allowing winner to take all — if there is anything to take at the end of the day?

● Are we going to choose the security of conformity within the state of our freedom at present?

None of these are consistent with the position which entails the liberation of all — both oppressor and oppressed.

In seeking liberation for all it is essential to know what kinds of processes are necessary should the envisaged violent revolution not be forthcoming.

In our striving towards a mutually acceptable, free society there will be no universally acceptable solutions — but let us begin to seek the answers to our problems together.

The Freedom Charter offers this opportunity, allowing organisations across all political barriers to consult with each other on liberation from poverty, disease, hunger, loneliness, race prejudice and hate.

This in turn can and will lead to our cultural synthesis — and a liberated South Africa.

Natal leads mass action

11A
C.M.M.
30/7/89

By S'BU MNGADI

HEAVY police presence marked the Mass Democratic Movement's recent 4 000-strong anti-election rally at Durban's City Hall this week

Streets were cordoned off and the meeting filmed and recorded

Eight whites-only hospitals in Natal were targeted for visits on Wednesday, among them Durban's Addington Hospital and Maritzburg's Greys Hospital.

An MDM spokesman said a majority of doctors and nurses at the eight hospitals were prepared to admit blacks

An MDM statement released in Durban on Friday said the government had clearly declared health care a privilege rather than a basic human right

The government had fragmented health services into 14 departments and four provincial administrations to entrench apartheid

The MDM said the present health system was hi-tech, curative and mainly based in hospitals in urban areas. There was a lack of primary health care

Natal's MEC for hospital services, Val Volker, said. "If people present themselves at hospitals and are in need to treatment they will get it

"Of course, if there is nothing wrong with them I don't know what it is that is expected of us"

■ See pages 2, 4 and 8.

By **CONNIE MOLUSI**

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Cosatu have clashed over whether the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) is plotting violent sabotage of the general elections.

Meanwhile, MDM activists are living in fear of their lives following recent petrol bomb attacks on the homes of two SA Youth Congress members in Alexandra

Earlier this week Vlok warned the MDM against planning violent sabotage of the elections, saying he had documented proof of such plans

The document - a draft resolution put before Cosatu's recent congress and which was never adopted - urged union members to challenge apartheid laws, defy the banning of organisations and take mass action against the September elections

Activists say Vlok exaggerated the contents of the document, especially that intimidation and petrol bombing was planned for the elections. They said the document did not suggest acts of violence

At a Press conference this week, the MDM called for "direct and peaceful action" against apartheid services

The movement announced that on August 2 sick black patients would go to white hospitals for treatment

In a statement the MDM said "The National Party and other parties are presently going door to door to campaign for their candidates. It is our democratic right to call on our people not to vote"

The movement dismissed Vlok's speech as propaganda aimed at instilling panic into white voters and condoning actions taken against the MDM

"It is also our right to defy illegal apartheid regulations," the statement added

The MDM's Mohammed Valli Moosa denied Vlok's claim that the movement intended mobilising large numbers of people to disrupt hospital services

"What will happen is that ill people will present themselves to be treated in

Minister distorted resolution - Cosatu

these hospital as part of a campaign to desegregate these facilities"

Meanwhile, the MDM and Cosatu have expressed concern at "sinister threats and attempts on the lives of its member in the past two weeks"

The flat of Alexandra activists Paul Mashatule and Jacob Mtshali was fire-bombed this week and three nurses were injured in a similar attack on the Alexandra Health Centre

Civil rights lawyer Cathy Satchwell's car was also set alight in Norwood this week

Cosatu released the following list of recent attacks or threats on unionists

■ Newly-elected Cosatu vice-president and senior shop steward at the Volkswagen plant, John Gomomo, received repeated death threats from "Wit Wolwe"

■ The house of a Numsa shop steward at Goodyear, Joe Sapotela, was fire-bombed and his brother killed

■ The house of another Numsa shop steward in Newcastle was burnt down

■ Ccawusa administrator Elizabeth Letswidi received a death threat last Wednesday

Cosatu said there had been 37 attacks on unionists between May 1987 and December 1988

Moosa said increased attacks on MDM members were the same violent actions which Vlok accused the movement of planning

"These attacks, coming in the wake of the minister's warning, raise very important questions as to who is planning violence against whom"

■ Report by C Molusi of 204 Eloff Street Ext, Selby

Vlok, MDM clash over violent plot

11/7
11/7

30/9/87

Shaw



Visiting ANC the 'in-thing', says Stoffel

AR663

30/6/89

110

From SUE LEEMAN
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The ANC's commitment to the armed struggle disqualified it from joining "peace-loving people" around the government's negotiating table, Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said

And in an interview on the BBC's Newsnight programme yesterday, he dismissed the 120 liberal South Africans now in Lusaka for talks with the ANC as doing what was the "in-thing"

It was now fashionable, he said, to be able to say you had been to Lusaka to meet the ANC, "like driving a Mercedes or having a swimming pool"

British scepticism over the National Party's new five-year plan of action continues with most commentators saying the new manifesto contains little in

the way of radical reform

The BBC said segregation was still assured and black majority rule had been excluded as an option

Independent Television News said while the manifesto's rhetoric might be reformist, "the wording is woolly and the promises vague and it stops far short of black majority rule"

Newsnight said the opening paragraphs of the NP manifesto seemed to promise radical change when they referred to one undivided state where all South Africans could participate in all levels of government, and opened the way for negotiations

Dr van der Merwe said the manifesto was historic in that it "opens up a completely new field for discussions on creating a new South Africa together with all the people of South Africa"

Asked if the South African

government would negotiate with the ANC, Dr van der Merwe said the government wanted to talk to "people with a genuine commitment to peace and I don't think the ANC qualifies on that score"

Questioned whether there could be any settlement without the ANC, he said the government did not consider the organisation's support within South Africa to be "all that strong. We measure their support the ANC may be one of the stronger (groups), but it is not representative of all black South Africans"

Of the white liberals now in Lusaka, he said "One always gets a fashion, a vogue, the thing to do. This seems to be the in-thing to do"

He said the government was no longer talking about races but about cultural groups. Free settlement areas would allow blacks more freedom to choose where they lived

CHIEF TUNES
3/17/89 11A

Albertina Sisulu returns

JOHANNESBURG —
Anti-apartheid leader
Mrs Albertina Sisulu ar-
rived back in South
Africa last night from
her four-nation overseas
tour

Police maintained a
low-key profile at Jan
Smuts Airport where
more than 200 people
sang Nkosi Sikele i'A-
frica and gave clenched-
fist salutes on Mrs Sis-
ulu's arrival

Mrs Sisulu said she
wished to consult the
"people and the mem-
bers of the UDF", of
which she is president,
before making a state-
ment on her tour

Still under a dusk-to-
dawn curfew, 70-year-
old "Mother Sisulu" was
delayed for about an
hour at the airport be-
cause of a baggage hold-
up before returning to
her home in Dube,
Soweto

Her tour, the result of
a personal invitation
from US President
George Bush, was the
first time she has been
allowed to leave South
Africa — Sapa

114

JOHANNESBURG — The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) plans mass defiance of apartheid laws this week, campaigning for desegregation of services like hospitals, recreational facilities and schools

Mass defiance campaign plan by MDM

The Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has said he will take tough action against the defiance campaign, due to start on Wednesday, in which blacks will be encouraged to seek treatment at whites-only hospitals. A new law introduced last week makes people entering hospitals without official permission liable to fines and jail sentences

Mr Vlok had said he was in possession of a document that made it clear the Congress of South African Trade Unions intended to engage in acts of intimidation, violence and disruptions of essential services such as hospitals. The MDM challenged Mr Vlok to prove his allegations in court.

"Government sources have often proclaimed apartheid is dead . . . It must be brought to the attention of the world that apartheid continues," the MDM said. It denied planning violence.

"The protest is intended to be absolutely and utterly peaceful (unless the police intend to be violent). There is no intention whatsoever to disrupt hospital services."

The MDM has called on its supporters to conduct a defiance campaign in an "orderly, disciplined and peaceful manner". It rejects the "blatant lies and distortions" about the defiance campaign allegedly made by Mr Vlok.

The Anglo American Corporation yesterday noted "with concern" the proposed "defiance campaign" in respect of racially segregated facilities in the workplace proposed at Cosatu's third national congress, — Sapa

Police alert for MDM defiance: no incidents yet

11/18
31/1/79
Staff Reporters

Police and soldiers are on standby countrywide for this week's proposed defiance campaign by the Mass Democratic Movement

Major-General Herman Stadler, SAP public relations chief, said today the security forces would not be lulled into a false sense of security by the non-start of the defiance campaign

Activists in the MDM — an alliance of anti-apartheid organisations and the Congress of South African Trade Unions — vowed at the weekend to go ahead with their campaign to defy segregation in health, education, transport, housing, job opportunities and public amenities

No reports of such defiance were received yesterday or this morning

The Government's strategy to combat the campaign will apparently be discussed at tomorrow's weekly meeting of the State Security Council Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok is expected to attend.

In Johannesburg and other areas, police patrolled parks and bus terminuses regularly yesterday and today for the MDM's national "militant mass action"

Segregated parks and buses were to have been "occupied" by MDM supporters

SEGREGATED HOSPITALS

The MDM's action against segregated hospitals, including the Johannesburg Hospital and Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital, is due to start on Wednesday

The Transvaal Provincial Administration said that all hospital premises would be restricted

From Durban, it is reported that the MDM said in a statement that segregation in the health services must immediately end and the 18 health departments must be replaced by one department

● Police have confirmed they are in possession of pamphlets, purportedly in the name of the "Wit Wolwe", which say the organisation will take the law into its own hands with regard to the MDM's defiance campaign

The pamphlets were distributed in Randfontein on Friday and Saturday, and at a meeting of Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha in the same town.

● In a statement, the Anglo American Corporation has noted "with concern" the proposed "defiance campaign", in respect of racially segregated facilities in the workplace, proposed at Cosatu's third national congress

In a statement released yesterday, Anglo said it was the policy of the corporation to provide facilities wherever possible to all employees according to skill and seniority, regardless of race

(Report compiled by A Walker, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

ANC, SA group gained 'deeper understanding'

Star 31/7/89
Some of the 107 South Africans who met the ANC at the weekend returned home last night with the message that if certain preconditions were met, the ANC would be willing to negotiate a peaceful solution, according to Mr Mike Olivier, chairman of the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), which organised the trip.

Mr Olivier said all involved in the talks had gained a better understanding of each other's motives.

A detailed statement would be released later.

Former Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Phillip

(11A)
Russell said the talks were "a good exchange of views and helped establish a better understanding".

In an earlier joint statement from Lusaka, the delegation and the ANC said the talks gave the ANC a deeper understanding "of some of the fears prevailing within the white community". For the South African delegation, it "increased awareness of the need for the unbanning of the ANC to enable it to participate fully in the South African political arena".

Central issues raised were violence and sanctions. It was accepted that the South African Government used more violence than the ANC and that sanctions should not be allowed to destroy the economy — Staff Reporter and The Star's Africa News Service.

This 'sell-out' is out to build a new SA

By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau

If being a sell-out meant having helped create free local authorities, participating in provincial government and talking to government, "then I prefer to be a sell-out", said the chairman of the National Forum, Mr Philip Nhlapo, this weekend.

Speaking at the inauguration of the National Forum's Transvaal branch in Johannesburg, Mr Nhlapo said he had helped create room for his children and their children in their country.

"I have helped create new structures that will help all proud black people to define and create their own living conditions and surroundings."

"Nothing will be achieved if we sit on the sideline and criticise. I believe in progress by means of peace. Progress must not develop from ruins as in other countries, he said.

"We cannot be proud if we build a new South Africa over the dead bodies of our brothers and the ruins of what used to be development," Mr Nhlapo said.

Of the recent meeting between the State President and imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, he said "It was a symbolic meeting. Both men have been through the wars of Africa, one a country's leader, the other a prisoner, facing each other as grandfathers across a teatable.

"I chose the word grandfather deliberately. They are both grandfathers of all our people. Embodied in their struggles and the wisdom gained through the years lies the birth of a new South Africa."

Sisulu back home

ANTI-apartheid leader, Albertina Sisulu arrived in South Africa yesterday from her four-nation overseas tour to a tumultuous welcome.

More than 200 people singing 'Nkosi sikel' Africa and many raising their arms in the black power salute welcomed her last night at Jan Smuts Airport.

"I am so happy to be back with my people," Sisulu told well-wishers at her home.

Still under a dusk to dawn curfew "Mother Sisulu" (70) - as she is affectionately known to black people - had to rush home after being delayed about an hour at the

airport

A police spokesman confirmed that a baggage hold-up had delayed Sisulu.

Sisulu said she wished to consult the "people and the members of the United Democratic Front" of which she is president before making a statement on her tour to the Press.

Among her entourage which returned last night was Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women's Association (Fedtraw).

Many Fedtraw members, dressed in green and black, were at the airport to welcome Sisulu and Sister Ncube.

11A

5/8/78
3/1/78
Sister Ncube

Viljoen speaks on Mandela

11A

NELSON Mandela had gone further than was required of him by saying he was prepared to work for peaceful solutions, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid said this weekend.

He was replying to a member of the audience

at a National Party meeting in Silverton, Pretoria, who asked why Mr Mandela had not been released, since he had committed himself to peace.

Viljoen told the audience of about 60 that the Government would have to look carefully at the implications of what Mandela had said.

The importance of what he, as a leader of the ANC, had said was that it clashed with the standpoint of the ANC.

The ANC said the only way to effect change was through violence and revolution and that they were only prepared to negotiate the transfer of power.

Birth of militancy

TODAY, Monday July 31, is National Heroes Day, observed nationwide by supporters of Pan-Africanism, a philosophy that was espoused by the late founding president of the ANC Youth League, Mr Anton Muziwakhe Lembede.

Lembede rose from the ranks of farm labourers to become a brilliant scholar, lawyer, philosopher and patriot. He was a creative force, had a dynamic personality and influence which gave birth to militancy in African politics.

Through private study, he passed matric, and obtained three university degrees, BA, LLB and MA.

Born near Georgedale, Natal in 1914, his parents were farm labourers who wore sacking for clothes. Lembede worked as a kitchen hand in Marievale to raise money for his primary education. He passed Standard Six with a first class at Mbumbulu and this earned him a bursary to study at Adams College, Amanzimtoti.

He completed his third year teachers' course in 1935 and taught in the OFS as he wanted to learn Sesotho and Afrikaans. As a student of languages, he spoke Latin, German, Dutch and was learning French. He had a vision of a great new Africa which he tried to crystallise through the doctrine of Pan-Africanism. He died on July 1947 at the age of 33 while on the threshold of an outstanding scholastic, legal and political career.

In his mind, the struggle for freedom was the struggle for all Africans. He believed that the whole of Africa had a divine destiny and that in

By SAM MABE

time to come, Africa would take its place among countries of the world.

He joined ANC politics in 1943 and was elected president of the Youth League the following year. He was also assistant secretary of the Transvaal provincial executive.

He was an aggressive character and uncompromising in his political views. He was a committed Pan-Africanist and was instrumental in getting the ANC to hold an emergency conference in Bloemfontein in October 1946 where it

was decided that the elections of the Native Representative Council be boycotted.

He worked tirelessly for the repossession of the land and the establishment of a socialist, democratic society.

Within the Youth League, Lembede took an uncompromising anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist stance.

He believed that the African people themselves had to chart their own path to freedom and work towards the achievement of self-determination.

Workers arrested 'for singing'

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

The Congress of SA Trade Unions has accused the police and the SA Transport Services of interfering with workers' freedom of expression following the arrest of more than 400 workers for singing freedom songs while commuting by train

A statement by Cosatu's Witwatersrand region said workers were arrested for singing on their way to and from work by train on the East Rand

~~SA~~ ~~SA~~ CHARGED ~~SA~~

About 200 were reportedly arrested in June and 240 in July. Some paid admission of guilt fines, others were charged with disturbing the peace and released on bail.

The arrests were condemned by Cosatu as a violation of workers' freedom of association, of expression and movement.

"This is a new form of repression which tends to supplement the bombing of (union) offices and brutal attacks on workers engaged in militant strike action."

The Cosatu regional office said workers from different factories and industries

had held numerous meetings to discuss this matter. In addition, the region has referred the matter to its lawyers and had requested Sats for a meeting.

In response, a police spokesman said police did not "act against people because of their affiliation to one or other organisation." As stated in (The Star's) inquiry, the people were arrested on suspicion of having committed an offence.

"The police cannot detain persons without reason. If it is revealed during investigation that there is no evidence to connect the suspect to the case being investigated, he/she is immediately released."

"All case dockets are forwarded to the relevant judicial authority who decide whether to prosecute or not."

"Regarding the 'bombing', this office has issued numerous requests to people who have information to come forward and furnish it."

A Sats spokesman said passengers had the right to complain if they were being disturbed by others.

...in real goals. The premier goal will be "the elimination of destabilisation, the eradication of terrorism and the reconstruction of the nation".

Police alert for MDM defiance: no incidents yet

Staff Reporters

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(Report compiled by A Walker 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.

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Cape counts storm damage

(Cont from page 1)

Site B Site C and Green Point Some families he said had their homes flooded again yesterday especially in parts of Site C where people were evacuated last week.

Live electrical cables were exposed as powerlines and poles blocked streets in Lansdowne Gugulethu Tokai Claremont Maitland Kenilworth Parow Rondebosch Mowbray Woodstock Athlone Wynberg Kensington Nwanga East Manenberg Deep River and Knuts River.

Part of the roof of the Masque theatre in Maitland was blown on to a railway line. The roof of a national monument the Overstone house in Newlands was blown off. This was one of many roofs which were swept away.

A tree fell on a home in Gugulethu and a tree fell on a parked car at Rondebosch station. A tree was blown on to a car in Hof Street in the city. A radio mast was snapped in Brackenell and the roof blown off the garage of a Bellville old age home.

Power failures, caused by tree branches damaging overhead cables hit Durbanville Bellville Knits River Lyndoch and Esterne River.

The municipal radio mast in Reservoir Road Brackenell, was snapped but council teams repaired it.

In Bellville a recently fitted garage roof was blown off an old age home in Durban Road. No one was injured.

Trees were uprooted in the municipal caravan park in

Shells pound Berrut
BERRUT — Merciless artillery barrages pounding helpless residents of Berrut for the past four days are now engaging two thirds of Lebanon. Hundreds of rocket launchers are pouring their rockets 40 at a time a security source said — Sapa Reuter

Coal miners trapped
CURANILAHUE — Rescue workers virtually abandoned hope for 21 miners they said were clogged inside a coal mine that flooded in southern Chile. The coal miners were 175 metres underground when a shaft wall gave way — Sapa Reuter



CRUSHED Miss Townee Hill of Overy ruefully examines her car which was crushed by a falling tree when she visited friends in Chichester Road, Claremont.

Picture: JIM McLAGAN The Argus

Knuts River A power failure lasting several hours hit the town about 4pm.

In Cape Town harbour conditions delayed the launch of Springbok sailor Bertie Reeds new yacht and forced port authorities to move a coastal freighter to a safer berth.

Huge concrete blocks lying on the middle of the breakwater were washed off the wall and into the harbour.

The freighter Berg of Union was moved to the landing wall because she was badly riding up and down at her berth, said a spokesman for the port captain's office.

The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth reports that the Eastern Cape is bracing itself for a hurricane force wind and heavy rain.

From tomorrow Port Elizabeth Uitenhage and Despatch face severe water restrictions. Households will be limited to 15 litres a month and water will cost 70c a kilolitre. A penalty rate of R24 will be charged to anyone exceeding the 15-litre limit.



ROAD BLOCKED This tree brought down powerlines when it was uprooted in the storm, blocking Bisset Road in Kenilworth.

Police, soldiers stand by for MDM defiance

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — Police and soldiers are on standby nationwide for this week's proposed defiance campaign by the Mass Democratic Movement.

Major General Herman Stadler SAP public relations chief said today the security forces would not be lulled into a false sense of security by the non-start of the defiance campaign.

Activists in the MDM — an alliance of anti-apartheid boders and the Congress of South African Trade Unions — vowed at the weekend to go ahead with their campaign to defy segregation in health education transport housing job opportunities and public amenities.

Police said today no incidents or demonstrations linked to the campaign which was expected to start yesterday were reported at the weekend.

Major General Stadler said

that police will remain on the alert as long as the MDM continues its stated aim of disrupting the elections.

The government's strategy to combat the campaign will apparently be discussed at tomorrow's weekly meeting of the State Security Council Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok is expected to attend.

MDM occupation
In Johannesburg and other areas police patrolled parks and bus terminuses regularly yesterday and today for the MDM's national militant mass action.

Segregated parks and buses were to have been occupied by MDM supporters.

The MDM's action against segregated hospitals including the Johannesburg Hospital and Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital is due to start on Wednesday.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration said that all hospital premises would be re-

Poll '89: Parties gear up for special votes

Political Correspondent
VOTING in the general election will start on Thursday when the first special votes will be issued.

Special votes are more easily available this time than in any previous general election. Voters need not prove that they will not be in the constituency where they are registered on polling day.

They can now have a ballot paper issued at a magistrate's court or office of the Department of Home Affairs without giving reasons but they have to give proof of identity.

The easier special vote system is meant to counter intimidation efforts especially in the coloured and Indian communities. It may produce a higher percentage poll than in the 1984 elections for the House of

Boxing champ loses licence

The Argus Correspondent
DUBAIAN — Douglas Sibya, Natal high heavyweight champion has had his licence to box withdrawn.

This follows an incident in Johannesburg last Monday night when Sibya went down without being hit in the second round of his fight with Howard Maphisa and refused to box when ordered by referee Joseph Chane.

This is the third time Sibya has been involved in an incident of this nature and after reviewing the reports submitted by the Transvaal board it was decided to revoke his licence," said Natal chairman Mr David Davs after a meeting of the Natal board.

Besides losing his licence Sibya will also forfeit the prize money for the fight and the Natal high heavyweight title will be declared vacant.

ing Craven on Saturday
old Michael Friedman of Durban, who died last month in Addington

tomorrow he is expected to have a bone transplant to replace a fractured vertebra

SK 3/7/89

Eskom plans to provide millions with electricity

By Winnie Graham

A multibillion-rand project to provide electricity to 22 million people (two-thirds of the population) by the turn of the century has been initiated by Eskom

If plans go according to schedule, half will have power within five years

This project could affect people living in 2,5 million homes in South Africa

The first scheme, launched in the Cape with 14 industrialists as shareholders, is serving its first 220 customers

Mr John Bradbury, Eskom's reticulation market development manager, said that the establishment of 14 other supply entities were "in various stages of negotiation"

PROVIDING POWER

"South Africa has a population of 33 million, of whom 11 million have electricity in their homes, he said "Providing power to the remaining 22 million was not conceived as a charitable venture To succeed, the project must be viable"

Eskom, he said, hoped to involve both the private sector and customers as partners in financing the project and supplying power to the people

The cost of providing power to 2,5 million homes, using traditional methods, was estimated at between R10 billion and R12 billion.

● See Page 5

SK 3/7/89 11A

Bomb blasts ANC house in Lusaka

LUSAKA — Several people were yesterday admitted to hospital after a bomb exploded outside a house occupied by black South African exiles, eyewitnesses said

No one was believed killed, said a neighbour in the Lusaka suburb of Kamanga

The neighbour said the explosion left a 2 m crater in the pavement adjoining the house in which the exiles lived, demolished part of a wall and a boundary fence and damaged nearby houses

It was not immediately known if South Africans were among the unspecified number of people injured Police released no details of the blast

Last month, the African National Congress (ANC) accused the South African Government of mounting a new sabotage campaign against its members and facilities in Zambia

Three Lusaka-based ANC officials were injured in a series of blasts at ANC offices in June

One person died near the ANC headquarters building in Lusaka when explosives he was carrying blew up, police said on June 22 — Associated Press

Vlok, Cosatu clash

11A
Scouten 31/7/87

● From Page 1

desperate attempt to discredit the MDM in the eyes of the public on the eve of elections."

"This shows Vlok's contempt for the white electorate and his belief that they are so gullible as to accept anything designed to sway their vote in favour of the National Party," the memo said.

In conclusion, Cosatu expressed its fears that the South African Police will use the Government's infamous laws to disrupt the peaceful action planned for August 2.

The union appealed to the international community to monitor the situation closely and to put pressure on the South African government not to act in an irresponsible manner.

(S) (11A)
Sowetan 3/7/89

Law out of order

THE concept of law and order has been subverted by the Government who use it as a weapon against political enemies while failing in their proper function.

Professor Tony Mathews, head of the faculty of law, University of Natal, made the accusation at an Institute for a Democratic Alternative conference on peace and security in Durban over the weekend.

Mathews said when the National Party introduced its first legislation to maintain law and order in 1950, there was one public meeting against apartheid and one minor boycott campaign.

From 1985 through to 1987 there have been 3 500 deaths in unrest related incidents.

Law and order in South Africa was not a phrase used in its normally understood sense.

It has become a programme of using criminal control for political opponents.

Conflicting claims on Tuynhuys talks

NP claims meeting a 'breakthrough'

Star 13/7/89

11A

11A

Cape Town
Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee has referred to the meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela as an "absolute breakthrough" for peaceful development in South Africa.

But political observers say the statement issued by Mr Mandela, released by the Prisons Department last night, is a clear indication that Mr Mandela has spiked Government attempts to isolate him from the African National Congress.

In the statement, Mr Mandela said that the only way to end violence and bring about peace in South Africa is through dialogue with the "mass democratic movements, particularly the ANC"

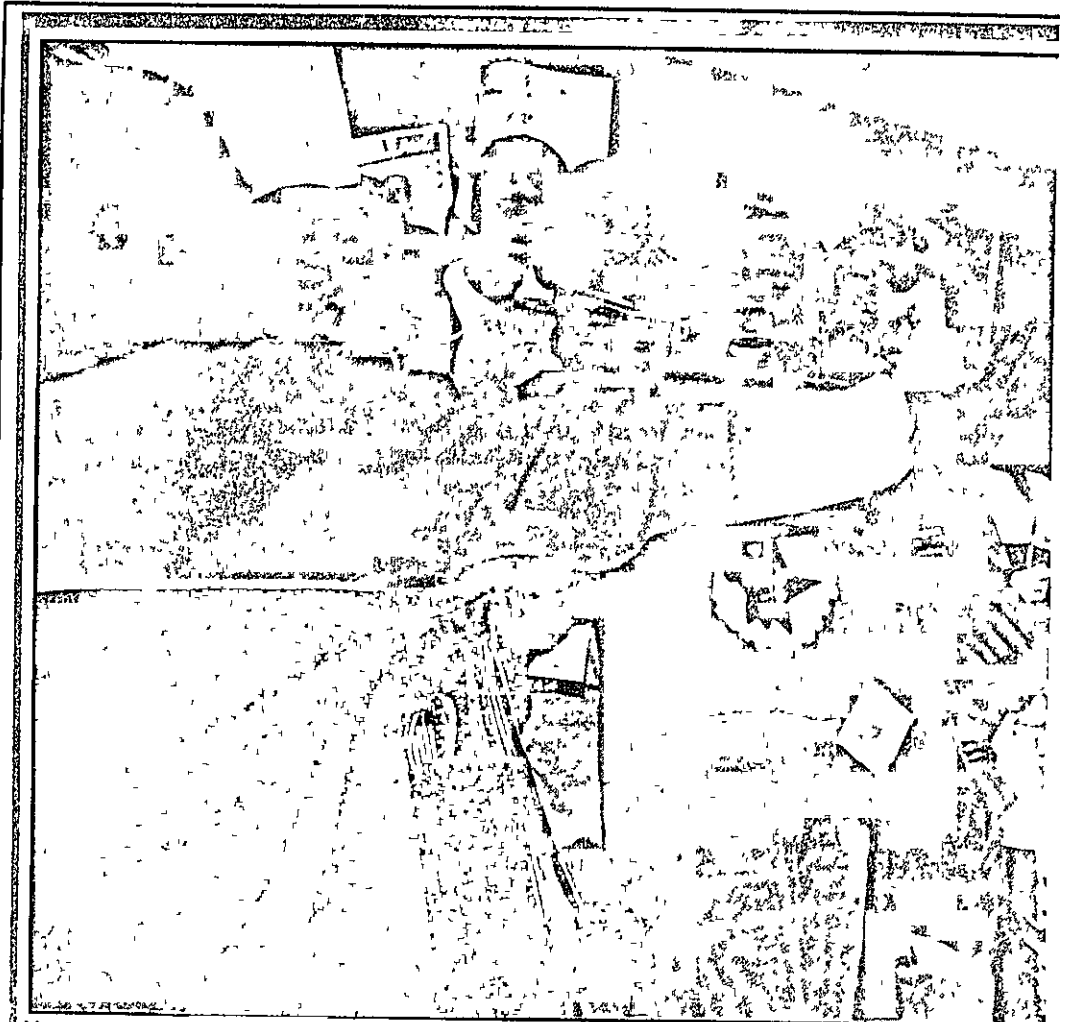
Last night, at an NP meeting in Riversdale, Mr Coetsee said that in the light of Mr Mandela's earlier refusal to forswear violence, the question had arisen whether it was not an absolute breakthrough if President Botha created the opportunity for Mr Mandela to speak to him, and Mr Mandela said that he was in favour of peaceful development in South Africa

The meeting had solved a deadlock in South Africa without recognition being given to the viewpoints of the ANC, or anyone else, in favour of violence, he said

The Government's standpoint remained that it would not negotiate with oppressors, but that it would talk to those in favour of peaceful development

Mr Mandela had not used the meeting with Mr Botha to talk as ANC leader on behalf of the movement

However, political observers believe that Government attempts to isolate Mr Mandela from the ANC had been sidestepped by Mr Mandela's insistence on negotiation with the mass democratic movements, particularly the ANC



Union power... some of the delegates attending the Congress of South African Trade Union

By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

1409

11A

Cosatu puts ball in

Star 13/7/89

The onus for the creation of conditions suitable for a negotiated political settlement lay with the South African Government, the Congress of SA Trade Unions president, Mr Elijah Barayi, said in Johannesburg yesterday

Mr Barayi was addressing more than 1 800 delegates to the federation's second biennial congress, also attended by members of the diplomatic corps and observers from the international

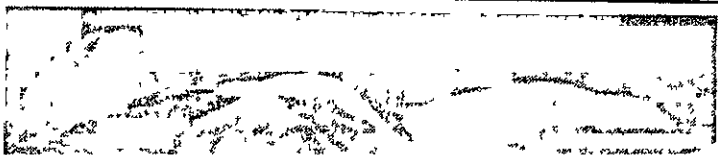
union movement

Rejecting the notion that the rise of Mr F W de Klerk would usher in a new era of political change, Mr Barayi said "The outcome of the elections will place FW (de Klerk) at the head of a regime whose rule is not based on the will of the people"

Mr Barayi said the setting of preconditions for negotiations by the "national democratic

movement", such as the drawal of the police and from black townships, do represent a negotiating platform by the movement, but aimed at ensuring a climate framework for negotiation

"Conditions must exist by, if negotiations take place, they do not take place the heads of the people. This is in the regime's court"



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Mr Mandela had not used the meeting with Mr Botha to talk as ANC leader on behalf of the movement.

However, political observers believe that Government attempts to isolate Mr Mandela from the ANC had been sidestepped by Mr Mandela's insistence on negotiation with the mass democratic movements, particularly the ANC.

Silence significant

A spokesman for the President's Office said today that Mr Botha had no comment on the meeting or statement

Idasa director Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert said today that the most significant thing so far has been the silence of the State President himself "Why is everyone explaining exactly how this came about without him stating his own position?"

"If this had been so meticulously planned over a long period to occur specifically before an election in which the National Party is being attacked from the Left and the Right, then the former leader of the party, together with the current one, should explain how it forms part of the party's election programme and the possibilities for negotiation.

"Whatever the case might be, the symbolic significance of the meeting and the consequences that will flow from it have generated a momentum that will outstrip any petty motivations there may be among the NP," Dr Slabbert added

The South African Council of Churches said that the meeting was a "calculated attempt by the Government to make maximum political gain".

Mr Mandela's wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, yesterday told a BBC correspondent her husband was not given an opportunity to prepare for the meeting

He therefore had no opportunity to consult with his people and subsequently decided to go ahead with the meeting.

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Picture by Alf Kumalo.

Union power . . . some of the delegates attending the Congress of South African Trade Unions' congress chant union songs and slogans.

Cosatu puts ball in Govt's court

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

The onus for the creation of conditions suitable for a negotiated political settlement lay with the South African Government, the Congress of SA Trade Unions president, Mr Elijah Barayi, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Barayi was addressing more than 1800 delegates to the federation's second biennial congress, also attended by members of the diplomatic corps and observers from the international

union movement. Rejecting the notion that the rise of Mr F W de Klerk would usher in a new era of political change, Mr Barayi said "The outcome of the elections will place FW (de Klerk) at the head of a regime whose rule is not based on the will of the people."

Mr Barayi said the setting of preconditions for negotiations by the "national democratic

movement", such as the withdrawal of the police and army from black townships, did not represent a negotiating position by the movement, but was aimed at ensuring a climate and framework for negotiations.

"Conditions must exist whereby, if negotiations take place at all, they do not take place above the heads of the people. The ball is in the regime's court."

Referring to black unions' opposition to the Labour Relations Amendment Act, the head of the country's largest worker federation said despite the law's promulgation, "the employers continue to live with a nightmare of having to face an angry labour force"

Cosatu was still to hold an anti-apartheid conference similar to that banned by the Gov-

ernment last year. Mr Barayi said the privatisation of sectors of the economy was a ploy to safeguard the interests of big business and to make it difficult for a future democratic government to provide the necessary social services to the population.

Over the next three days, delegates are expected to take decisions on issues including the political situation in the country, the LRAA, disinvestment, unemployment and Aids.

New challenge to Government:

Talk to the ANC!

ARCAS 13/17/89 (11A)

Staff Reporters

TALK to the African National Congress, the government was urged again today, following its release of an historic statement by jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela last night.

Mr Mandela, who met President P W Botha last week, said in his statement that dialogue with the mass democratic movement, in particular with the African National Congress, was the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to South Africa

The full text of Mr Mandela's statement is published elsewhere on this page

In his reaction to the statement, Mr Mandela's attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob of Johannesburg, today challenged the government to talk to the ANC and "the mass democratic movement instead of trotting out a new set of jaded quislings"

Policy matters

The Mandela statement, the first released on his behalf by the State, was distributed by the Prisons Service last night after it had been cleared by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee

Last week Mr Coetsee said no policy matters were discussed or negotiations conducted but Mr Botha and Mr Mandela had made use of the opportunity to confirm their support of peaceful development in South Africa

Friends of the Mandela family were not available for comment

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, declined to comment because he said he had not seen a text or a copy of Mr Coetsee's release

Mandela's message: Full text

The statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on the meeting between the State President and myself is an accurate reflection of what happened at the meeting.

The statement, however, constitutes no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years, namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, with the African National Congress, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country

I make this statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President. I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the Press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development.

I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage. As implied in the original statement, I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa

Cape Town attorney Mr Essa Moosa, who represents Mrs Winnie Mandela in this region, said Mr Mandela's response had been carefully worded

Leaders released

"Obviously one supports his position that there should be negotiation with the mass democratic movement

"However, this can only happen once all our leaders have been released and our organisations unbanned

"He said that his freedom is not an issue I think it is"

Mr Moosa said it was highly admirable that Mr Mandela had not changed his views in spite of being in prison for more than 25 years

"I admire him for putting his position across to Mr Botha"

The government and the Democratic Party both interpret Mr Mandela's statement as an important shift in that he has committed himself to dialogue without preconditions

A senior government source also said that Mr Mandela's

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

Mandela wants peace by peaceful means

ARCAS 13/17/89 (11A)

Party co-leader, said there were two important aspects of the statement Mr Mandela's commitment to a "peaceful search for peace" and the fact that he was saying that dialogue should take place without preconditions

"The way I read it, he is saying that the ending of violence, the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and the ending of the ANC's campaign to isolate South Africa - all these things must become the results of dialogue and not pre-conditions for dialogue"

(Report by D Cruywagen, A Weiss and P Fabricius, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

(Cont from page 1) The statement meant that he accepted the fact that he would not be released before the elections

The source said that the significance of Mr Mandela's statement was not only his commitment to peace but the fact that he seemed to be committing himself to achieving "peace by peaceful means"

He believed this was the correct interpretation of Mr Mandela's statement that "dialogue with the broad democratic movement and especially the ANC is the only way of ending violence and bringing about peace"

Mr Wynand Malan, Democratic

Thatcher, UDF 'agree to differ'

South Africa
13-19/7/89

LONDON. — The African National Congress has the support of the majority of the people and has to be taken into account in any attempt to resolve South Africa's problems, a United Democratic Front told Margaret Thatcher in London this week.

The delegation, led by co-president Albertina Sisulu, also told Thatcher that president designate FW de Klerk's new five year plan was not a starting point for negotiations, but signalled a step backwards.

The talks were described by the UDF side as "cordial but frank, with no punches pulled" and by Downing Street as "amicable".

Thatcher said the framework for negotiations on South Africa's future was still the same as that set out by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group, including the suspension of violence.

She did not respond directly to the issue of the ANC's role but again raised the question of violence, according to the UDF side.

A Downing Street spokesperson said the issue of sanctions had been raised and that the sides agreed to differ.



DURBAN — The proposed "Big Four" Natal peace talks in August in London between the ANC, UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha may be postponed because kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is already committed elsewhere.

'Big four' peace talks face delay

A highranking Inkatha delegate to the peace talks confirmed that Buthelezi will find it difficult to attend the negotiations between August 14 and 24.

briefing the new and influential American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, in Durban this week

Cosatu general secretary and peace talks delegate Jay Naidoo said Buthelezi, Oliver Tambo, Elijah Barayi, Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede would meet overseas to plan a peace conference. "to thrash out a joint process on how any agreement can be monitored on the ground and enforced by the organisations which have agreed to it"

● Siphso Gcabashe, the only Pietermaritzburg participant in the Cosatu/UDF negotiating team, referring to two recent incidents, says he believes someone may be trying to sabotage the peace talks

Peace talks delegates, Dr Oscar Dhlomo of Inkatha and Dr Diliza Mji of the UDF, have cautioned that optimistic press coverage of their negotiations has raised people's hopes too high

Four men, one of them wearing a balaclava, were looking for Gcabashe, a Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu) organiser, at his office while he was at last week's negotiations with Inkatha in Durban

Both men downplayed their peace talks as "exploratory" after separately

On June 28, Gcabashe said, he had to do a dangerous U-turn to avoid a confrontation with two mystery drivers on the road from Ashdown to Pietermaritzburg

By HENRY LUDSKI

POLICE have swooped on a Claremont block of flats and given almost all tenants until the end of the month to get out or face prosecution.

The hounded tenants say the raid is a pre-election Group Areas crack-down.

At the end of July, a 12-month grace period extended to the tenants by Claremont station commander, Major C M J Jansen, expires and they become liable for prosecution

Jansen granted the tenants the period of grace so they could find "lawful alternative accommodation"

But the tenants are reluctant to quit their homes

"We are all living happily together and we are not going to move," said Mr Neil Ernstzen

Over the past two years, about 10 Newmarket Place tenants have at some stage been approached by the police

However, an early Sunday morning visit this week has heightened fears that action against them is imminent.

"I was a total wreck for the few minutes the police were here," said a resident, who did not want to be named.

Emigrate

"I thought they were coming to put us out and I was worried about what I would do with my children I feel terribly insecure"

The tenants' Group Areas Act nightmare began soon after the opening of a National Party election office in their block of flats during the last election in 1987.

The police action has already resulted in one resident having his fingerprints taken, a few others quitting their flats rather than face a confrontation with the authorities, and at least one other family applying to emigrate to Australia

Mr Leslie Vickerman, the owner of the block of flats, confirmed that residents had informed him of the police ultimatum but claimed he had been given an assurance by the office of the Attorney-General (A-G) that they had "nothing to worry about"

However, this was denied by the A-G, Mr Neil Rossouw, who said his office would continue with prosecutions in terms of the Group Areas Act, as it was still on the statute books.

A police spokesperson in Pretoria confirmed the Claremont Group Areas investigation.

Is this the man Botha met?



Is this the face PW saw? Many who have seen Nelson Mandela in recent times agree that the "identikit" picture above, sketched from descriptions provided by his visitors and family, closely resembles the jailed ANC leader. They say it is almost perfect except for the lips, which are slightly fuller than Mandela's.

Rivonia men toffed up for Mandela party

NELSON MANDELA'S fellow Rivonia trialists being held at Pollsmoor will for the first time in almost 26 years wear civilian clothes when they attend a function at Victor Verster next week.

According to family sources, a tailor visited Pollsmoor Prison to measure Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba and Wilton Mkwayi

The suits were delivered this week. The five ANC stalwarts, jailed for life after

their arrest at Rivonia on July 11 1963, are apparently on a guest list for a function at Mandela's prison home at Victor Verster.

It could not be ascertained whether the function is to celebrate Mandela's birthday on July 28 or him being awarded a law degree by Unisa.

Mono Badela reports from Johannesburg that Mandela family members, including his grandson and family living in the Transkei, will be visiting the ANC leader on his 71st birthday next Tuesday.

Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said arrangements for the birthday visits had been made.

Meanwhile, the world's most famous political prisoner issued a statement this week in response to the meeting last week between himself and State President PW Botha

Mandela said a statement issued by the government after the meeting did not deviate from the position he had taken over the past

TURN TO PAGE 13

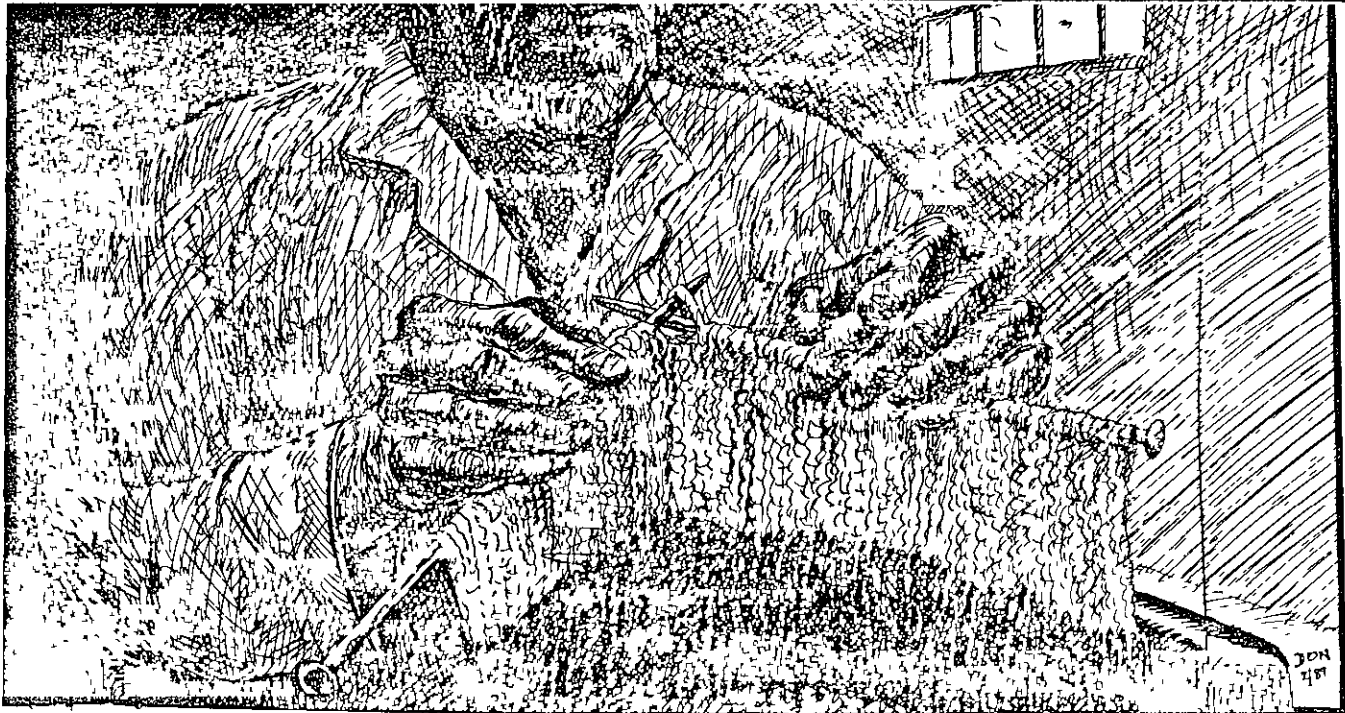


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South 13-19/7/89.

P.T.O

FACE TO FACE WITH OSCAR MPETHA



The old man in Ward G13

THE first thing I notice in Oscar Mpetha's hospital ward is the number of Father's Day cards at his bedside

"For a father who has loved so much," is the message on one from his daughter Esther

The card could so easily have been from one of thousands of workers throughout the country who regard Mpetha as the "father of trade unionism in South Africa"

My first glimpse of him is of an old, grey-haired man dressed in a hospital gown sitting at his bedside knitting a mauve jersey. Intermittently, he glances towards the doorway

The apprehension and surprise on his face as I enter his prison makes way for a broad smile as I identify myself

All the time as we talk Mpetha's eyes dart between me and an empty chair in the hallway where a prison guard, who has slipped away for a short while, can almost always be found

He drops his knitting as the discussions switch between his knitting, his favourite hospital past-time, and a possible early release

The minutes tick away slowly. The guard is still not back.

Happiest

Mpetha's yearning for freedom is no more evident than when the discussion shifts to his forthcoming birthday.

The happiest person in the world on his 80th birthday on August 5 would be a free Oscar Mpetha, celebrating at home with his family

A chance encounter with imprisoned trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, serving five years for terrorism, came as much of a surprise to him as to me.

In a private room off a main ward at Groote Schuur Hospital, I recognise a greying man knitting a jersey.

With no warder in sight, I slip in for a personal chat:

It will be a home without his wife Rose, who died in 1986, his 36-year-old son Karl who died last year, and his youngest son Themba who is living in the United Kingdom.

After four years in prison a lot has changed for him

He is hopeful of an early release but realises that his refusal of a con-

ditional pardon if he renounces violence does not count in his favour

He is eager to find out more about British PM Margaret Thatcher's call for his release and the newspaper I brought along is quickly paged through for any further elaboration

Mpetha is in a general ward with about 20 other patients, many of



them not even aware of his presence

Then there are those who know his every movement from the time he goes for therapy to when he can be found in the television room with other patients

For many of them he too has become a "father" figure

Not one to idle away his life in prison, the veteran trade unionist has knitted 15 jerseys for his grandchildren and four great grandchildren

The cabled jersey he is busy on at the moment is the third he is knitting for the hospital to sell for charity

He shows me the intricate magazine pattern faded and kept in a plastic sleeve

And he laughs as he recalls reading an article in SOUTH which said that while millions of workers throughout the country would be observing May Day he would be spending his day knitting — which is exactly what happened.

Mpetha was jailed for terrorism in 1985 after his appeal failed. Most of this time has been spent under armed guard in a Groote Schuur Hospital

ward which, under the circumstances he has tried to make as homely as is possible

On the pedestal next to his bed is a pot plant given to him by a relative on his birthday

Mpetha, who is a diabetic, is not the frail old man I expected to find. Instead, he looks remarkably well

Devoted

He is as excited about the prospect of freedom — which will come in 11 months time if he is not granted a remission of sentence — as he is about the dream house which has been presented to him by the trade union to which he has devoted so many of his years

The Food and Allied Workers Union, called the Food and Canning Workers Union during Mpetha's many years as general secretary, has set up a Trust Fund to see to his health and welfare needs while in prison and after his release

Besides his bed is a hospital library trolley with a collection of about 20 books all of which Mpetha points out, he has already read

Mpetha's leg was amputated a few years ago and he walks with great difficulty, but he leaves his walking-stick in the corner of the room as he takes three awkward paces to the book trolley

From it he retrieves the architect's plans and artist's impression of the house included in the Trust Fund proposal and spreads it out on his bed

He elaborates on the proposals, lightheartedly mulling over the implications of the new lifestyle it presents

The prison guard has since returned and surprisingly takes up his position in front of the door without being perturbed by the discussions inside.

The minutes tick away

Jailing Mpetha a 'callous' action

THE continued imprisonment of veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha is a reminder of the government's "callousness"

This was said by Mandla Gxanyana, general secretary of the Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu), of which Mpetha is a former general-secretary

Mpetha, who has already served 49 months of a five year sentence for terrorism, celebrates his 80th birthday on August 5

Mpetha has spent most of this period under armed guard at Groote

Schuur Hospital because of ill health

The intensification of a Fawu campaign for Mpetha's release comes at a time of increasing international pressure on the South African government for his release

It includes a call last week by British PM Margaret Thatcher for the release of political prisoners such as African National Congress leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oscar Mpetha

Mpetha, born in the Mount Frere

district in the Transkei on August 5 1909, is a former Cape ANC chairman and president of the United Democratic Front.

Gxangana said union officials, assisted by lawyers, are presently "putting the finishing touches" to a Trust Fund which will see to Mpetha's "health and welfare needs"

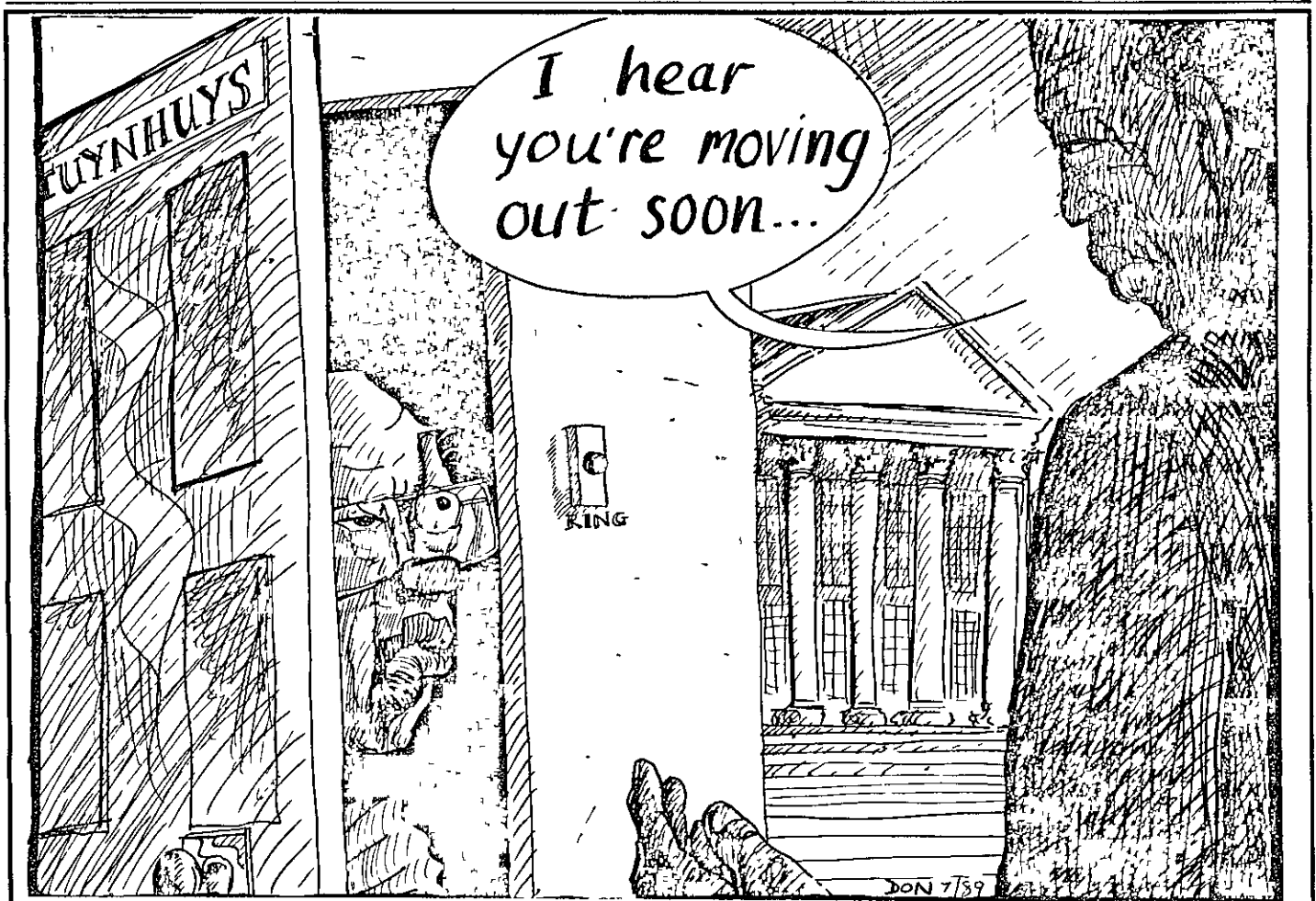
Several branches and regional structures of the union are also "in the process of setting up a committee which will mobilise support" for the campaign to se-

cure Mpetha's release

"In an effort to highlight the plight of Oscar Mpetha the union's education department is putting together a package of his life history which is to be disseminated to our 79 000 members nationally

"Fawu is soon to meet with other progressive organisations with whom Comrade Mpetha has had links to work out a common approach to campaign for his release," said Gxangana

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Mandela's healing role in new SA

WHATEVER the government might intend, once it has released Nelson Mandela, it has put the first foot on the road to real change

Anti-apartheid leaders inside the country agree that Mandela's release cannot be a mere token undertaken to appease the Western powers that have been lobbying for his freedom

Firstly, they point out, he is the leader of the African National Congress

From his own account, Nelson Mandela still remains a member of the ANC, says former national United Democratic Front spokesperson Murphy Morobe.

Passport

It goes without saying that his activity will relate to everything else the ANC is doing

Secondly, it will be impossible for the government to release Mandela with restrictions as has been done with other former political prisoners

"He would only violate the restrictions," says his biographer Fatima Meer, a Durban sociologist.

"An unconditional release means he will have a passport and will be able to move about quite freely. A conditional release will mean that he'll probably be back in jail within a matter of days"

According to Alex Borane, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South

One of the many interpretations placed on the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha at Tuynhuys last week is that Botha wanted to meet eye-to-eye the man whose release form he is about to sign.

This dovetails with Botha's "correct and procedural" style of rule and the inexorable forces at play in South Africa, the sub-continent and the rest of the world, which demand that the National Party release the world's most famous prisoner.

But what will be the impact of his release? PIPPA GREEN examines some of the issues at stake:

Africa (Idasa), a conditional release would cause more harm than not releasing Mandela at all

By unconditionally releasing the leader of the ANC, the government will effectively unban the organisation, say anti-apartheid leaders

They believe the government will probably follow up Mandela's release with a "de jure unbanning of the ANC outlawed since 1960"

You cannot release the man and not allow his organisation to work with him," observes Dr Allan Boesak

"There are no other channels for him to work through — not the tri-cameral Parliament, not the homelands, not even the United Democratic Front

The only channel in a very strict political and historical sense is the organisation of which he is a leader, the ANC

By unbanning the ANC the government could open the way to negotiations between itself and the organisation.

"It could indicate a serious intent on the part of the government to pave the way to a new constitution, says Meer "To me, this does not seem too far fetched

Will the government maintain the state of emergency if it releases Mandela? Some activists believe this will be impossible

How can Mandela be walking the streets representing the ANC when leaders of non-violent organisations are still in jail?" asks Boesak

Statesman

Borane warns against the Mass Democratic Movement using Mandela as simply a popular figure at mass rallies

Mandela must be released as a major statesman. Of course he must meet his people but if his only role at large scale rallies is to allow people's emotions to run amok, then it will be doing Mandela a disservice

There must be a clear understanding by the anti-apartheid movement and the government that he is being released to start the negotiation pro-

cess," says Borane

Beyond negotiations with the government, Mandela clearly has a role to play in unifying the various factions of the anti-apartheid movement

Says Western Cape activist Johnny Issel "Mandela as a leader speaks to a constituency much broader than the Congress forces and he symbolises the wishes of people other than just those in the Congress movement"

And Morobe, who himself spent three years on Robben Island where he met Mandela agrees

"My experience of Nelson Mandela is that of a person who never undertakes anything without engaging in consultation and getting the broadest possible consensus"

The ANC leader he adds "is very much aware of the unifying potential of his own role

Specifically, this means reaching out a hand to black consciousness supporters. But it also means talking to more conservative black leaders such as Gatscha Buthelezi, head of

Inkatha

Although there is a history of hostility between the UDF and Inkatha, a rift that has manifested itself in appalling violence in Natal, Buthelezi has said on numerous occasions that he would accept Mandela as his leader

One thing about Mandela is that he has enormous tolerance for differing ideologies, says Meer

Even problematic leaders such as Buthelezi, she says, will probably co-operate with him

Moreover the kwaZulu leader has "certain strength in Natal and cannot just be wished away

Behaviour

Even the recent scandal over the behaviour of Winnie Mandela's bodyguards in Soweto described as an extraordinary debilitating experience for Winnie is not expected to affect Mandela's role after his release

Everyone always knew the distinction between Winnie Mandela and Nelson Mandela, says Boesak

Mrs Mandela may have made mistakes," but with Nelson Mandela's emergence into public life, her predicament will be "taken up in the process of healing

Mandela's freedom could spread this healing process throughout the country

It is no longer the only key to open the door to a better future in this country, cautions Boesak.

"But it is a symbolic act, which will set in motion a chain of events that could dramatically change the climate in this country"

Mandela release not likely

NELSON Mandela's release is no nearer despite his momentous meeting with South African President P W Botha, the ANC leader's lawyer said yesterday.

But the 45-minute encounter in Cape Town last week, plus a moderate statement by the world's best known political prisoner, could act as a catalyst for talks between Pretoria and the anti-apartheid movement, Ismail Ayob said.

11A Speaking in his Johannesburg office, Ayob was emphatic in dismissing speculation that the meeting with Botha would hasten the end of Mandela's nearly 27-year-long incarceration.

"No. The meeting took place probably as a result of a dispute within the National Party, but not out of concern for Mandela or his organisation," said Ayob.

He did not elaborate.

● To Page 2

Mandela release

From page 1

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Sowetan 14/11/87
on the dispute. But one theory about the meeting has been that Botha was snubbing his heir-apparent, National Party leader F W De Klerk.

In his statement on Wednesday night, Mandela challenged Pretoria to negotiate with his organisation, the ANC, and the mass democratic movement.

Ayob said Mandela's statement meant it was now up to Pretoria to sit down with the ANC and the mass democratic movement.

"It is now in the hands of the South African Government," he said.

Mandela said his own release was not an issue.

Ayob said "This is perfectly consistent with the view that his personal freedom is not an important issue in relation to the freedom of all South African people."

Mandela's apparent agreement to meet Botha prompted unease among his black supporters.

Dr Nihato Motlana said on Thursday that Mandela's statement bore the marks of a Pretoria publicity stunt.

"The meeting was an attempt by the Government to take advantage of a prisoner. Mandela's statement confirms that it was a non-event," Motlana said.

But Ayob rejected claims that Mandela was being manipulated. "I simply refuse to accept that Mandela can be manipulated," the lawyer said.

game can gain in the present international climate is great and would be particularly damaging at this time," the SACC said

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

'All or nothing' for NP

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The National Party is facing an all-or-nothing situation in the September elections, according to the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Speaking to a group of West German MPs and politicians here yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said that if the NP lost in September it would never recover. If it won but failed to implement reform measures, it would be eclipsed

"There is no prospect of the NP losing this election and returning in five years to win. It is an all-or-nothing survival game it now plays," he said

(Report by N Cunningham-Dowry, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



MANDELA LAWYER ...

Mr Ismail Ayob

Spell out stand on Mandela, govt told

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THERE was an urgent need for President P W Botha or Mr F W de Klerk "or whoever is in charge of government policy" to say what the government's plans were in respect of Mr Nelson Mandela, DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday

In a statement released in Rome, Dr Worrall said "There is enormous confusion in the European press, in European political circles and in European foreign ministries as to precisely what the position is following Mr P W Botha's meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela."

Mandela release 'no nearer'

Mr Tius Matelo 14/7/89

JOHANNESBURG — The release of Mr Nelson Mandela is no nearer despite his meeting with President P W Botha, the ANC leader's lawyer said yesterday

But Mr Ismail Ayob said the 45-minute encounter in Cape Town last week, plus a moderate statement by the world's best-known political prisoner, could act as a catalyst for talks between Pretoria and the mass democratic movement

Speaking in his office here, Mr

Ayob was emphatic in dismissing speculation that the meeting with Mr Botha would hasten the end of Mr Mandela's incarceration.

"No. The meeting took place probably as a result of a dispute within the National Party but not out of concern for Mr Mandela or his organization," Mr Ayob said.

One theory about the reason for the meeting has been that Mr Botha was snubbing his heir-apparent, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

In Bani last night, another member of the DP's leadership trouka, Dr Zach de Beer, said the essential theme contained in Mr Mandela's statement was that "peace in SA must come through negotiation between the government and the mass democratic movement, which of course includes the ANC

"This has always been obvious, and we Democrats have been saying it for years — but in the past Nationalists, as well as the Conservatives, have regu- larly attacked us for this"

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and Ken Carter, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

This is the view of UDF leaders currently visiting Britain

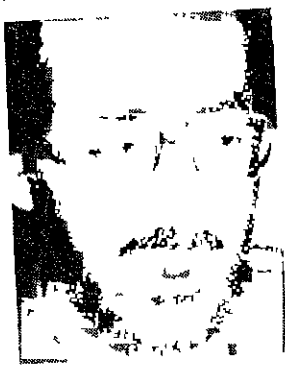
"We believe the meeting can best be explained by the problems between Mr F W de Klerk and Mr P W Botha," said Mr Tius Matelo.

"Perhaps Mr P W Botha is trying to upstage Mr F W de Klerk."

He added that Mr Mandela's possible release after more than 25 years in jail would not in itself provide a basis for talks between the opposition and the government. — Sapa- Reuter

APR 7 1989

Mandela release 'no nearer'



MANDELA LAWYER
Mr Ismail Ayob

JOHANNESBURG — The release of Mr Nelson Mandela is no nearer despite his meeting with President P W Botha, the ANC leader's lawyer said yesterday

But Mr Ismail Ayob said the 45-minute encounter in Cape Town last week, plus a moderate statement by the world's best-known political prisoner, could act as a catalyst for talks between Pretoria and the mass democratic movement

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Ayob was emphatic in dismissing speculation that the meeting with Mr Botha would hasten the end of Mr Mandela's incarceration

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This is the view of UDF leaders currently visiting Britain

"We believe the meeting can best be explained by the problems between Mr F W de Klerk and Mr P W Botha," said Mr Titus Mafolo.

"Perhaps Mr P W Botha is trying to upstage Mr F W de Klerk."

He added that Mr Mandela's possible release after more than 25 years in jail would not in itself provide a basis for talks between the opposition and the government — Sapa-Reuter

PW desperate! Cosatu



THINA "TEN TEN" BALOYI

Shebeen king is viciously beaten

A shebeen king from Klaptown, near Johannesburg, alleged yesterday that he was stripped naked and viciously assaulted for six hours by two medical Public relations officer for the East Rand police, Lieutenant Ida van Zuiwel said she was not aware of

39 Red Cross men are fired

Sowetan 14/7/89

SA Press Association

THIRTY-NINE South African Red Cross workers on strike since early May have been fired after ignoring an ultimatum to return to work.

The International Red Cross has expressed concern — saying they would be forced to view the matter from an international perspective and take a position once in possession of the details

Dismissed workers have protested strongly and declared that their dismissal illustrated the "racial bias" of the South African organisation

The action was announced yesterday

She said appeals to delay disciplinary hearings had been turned down and the workers had been fired without the knowledge of black counsellors.

Workers were yet to receive notification of their dismissal in the mail, she said

A five-man delegation from the International Red Cross looked into the matter in June and made recommendations, the acting head of delegation for the Red Cross, Mr Meinred Shuter said

The local organisation, although recognised by the international body operates autonomously

STATE President Mr PW Botha has been forced to "bury his head in shame" and meet the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the annual conference of the Congress of SA Trade Unions was told yesterday.

Addressing more than 1 800 delegates at the meeting, UDF leader Mr Mohammed Valli said Botha was forced to meet the imprisoned black leader "in his desperate search for a way out".

"He is the same man who only a few years ago said that Mandela would only be released if he renounces violence," Valli said.

In his meeting with Botha last week, Mandela had made it clear that peace could only be achieved if the Government was prepared to enter into genuine negotiations with the liberation forces led by the ANC. He said the "mass struggles" of the 70s and 80s had brought the Government to a point where it acknowledged that it had to negotiate

BY LEN MASEKO

"Indeed, F W de Klerk has realised that during his term in office he will be faced with one of two ways of losing power: either he enters into genuine negotiations with the ANC now, or he gets swept away by the rising tide of mass militance and action," the UDF official said

Cosatu's congress, which is being held at Nasrec; Crown Mines, ends on Sunday with a cultural festival featuring a number of music groups.

The ANC's constitutional guidelines, the Freedom Charter and the dispute within the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers of SA are among the issues being discussed at the meeting

Star 14/7/89.

Mandela (11A) 'pleased' to ~~see~~ meet Botha

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday told MP Mrs Helen Suzman he was pleased to have met the State President, Mr P W Botha

Mrs Suzman visited the jailed ANC leader at his prison home in Paarl yesterday

Mrs Suzman said last night she spent more than two hours with Mr Mandela

They discussed a wide range of subjects, including the recent conference at Lusaka with the ANC, organised by the Five Freedoms Forum, and the forthcoming general election, Mrs Suzman said

"He told me he was pleased to have met President Botha," she said, but declined to disclose what Mr Mandela had said about the meeting in Tuynhuys.

It was the first time she had seen Mr Mandela since August last year — Sapa.

Kohl asks to see UDF delegation

Star
14/7/89 By Sue Leeman, 11A
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mrs Albertina Sisulu's UDF delegation has been invited to meet West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, but it is not clear if they will take up the offer on this trip.

Chancellor Kohl is the fourth leader to ask to see them over the past three weeks. They have already had meetings with US President George Bush, British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Swedish Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson.

However, members of the group have commitments at home and it appears that the meeting may be postponed. Chancellor Kohl had wanted to see the group on Tuesday.

● See Page 6.

Treurnicht condemns jail statement

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

It was shocking to see how the National Party was using jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela for its own propaganda, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday

In a strongly-worded statement condemning Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's allowing Mr Mandela to release a statement on his meeting last week with State President P W Botha, Dr Treurnicht said "The CP rejects the conniving with the ANC in the strongest possible terms, and wishes to point out that the NP's attempt to enhance Man-

Stav 14/1 7/84
dela's status to that of a folk hero is transparent and will not work" **11A**

Mr Coetsee's permission this week to Mr Mandela to release his statement was directly in conflict with the established policy that no prisoners were allowed to release statements from prison, the CP leader said

'PRELUDE TO RELEASE'

Attached to Dr Treurnicht's statement was a 1985 newspaper report quoting Mr Coetsee as saying no state could allow political propaganda to be issued from jail That also applied to Mr Mandela, Mr Coetsee said at the time

Dr Treurnicht challenged Mr Coetsee to state whether the Government's policy in this regard had changed and whether "Mandela is going to be allowed to freely release statements to the media in future".

The recent developments around Mr Mandela were clearly a prelude to his release soon after the September general election, Dr Treurnicht said.

The NP and the ANC had already reached common ground on the principle of a unitary state It now appeared as if there was closer rapprochement between the NP and ANC as political organisations

(Report by Esmaré van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Negotiations — SA's new catchword



PLEASE allow me to continue on the theme we started in last week's column, that of negotiations, the new buzz word in South Africa's political vocabulary.

It is so easy for a person to get caught up in lots of activity and lose sense of what it is all about

Stories have been thrown at us at an unbelievable pace these past few weeks. ANC document on negotiation, Nelson Mandela meets PW Botha, FW de Klerk invited to the White House; Margaret Thatcher meets UDF leaders, etc.

A search for the logic of all this is very necessary if we are to avoid confusion

At the heart of this talk about negotiations is the belief that apartheid must be scrapped. Its architects, the National Party, have said they now believe that it has to be scrapped and what they are looking for is a way of doing it.

It is this introspection within the ruling white society that has raised hopes that a negotiated settlement is imminent

We need to understand that members of the National Party are not Sauls suddenly enveloped by a flash of light from heaven as they travel to Damascus. It is pressure

that has pushed them to the position they occupy now, a little to the left of the 1948 position

The pressures have been varied internal revolts, which are always followed by the outrage of the international community and capital fleeing the country; the isolation of the country by the international community, and the nascent armed struggle by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress

Pressure

These pressures have strained the country's economy and if they continue, this beautiful land will be turned into a wasteland

That much has now become clear to the majority of white South Africans. But they balk at the next logical step, which is to declare a ceasefire and get all the parties involved in the conflict to sit round a table to negotiate a future for our country

Very simple statistics show why white South Africa is deliberately paralysed

• In 1986/87, the Government spent R477 on the education of an indigenous African child, R1 021 on that of a

coloured, R1 904, Indian; and R2 508 on that of a white child

• In 1986 the average monthly earnings of an indigenous African were R500, that of a coloured R634, Indian, R912, and that of a white R1 732

These simple statistics culled from the authoritative Race Relations Survey 1987/88 are just examples. All the statistics that measure power and privilege confirm this hierarchy

An interesting thing about these statistics is that they show a self-sustaining system, there is no way that the indigenous African child, for example, is going to climb higher in the hierarchy for as long as the expenditure on his education is still so low.

And it is this power that white South Africa is trying to protect. They still do not realise the potential that will be unleashed once we have a just dispensation in this country.

The dance on egg shells will continue and for as long as it continues, this country will not know peace.

The Margaret Thatchers and the Herman Cohen's should be concentrating their efforts on getting white South Africa to come to its senses, rather than

PERSPECTIVE



trying to raise the hopes of the oppressed needlessly

We need more con-

vincing proof that white South Africa is ready for peace and prosperity for all

Apartheid must go – De Beer

Call for more discussion with the ANC

Stav 14/7/89
~~SECRET~~
IIA

Political Reporter

Continued dialogue with the ANC on its pro-socialism stance could well convince it of the merits of capitalism, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Benoni last night.

Since his first meeting with ANC representatives four years ago, the ANC had "improved somewhat on the question of socialism which has, after all, become unfashionable all over the world just because it is such a terrible failure", he said.

"It is my impression that the ANC has not come nearly far enough towards free enterprise, but I believe that more study and more discussion could well prove fruitful in this regard."

Referring to the outlawed organisation's position on violence, he said jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's recently expressed commitment to peace

offered hope. However, a negotiated political settlement would be impossible unless race discrimination was dismantled.

"If you want to regain prosperity for South Africa, you must first gain peace. And to gain peace, we must negotiate. And to negotiate, we must scrap race discrimination."

Urging voters to support the DP in the September general election, Dr de Beer said the DP stood openly and proudly for a policy based on justice.

On the other hand, the CP stood for a policy based on race discrimination, and the NP "sits on the fence". The NP would have to change further and faster if it wanted to be in a position to negotiate successfully.

Such negotiations would have to include the ANC and other organisations in the "mass democratic movement", he said.

(Report by Esmare van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Nats cagey on party official's talks with ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

National Party spokesmen yesterday declined to comment on the thorny issue of a party official's presence at a meeting with the outlawed African National Congress in Lusaka yesterday

Mr Stephan van Metzinger, an NP town councillor in Randburg and deputy chairman of the management committee, is the first NP member to take part publicly in talks with the ANC

His presence at the meeting, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, has led to a Democratic Party challenge that the NP should either apologise to the DP for continuously slating its policy on negotiations with the ANC or act against Mr van Metzinger

The NP's Transvaal chief secretary, Dr Lucas Nel, and the party's director of information in the province, Springs MP Mr Piet Coetzer, declined to comment since they were unaware of Mr van Metzinger's participation in the two-day meeting

PRIVATE CAPACITY

Mr Glenn Babb, the NP's candidate against DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg, also declined to comment, saying Mr van Metzinger was attending the meeting in his private capacity Management committee chairman and NP leader in the council, Mr Frans Lourens, is currently overseas

Mr Wynand Malan, Randburg MP, said he welcomed Mr van Metzinger's participation in the ANC talks since it had been absolutely essential to discuss a political future with the outlawed organisation

"But I would love to see how the NP leadership is going to react State President Mr P W Botha in 1985 categorically ordered that no NP official may talk to the ANC, and that has been the NP's position since

"The NP is in the dock now. If it has any integrity left, it will have to act against Mr van Metzinger If the NP does not act against him, I challenge the NP to apologise to the DP by saying we have been correct all along."

A spokesman for the State President's office also declined to comment.

(Report by Esmaré van der Merwe 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

party of the future and if we want to be taken seriously, then we've got to lay the foundations. We must show black South Africans and the international community that there are whites who share their point of view about the future of this country. It is that factor more than the outcome of the election that determines that we should fight on as broad a front as possible," says Worrall.

He adds the DP's aim is to give as many (whites) as possible the opportunity to vote for the party. "If that leads in some cases to seats going to the CP, then so be it." ■

INKATHA-ANC TALKS

London calling

While traffic to and from Lusaka has been reaching congestion point of late, Mangosuthu Buthelezi — like his veteran white counterpart P W Botha — has shown you don't have to travel to Zambia to talk to the ANC.

The promised peace indaba between the KwaZulu and Inkatha leader and ANC president Oliver Tambo seemed an even more unlikely occurrence a few months ago than last week's monumental Tuynhuys meeting. But after what seemed an almost unbridgeable split between the leaders, a London meeting is on — and tracing events back, Mandela can clearly be seen as a catalyst of the easing relations between the organisations which, apart from their common goal of black liberation, have precious little else in common.

The letter the jailed ANC leader sent to Buthelezi earlier this year from the Victor Verster prison showed Mandela's concern at the political violence tearing Natal apart, and expressed a wish for improved relations

between Buthelezi and Tambo, as well as the ANC and Inkatha, to be restored. This provided common ground for the meeting, probably due to take place within the month.

At the same time as Buthelezi was publicly quoting the letter to mass peace rallies, the ANC's department of information and publicity issued its most direct statement on the Natal violence, saying the organisation would participate in whatever way possible to try to end the killing.

With Mandela acting as the link, the way was cleared for the first meeting between the external wing of the ANC and Inkatha in more than 10 years.

Although both sides have made it clear, the subject of the meeting will be joint proposals formulated in earlier meetings between Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF, to implement a ground level strategy to bring peace to the region — psychologically the meeting will be a major boost for black unity. For the first time the country's four leading, mainly black political groups will act with common purpose, presenting a united front that was inconceivable at the height of the internecine violence in Natal.

And if they can meet once, pushing aside ideological differences and old antagonisms, why not again? The thought of Inkatha working hand-in-hand with its more radical counterparts, backed by the ANC, in a combined onslaught on apartheid is a formidable one.

Past clashes and political differences between the organisations have well-suited proponents of classic divide-and-rule strategies. While SA, and the world at large, has looked on in horror at the ghastly bloodletting in the Mantzberg townships, it has provided smug comfort for those arguing against black rule. If those same black leaders can now end the violence and, given their vast political differ-

ences, turn their combined efforts on advancing black unity, the effect could be devastating.

Buthelezi certainly sees the importance of unity — he has been making that call for years, indicating he was prepared to meet Tambo — and now it seems the ANC, as part of a new dual external/internal strategy (which might even include tacit backing for participation in elections), have realised it too.

With this in mind, some of the chief minister's statements at Uthuli last Friday do seem to have more substance than the usual rhetoric. When he talks about "an era in which black politics is given a completely different face" and says he observes the ANC, UDF and Cosatu "reappraising their attitudes towards Inkatha as part of the reappraisal of the South African situation," it fits in with the general perception of a fast flowing, loosening political climate.

Significantly, Buthelezi indicated in a remark towards the end of his presidential address last Friday that Inkatha's co-operation might not be limited to the ANC and the Natal violence problem. Looking beyond the elections, he said if F W de Klerk "took meaningful steps towards the politics of negotiation" his movement would have no objection but to "throw its full weight behind any developments which were positive."

Just how far this support would go is difficult to gauge, and a lot might depend on the London meeting. Even more depends on the release of Mandela, a consistent call Buthelezi has been making for years. The prize for government could be the full support of KwaZulu in future — vital if F W de Klerk is serious about black participation in parliament.

If the London meeting is successful, and leads to the breaking of the logjam in black politics, it does not seem too unlikely that other groups like the UDF and Cosatu could be drawn into the negotiating process if the government sets the right conditions — which would include unbanning many individuals and organisations.

If not, it could face the joint resistance of a unified black front led by Buthelezi and Tambo. That sort of opposition would make the rightwing a very pale comparison. ■

MANDELA AND THE ECONOMY

The power of symbolism

There are some important economic considerations which could flow from the general conciliatory climate in southern Africa — a climate of change that has been given at least symbolic impetus by the meeting last week between President P W Botha and Nelson Mandela

The SA economy — by far the dominant one of the region — is being enfeebled by two things. One is our government's own uncertainty over how it should proceed constitutionally, and what impact this policy hiatus will have at the polls. Its frustration is being given expression through financial profligacy when government doesn't know what to do, it spends money and rakes in as much in taxes as it can. It will go on doing so to strengthen its own political base, and because it deludes itself that by so doing it is somehow fostering constitutional reform. The detrimental impact on the economy is clearly a secondary issue, if one at all.

The Botha-Mandela meeting is clearly part of a political process in this region that not only has its own impetus, but may soon provide the elusive political focus that will enable government to see the need for more sensible and restrained fiscal and monetary policies. Simply put, Pretoria might then distinguish the economic and political wood from the trees.

The process of regional political enlightenment is itself partly rooted in a growing realisation of economic reality. In particular, the devastation and cost of prolonged wars in our northern neighbours and the slower — but equally sure — process of despoliation through collectivisation is bringing new pragmatism into regional relationships.

Hence negotiations are quite far advanced for peace in Angola, SWA-Namibia is moving towards democratic elections, Frelimo in Mozambique is taking sensible steps to foster a subsistence economy through the marketplace and to seek an accord with Renamo, and in Zambia (and to a lesser extent in Zimbabwe) there is a growing realisation that equality and prosperity are often irreconcilable goals.

Indeed, there is growing realisation that the socialist policies applied here and by our neighbours to the north — not always with the best of motives — have impoverished ordinary people. Experience, not only here but in Soviet Russia and China, has shown that collectivisation is the antithesis of freedom.

This pragmatism must have permeated into ANC thinking, however reluctantly and imperfectly. It could be one reason for the meeting between KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the

ANC's Oliver Tambo over the relentless violence in Natal between the Zulus and the UDF.

The other cause of our economic enfeeblement has been the capital boycott imposed by the often well-meaning but frustrated nations of the West. Because of it, government here does not see itself able at the same time to follow policies of maximum economic growth and repay within the next few years relatively modest foreign debts. So instead it reverts to inertia.

The capital boycott was imposed unexpectedly only four years ago when a deep economic recession was fostering township violence and President Botha was seen to be faltering on the road to political reform. It took one speech in Durban that proclaimed dramatically his political impotence to wipe more than 30% off the value of the rand in a matter of weeks.

Last week's Tuynhuys meeting, given the process of regional pragmatism, could begin an economic process equally as unexpected that could start putting value back into the rand. There will have, of course, to be sustained progress — constitutionally, diplomatically and economically — to make it stick. But if the dollar and the dollar price of gold do not act irrationally, we would not be surprised to see the rand, especially the financial rand, begin shortly to respond to the good news.

If that happens, this economy — and indeed the southern African region in general — need not head into the recession that is otherwise inevitable next year if things are allowed to go on as they are. The zero economic growth of next year — and the year after — could in fact be positive as prices stabilise and investment increases.

Investors in the West know that this region is richly endowed and has enormous economic potential, as well as

the institutions and financial structures to put these resources to good use. They also know that southern African governments have demonstrably been incapable of policies that will enable that wealth to be exploited properly. Once we begin to demonstrate that we are not as foolish as our actions of recent years have shown us to be, they could be as anxious to invest as they were given to flight only a few short years ago.

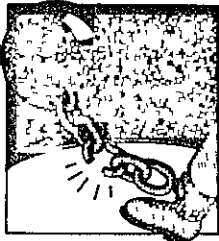
Political leverage worked dramatically and swiftly against our economy when Botha retreated into apartheid four years ago. It could work quite fast and profoundly in the other direction once we show ourselves capable of sensible co-existence and economic rectitude. At the least it will take the heat out of the foreign debt repayment negotiations. ■



Cometh the hour?

11A
 (S) (S)
 Fmail 14/7/89.

■ The meeting was momentous — but F W de Klerk will have to give it substance



There is an historical precedent — and an SA one, at that. When General Smuts had Gandhi brought before him from a cell, he conceded the Indian's relatively minor demand (for scrapping a poll tax), then released his prisoner on the spot — having found him the busfare to get home. Nobody imagines the release of Nelson Mandela could be quite that simple. Far higher stakes are involved.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu was being simplistic in describing the historic encounter between P W Botha and Mandela as "the outgoing president meeting someone who is going to succeed him in Tuynhuys." But the resonances of the event are profound.

Questions, which government is evidently still weighing, arise as to what Mandela will do on release, what his "attitude" will be once he's outside, how the townships will react to their messiah's return, and how events might turn out at Mandela's first public meeting.

These, in short, are all security considerations. As one old anti-apartheid campaigner observes, apropos a future mass rally around Mandela "All of us would be duty-obliged to turn up — irrespective of whatever restrictions, if any, are imposed. No law would prevent massive attendance of, say, 500 000, and under such conditions how can anyone guarantee what will or will not happen? In that sense, government fears would perhaps be justified."

Yet the appearance of Accused Number One in the citadel of his Afrikaner foe for tea and a chat with the State President on July 5 has heightened expectations that the release of the world's most celebrated political prisoner is imminent — in spite of the dampeners put out by Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe. He says one should "not attach too much substantive value to (the meeting), although it was symbolically highly important."

Van der Merwe tells the *FM* that while it is much too early to talk about a date, government's approach to Mandela's release would be, if it is at all possible, to release him without any restrictions. But this depends on

various factors — security again — and not all are under government's control.

He describes the meeting as forming part of the broader process of preparing the groundwork, and creating the climate, for future negotiations in SA.

Conceding that the meeting has perhaps raised expectations, Van der Merwe says it must be put into perspective. For a start, it cannot be concluded from one meeting that Mandela is about to be released. "The matter is far more complicated than that. The (Govan) Mbeki experience was not a favourable one, as people tried to take him on tours around the country, which led the security people to say there would be heightened unrest. What is going to happen the day after Mandela's release? The matter is very complicated."

Asked if his release would entail the unbanning of the ANC, the minister said these

in any negotiations about SA's political future.

In this sense the meeting was a propaganda coup for the ANC. And for the MDM it would seem to create "strategic space" in which to operate, while at the same time weakening the State's case in various political treason trials.

From government's side, the great value of the meeting is captured in the statement issued three days later by Justice Minister Kobic Coetsee, which says "No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted. President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in SA." The conversation took place in a "pleasant spirit" and the possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed, added Coetsee, who was present.

To some in the MDM, that "support for peaceful development" is seen as Botha's means of finding a way to release Mandela without withdrawing his original condition — renunciation of violence. And it is consistent with the phrasing used in the Nats' new five-year plan, they point out.

However, spokesman for the MDM, the Rev Frank Chikane, announced after Winnie Mandela had visited her husband on Monday that Mandela has his own statement on the meeting with P W. While Prisons won't confirm or deny such a statement, Van der Merwe's understanding is that there is one, and publication is for Coetsee to decide. But he points out that Chikane confirmed that the meeting took



Mandela

P W Botha

were quite separate matters. "We are treating with one individual, who, while he is regarded as the spiritual leader, holds no formal position in the ANC. He doesn't make policy, although I'm sure he has some impact on ANC policy."

The extra-parliamentary or mass democratic movement (MDM) dismissed the historic meeting as "not a great event." From the point of view of its actual political purchase, perhaps not. But its symbolic weight is undeniably important. The ANC's reaction to the meeting was to call it a public relations exercise. That may well be so. But it cuts both ways: the very fact of the meeting is an admission by government, for the first time, that the ANC is a key, if not crucial, player

place and that Coetsee's statement is "fairly accurate," to use Chikane's exact phrase. It would be interesting therefore to see Mandela's account, which puts the meeting in its "proper perspective," for any differences of nuance.

It is interesting to record that, according to Van der Merwe, it was Mandela who requested the meeting. Confirmation of that claim, as well as the rumour that Mandela had been in touch with Lusaka before the meeting, are essential for a proper understanding of the Tuynhuys indaba. Why, for example, does it leave the MDM feeling somewhat uneasy? Is Mandela going off on his own bat? Has he decided to play the role of interlocutor between government and the

333 (11A)



Coetsee



De Klerk



Chikane



Mrs Mandela



Tambo

ANC?

These are powerful reasons why the man should be allowed to speak for himself. It is absurd, especially now, to keep him silenced. Too many people are busy interpreting his mind for him.

Meanwhile, a leading figure in the MDM, who won't be drawn on such questions as whether Mandela was in touch with Tambo, nevertheless explains "The strategic objective of both Mandela and the ANC is the transfer of power to the people, whatever the form this takes, negotiation or armed struggle. This is identical to the MDM's position in calling for, among other things, the dismantling of apartheid structures, to ensure the people exercise the right of self-determination.

"The question is what form the realisation of this strategic objective must take. The recognised international form is the establishment of a constituent assembly, made up of all parties in SA.

"How you get there is the question, and, equally important, how *not* to get there. How not to get there is through secret negotiations, which sideline the very people who must participate. We believe the organised strength of the MDM is such that they are capable of expressing their point of view. The remarkable thing is that Mandela has been consistent over the years in not bypassing this factor, not so the regime, which is interested in enmeshing people in schemes to retain white domination."

Even before the Botha-Mandela encounter, the best (British) leaks had it that Mandela would be freed a few weeks after the election in September. It has generally been assumed that F W de Klerk gave Margaret Thatcher this assurance when he visited Downing Street recently, even if the timing was left vague.

It was precisely P W's timing of his meeting with Mandela — weeks before what's billed as a watershed election — that has most observers perplexed. Surely this is ammunition for the Conservative Party (CP), which looks like gaining most out of the matter at the polls, they say? Could it be, however, that government calculations have the Democratic Party (DP) as its *real* electoral threat, with the CP seen as having irretrievably peaked in the 1987 local election? In that case, the Tuynhuys encounter may have been calculated to staunch the

drift to the DP

The MDM also describes the meeting as an election ploy, and as a ruse to try to stem international trade and sanctions pressure and the fall in the value of the rand. And there are others who are indeed inclined to believe that the meeting was in fact a case of the outgoing Great Crocodile, conscious of his place in history, doing his own thing. There is no suggestion that party leader De Klerk was not kept fully informed about the meeting — but some detected a clenched-

MANDELA'S VIEW

From Nelson Mandela's reply to P W Botha's offer of conditional release in January 1985 "I am a member of the African National Congress (ANC). I have always been a member of the ANC and I will remain a member of the ANC until the day I die.

"Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. . . There is no difference between his views and mine .

" . . . I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored. When Strydom was in power, we made the same offer. When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in SA to decide on their future. This too, was in vain.

"It was only then, when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us, that we turned to armed struggle.

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strydom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organisation, the ANC. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that the people may decide who will govern them . . .

"I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated.

"I will return."

jaw response from F W. It would be characteristic for P W to behave like this.

According to former PFP leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, the meeting raises various questions about precisely what is going on, which urgently need to be answered. It is strange to have had such a meeting on the eve of an election, thrown in as a kind of rogue event.

If it is part of the NP's plan of action then why did De Klerk not announce it to the electorate when he released the five-year plan? And if it is too risky to release him, why hold a tea-party with Mandela?

Slabbert says that while Van der Merwe has described the meeting as part of a plan, nobody knows what plan.

Mandela's release is inevitable, he feels. But while government can release him, like Mbeki, on humanitarian grounds, this, in a State of Emergency, could end up having nothing to do with negotiations. To use him as a ploy to settle grudges in the NP is worse, amounting to manipulating Mandela as a prisoner without allowing him to speak. What, asks Slabbert, is the great mystery about releasing Mandela, why the coyness and sneaking him into Tuynhuys?

It would be a tragedy if the implications of this interpretation were entirely true. That would simply lead to a dangerous heightening of expectations for change — and the higher they rise, the more chilling will be the outcome if they are dashed, as has happened so often in the past.

Whether or not P W has exercised presidential prerogative to place his probable successor a little in the shade does not matter too much.

Indications are that De Klerk envisages the release of the ANC leader — and that this is construed as part of the process leading to negotiations for a new constitutional deal that is acceptable internally and abroad. This, as the *FM* has recorded in the past few issues, is what leaders like Thatcher and Helmut Kohl — and George Bush to come — appear to have understood from their meetings with SA's next president.

P W has assured his place in the history books by meeting Mandela — though his motives remain inscrutable. Now that the die has been cast, it is up to De Klerk to clarify government's intentions. Once the election is out of the way, we should not have long to wait.

Statement shows no change — ANC

The Star's Africa News Service (11A)

LUSAKA — Mr Nelson Mandela's statement on his meeting with President P W Botha indicates that nothing substantial happened during the talks, an African National Congress (ANC) spokesman said yesterday.

He said Mr Mandela's statement was still being studied by the ANC leadership. However, said the spokesman, it showed that the impression created by certain media was wrong.

"The impression was created that something concrete was happening. *Star 14/7/84*

"We said before that it was up to the participants to explain what happened at the meeting. The explanations indicate that there is no movement as far as his release and negotiations are concerned," the spokesman added.

Hidden rifts in Inkatha's ranks?

●From PAGE 7

support for Buthelezi.

Mare believes a more serious strand of dissent within Inkatha stems from within kwaZulu's civil service.

Late last year, civil servants were involved in a mini-revolt when the "homeland" government failed to honour a pledge that salaries for black officials would be brought into line with those of white bureaucrats. The kwaZulu Staff Association went as far as to threaten strike action in December last year unless the increases were paid.

During the turbulence, links were created with Cosatu's National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu).

Pretoria has recently cut back on its budgetary grants to "homeland" governments, and the financial squeeze is likely to magnify opposition from chiefs, civil servants and members of the legislative assembly.

Fiscal constraint has also encouraged local Inkatha officials to rely increasingly on local levies and taxes in urban townships and rural settlements for revenue.

In the shantytowns around Durban, for example, residents tell of having to pay Inkatha membership fees, road tolls, bridge levies and contributions to legal fees for arrested Inkatha members.



Wmail
14-20/7/89

This is Nelson Mandela, today

An artist's portrait of the man who came to tea with PW

EVERYONE knows his name and how he looked more than 20 years ago when he was last photographed — but only a handful of people know what the world's most famous prisoner-turned-diplomat looks like today. A Dutch artist has solved the problem, by spending many hours with people who have recently seen the ANC leader and constructing a life-like drawing. Nelson Mandela's associates have confirmed its realism, save that his hair is greyer and the lines around his mouth less pronounced than in the drawing.

Mandela plans to see union leaders

Weekly Mail Reporters
NELSON MANDELA has plans to meet his five Rivonia Trial co-accused and leaders of the labour movement at his Paarl prison bungalow within the next week.

The Weekly Mail has learnt that five Rex Trueform suits were delivered to Pollsmoor Prison on Wednesday for Mandela's co-prisoners to use

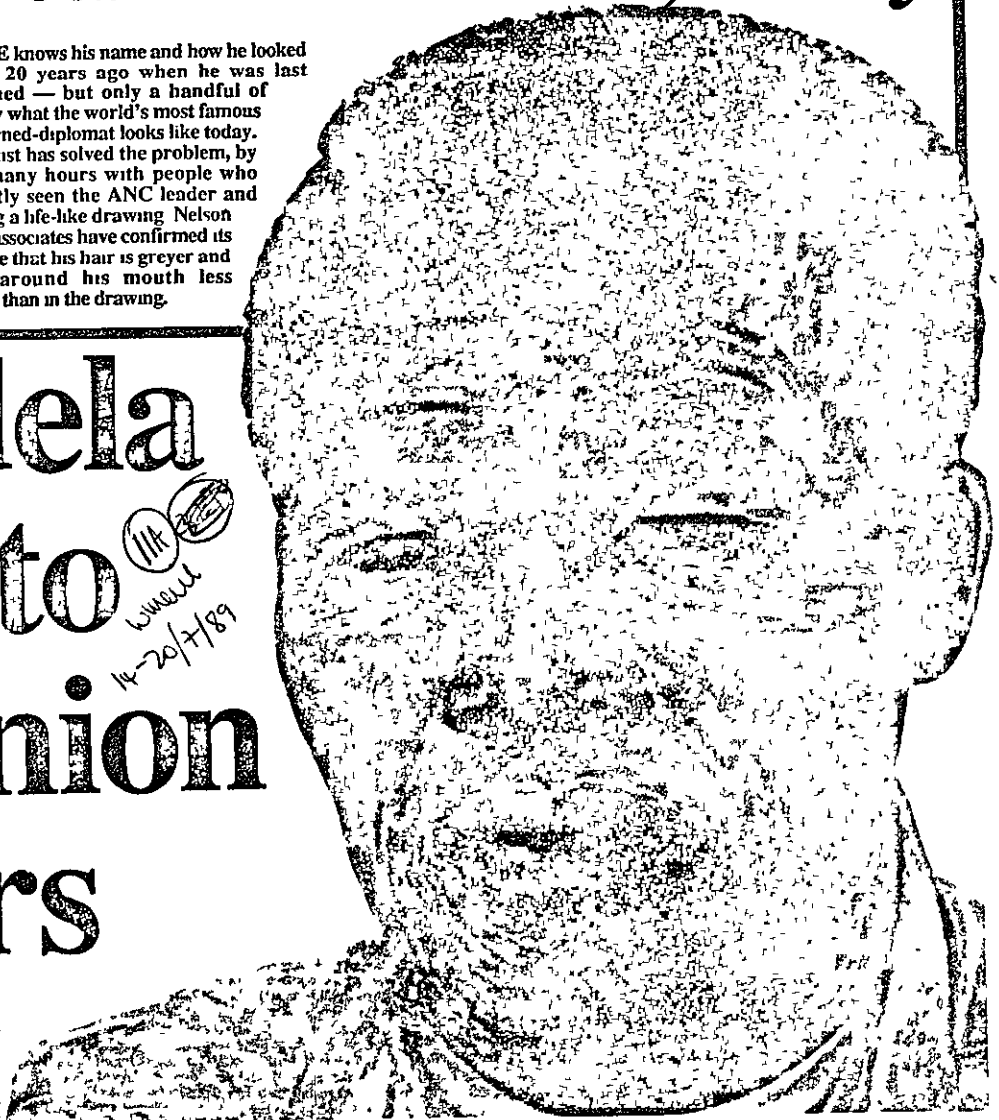
either at his graduation ceremony or his "birthday celebration" on July 18.

And he is trying to include labour leaders in the guest list. It is understood that the Congress of South African Trade Unions' Cyril Ramaphosa, Elijah Barayi and Jay Naidoo have been invited — though they have not yet received the Prisons Service's permission to attend.

Mandela is believed to have drawn up a wider list of people he wants to consult with. It is not known how long the list is, but it is believed that it includes leaders of the "mass democratic movement", the labour movement and old colleagues.

Some sources have said the list includes four leaders of the African National Congress in exile, though it is

●To PAGE 3



WIKI
14-20/7/89

P.T.O.

Thatcher tells UDF: Releases this year

BY ANTON HARBIB

MARGARET THATCHER is expecting Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oscar Mpepha to be released from prison shortly after the September elections.

This was the impression given to the British prime minister by State President-elect FW de Klerk, the man who will decide on the future of the jailed African National Congress leaders.

She shared her impression this week with the three United Democratic Front leaders she met in London, President Albertina Sisulu, executive member Thus Mafolo and National Treasurer Azhar Cachalia.

She also told the UDF leaders that there was a "tremendous international expectation" of negotiations starting

MARGARET THATCHER and Oliver Tambo were expected to have dinner last night and then go on to the opera. Of course, there were to be several hundred other guests at the bicentennial celebrations of the French revolution, but the British prime minister and the president of the African National Congress were both among French President Francois Mitterand's personal guests.

The gala dinner at the Musee Procy in Paris, followed by an evening at the Opera de Bastille, was to bring together many of the world's most important political figures.

Sources in the British Foreign Office said last night that Thatcher was unlikely to seek Tambo out at the dinner, and it is standard etiquette at such functions that the hosts ensure guests do not bump into anyone they might find embarrassing.

But, said more mischievous observers in London, given Thatcher's less-than-complimentary comments about the enlightening effects of the French revolution, her hosts might just be tempted to put her in proximity with Tambo.

after the South African elections. There was a "new generation" of leaders in South Africa and this had created possibilities for the country, she said.

Cachalia said yesterday that the delegation had "quite a strong exchange of words" with Thatcher on the issues of sanctions and violence during their 30-minute meeting.

The UDF had expressed its concern about the level of repression in South Africa, highlighting assassinations and the bombing of the offices of anti-apartheid organisations.

The UDF delegation told Thatcher they were "committed to negotiations as a means for bringing about a non-racial democracy" — but stressed that such negotiations must be genuine.

They said the five-year plan announced by the National Party was a reaffirmation of apartheid that would "seriously jeopardise" prospects for negotiations.

They told Thatcher they saw "no inherent virtue in long, open-ended talks that ended in nothing". They did not accept the government's good faith for this, and needed to see signs that the National Party was sincere.

The UDF also stressed the importance of the ANC in any negotiations.

The British view was that the meeting had been "amicable" and that Sisulu and Thatcher had agreed "the way forward for South Africa was through peaceful negotiations against the background of a suspension of violence as recommended by the Independent Persons Group".

11/14
14-20/1/81
C. M. M. J.

Post-Lusaka raids on PE activists

SECURITY police raided the homes and offices of Port Elizabeth activists, lawyers and a journalist this week, seizing notes and photographs taken during the recent Five Freedoms Forum visit to the African National Congress in Lusaka.

Among the other items confiscated in pre-dawn raids on eight houses and four offices were End Conscription Campaign pamphlets, posters and videos.

The home and offices of a prominent anti-apartheid lawyer, Vanessa Brereton, were searched. The homes of two other lawyers were also raided.

The office of the Port Elizabeth News Agency was searched and photographed and a PEN journalist's home visited by the police. Other offices raided included the East Cape Adult Learning Project and Frontier Publications. About six policemen were involved in each raid.

Police yesterday confirmed the raids and confiscations. — PEN

W. M. M. 14-20/7/89.

Cape Times 14/7/81

DP men for ANC talks in Zambia

Political Correspondent
A FOUR-PERSON Democratic Party delegation headed by Mr Wynand Malan flies to Lusaka today for talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and the ANC

The group will meet President Kaunda today and a delegation from the ANC tomorrow

Accompanying Mr Malan will be the acting chairman of the DP's National Board, Mr Tian van der Merwe, board member Mr Jannie Momborg and DP researcher in the Western Cape Dr Jannie Hofmeyer

● A separate delegation of 27 white SA academics and businessmen, led by Idasa coordinator Mr Wayne Mitchell, arrived in Lusaka yesterday, for talks with the ANC today

(Report by Anthony Johnson 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



Tea at Tuynhuys — it's not yet time to party

NEWS of Nelson Mandela's tea-taking with PW Botha threw the whole of South Africa into tumult — not least the vast numbers of people who regard themselves as his lifelong supporters

And his statement on Wednesday was too terse to settle the questions that had arisen.

Who requested the meeting? What was discussed? Was there a genuine attempt to keep it a secret, or was it leaked? What is the government playing at? And most important have "negotiations" been brought any closer?

The brevity displayed by both Kobie Coetsee and Mandela — as well as the silence from PW Botha — has ensured that it will be some time before such questions are authoritatively answered.

Shadow of Stompie over Winnie's return to favour

THE conflict between Winnie Mandela and the "mass democratic movement" (MDM) over the actions of her "football club" is unresolved — but in crucial respects, she appears to have been rehabilitated.

Following last week's meeting between President PW Botha and her husband, Nelson Mandela, she is apparently serving as a conduit between the MDM and the jailed ANC leader.

This week, she issued a statement denying that a birthday party, involving leaders of the democratic movement both in and out of jail, would be held for Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison.

She also gave an interview to the BBC clarifying the circumstances of Mandela's meeting with Botha, saying her husband had not been given the opportunity to prepare for the encounter.

In a statement this week clarifying issues surrounding the Botha/Mandela meeting, the South African Council of Churches said "It is important to note that this incident broke out before differences between Mrs Mandela and community leaders that arose out of the Stompie incident had been resolved."

In March this year, MDM representatives called for Winnie Mandela to be isolated following allegations that her "football club" was linked to the murder of Tumahole child activist Stompie Moekeetsi Seipei.

In a statement distancing itself from her, the MDM said "We are outraged at Mrs Mandela's obvious complicity in the recent abductions (of Stompie and three other youngsters) Had Stompie and his colleagues not been abducted by Mrs Mandela's 'football team', he would have been alive today."

Although she maintained a careful silence, Winnie Mandela sat this week with MDM leaders at two press conferences called by community leaders and the Mandela family. With her were Congress of South African

fore such questions are authoritatively answered.

But amid the confusion of the past week, some beacons of clarity have emerged. One is that Mandela was not, as had been hinted at initially, an unwilling participant in the meeting. Another is that he clearly told no-one about it beforehand. A third is that whatever did happen during those 45 fateful minutes in Tuynhuys, it wasn't negotiations.

Each of these facts has an important bearing on any attempt to see beyond the welter of information and innuendo the encounter has encouraged.

The meeting has changed some things, but not everything. It has conferred an extraordinary legitimacy on the African National Congress,

Although of huge symbolic importance, the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha has to be seen as a step towards a beginning rather than the beginning itself.
SHAUN JOHNSON

courtesy of the government. At the same time it has raised questions (respectful and discreet but earnest still) about the potential for Mandela undertaking initiatives on his own, when he thinks it opportune.

On both sides, state and resistance this makes for a measure of fluidity in previously granite like positions. It is, at least, possible to meet. Even if the purpose is to share tea and not

much more, the potential significance should not be lost.

But the saga is separate from the much bigger issue of a negotiated settlement in South Africa and many commentators have got dangerously carried away.

The "democratic movement", through its spokesmen like the Rev Frank Chikane and Saki Macozoma of the South African Council of Churches, is quite right to rail against the euphoric headlines which equate tea with the first round of negotiations about the transformation of South Africa.

"Negotiations" still mean very different things to the resistance (external and internal) and the state. The position of the former is de-

tailed and clear, and becoming more so by the day as consultations proceed apace. The government, for its part, has issued a manifesto on negotiations, couched in the ambivalent newspeak of the National Party.

It is imperative that sympathisers of the broad anti-apartheid movement understand the resistance's ground rules for eventual serious negotiations. These are set out in two crucial documents, one drafted last month and the other nearly two years old.

In the first, a summary by delegates of the 'mass democratic movement' of their meeting with top-level ANC officials in Lusaka on June 6, there is an unequivocal acceptance that after the elections "the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987".

The "1987" reference is to the second document, the ANC National Executive Committee's statement on negotiations, issued in Lusaka in October of that year, and specifically reaffirmed by the NEC last month.

The 1987 preconditions, and these can be regarded as authoritative, are that the government would have to create a climate conducive to negotiations at the very least.

● Unconditionally releasing all political prisoners, detainees, captured freedom fighters and prisoners of war, as well as ordering the cessation of political trials.

● Lifting the State of Emergency, withdrawing the army and police from the townships.

● Repealing all repressive legislation and all laws empowering the regime to limit freedom of assembly, speech, the press and so on.

It is the realisation that the government could conceivably address the substance of these — thus gaining the support of Western and even some African leaders — that causes the MDM document to conclude "It is necessary for us to collectively review our position on negotiations to find an appropriate response that fends off this initiative in a manner that does not create division in our ranks, does not result in the demobilisation of the masses, does not result in any lessening of pressure from the international arena, and results in us maintaining the initiative against the regime."

Negotiations are therefore on the agenda as, indeed, they were in October 1987.

But here is the unchanging bottom line and it is presented in bold type in the document to prove it "This and only this should be the object of any negotiating process."

This is the reason that resistance leaders have been so concerned to underscore the fact that the Botha/Mandela encounter did not constitute the start of negotiations.

It would also run directly counter to the ANC's insistence, in the 1987 document, that it "once more reaffirmed its opposition to any secret negotiations. We firmly believe that the people themselves must take part in shaping their destiny, and would have to be involved in any process of negotiations."

The MDM document accepts that several jailed leaders could shortly be released, that an African could find himself in the Cabinet, that the State of Emergency could be lifted, and that an "open-ended Indaba" could be proposed by State President-elect FW de Klerk.

But this will not be enough, and "we have to present proposals on this issue before the rest of the world comes up with something. The world must deal with our proposal rather than us having to deal with another initiative. We have to ensure that we do not give the false impression that the regime is prepared to hold genuine negotiations."

The Mandela meeting was very dramatic, and of tremendous symbolic importance. But it was not the whistle to signal kick-off.

What it does mark is the beginning of a shift, which has a long way to run yet, and could founder.

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

Trade Unions assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and SACC secretary-general Frank Chikane.

As she left Cape Town after a brief visit to her husband this week, she told the press she would not give a statement concerning the Botha/Mandela visit until she had reported back to community leaders who had mandated her.

The MDM's dilemma over the Winnie issue could deepen in the near future. "It is our view that the government has got an ace up its sleeve, namely the Stompie issue," said the SACC, which has been central to communication between the jailed ANC leader and the MDM this week.

The SACC said some argued "that the government may release Mandela at the same time as it blows up the Stompie case. If it does so, it will subject Winnie Mandela to a trial by media whose objective will be to tie Nelson's hands and defuse the political implications and impact of his release."

The police this week announced the completion of an investigation into the murder of Seipei. The docket of the complete investigation now rests in the hands of the attorney-general.

The MDM has for some time tried to reconcile two differing approaches within its ranks to the scandal surrounding Winnie Mandela.

One approach is in keeping with the ANC call earlier this year for Winnie Mandela's rehabilitation. The other finds expression in the MDM's statement in March that "the only concern for the anti-apartheid groups was that people should not associate with Mrs Mandela, or participate in initiatives embarked on by her, in such a way that it could be misconstrued as being done at the behest of the mass democratic movement."



Kobie Coetsee — party loyalist behind the Mandela-Botha meeting

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Loyalty is key to riddle of Kobie

KOBIE COETSEE, the 58-year-old minister of justice and the government's chief negotiator with African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, is a man of contradictions, whose political outlook can only be explained by his unquestioning loyalty to the National Party.

In recent months, he has talked a great deal about the need for a Bill of Rights and democracy.

Coetsee claimed at the NP's federal congress that his party was committed to democracy because there could be no legitimacy for a system which lacked participation by all.

"Democracy thus requires, if it is honest, equal and equivalent franchise for all citizens at all levels. Denial of the franchise to a group, or manipulation to render it unequal or not equivalent, is not justifiable and gives rise to never-ending unrest," he explained.

Yet, Coetsee heads the very department, the Prisons Service, which accommodated thousands of people arbitrarily detained in terms of the Emergency regulations — and the vast majority of them had been denied the franchise because of their race.

Easy talk about a Bill of Rights and civil liberties during an election campaign needs some perspective. Coetsee, for instance, heads the department which "lists" people in terms of the Internal Security Act. Hundreds of people, from Donald Woods to Oliver Tambo, cannot be quoted in South Africa — and he personally authorises the restrictions.

Freedom of the press and information is another fundamental civil liberty, which would be entrenched in a Bill of Rights. Yet, Coetsee was the very person who threatened to close down *Vrye Weekblad* shortly after it appeared and then demanded that it pay a R30 000 deposit before it could be registered.

He argued in Riversdale this week that the talks between Mandela and PW Botha were "a breakthrough". But in parliament last year, he said the demand by the ANC and the United Democratic Front for the release of Mandela was in reality merely a huge bluff, as Mandela and his fellow prisoners were worth far more to them in jail than out of it.

He said the ANC had created such an image of resistance and martyrdom around Mandela and the ANC "old

guard" that it had become a more effective instrument for their cause than terrorism, adding that their release could also threaten established positions and thinking within the organisation.

In a revealing statement in the context of the Mandela-Botha talks, Coetsee added that the release of such people could be a tactical and strategic step whereby the government could deal its enemies a resounding blow.

Coetsee's contradictions reflect a commitment to keeping the NP in power, while using it as an instrument of reform.

A lawyer by training, Coetsee was elected MP for Bloemfontein West in 1968. He has climbed the party ladder steadily, becoming the minister of justice in 1980 and leader of the NP in the Orange Free State five years later.

On the way, he served on the Schlebusch Commission into the National Union of South African Students, the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute and the University Christian Movement, and was deputy minister of justice, defence and national security before being appointed to the cabinet.

Today, as a close confidant of FW de Klerk and a member of the State Security Council, he is an influential member of the government and will play a decisive role in unfolding government policy, as his part in the Mandela-Botha talks indicates.

Although he has appalling press relations — getting a statement from him or a decision on whether to allow a "listed" person to be quoted is a nightmarish process, which has frustrated many journalists — he is likeable, direct and friendly. Unlike many of his colleagues, he rarely makes a vituperative statement.

His political style was reflected in parliament this year when he paid tribute to Helen Suzman's "tenacity and tremendous influence in opposition politics... The honourable member for Houghton has over a number of years been assuming the role of mother superior towards prime ministers, ministers of justice and law and order, issuing directives unabated". He even urged Suzman to reconsider her decision to resign.

However, as the archetypal party loyalist, he does not often break ranks. His outspokenly *verligte* speech at the NP's federal congress was an exception.

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MANDELA AND PW

The tea-party that turned the world upside down

ONLY a few months ago South Africa was a place of reasonable certainty

The State of Emergency was firmly in place, as was the National Party government PW Botha was undisputed party leader, and Nelson Mandela was confined to his prison home

South Africa bullied its neighbours Its friends were rare, but at least it had a reliable set of enemies the Soviets and their "surrogates", the African National Congress

Politically, the country appeared to be deadlocked, unable to budge because of a government that was strong enough to hold on to power but politically too weak to take any decisive action.

The opposition, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, was divided and severely damaged by the Emergency, the state, on the other hand, was managing to maintain a reasonably coherent facade

All of this has been true for some time — and you could have gambled your green card on it lasting for some time longer South Africa was a typical authoritarian society — slow-moving and predictable

When such societies become unstable, however, they move to the other extreme, with things falling apart fast and furiously

And so they have Mandela is taking tea in Tuynhuys, he and Botha share a desire to keep the details secret, his jailers have become his press agents — and suddenly anything seems possible

Resistance organisations were stunned by Minister of Justice Kobic Coetsee's announcement of the Mandela-Botha tea party on Saturday Most of them mouthed stock responses to the event.

"A public relations show," said the ANC

"It shows that he (Mandela) has put the authorities in such a corner that they have no option but to deal with him to solve the crisis in the country," said the Reverend Frank Chikane, secretary general of the South African Council of Churches

These non-responses must have been frustrating for those who were trying to make sense of what was happening But the resistance movement was caught off-guard, and since Mandela's own statement on Wednesday was too cursory to be of any help, everyone was thrashing around in the dark.

More fundamentally, however, the incident showed just how insufficient the stock answers have become The fact is that the South African sands are shifting so fast that responses which could pre-

Mandela and PW: Yes, but what does it mean? What it means is that all the old rhetoric, all the stock responses, all the old schisms, are suddenly irrelevant. Right now, the rest of us have to catch up quickly

By ANTON HARBER

viously be pressed into service in response to every government move are no longer satisfactory

Consider just some of the developments so far this year

●The State of Emergency has, in some respects, become a dead letter The hunger strike earlier this year led to the release of hundreds of detainees, including many key local leaders who had been condemned to long-term imprisonment without trial Although most of these people have been severely restricted, they are now back in their communities and able to start exerting influence there again.

●Many signs have emerged of deep division in the government, not just between Botha and his successor, but between different factions facing electoral threats from the left and right respectively

●The country's relations with its neighbours has changed radically Suddenly Pretoria is the prime advocate of Namibian independence and a broker in regional peace talks Government officials are claiming that Frontline leaders are lining up to meet State President-elect FW de Klerk.

●Economically, the situation is looking startlingly pessimistic, and this is putting unprecedented — though often hidden — pressure on Pretoria.

●The international scene has been transformed, probably more than any other aspect. Contact between the Soviets and the US over Southern Africa has become an important factor in their relations with the sub-continent, with the possibility for the first time of a coordinated response to developments here

At the same time, a new Washington administration asked to see United

Democratic Front President Albertina Sisulu before seeing De Klerk, and is seeking a policy consensus with a strongly anti-apartheid congress

None of this means there has been fundamental change in this country, or even that it is imminent The walls around Pretoria are not about to crumble It does, however, mean that the balance of forces is shifting so rapidly and so fundamentally that new thinking is needed to deal with it.

And this process is only going to speed up in the coming months — what with an election, and the aftermath in which De Klerk will have to deliver some of the promises he has given to Western leaders, key deadlines for debt repayment coming up next year, Namibian independence, a Commonwealth heads of state meeting in August, an Organisation of African Unity summit in October

In this climate, it may still be true to trot out the old truths about apartheid still being in place and the government showing no serious signs of real negotiations — but this is no longer enough

There are some signs of fresh thinking in the opposition movement The UDF leaders placed the issue of negotiations on the agenda of their talks with US President George Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the last few weeks We are ready to negotiate, they are saying, provided it can be shown that the government is serious about negotiating and that the end-point is a non-racial democracy

They also emphasised to the Western leaders the need for the international community to act, not to bring down the Botha government, but to help create political space in which they could operate normally

There is a buzz around the concept of negotiations that is being heard in the unions, in exile organisations, and throughout the country

"The rock has not only cracked, it is crumbling," ANC leader Harry Gwala said in a recent interview with the *Baltimore Sun* "When Nazism was about to collapse under the might of the Allied powers, one could feel it in the air That is what is happening in South Africa today, the air is full of negotiations I see no longer only signs I see the beginnings"

This week organisations around the country went into a huddle to try and work out the proper responses to the Mandela-Botha meeting At the end of the week there was no sign yet of any clear responses

It has been said that if the government wants to make real trouble for its opponents, all it really has to do is give them what they ask for It did that — albeit in a limited way — with the Mandela meeting



PW Botha

Skw 14/7/89

11A



Jailed leaders to be 'out after elections'

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mrs Margaret Thatcher has told a UDF delegation headed by co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu that she expects ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oscar Mpehtha to be released after September's general election

Her apparent confidence has prompted speculation that she received an assurance on this score from Mr F W de Klerk when the two leaders met in London last month

The UDF group, who saw Mrs Thatcher on Wednesday, said they had gained the impression she had information that she was not prepared to talk about at this stage. They had stressed that all political prisoners must be released as a precondition for negotiations

The group told a press conference at the House of Commons yesterday that they regretted the British Premier's unwavering stand against sanctions

A central theme during their three-week tour of foreign capitals has been that Mr F W de Klerk's five year plan simply perpetuates the apartheid system. They have told Western leaders that "maximum pressure", including comprehensive mandatory

sanctions, is needed to kill off apartheid

They received a more positive reaction from US President, Mr George Bush, who told them he was "outraged" by apartheid's evils and indicated that if reform was not back on the rails soon his administration may look at further limited sanctions.

But despite their differences with the British Premier, the group said on balance they were satisfied with the significance of her decision to see them — the first time in 70 years that a British Prime Minister has met representatives of the SA democratic movement.

UDF executive committee member Titus Mafolo said the role of Western governments was "to pressure Pretoria" to create a climate of meaningful negotiations. The problems of SA must be solved by South Africans themselves. Even the mechanisms, the "South African 435" as it were, has to be developed by South Africans

Foreign newsmen were particularly interested in Mrs Sisulu, who is on her first visit abroad. The trip has given her a chance to renew old friendships, including that of Anti-Apartheid Movement President Archbishop Trevor Huddleston



Historic handshake . . . British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher meets UDF leader Mrs Albertina Sisulu at No 10 Downing Street, London, yesterday.

Suzman lunches with Mandela

Cape Times 14/7/89 11A

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was visited at his Paarl prison yesterday by Mrs Helen Suzman and he told her he was pleased to have met President P W Botha.

Mrs Suzman said last night that she spent more than two hours with Mr Mandela, had lunch with him and discussed a wide range of subjects, including the recent conference in Lusaka with the ANC organised by the Five Freedoms Forum and the coming general election.

"He told me he was pleased to have met State President Botha," she said, but declined to disclose further what Mr Mandela had said of his meeting.

It was the first time she had seen Mr Mandela since August last year when he was being treated for tuberculosis at the exclusive Constantiaberg Clinic.

Mrs Suzman was "as always" impressed by Mr Mandela's "obvious leadership qualities, his moderation and his appreciation of the fear of the white minority".

"I can only repeat what I have said so often before — that I am convinced that his unconditional release and his

presence at the negotiating table is an absolute prerequisite to a peaceful resolution of the South African dilemma," she said.

Meanwhile, government sources said last night that President Botha's meeting with Mr Mandela was the first step of a process which had as its eventual aim "getting the ANC to the negotiation table".

The NP believes it has broken a deadlock in the negotiation process by talking to Mr Mandela as a "leader of people", while at the same time retaining its condition of refusing to talk to the ANC unless it renounces violence.

At the same time the government accepts that there can be no peace in SA without talking to the ANC. This, sources said, was the long-term goal of the process started last week.

Government sources said the next step would be to hold further talks with Mr Mandela and with other important leaders in SA. — Sapa and Political Staff

● SACC doubts govt on Mandela — Page 2

147/89

12 Cape Times, Frid.

SACC doubts govt on Mandela

Political Correspondent

THE South African Council of Churches says the government "has calculated the timing of the Mandela-Botha meeting with a view to making maximum political gain".

A statement released by the director of the SACC communications division, Mr Sakie Macozoma, said: "It would seem that the Prisons Department/government wanted to release the story of talks between Mandela and Botha into a climate that shows that Mandela has got his priorities confused.

"Once you juxtapose the talks with Botha — with all the mischievous interpretations — with the talk about a party, which the press said was in celebration of Mr Mandela's graduation with an LLB, an impression can easily be created that Mr Mandela is tired of his incarceration and is therefore willing to compromise with the system."

The statement added: "What is even more serious is that the media — including, if not particularly, the liberal press — hailed the meeting as an 'historic event'.

"Outright sympathisers of the government have hailed the meeting as signifying great changes in South Africa that radicals have continuously denied.

"The South African government has used the meeting to gain political mileage.

"In our view the political mileage that the regime can gain in the present international climate is great and would be particularly damaging at this time," the SACC said

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

114

Erudite Mandela is student of English

By MALCOLM FRIED

MR Nelson Mandela has made out of his Victor Verster Prison house an enclave of learning and discussion, say recent visitors to the ANC leader.

Mr Mandela is attentive and studious, rides an exercycle, swims and jogs to keep fit and is a student of archaeology and English literature.

Surrounded by tasteful furniture, he does not wear prison garb — often donning a three-piece suit to receive guests — and his personal warders also wear civilian clothes.

Mrs Helen Suzman, who visited Mr Mandela on Wednesday, said yesterday that he most enjoyed getting guests and spent much of the rest of the time

reading.

He had access to any book, magazine or newspaper he wanted, had a TV set and a radio and was fully informed on news events, said Mrs Suzman.

"He keeps himself very well informed, is courteous and is treated with great respect by his guards," she said.

Professor Fatima Meer, a long-time friend of the Mandela family, said Mr Mandela was health-conscious and careful about what he ate.

Professor Meer, who is working on the ANC leader's biography and saw him on Monday, said yesterday that he showed a keen interest in every guest he received.

"Mr Mandela is a very, very good listener. He is not at all verbose and shows a sincere interest in what one has to say. For all his own concerns, he is willing to listen to those of others."

A careful regime of swimming, light jogging in the house's small garden and exercycle work kept Mr Mandela at a peak of fitness, said Professor Meer.

"He used to be an excellent amateur boxer, often training in the streets of Soweto as a young man, and is obviously determined to stay healthy."

She said Mr Mandela was examined by a doctor every day — "the authorities are naturally keen to keep him well".

He writes a lot, according to Professor Meer "Ob-

viously, nothing is for publication, but Mr Mandela writes many letters and is meticulous with words."

Mrs Suzman and Professor Meer noted that the stature of the ANC leader had not diminished at all during his years of imprisonment.

"He is a commanding and impressive figure. A man of great integrity and courage. This becomes plain immediately."

To Professor Meer, Mr Mandela had always drawn respect from those around him. "And his jail experience has certainly not diminished this."

Mr Mandela was moved to the Victor Verster Prison house early last December, after receiving treatment for tuberculosis at the Constantiaberg Clinic in Plumstead.

Literature

Cup of tea that overflowed into inexorable tide

Staw 15/7/89

11A 2049

THE flurry of political activity in the past week was perhaps the best indication that election time is upon us Vasbyt, only 45 days to go, and then it will be all over and forgotten But perhaps the most

significant event was the meeting Mr P W Botha had with Mr Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys Significant, because it must be the first time that a prisoner has had the customary tea and biscuits at Tuynhuys

Even more important, though, is the fact that the man who was so hosted represented in the Government's eyes the "evil" organisation called the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance Even Mr Botha has gone on record, telling the country, and particularly the white voters, that Mr Mandela was jailed following due process of law, and convicted for violent acts against the State

Write On!

JOE LATAKGOMO



In those days, the Government, and Mr Botha in particular, saw anybody calling for the release of Mr Mandela as being sympathetic to the ANC

It did not matter that all people were saying was that the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners was perhaps the only way this country could negotiate a peaceful settlement

It did not matter that almost to the man (or woman), all who had had contact with Mr Mandela or knew him spoke highly of him as an intellectual giant, a man of great understanding

The Government tried to isolate Mr Mandela from the organisation of which he is head They tried to get him to condemn acts of violence by the ANC They tried to arrange deals through Chief Kaizer Matanzima for Mr Mandela to accept freedom in the homeland They tried to break him psychologically, but they found that he had this electrifying effect, and they themselves broke down instead

Whatever the reason for the Government to have arranged the meeting, the fact is what has been done cannot be undone. Perhaps the Government hopes that it can convince the rest of the world that it is indeed talking to the right people at last

Own momentum

But, and this is even more important, they hope that those white voters who have expressed doubt over the Government's reform will be convinced once and for all that only the National Party can lead this country to peace, prosperity and stability Having recognised that those voters that they have lost to the right wing are gone forever, they have strategised that they would have to go for the vote on the Left and the Centre

However, what the Government probably does not realise is that it has created something which will run on its own momentum from now on Having spoken to Mr Mandela, the next logical thing to do is to release him

Nobody — and that includes the Conservative Party — can stop this momentum It is interesting that as all this happens, there are efforts at *toenadering* between the United Democratic Front and the ANC This, I believe, is the result of a letter Mr Mandela wrote to Chief Buthelezi, in which he said: "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it been so critical for our people to speak with one voice"

That national unity will not, of course, come easy. There are other organisations, like the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness movement, and indeed, even the homelands But come it must!

A shadow hangs over Mandela's release: Stompie

W/ARGUS 15/7/89 11A

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — While Nelson Mandela dominates South Africa's political life, a shadow looms over his possible release — the death of young activist "Stompie" Mokhetisi.

The South African Council of Churches said this week it believed there was a deliberate attempt by the government to defuse the political impact of Mr Mandela's release by simultaneously making maximum publicity of Mrs Winnie Mandela's apparent connection to the case.

The SACC said in a statement "The government has calculated the timing of the Mandela/Botha meeting with a view to making maximum political gain out of it. The government also has an ace up its sleeve, the Stompie issue.

Trial by media

"There are people who argue the government might release Mandela at the same time as it blows up the case.

"If it does so, it will subject Mrs Winnie Mandela to a trial by the media and the objective will be to tie Mr Mandela's hands and defuse the political implications and impact of his release."

The SACC statement added "The government has been sitting on this case, probably because it realises its usefulness."

A dossier examining the death of teenage activist "Stompie" Mokhetisi and Mrs Winnie Mandela's alleged involvement had been submitted to the office of the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand, a spokesman confirmed this week.

The spokesman said Mrs Mandela had been linked to the child activist's death in statements and evidence in the dossier. However, it was up to the Attorney-General to decide if she had committed any punishable offences.

Murder of activist

Nine suspects, among them members of the Winnie Mandela soccer team, including coach Mr Jerry Richardson, 41, team bus driver Mr John Morgan, 61, and seven others have appeared in court and are in custody.

Their pending trial follows the murder of the child activist whose body was discovered on January 7 after he was allegedly abducted and assaulted by members of the soccer team at Mrs Mandela's Soweto home.

Cosatu to draft charter for workers

11A
15/7/87
C/17/7/87

JOHANNESBURG.— A Workers' Charter, based on the principles of the Freedom Charter, is to be drafted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the union group announced yesterday.

The largest union within the group, the National Union of Mineworkers, resolved at Cosatu's national congress here yesterday to spearhead a Workers' Charter campaign among the "oppressed and exploited" masses of the country.

A statement from Cosatu said its constitutional guidelines provided for the incorporation of a Workers' Charter into the constitution of a "post-apartheid South Africa"

Cosatu would have to canvass the views and opinions of the masses on the concept of "a constitution of a people's government"

The congress said a special national congress, to be attended by Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions and formations of the "mass democratic movement", would be called to draft the Workers' Charter after working-class demands had been discussed

The NUM also resolved that discussions, in line with the ANC's constitutional guidelines, should be intensi-

fied with a view to shaping a constitutional model of a future democratic South Africa.

The congress claimed that the "panic-stricken white minority ruling clique" was at present experiencing the worst crisis since the National Party came into power in 1948, adding that apartheid and capitalism could be destroyed if a restructuring process of the state based on the Freedom Charter could begin. This would be aimed at achieving a non-racial society and provide a firm basis for national reconciliation and co-operation between the different communities.

The Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) resolved to develop a clear understanding of how the South African economy worked and decided to formulate a plan on how to restructure the economy to meet the needs of people in a non-racial democratic South Africa.

A resolution on the process of political settlement, proposed by the National Union of Metal Workers (Numsa), aimed to reject government's attempt to impose reformist solutions which, it said, did not address fundamental social and economic demands and needs in a non-racial unitary and democratic South Africa. — Sapa

Star 15/7/89

kwaZulu had a hand in Tuynhuys meeting

GRAHAM LINSOTT

DURBAN — The joint negotiating committee of the kwaZulu and Central Governments was instrumental in setting up last week's meeting at the Tuynhuys between the State President and Nelson Mandela, according to well-placed sources.

The committee was formed earlier this year to discuss obstacles to political and constitutional negotiations in the country.

According to kwaZulu sources, at the first meeting in March, kwaZulu tabled a document setting out detailed and practical proposals for getting a national process of negotiation under way. Topping the agenda was the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and the other Rivonia trialists.

Woolly response

The Government gave a woolly response. But Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha and Minister of Education in kwaZulu, urged the Government representatives to speak to Mr Mandela, saying they would be surprised by his statesmanship and reasonableness.

Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, was brought into the discussions and it soon became clear that he was receptive to the idea.

The Government seemed nervous of the implications of speaking to Mr Mandela, but Mr Coetsee eventually did visit — apparently several times.

This culminated in Mr Mandela's "courtesy call" on the State President last week, which stunned local and international observers.

The joint committee has met three times. It is believed that Mr F W de Klerk, new leader of the National Party, attended one of the meetings.

Cup of tea that overflowed into inexorable tide

Stawist 7/89
 11A 322A

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significant event was the meeting Mr P W Botha had with Mr Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys. Significant, because it must be the first time that a prisoner has had the customary tea and biscuits at Tuynhuys.

Even more important, though, is the fact that the man who was so hosted represented in the Government's eyes the "evil" organisation called the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance. Even Mr Botha has gone on record, telling the country, and particularly the white voters, that Mr Mandela was jailed following due process of law, and convicted for violent acts against the State.

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The Government tried to isolate Mr Mandela from the organisation of which he is head. They tried to get him to condemn acts of violence by the ANC. They tried to arrange deals through Chief Kaizer Matanzima for Mr Mandela to accept freedom in the homeland. They tried to break him psychologically, but they found that he had this electrifying effect, and they themselves broke down instead.

Whatever the reason for the Government to have arranged the meeting, the fact is what has been done cannot be undone. Perhaps the Government hopes that it can convince the rest of the world that it is indeed talking to the right people at last.

Own momentum

But, and this is even more important, they hope that those white voters who have expressed doubt over the Government's reform will be convinced once and for all that only the National Party can lead this country to peace, prosperity and stability. Having recognised that those voters that they have lost to the right wing are gone forever, they have strategised that they would have to go for the vote on the Left and the Centre.

However, what the Government probably does not realise is that it has created something which will run on its own momentum from now on. Having spoken to Mr Mandela, the next logical thing to do is to release him.

Nobody — and that includes the Conservative Party — can stop this momentum. It is interesting that as all this happens, there are efforts at *toenadering* between the United Democratic Front and the ANC. This, I believe is the result of a letter Mr Mandela wrote to Chief Buthelezi, in which he said: "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it been so crucial for our people to speak with one voice."

That national unity will not, of course, come easy. There are other organisations, like the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness movement, and indeed, even the homelands. But come it must.

ory issue

ys in wildlife conservation in Africa. not forget our past South Africans responsible for the first real wildlife exterminated the quagga to make

ed out the white rhino, but can now ing it from extinction. We are re- the extinction of the bluebuck African skimmer and Egyptian vul- species in South Africa. We wiped billed oxpecker, but it returned to onal Park and was re-introduced to Reserve

is have done many good things in recent years, but don't forget our or the gold and diamonds that allow First World conservation

to be proud — another to be arrog- seriously consider the call to stop y for the sake of the African ele-

John Ledger, Director, Endangered Wildlife Trust

n as stones iddle-East

We can rest assured that if the world's armchair critics paid as little attention to Israel's actions in these territories as they do to Syria's deeds in Lebanon, and if there had been much public apprehension regarding the acts of stone-throwing as there has been about the methods used to try to stop them, the problem would have been nipped in the bud.

With his innate capacity to see through other people's problems, this porter might do well to write a summary article, advising his own government on how to come to grips with the Irish "uprising and Britain's inability to suppress it", a warning to a ill-sized and long-established nation, insulated and protected by water from external enemies, and also partially insulated from its home-spun problem.

It is the European nations' own historic past which has placed an ugly shadow over the existence and wellbeing of the Jewish people. Any neglect by the Free World (due to aged misconceptions) in dealing with the present situation in the Middle-East on its true merits could once more place a curse on European lands.

G J Wall, Berario.

Storm in the Nelson teacup



I haven't energy to do a scientific survey, but it's my impression that the word "Mandela" appeared in South Africa's leftwing weekly press yesterday almost as frequently as any preposition you care to name

It should come as little surprise that the collective mind of these newspapers is concentrated rather fiercely just now

For, although framed in terms more rarefied, they are essentially concerned to address for their readers the simple question "What is Nelson up to, and what does this tea-taking at Tuynhuys mean?"

Which is not to say that the answers variously supplied by *New Nation*, the *Weekly Mail*, *South* and *Vrye Weekblad* are necessarily authoritative, comprehensive — or even consistent.

But it is one of the particular strengths of these emergent newspapers that they seek to reflect purposefully the effects of political developments from the specific point of view of the forces of resistance in South Africa. Political observers ignore these nuances at their peril.

New Nation sounded some notes of warning about the Botha/Mandela encounter while eschewing condemnation of the meeting, the newspaper cautioned that from Pretoria's side, it would be used to "attempt to drive a wedge between our people and sow distrust among our leaders"

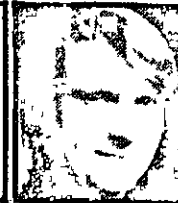
Stressing the "danger" and "delicacy" of the situation, *New Nation* advised "The most pressing question facing our people is not when Mandela will be free, but whether we are (sufficiently) prepared to receive him"

The sub-text — that the Government would try to create the impression that Mandela was "negotiating" above the heads of his followers — was also considered in the *Weekly Mail*

A clear distinction was drawn between the sharing of pots of tea, and the start of a process to transform South Africa through negotiation "The Mandela meeting was very dramatic, and of tremendous symbolic importance," the *Weekly Mail* concluded, "but it was not the whistle to signal kick-off"

The Left Stuff

SHAUN JOHNSON



Usually, for these newspapers are an eclectic lot, the issue was sufficiently momentous to suffuse sections other than the weightily political.

Vrye Weekblad's skinnerbek, "Brolloks", said it was only a matter of time before Elize and Winnie tip-toed through the tea-leaves, followed by "Rozanne taking Zinzi to her room to listen to the latest Bles Bridges album" And so on

Then there was news of Mandela's imminent "party", about which everyone seems to know something, but no one knows everything

The Cape Town-based weekly *South* reported that the five still-imprisoned "Rivonia triahsts" had "civvy" suits delivered during the week, in preparation for a function at Victor Verster"

To this, the *Weekly Mail* added that the suits were from Rex Trueform and, somewhat more seriously, that Mandela was believed to have asked for three prominent trade unionists to be invited. Then, back in the realms of quasi-flippancy, the *Mail* reported another diplomatic breakthrough for the ANC "Margaret Thatcher and Oliver Thambo were expected to have dinner last night, and then go on to the opera

"Of course, there were to be several hundred other guests at the bi-centennial celebrations of the French Revolution"

Mandelamania has some way to run yet. There are far worse places to follow its course than in the vivid columns of the leftwing weeklies

Row over
MP's ANC
statement

MR Steyn Terreblanche, National Party MP for Heilbron, has said he would be willing to serve under an ANC president, if the lives of his children were endangered.

Mr Terreblanche was challenged on the issue at a Conservative Party meeting at the Villiers town hall last night. He had asked questions from the floor and was then himself questioned by Advocate Cehill Pienaar, CP candidate for Heilbron and party leader in the Free State.

He admitted he had told a house meeting he would serve under an ANC president if the lives of his children were in danger.

Mr Pienaar said it was shocking an NP MP should declare himself willing to serve under a black ANC president.

The admission had "torn the mask off the NP", he said.

Cosatu to draft Charter

Star 15/7/89

A WORKER Charter, based on the principles of the Freedom Charter, is to be drafted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the union group announced yesterday.

The largest union within the group, the National Union of Mineworkers, resolved at Cosatu's national congress in Johannesburg today to spearhead a Worker Charter campaign among the "oppressed and exploited."

A statement from Cosatu said its constitutional guidelines provided for the incorporation of a Workers Charter into the constitution of a "post-apartheid South Africa".

The charter would be an instrument of struggle against oppression and exploitation.

Cosatu would have to canvass the views and opinions of the masses on the concept of "A Constitution of a People's Government".

The congress said a special national congress, to be attended by Cosatu,

the National Council of Trade Unions, and formations of the "Mass democratic movement," would be called to draft the Workers Charter after working class demands had been discussed.

The NUM also resolved that discussions, in line with the ANC's constitutional guidelines, should be intensified with a view to shaping a constitutional model of a future democratic South Africa.

FIRM BASIS

The congress claimed the "panic-stricken white minority ruling clique" was presently experiencing the worst crisis since the National Party came into power in 1948.

The aim would be to achieve a non-racial society and provide a firm basis for national reconciliation and cooperation between the different communities.

The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) resolved to develop a clear understand-

ing of how the South African economy worked and decided to formulate a plan on how to restructure the economy to meet the needs of a non-racial country.

A resolution on the process of political settlement, proposed by the National Union of Metal Workers (Numsa), aimed to reject government's attempt to impose reformist solutions which, it said, did not address fundamental social and economic demands and needs in a non-racial unitary and democratic South Africa.

A negotiated settlement could have meaning only where there was free and open political association, assembly and debate in the true spirit of worker control and democracy.

Numsa said there could be no genuine negotiations unless a climate conducive to negotiations was unilaterally created by the South African Government through

● Unconditional unban-

ning of all banned organisations

● Unconditional release of all detainees and political prisoners

● Unconditional return of all exiles

● Confinement of SAP/SADF to barracks

● Lifting of the State of Emergency and the repeal of all security legislation

● The end of all political trials and executions

CLIMATE

It called on the Frontlines states, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and all international forums to increase pressure on the Government to meet these requirements so that a climate conducive to negotiation could prevail.

Numsa resolved that only a sovereign body mandated by the people and accountable to the people as a whole could have the authority to develop a new constitution and decide on the method of implementation. — Sapa

curtailed the current
crime wave.

Alleged ANC man in court

11A

Star 15/7/89

OWN CORRESPONDENT

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ash.

DURBAN — Alleged
ANC operative Mr Mu-
hammad Rafiq Rohan
(35) was promised
R15 000 if he carried out
a car-bomb attack on
Natal Command, the
State alleged in the Dur-
ban Regional Court yes-
terday.

~~SECRET~~

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Mr Rohan was indicted
on 10 counts of contra-
vening the Internal Secu-
rity Act, the Explosives
Act and the Arms and
Ammunition Act and of
attempted murder.

Mr Rohan also faces 19
alternative counts.

rent
uce

Magistrate Mr L J van
der Schyff remanded Mr
Rohan until August 21.

PW carried Kwazulu plan for a free Mandela

M665 15/7/89 (110)
By FRANS ESTERHUYSE -
Political Staff

A PLAN for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners was in the government's hands when President Botha met Mr Mandela in Tuynhuys last week.

The plan, from the Kwazulu government, also included unbanning the African National Congress and other organisations, lifting the emergency and clearing the way to national negotiations.

Although the official version of the Tuynhuys meeting, as confirmed by Mr Mandela in a statement this week, is that his release was not an issue "at this stage", it is now clear that it has, in fact, been a subject of earlier government negotiations.

The Kwazulu proposals are outlined in a "working document" believed to have been tabled in March at the first meeting of the joint negotiating committee of the Kwazulu and South African governments.

Document released

The document has now been released as part of Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo's annual report to an Inkatha conference at Ulundi last weekend.

Dr Dhlomo, Kwazulu's Minister of Education, is a member of the joint negotiating committee.

He confirmed this week that a Kwazulu delegation met the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, early this year to discuss the possible release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners.

He said the meeting took place after the submission by the Kwazulu delegation of a comprehensive memorandum spelling out possible scenarios if Mr Mandela were released.

Discussion confidential

Dr Dhlomo declined to give further information, saying the discussion with Mr Coetsee was confidential.

The Kwazulu proposals for removing obstacles to negotiation include:

- The immediate and unconditional release of Mr Mandela and other Rivonia trialists, as well as the release of all those political prisoners who have already served sentences of more than 15 years.

- Declaration of an amnesty to enable all political exiles to return to South Africa and take part in negotiations.

- The unbanning of organisations "so the leaders might freely consult their followers before and during negotiations", and.

- The lifting of the state of emergency, the release of political detainees and the restoration of Press freedom.

Amnesty

The procedure proposed is that the first step should be the release of political prisoners, followed by the declaration of an amnesty.

Once the main prisoners, including Mr Mandela, other Rivonia trialists and political prisoners who have served more than 15 years have been released, the government should immediately negotiate the unbanning of their organisations.

The next step proposed is the release of emergency detainees and the restoration of Press freedom. It is proposed this be done immediately, or that the lifting of the state of emergency could be done progressively according to districts and in accordance with a predetermined timetable.

Before negotiations begin, discriminatory laws such as the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act should be abolished.

Intent

Other proposals include a mutually acceptable "statement of intent" that negotiations would aim at replacing the tricameral system with a system acceptable to the majority of the people of South Africa.

A preamble to the document says there are real obstacles impeding negotiations. Unless these obstacles are clearly identified and sincerely addressed, "negotiation will not take off".

According to Kwazulu sources, the South African government's initial response to the proposals was "woolly". But Dr Dhlomo urged the South African government representatives to speak to Mr Mandela, saying they would be surprised by his statesmanship and reasonableness.

**Dear
Sir**



Weekend Argus letters

**Flat sell-off
bad news for
the elderly**

THERE is a serious social problem unfolding before our eyes I am referring to the growing displacement of a large section of our community forced to leave their homes of many years due to the conversion of rented flats to sectional title and time-share blocks

Most of those displaced in this way are elderly folk who have enjoyed a settled life at the same address for years They are not all eligible for old age homes, which, in any case, are filled to overflowing and with waiting lists

Furthermore, it is now being found that there are too many seniors in old age homes who should not be there as they are in good health, while the frail cannot be accommodated

This sad state of affairs is also leading, inevitably, to exploitation Long lists of vacant rented flats now appear in the press You present yourself at the address given, or telephone the number, within minutes of publication, to be told that the flat or house has already been let How, when and to whom you wonder?

And so starts the weary search, day after day, by folk who should not have been forced out of their homes in the first place

This problem needs the urgent attention of the government It is too big for anyone else

VICTIM
Cape Town

● *This letter has been shortened*

**That diving bell
was made by us!**

We refer to your article concerning the one-man observation chamber, or "diving bell" which is to be used in the search for the Waratah (The Argus, June 6) in which it is stated that the captain of a ship involved in the search is the designer of the bell

Since the proposed search has captured the imagination of the public, we feel that it would be in the public's interest to be given factually correct information

The bell's pressure vessel, comprising hull, acrylic viewports, manway, ballast system and bumper bars were designed and manufactured by ourselves to our customer's specification with myself being responsible for the design

The primary carbon dioxide scrubbing equipment was designed and manufactured by Southern Oceanics to our own specification

These two items, which together constitute the major portion of the diving bell, were designed by ourselves to strict international codes of practice for manned submersibles and the design was approved by the London based Lloyds Register of Shipping

Certain ancillary equipment was subsequently added to the bell by the end user

IVAN McLEAN
Principal Design Engineer
Southern Oceanics

**America not an
example for SA**

I WONDER why South Africans are putting up with the vicious and concerted attack on their country by the United States government, its agencies and Congress, American private organisations, businesses and the media

Americans believe that they have the most glorious Declaration of Independence, the most wonderful Constitution and the most perfect Bill of Rights in all history But no American child is ever taught that some of their greatest heroes like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were exploitive land barons who used black slaves to build and maintain their magnificent estates

The tragedy of the American Indians — the "first Americans" — is a story of savagery and cruelty only equalled by the horrors of World War 2

The United States lectures the nations of the world on how to conduct their affairs, but at every confrontation in its own history it has used violence

At this decisive moment in our history, the hope of all decent South Africans is for a future of freedom and justice for all its inhabitants So let us therefore not look to the United States as an example — it has nothing to offer us but arrogance, duplicity and self-righteousness

YANKEE PANKEE

● *This letter has been shortened* Paarl

la'

Weekend FOCUS 3



President Botha and Mr Mandela.

This reconstruction of the historic day imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela met President Botha at Tuynhuys was gleaned from eyewitnesses, officials and a wide range of other sources.

For a second, captor and jailor must have stared at each other then a polite, if slightly strained, greeting. They shook hands.

Invited in, he entered the President's office. Directly opposite the door stood Mr Botha's desk. There is a fawn-coloured pen-and-pencil holder on it. Behind that, on the wall, a plaque of the South African Coat of Arms is flanked by two tassled national flags.

ON either side of the flags are wooden bookcases with red, green and black leather-bound volumes behind glass. Directly in front of the desk, in the right-hand corner of the room, stood four padded chairs and a two-seater couch. A coffee table in the middle.

Mr Botha sat down in the left-hand chair closest to his desk. Mr Mandela and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, sat side by side on the couch. Mr Mandela was sitting closest to Mr Botha.

If he stretched out his left hand it would brush against the chair Mr Botha sat in. Instead Mr Mandela sat with his feet firmly planted on the carpet. His hands resting on his knees. This was the famous "prison method" of sitting. Several of his friends have remarked on his habit of sitting this way whenever they visited him at Victor Verster.

Tea was brought in silently and left on the coffee table. And for 45 minutes they spoke quietly and drank tea. What conversation took place is not on public record.

THEN suddenly it was time to leave. The most enigmatic and secretive meeting between two of the most powerful men in South Africa was over — and it was now up to political commentators to interpret the events.

By agreement the announcement of the meeting was to be made by the government. For several days the world was kept uninformed — then like a thunderbolt the brief statement issued by Mr Coetsee flashed on the screens of journalists around the world at 5.35pm last Saturday.

Dateline Pretoria. The statement said "The President met Mr Nelson Mandela informally at Tuynhuys in Cape Town on Wednesday when Mr Mandela paid a courtesy visit."

The changing face of South African politics

DP line up top team for election

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party will launch its national election campaign next Saturday with a line-up of about 100 candidates — including an impressive range of ex-Nationalists, former top military figures, academics, and leaders in business and the professions.

All the candidates are expected to be in Cape Town next week for the official launching, to be accompanied by the announcement of the party's election manifesto.

The line-up shows the extent to which the drift of disillusioned reform-minded Nationalists defecting from the NP has continued since the 1987 general election.

DP constitutional adviser Professor Marinus Wiechers said this week people from virtually all walks of life were coming forward to take an active part in the party's campaign. The party's choice of House of Assembly candidates could "change the face of white politics".

THE candidates, including most of the party's sitting MPs and several former opposition MPs, will attend a briefing session next Friday and an all-day meeting with the party leaders at a seafaring hotel in Sea Point on Saturday.

Co-leaders Dr Zac de Beer, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall — all of whom are in the field as candidates — will speak on the party's election manifesto.

The DP's constitutional and research expert, Professor Nic Olivier, will give an address on "the flawed National Party constitutional proposals".

A panel of star candidates, including former SABC-TV personality Mrs Carole Charlewood and former chief of the Air Force, General Bob Rogers, will speak on their reasons for deciding to stand for the DP.

The party's team, drawn from all the provinces, includes at least nine women.

FEATURES of the line-up are the wide range of political backgrounds represented under the party's banner, a strong presence of highly qualified and talented people among first-time candidates, and the inclusion of former top public servants who are now challenging the government's failed policies.

New candidates entering the political arena for the first time range from medical doctors to university lecturers, former Defence Force generals, journalists, engineers, lawyers and business people.

Two former Nationalists will head the DP's election campaigns in Stellenbosch and Matieland.

In Matieland, Mr Deon Swart, until recently a member of the NP committee in the constituency, will be campaign manager for DP candidate Dr Esther Lategan, also a former Nationalist, who stood for the Independent movement in Stellenbosch in 1987.

In Stellenbosch, the DP's campaign manager is former NP organiser Mr Jan Bester. He was chairman of the NP's student branch at the University of Stellenbosch before he worked full-time for the NP.

One of the youngest DP candidates is Mr Hennie Bester, 26, a part-time economics lecturer, who will stand in Stellenbosch. He is at present studying for a masters degree in commerce at the University of Stellenbosch. He completed a Master of Laws degree at Cambridge University last year.

DP candidates in Natal include Mr Gus van Rensburg (Umlazi) and Mr Michael Lupton-Smith (Amanzimtoti).

Mr Lupton-Smith, 54, is a retired civil engineer and a former director of construction companies. He has also worked for Iscor.

MR van Rensburg is a quality control engineer who is taking an active role in politics for the first time.

The DP candidate for Mooi River is Mr Wesel Nel, 35, a farmer, lawyer and chartered accountant, who was the PFP candidate for Newcastle in the last general election.

Other prominent candidates include

● Mr Andre de Wet, a former Western Province and Springbok rugby lock forward, is to stand for the DP in East London North, the seat vacated by former Nationalist MP Mr Peet de Pontes in the wake of the Palazollo affair.

● Mr John Ingles Purchase, a grandson of a former Nationalist MP for Wonderboom, the late Mr Ben Pienaar, who became South Africa's first ambassador to Italy. Mr Purchase, a pharmacist and businessman, will stand for the DP in Sunnyside.

● Mr Anthony de Beer, a businessman, Comrades Marathon runner and former border fighter as section leader of an SADF parachute battalion, who is standing for the DP in Pretoria Rissik.

The Conservative Party's election manifesto is expected to be announced on July 25.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

General Bob Rogers ... war hero.

Commodore Vic Holderness ... ex navy boss.

Defence force personalities

Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, former chief of the South African Air Force and Korean war hero, is the DP's candidate for Walmer. He is strong on security, which he sees as not only safety at the country's borders but also the country's ability to guarantee a safe and prosperous future.

Mrs Hilda Burnett is a former Nationalist and a former commanding officer of the SADF in the college at George at a time when Mr W Botha was MP for that constituency. She says the DP's policy offers hope for peace and reconciliation in South Africa.

Major-General Wally Black, retired SADF director of operations, who will challenge the sitting National Party MP, Mr Aubrey Thompson, Natal's South Coast.

Commodore Vic Holderness, former head of the Navy's base at Silvermine, will stand in the Bay.

Tony Marriner, the officer commanding Cape Town Highlanders, will oppose the sitting National Party MP, Mr Lampie Fick, in the Bay.

Marriner, 47, a Durbanville businessman, is to move to Hermanus for his election campaign.

Carole Charlewood ... TV glamour

Dene Smuts ... former editor.

The women candidates

■ Dr Hilda Grobler, academic, lawyer, author, and journalist, is standing for the DP in Port Natal.

She is a senior lecturer in Afrikaans-Nederlands at the University of Natal and obtained her doctorate earlier this year with a thesis on censorship.

In 1983 she completed a law degree and was admitted to the Bar as an advocate in 1985.

■ Ms Martie Meiring-Retief, journalist, political commentator and former *Nasionale Pers* foreign correspondent in Britain and the United States, is standing in Pretoria East.

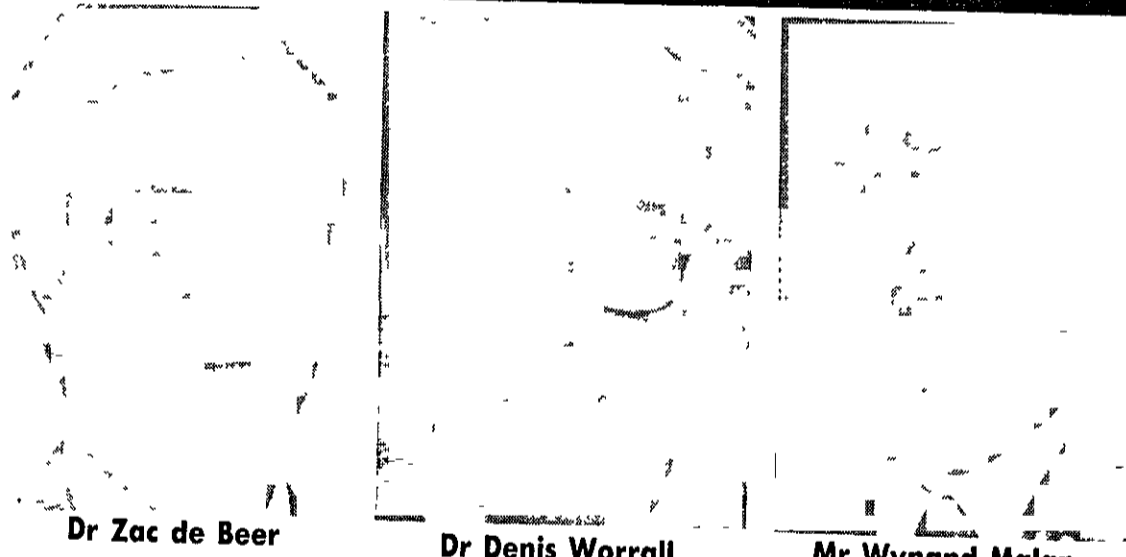
She has also done news commentaries and other broadcasts for SABC-TV.

■ Mrs Carole Charlewood, former SABC-TV personality and programme presenter, is standing in Umbilo.

■ Miss Dene Smuts, former *Fair Lady* editor, is standing in the key Groote Schuur seat.

■ Ms Michelle Guttler, national chairman of the Democratic Party Youth, is standing in Tygervallei.

... and the men who will lead



Dr Zac de Beer

Dr Denis Worrall

Mr Wynand Malan

The former Nationalists

■ Mr Attie Engelbrecht, a Boland farmer and brother of former Springbok rugby wing Jannie Engelbrecht, is to contest the Piketberg seat against the sitting Nationalist MP, Cabinet Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Mr Engelbrecht, a member of a prominent Boland NP family, is the son of a former Ossewa Brandwag member who stood twice as an NP candidate in the area.

He blames President Botha's Rubicon speech for his decision to defect from the NP.

■ Dr Teunis Schlabusch, a former National Party MPC and former president of the Cape Province Mu-

nicipal Association, will contest Queenstown for the DP.

■ Mr Kobus Jordaan, former senior government constitutional negotiator under Mr Chris Heunis and former National Party senator, is standing for the DP in Umhlanga.

■ Mr Martin Brink, top businessman, lawyer and former National Party branch chairman, is standing for the DP in Waterkloof.

■ Mr Chris du Preez, 33, also a former Nationalist, will stand for the DP in Vereeniging.

■ Mr Jannie Momberg, former sports administrator and now a member of the DP national board, will contest Simon's Town.

Mr Kobus Jordaan ... former senator.

Of calms and things ...

It is yet to find a sailor who is willing to risk his ego enough to tell stories of his experiences during calm weather.

Yacht clubs it's certainly not unusual to find tales of rogue waves, blistering winds and swayed boats and so it's no wonder that few take part in sailing.

It can easily be put off sailing before having a chance to put a foot aboard a yacht. The idea of ocean sailing has a larger audience makes headlines from time to time.

Those uninitiated in ocean sailing, it may seem awfully risky if not plain dangerous to get out to sea. Storms are taxing for the crew and there are few sailors who enjoy wet, cold and miserable.

It is also trying on the nerves when there are no winds. Progress, if any, is very slow so frustration builds up among the crew. You may just how awful it must be to wallow when you're trying to win a race.

It is the experience of throwing orange peels

overboard early one morning, only to find at nightfall that they were drifting ahead of the yacht.

The sails slap from one side of the boat to the other, nerves become frayed, and yet you seem to remain in the same little spot. Imagine living like that for days on end!

THE sun rises and sets, the edge of the world seems totally unreachable, elusive. You begin to imagine that you'll be there forever. Your destination seems unreachable. Many sailors I know would rather experience a Force 8 gale than wallow about on a glassy sea.

Long periods of calm can disorientate you. They break the routine of sailing. Crew, who used to be active sail-changing, navigating and keeping watch, now have little to do but wait for the wind.

It's easy to become bored and frustrated. If you can slow down and let go of the frustrations, there's a whole new world to experience while becalmed.



The water can be as flat as a pancake in the middle of the ocean. No wind, no swell and no sound. So flat that you can see your face in it. You drop the sails because they hang like washing on a line.

BUT rather uncanny for me, is experiencing no sound. It's all rather unnerving. Those who've been in a skyscraper when the air conditioning has been turned off will understand the sensation. Days of calm can be trying.

On a happier note, there is plenty of time to ponder, to look around and take a closer look at the creatures that live beneath the boat.

The ocean itself is teeming with life, tiny organisms that squirm and scuttle about. Brightly coloured blobs and miniature squid-like creatures thriving below the surface. They're iridescent in blues, greens, pinks and purples. Watching them will occupy a bored mind for hours.

But quite apart from the sea itself, there's another way to relax. My mother, who spent 41 days at sea with me found calm weather to be the ideal time to dry washing, clean the boat and sunbathe, without being bashed about with the heavy rolling motion of the storms we experienced.

Come in, Mr Mandela

By MARK STANSFIELD
Weekend Argus Reporter

RAIN lashed the windows of Nelson Mandela's comfortable house at the Victor Verster prison complex in Paarl last Tuesday, the night before his now celebrated meeting with President Botha.

What thoughts passed through his mind on the eve of the ice-breaking, headline-making event may never be known.

He may have gazed through the lounge window at the beautiful typical Cape winter scene. But a flash of lightning would have reminded him that he was not simply a family man at home, or businessman preparing for an important meeting.

The flash of lightning would have lit up the symbols of his captivity — a heavily-armed guard sitting in a tower nesting at the bottom of "his" garden and the rolls of razor-sharp barbed-wire atop the courtyard wall. He remained a prisoner, even if his cage was gilded.

HE probably paced the empty livingroom and thought of what he would say to the man who has publicly set the rules which govern his unconditional release — rules which Mr Mandela has so far refused to accept.

After 26 years of imprisonment, most of these years spent on Robben Island and more recently in Pollsmoor, Mr Mandela will have reflected on the cause he went to jail for and what his exiled colleagues would want him to say, now, to the figure head of the apartheid government.

Wednesday morning — July 5 — dawned clear of rain, but heavy cloud and a chill winter wind still

hugged the Boland and Peninsula. The temperature was a cold 8,6 Deg C and Mr Mandela would clearly need all the warmth he could get from the woolen suit specially bought for him by a close friend who he had been taken into his confidence about an "important meeting".

He had been sounded out well in advance that a meeting between himself and Mr Botha was being planned, but advised only the day before that the "courtesy visit" was on.

AS it was, the historic Tuynhuys visit was to be stage-managed by experts in the art of secrecy. It would be at least four days before any news of the event hit the media headlines.

Friends who have recently seen him say they imagine him chuckling silently to himself at the thought of going to Tuynhuys. The meeting had been arranged months before at his request. A month ago he had asked a special friend to buy the suit and the tie especially for this occasion.

They came for him at 10.50 am. The first inkling that something "different" was happening at Victor Verster prison that day was when the normal car-checking attitude of the prison guards manning the main entrance gates changed as a convoy of cars passed through.

THE guards at the gate allowed the cars through without the customary checks. They seemed to have been warned not to interfere, to let the convoy through without any comment and without stopping them.

About 100 metres down the road from the entrance to the prison grounds an old woman silently watched as the convoy streamed past.

It was now 11am. It was a grey, cold day and she was sitting outside washing clothes in a tin basin. The three big cars swept silently by.

She noticed the middle car first. It was a big cream Mercedes Benz with dark-tinted windows. A bright yellow Cressida was in front of it and a brown car was tailing. Each had a small black whip aerial unobtrusively stuck on the boot.

Little did she know that in the back seat of that plush cream Mercedes Benz sat Mr Mandela — the world's most famous prisoner and he was on his way to meet Mr Botha.

It was unlikely that Mr Mandela would have seen her as the tinted windows of the car screened him from the outside world. The convoy slowed and turned left on to the N1 highway just before Paarl.

ABOUT 11.45am the Mercedes crested a hill outside Bellville and a panoramic mist-shrouded view of Cape Town opened up. Ahead, the famous mountain lay covered in fog. Table Bay on the right, obliterated by cloud. On the left, the Cape Flats was a serene sea of mist and smoke and dark buildings and criss-cross streets.

Did he see the peeling graffiti on a wall on the left-hand side? **NELSON MANDELA**, was written in white paint on the concrete wall well back from the road. The E in Mandela had gone, the other letters fading fast.

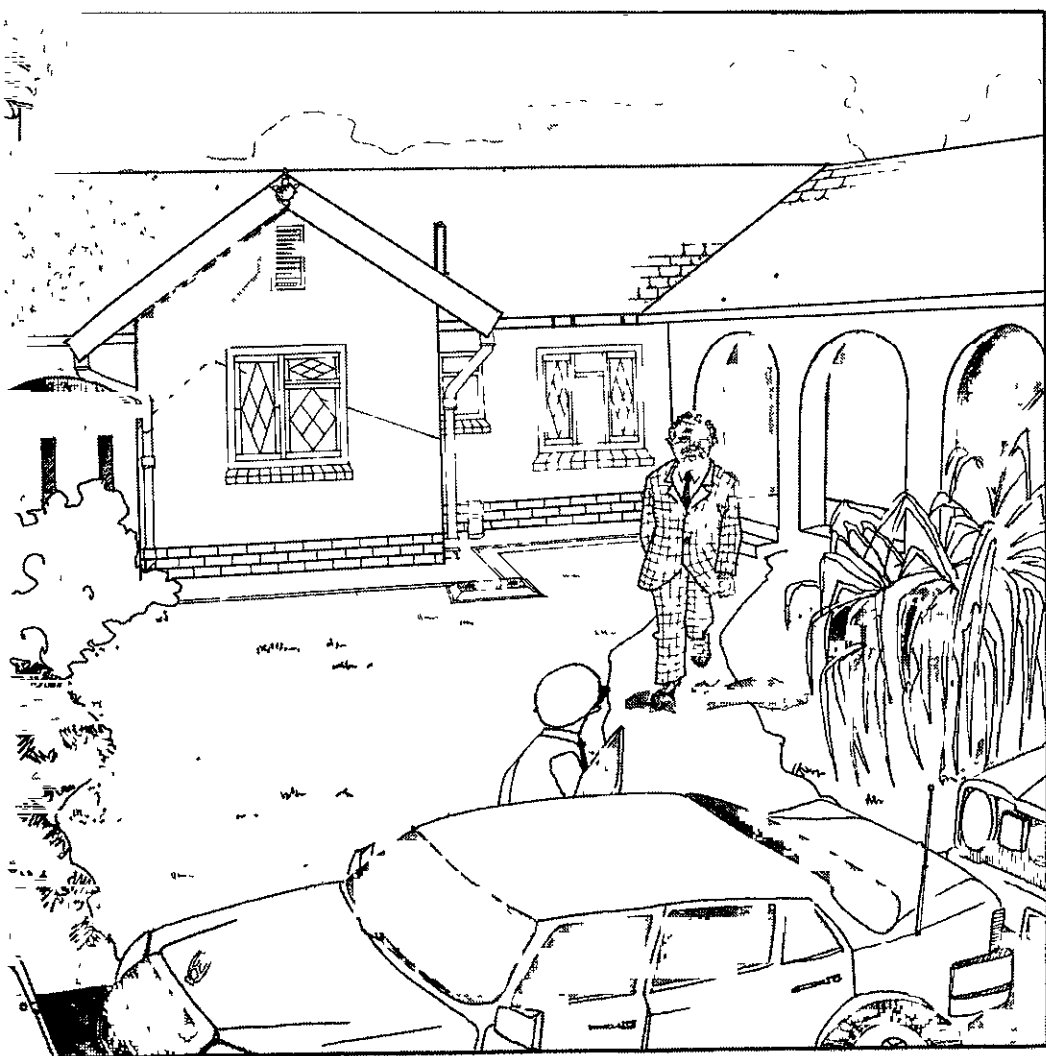
The convoy swung off the highway into Oswald Pirow Street. They passed Security police headquarters at Culemborg, swept past the Good Hope Centre, Down Tennant Street and then De Villiers. The traffic lights at the intersection of Roeland and de Villiers Streets were green.

The convoy turned right. Out the right hand window Mr Mandela may have glanced at three petrol attendants talking. They didn't see him but they remember the "Big Shot" convoy.

The cars moved on and directly in front now were the impressive gates of parliament. Shiny stainless-steel barricades, whiter-than-white walls, black gates and blue-uniformed policemen. The convoy probably swung slightly left and entered a side gate, swooped down into a basement and came to a halt. Within a few minutes Mr Mandela would face Mr Botha for the first time.

DOWN the grand entrance hall of Tuynhuys he strode. Persian rugs on the floor, brass chandeliers overhead. Grey-slate flooring polished to perfection.

He was escorted down the entrance hall, past an impressive six-legged table. They stopped at a door on the left. It opened into the private sanctum of Mr Botha.

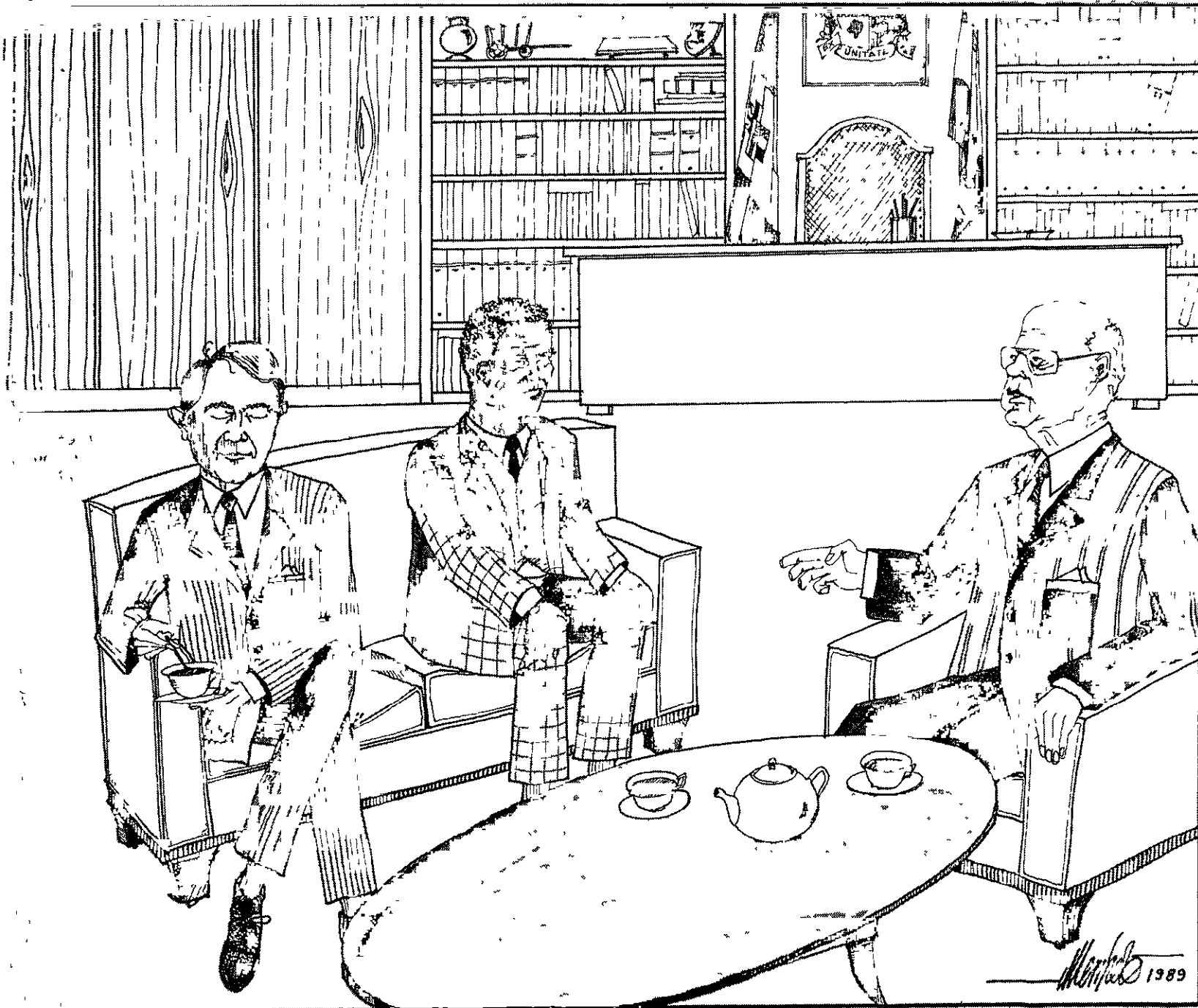


Mr Mandela leaves his house at Victor Verster prison.

Illustrations MIKE MERIFIELD



Face to face



At tea — Mr Mandela with Mr Botha and Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee.

the great release poser

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE release of Mr Nelson Mandela after serving more than 25 years of his life sentence will be a momentous event — if it were to happen. But nobody knows for sure just what the consequences would be.

Will it lead to peace or to political upheaval? Among black leaders in South Africa there is a strong body of opinion that an unconditional release of Mr Mandela is likely to be trouble-free if it takes place in a peaceful political climate.

Government fears of violence and upheaval are said to be unfounded and are increasingly regarded as based on a misreading of the mood of Mr Mandela's supporters.

HOWEVER, doubts have been expressed on whether the government will be prepared to take the steps needed for unconditional release, involving no restrictions.

A widely-held view is that Mr Mandela's release into a state of emergency, and with the African National Congress remaining a banned organisation, will be a great risk.

The scenario envisaged by Dr Nthato Motlana, honorary president of the Soweto Civic Association, is that crowds in black townships elsewhere would want to see and hear Mr Mandela.

If there were to be no restrictions, there would be meetings, rallies and speeches. There would be political activity and negotiations with other leaders.

But none of this would be violent or menacing if the government were to relax and let it

be, says Dr Motlana. He suggests Mr Mandela would have to be free to play his role as a political leader of his people, and to negotiate on their behalf with other leaders.

BEFORE this could happen, the ANC would have to be unbanned, the state of emergency would have to be lifted, political prisoners and detainees would have to be released, and ordinary political activities like meetings and rallies would have to be allowed.

Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo says he is "absolutely convinced" that Mr Mandela, if released, "will neither pick up a gun nor preach revolution and racial hatred in South Africa".

"On his release, we expect Mr Mandela will take the first opportunity to meet leaders of all significant black organisations with a view to working out with them a common negotiating strategy".

Dr Dhlomo also believes Mr Mandela's release will be accompanied by a major statement from him calling for calm and reconciliation in South Africa.

These views are shared by members of the Five Freedoms Forum delegation which had talks with ANC leaders in Lusaka recently.

Recent events have led to speculation that the government may already have a plan for Mr Mandela's release — possibly after the September 6 general election.

ONE theory is that plans may be afoot for a three-phase release of Mr Mandela, designed to reduce to a minimum any risk of the kind of disorder and upheaval feared in government circles.

● Phase One will be to release Mr Mandela

into a situation of temporary restrictions agreed to by him as part of an overall plan. He will not appear at large gatherings, but will be free to move about for talks with influential people, to consult with the ANC in Lusaka and to travel overseas.

● Phase Two may involve at least a partial lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC after negotiations between Mr Mandela, extra-parliamentary organisations and the government. The emphasis will be on creating mutual trust by way of talks and persuasion.

● Phase Three will be the start of negotiations with Mr Mandela and others about constitutional negotiations involving recognised leaders of all the people. The initial negotiations will be aimed at creating a suitably peaceful climate and removing all remaining restrictions that could hamper peace. Agreement will be sought on the "where, how and who" of a "great indaba" as already envisaged by President Botha and Mr F W de Klerk.

A phased release of Mr Mandela is said to be in line with thinking in top government circles. Tentative moves in this direction have already been made by Mr Mandela's release from a prison cell to more comfortable quarters in the Victor Verster Prison grounds after his illness.

SOURCES say a phased release may also be preferred by Mr Mandela in that he is not the kind of person who would want to be plunged into a hectic life of speeches and appearances at mass meetings or huge celebrations.

Some analysts say there have been signs for some time in black townships that there is a

general mood favourable for a potentially peaceful response to Mr Mandela's unconditional release, if it were to happen.

However, much would depend on the circumstances of his release and the extent to which the authorities and the police were prepared to contribute to the creation of a climate of peace.

One indication of a favourable mood came late last year when there were strong rumours, also reported overseas, that Mr Mandela's release was imminent.

At that time countrywide preparations were begun to welcome Mr Mandela. Reception committees were formed in various centres and all the plans were designed to ensure a peaceful welcome. There was a general mood indicating that people wanted to make it a joyous occasion and that they wanted no action that could lead to violence or mar Mr Mandela's return.

Five Freedoms Forum chairman Mr Michael Olivier firmly believes the release of Mr Mandela will be a peaceful event if certain basic requirements are met to ensure that he will be a free man in every respect.

Mr Olivier's reading of the ANC's mood at the recent talks in Lusaka is that the organisation wants a peaceful solution and is prepared to work in this direction if given a chance. But the ANC has also made it clear that it must see the government's intentions.

Requirements for a peaceful political climate included the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of the ANC and the release also of other political prisoners.

(Report by FS Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Stompie case: 'a tactic to defuse release of Mandela'

Stw 15/7/89 (11A)

WHILE Mr Nelson Mandela occupies centre stage in South Africa's political life at the moment, a shadow looms over his possible release — death of young activist "Stompie" Mokhetsi

The South African Council of Churches said this week that it believed there was a deliberate attempt by the Government to defuse the political impact of Mr Mandela's release by simultaneously making maximum publicity of Mrs Winnie Mandela's apparent connection with the case

An SACC statement just released says "The Government has calculated the timing of the Mandela/Botha meeting with a view to making maximum political gain out of it. The Government also has an ace up its sleeve, namely the 'Stompie' issue.

"There are people who argue that the Government may release Mr

PAT DEVEREAUX

Mandela at the same time as it blows up the case

"If it does so, it will subject Mrs Winnie Mandela to a trial by media and the objective will be to tie Mr Mandela's hands and defuse the political implications and impact of his release."

The SACC statement added "The Government has been sitting on this case probably because it realises its usefulness"

A dossier examining the death of teenage activist "Stompie" and Mrs Winnie Mandela's alleged involvement in the incident had been submitted to the Attorney-General

The AG spokesman said Mrs Mandela had been linked to Stompie's death in statements and evidence in the dossier. However, it was up to the AG to decide if she had committed any punishable offences

● TO PAGE 2.

A shadow over Mandela release

Stw 15/7/89 (11A)
● FROM PAGE 1.

Nine suspects, among them members of the Winnie Mandela Soccer team including the coach, Mr Jerry Richardson (41), bus driver for the soccer team Mr John Morgan (61) and seven others have appeared in court and are in custody

Their pending trial follows the murder of a Free State child activist whose body was discovered on January 7 this year after he was allegedly abducted and assaulted by members of the soccer team at Mrs Mandela's Soweto home

The SACC said the meeting with Mr Botha seemed to have been timed to coincide with the AG's statement. At the time of the meeting, the Mandela home in Soweto was raided by police

"Routine visit"

Police spokesmen this week said they considered the visiting of the Mandela premises "routine" and were not prepared to comment on it

The relationship between Mrs Mandela and the mass democratic movement has been "less, distanced" of late

In March, MDM representatives including Cosatu and the United Democratic Front leaders expressed their "outrage" after Mrs Mandela's football team was allegedly linked to the abduction and murder of Stompie Mokhetsi

This week the African National Congress call that Mrs Mandela work closely with members of the democratic movement and be "rehabilitated" appeared to be effective. Flanked by leaders of the movement, Cosatu's Mr Sydney Mafumadi, National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the SACC secretary general, Rev Frank Chikane, Mrs Mandela issued statements denying Mr Mandela's birthday party rumours and spoke on Mr Botha's meeting with him

● See PAGES 3 and 10.

Anti-apartheid groups divided over negotiation

LONDON — Anti-apartheid organisations are revealing deep divisions over the possibility floated recently by the African National Congress of negotiating with Pretoria

In London a delegation from the main anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, fresh from a meeting with Margaret Thatcher, picked its way past questions about the role she might play in negotiations and about the significance of Mr Nelson Mandela's statement on his meeting with President Botha last week

In exile

The situation reflects the differences of opinion in the movement as well as the problems of communication between its various elements: many leaders are in exile, others are in prison or banned, and most assume their phones are tapped

The ANC recently asked its constituency in South Africa to discuss whether, when and on

what terms it should agree to negotiate with Pretoria. That debate now seems well under way.

After a historic 40-minute meeting with Mrs Thatcher on Tuesday, a United Democratic Front delegation issued a statement saying current speculation over negotiations "has no basis in reality"

But the statement went on to welcome Mrs Thatcher's support for the negotiating concept of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group

A recent statement by South African church leaders, closely allied to the UDF, said Mrs Thatcher lacked credibility among the black population and was unacceptable as an impartial broker.

The stated position of all opposition groups is that there can be no negotiation until all political prisoners and detainees are released, the

stew
15/7/89
11A
RICHARD DOWDEN

state of emergency is ended and political parties can operate freely

However, beneath the public statements, the ANC and its allies in South Africa are divided on what attitude to take

At a recent meeting in Lusaka, the ANC, the UDF and representatives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions were told that Britain was masterminding a Western contact group on South Africa and that the Soviet Union might join it.

Revolution

The delegates are understood to have agreed that they must maintain unity and take the first initiative by launching their own negotiating concept before the Organisation of African Unity meets later this month.

The mainstream ANC and the influential SA Communist Party believe the overthrow of apart-

heid will not, and should not, be accompanied by a socialist revolution, and this seems to be the position of the Soviet Union

But Cosatu members at the Lusaka meeting are understood to have warned that they have not been fighting to replace apartheid by a modified capitalism. This view was reflected at the Cosatu conference in Johannesburg this week where negotiations supported by Mrs Thatcher were denounced as a total surrender to apartheid

Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi described South Africa as "an unfolding revolutionary situation"

Thatcher upsets French again

Nations feud over grandiose aid plans

PARIS — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher provided her own fireworks at the bicentennial celebration of the French Revolution, by saying the concept of human rights appeared in Britain's Magna Carta some 500 years before the overthrow of the French monarchy.

PARIS — The seven-nation economic summit opened here last night with growing tension between Mrs Margaret Thatcher and President Francois Mitterrand over his plans for launching grand international initiatives on the Third World and the environment.

The Anglo-French feud over the contribution of the French Revolution to human rights and the criticism of British social policy threatened to spill over to the summit as it became clear there were fundamental differences of approach between the Prime Minister and President Mitterrand over major international issues confronting leaders of the man industrialised nations this weekend.

The heads of government of the seven wealthiest industrialised nations were flanked by leaders of some of the world's poorest countries at a grand military parade down the Champs Elysees to mark the storming of the Bastille by the people of Paris 200 years ago.

Mr Mitterrand has deliberately used the symbolism of the struggle of the impoverished masses against the French monarchy to highlight what he regards as the duty of the leading Western countries to help the deeply-indebted Third World nations.

The president served notice yesterday that he plans to raise at the economic summit the demand made in Paris this week by the leaders of India, Egypt, Venezuela and Senegal for a formal conference between the developed and developing nations.

Interviewed on French television yesterday, President Mitterrand said it was "scandalous" that the main financial flows in the world came from the poor South to the North.

He said he intended to take up the issue with Mrs Thatcher and Mr Bush, the US President, this weekend, in an attempt to persuade them to back the idea of such a conference with the developing world. But British officials later made clear that Mrs Thatcher was highly sceptical of the proposal — Daily Telegraph



LEGION ON PARADE . . . Soldiers of France's Foreign Legion, wearing leather aprons and carrying chrome axes, march down the Champs Elysees during the Bastille Day parade yesterday. The legion, made up of non-French volunteers, was the most heavily represented regiment in the parade. Parisians shouted "Vive La Legion" as the burly legionnaires performed a faultless slow march.

ANC chief dines with world leaders

PARIS — African National Congress (ANC) leader Mr Oliver Tambo dined this week with leaders of the top industrial democracies, including British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher who has condemned his movement as terrorist.

In a diplomatic boost for the ANC, Mr Tambo sat at the state banquet — held to celebrate the bicentenary of the French Revolution — with Mrs Thatcher, US President George Bush and more than 30 other world leaders.

Mr Bush and Mrs Thatcher, along with leaders of France, Canada, Japan, West Germany and Italy, are also attending a three-day summit of the top seven industrial nations which began yesterday — Sapa-Reuters

Paper gets historic look

PARIS — The left-wing French newspaper Liberation brought out an edition yesterday that any Bastille mob could feel at home with.

On the 200th anniversary of the storming of the Bastille prison, France's most innovative daily was printed on the same colour paper used by the old revolutionary pamphleteers. Liberation said the paper was dyed blue-green. — Sapa-Reuters

Revolution 'hostile' to the Church — Vatican

VATICAN CITY — A Vatican radio commentator said yesterday that the Roman Catholic Church could not accept the values that inspired the French Revolution because they "were intended in a sense hostile to the Church".

"Values such as equality and liberty were understood in a sense that completely left our Christian presuppositions," Jesuit priest Giacomo Martina, a professor of modern history at Rome's Pontifical Gregorian University, said in a programme about the bicentenary celebrations in Paris. The Italian monthly review "World Prospects" also reminded its readers of the Christian persecution that accompanied the French Revolution — UPI

ANC rocked by defections

5/ Times 16/7/89

11A

AT least 14 black South African youths have defected from the African National Congress in recent months and have applied for political asylum in Sweden

They claim systematic abuse and torture of dissidents by the organisation inside Zambia and Tanzania

Six have had their applications granted and are remaining in Sweden while another four, their asylum requests refused by Stockholm authorities, are being returned to

By JEREMY BROOKS, London

their countries of "first asylum" in the Frontline States. The students are all South African refugees sent by the ANC on foreign aid study grants to Europe.

Seven of them are now being cared for by a welfare body affiliated to the Norrköping municipality.

At a recent Press conference called by social worker Miss Karin Gezelius they accused the ANC of using "brutal

methods" — including torture and kidnap — on dissidents who, they said, were being detained in squalid prison camps.

Journalists at the conference were told the seven had no hope of ever escaping the organisation's "clutches" if they were returned and they had "nowhere to turn to for help".

The applications of the seven are now being considered, according to Swedish administrative procedure, by Stockholm's Ministry of Labour in consultation with the Foreign Ministry.

This week a Labour spokesman said the first three had already been rejected.

Others

"We decided that, while the persons do qualify for refugee status vis a vis their country of origin, South Africa, they can be returned to Tanzania and Zambia without fear of maltreatment. They will therefore be returned."

The seven had all been studying at the Marieborgs Folk High School and were being sponsored by the Swedish International Development Agency.

Miss Gezelius confirmed that the party of seven were being cared for in Norrköping.

According to Press reports, there have been seven other recent cases involving ANC refugees in Sweden.

Two youths had been studying in Sweden with Sida grants, two were working in East Germany under ANC scholarships, and three were flown directly from Angola and Mozambique under the auspices of Amnesty International and the UN High Commission for Refugees.

A source at the UNHCR'S office in Stockholm said "Cases involving ANC refugees are nothing new. They come to Europe to learn administrative and other skills and then find it difficult to go back to their countries of first asylum."

'Die Stem' is a song of 'theft'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S current national anthem was one of "theft and oppression" and should be changed in the interests of unity, LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said yesterday.

Launching the party's campaign in Cape Town yesterday with the announcement of its 80 candidates, Mr Hendrickse said that two important changes which had to be made to bring all South Africans together were to the national anthem and the national flag.

Mr Hendrickse said both symbolised the ages of imperialism and oppression for the great majority of South Africans and in their seeking for a future South Africa, a new flag and anthem which united all the people of the country, rather than stressed their differences, should be created.

"We should now seek a new anthem which should be written as a binding force. We must return to sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, but this might not be the final answer."

Mr Hendrickse said the major thrust of the Labour Party's 1988 election campaign was forging greater "togetherness" in SA by fighting for the destruction of "the monster of apartheid".

"Apartheid in any form remains evil and must be eradicated," he told the party's can-



WP TEAM ... The Labour Party yesterday launched its election campaign — with the theme "Take hands against apartheid" — at a Cape Town hotel. Gathered behind the front row of party heavyweights are the LP's Western Cape candidates who will begin campaigning from today.

didates as he pointed to a LP poster proclaiming "Take hands against apartheid." Key to the promotion of greater togetherness among all South Africans was the repeal of racist legislation like the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

Mr Hendrickse sharply criticised the government's latest proposals to adapt rather than scrap apartheid legislation, given the need for all races to come together and nego-

tiate the country's future.

Turning to the House of Representatives election, Mr Hendrickse said in response to questions that the LP had not encountered an "anti-vote campaign" at this stage and the party was confident that there would be greater participation in the September poll than had been the case in the 1984 election.

He believed the more flexible system of special votes introduced recently would push up the total number of votes cast signifi-

Asked if this decision applied to blind people and foster parents of all races, Mr Hendrickse "Unfortunately, this is a decision taken by the House of Representatives out of their budget."

"It is a decision of the House of Representatives and will therefore only apply to people classified as 'coloured'."

(Report by Anthony Johnson and Barry Sinek, 127 St George's Street, Cape Town)

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cently.

Mr Hendrickse said the party intended holding public meetings throughout the country and did not fear that planned meetings might be disrupted.

He also said equal grants would now be paid to white and "coloured" blind people and foster parents.

But as the move had been initiated by the House of Representatives and would come out of its budget, it would not unfortunately be extended to other groups.

He said that although his party was unhappy about the inequality in the payment of pensions, it was positive that the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, had accepted in principle the need for parity.

"In terms of the blind, they will now be receiving equal grants with whites. Foster parent grants will also be equal to those for whites."

Winnie soon to be charged or cleared

By DESMOND BLOW

WINNIE Mandela will soon know whether she will be charged in connection with the alleged abduction and murder of Stompie Moketsi.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau confirmed that he received a dossier on Stompie's murder this week after a lengthy investigation by the Soweto murder and robbery unit.

Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) has expressed suspicion over the delay in trying Moketsi's alleged murderers. The SACC said it believed the government wanted to bring up the case when Nelson Mandela was released.

"If it (goyt) does so, it will subject Winnie Mandela to a trial by media and the objective will be to tie Mandela's hands and defuse the political implications and impact of his release," an SACC statement said.

The dossier is believed to contain further allegations against Mrs Mandela and the Mandela Football Club.

Nine alleged members of the Club have appeared in court in connection with the child activist's death.

Von Lieres said he could not confirm charges against Mrs Mandela related to events before Stompie's death as he had not yet examined the dossier.

He said he expected to have decided on whether to prosecute in about a fortnight.

16/7/89
SIP

HIGH PRICE OF UDF

THERE'S Mfundisi who is short of a pair of pants. He lost them, I'm told, when he paid a not-so-fatherly visit to one of the dames in my ghetto.

She has a posh possie in the smartest suburb of Extension 25, otherwise known as "UDF", meaning Unmarried, Divorced and Frustrated.

Make no mistake, mates, those girls are far from frustrated. Divorced some of them may be and unmarried most of them certainly are, but frustrated - Haikhona.

Why, they drive posh cars, the most popular being the German-made nicknamed "Be My Wife" - BMW - or "Black Man's Worry" - they hold down top jobs in marketing, advertising, nursing and so on.

As for their homes, boy you have to see them to believe me. The carpets are ankle-deep, the furni-

phors - and dined on Cornish hen.

Back to my padre pal. You see this guy heads one of those sectarian churches where the Mfundisi keeps a watchful eye on the maphepha. Certainly I know that he has a computer-like memory for defaulters and has been known to preach sermons like this at a defaulter's funeral:

"The guy you see in that coffin is going straight to hell where he belongs. This is the first and last time he makes an appearance in here." You might well ask why he bothers to conduct the funeral of a blighter who's going straight to the Devil's braavies and I'll give you the answer in one word: maphepha.

He charges R20 for a two hour funeral, more if the deceased was in good standing in the church and the mourners include

VIPs, particularly the residents of that "UDF" suburb.

In addition to his priestly functions, he also dabbles in faith healing when no one is looking - a sideline that cost him his pants and nearly his life when he went on that jaunt in "UDF".

The saga of his lost pants still titillates the Manyano magogos whenever they gather on Thursday afternoons which, as you know, is the day they go to prayer meetings and is famed as "Sheila's Day".

For this non-paternal visit the good padre had seen fit to take his pants off while performing the faith-healing rites, one presumes.

Unfortunately for him

one of those sticky-fingered guys who are for- ever on the lookout for open windows had not only seen the Mfundisi's expensive car parked in the yard but had also

chanced to peer into the bedroom, where he spotted the equally expensive ministerial pants draped over a chair. He fished them out and made a dash for it.

The vexed priest rushed out of the house in his underpants but was too late. He got into his car and drove off while his "patient" was left pondering on the strange ways of her Mfundisi healer/lover.

Anyway, doing the rounds in my township is a rumour that the lad who lifted the padre's pants is

Panting padre lost his pants

offering them for sale for a hefty sum and he says the Mfundisi is welcome to them if he will first preach a sermon about adultery.



Bophuthatswana will forever remain the most troublesome of our fickle homelands - they had a donkey-shooting campaign out there at one time, then they came out with an abortive coup - trade unions are tabboo in spite of a Bill of Rights while lawyers like Dik-gang Moseneke have had some frightening times at the hands of President Mangope's masole.

The latest marakals involves the peasants of the village of Leeuwfontein, where some cops have been killed and dozens of

villagers have been slung into Bop jails. A la Pretoria, a state of emergency has been declared.

In line with the old adage that in war the first casualty is truth, the Bop army has barred the Press from the area.

Its a Catch 22 situation, they say only reporters with permits are allowed into the so-called "emergency" areas - and they ain't issuing any permits.

I would have thought the homeland's leaders quite capable of dealing with the matter merely by contacting the various editors concerned.

Better still, why not let the Press see for themselves.



MUSIN' With Obed Musi

ture is out of the top drawer and you don't often see those trucks from the furniture companies coming to, repossess

So guys with a not-so-healthy bank balance shouldn't try their luck there. For guzzling play-boys the good news is that they'll be wined on Scotch - to mix meta-

ANC to play role in Natal peace

Leaders set for August meeting in London

By S'BU MNGADI

A SECRET UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha document makes provision for the participation of the ANC in the peace process for war-torn Natal

The ANC, banned 28 years ago, is also expected to participate in long-term programmes to resettle the more than 100 000 people displaced by the violence

The new political era in the struggle for liberation, as envisaged in the document, will see Inkatha accepted back into the fold of the mass democratic movement after a decade in the political wilderness

The document is scheduled to be examined at a historic meeting of the four presidents of the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF and Inkatha in London at the end of this month

Its contents were, according to an undertaking by all parties, to be kept secret until the London meeting took place

However, Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi last weekend disclosed excerpts of the document, annoying the Cosatu-UDF alliance which saw this as a breach of confidence

City Press can now disclose that the report proposes, among other things, that the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF and Inkatha launch a scheme to resettle and compensate the displaced people

Each organisation will send a ten-man delegation to the London meeting

The meeting will consider the establishment of a semi-permanent consultative committee whose function will be to explore and address divisive issues as they arise so as to minimise the possibilities of future clashes

It will also appoint a committee charged with



Mangosuthu Buthelezi... will not allow ANC, UDF and Cosatu to exploit Natal peace plan.

implementing and monitoring the peace

The breakthrough in the Natal stalemate has been applauded by world leaders, including US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Herman Cohen, who met separate delegations from the UDF and Inkatha in Durban this week

Central to the peace process will be a peace conference which could take place at the end of August

The first phase of the conference will be spent in a closed meeting of the Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha delegations - each

with 250 delegates

The second phase will be open to delegations from the churches, organised commerce and industry, professional bodies and observers.

The last session will be open to the media for the presidents of the three organisations to report on the proceedings of the conference

A schedule of joint peace rallies will also be announced

Among other items on the agenda will be

■ To consider the practical implementation of the peace process and to exchange views on the role

the two factions can play in that process, and

■ The appointment of an organising committee to deal with the practical organisation of the conference

The first task of the committee will be to organise joint peace rallies. The first rally is expected to take place in Durban on the weekend following the peace conference

The peace process will be discussed and explained at subsequent peace rallies. The document also recommends that accusations and counter-accusations be discouraged

The rallies will be followed by the establishment of joint peace committees to be drawn from local members and supporters of the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha. These committees will monitor the implementation of the peace process and report directly to the joint peace committee appointed at the London meeting

The report recognises that a mutually agreed mechanism to enforce the implementation of the peace process be devised

The organisations also undertook to launch a publicity campaign to promote peace

All parties agree that violent clashes "will delay the achievement of the goal of liberation". To prevent a recurrence of such clashes in future, the report says, the meeting of the four presidents should give consideration to the future political co-existence of the four organisations

Buthelezi has, however, sounded a word of caution. He said he did not want to fail Inkatha by allowing the UDF, the ANC and Cosatu to exploit the peace process "as a Trojan horse" they could use "to travel into our areas of vulnerability"

Handwritten notes in the top right corner: "Covers", "11/7/85", and a circled "11/7/85".

PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

Focus on future of Mandela

AMNS



16/7/89

THE potential role which Nelson Mandela could play in South African politics could hardly be better accentuated than the reaction from some politicians to his meeting with the State President and Mandela's own statement this week, Beeld said in an editorial.

The newspaper said the statement was being analysed and interpreted word for word. From the right wing there were signs of hysterics, from the left wing signs of confusion. "Mrs Winnie Mandela reacts more like a nervous politician than a longing wife who hopes to have her husband back home after 25 years," Beeld said.

"The most intriguing aspect is the remarkable similarity between the reaction of the ANC and that of the CP.

"The ANC said the meeting was arranged more for the sake of 'public performance', while Dr Treurnicht suspects that the government wants to turn Mandela into a 'political play-ball'.

"Obviously, the image that is being portrayed, that Mandela is being misused, is wrong. He went to Tuynhuys out of his own free will and he used the concession to issue a statement."

Beeld said the question could be asked if the radicals were beginning to fear the release of Mandela.

"Let's presume the people support him in a direction which does not correspond with the plans of the left wing's power-elite?"

"Against the background of so much confusion among radicals, it is a pity that the voice in the Victor Verster Prison is being kept silent for the time being."

It had at least been confirmed that his opinion of what would be in the best interests of himself and South Africa was not shared by all his comrades.

"Also, everything is not good news either. Successes for the moderates will mean that the radicals will throw everything into their struggle."

Beeld said success would also bring more responsibilities for the government. The meeting has caused a gulf of expectations world-wide.

"The experience with the Rubicon speech taught us that such a situ-

ation will have to be managed with discretion and expertise. Should matters go wrong in this respect, the damage would be larger than anything which a younger Mandela could have contemplated in wildest flights of imagination," the paper said.

In his weekly political column, "Willie", Kuhn wrote in Beeld that many people wanted to know why the government took this direction (in respect of Mandela).

"The simple answer is that the government needs to adjust its information. To handle the whole situation in respect of Mr Mandela and the ANC on the basis of the former's imprisonment in the early 1960s, would be absolutely wrong.

"This will also imply

that the black communities must judge the Afrikaner and the National Party by apartheid of the 1960s - without considering what had happened since."

Kuhn said the Mandela issue had to be solved.

Dawie, Die Burger's political columnist, said this week there was a notable shift of accent in the government's approach.

The initial condition for negotiations was that violence had to be renounced.

"The most meaningful phrase in the statement issued about the meeting between the State President and Mr Mandela, is that both of them confirmed their support for 'peaceful development'," Dawie said.

'ANC' COPS

16/9/89

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FOR NATAL

DEATH CASE

Durban inquest court to hear who killed Chesterville activists

By S'BU MNGADI

MEMBERS of a notorious secret unit of "turned" ANC guerrillas are expected to blow their cover and testify at an inquest in Durban this month.

The inquest, set down for July

31 to August 4, arises from the killing of four Chesterville activists in June 1986 by people posing as ANC cadres.

Initially, police denied knowledge of the incident. However, 24 hours later the Bureau for Information confirmed the incident had taken place.

In a brief statement, the bureau said four black men had been killed in a shootout between black members of the SA police and the occupants of a house in Chesterville.

Residents and two survivors gave journalists and members of the Black Sash an account of what had taken place during that fateful night. However, the state of emergency prohibited the reporting of "security force action" other than what was reported by the bureau.

City Press had since been following the trail of the faceless killers

The four who died were Russel Ntandokayise Mngomezulu, 23, Mutuwendkosu Khanyle, 24, Joseph Russel Mthembu, 20, and Sandile Crawford

Nelson to meet family leaders

By CHARLES MOGALE

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela celebrates two important events this month - his 71st birthday and the attainment of a law degree

By yesterday, preparations were at an advanced stage for the

ANC

birthing family Mandela

The to celebration will be next to be a guests

Thrills as pack Durban JP semifinals

By BOIKI MOTHEI

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Durban inquest court to hear who killed Chesterville activists

By S'BU MNGADI

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The four who died were Russel Ntandokayise Mngomezulu, 23, Mutuwenkosi Khanyile, 24, Joseph Russel Mthembu, 20, and Sandile Crawford Khawula, 23

Brigadier Jan Botha, the then commissioner of the South African Police, banned a single funeral for the four, allowing two funerals each attended by only 200 people

The media was banned from Chesterville for the duration of the funerals

One of the survivors is now confined to a wheelchair, paralysed from the waist down and still fears for his life

Amazingly, those allegedly involved in the "shootout" have filed affidavits in docket 529/89, identifying themselves as Pretoria-based members of the security police and saying they had been sent from Pretoria to execute a mission in Chesterville

All have testified in major treason trials across the country as Mr Xs. They are now to testify for the first time as members of the security police in an open inquest before magistrate BJ Olivier

Although the existence of the shadowy group of ANC defectors, used by the police to hunt down and kill ANC cadres, had been hinted at before, it emerged publicly for the first time in the Cape Town Supreme Court last month

Testifying during a trial of 14 people, an ANC member and former state witness spilled the beans, telling the court of the existence of the group. He named some members and said he had been recruited into the group

They are known to operate in all major cities.

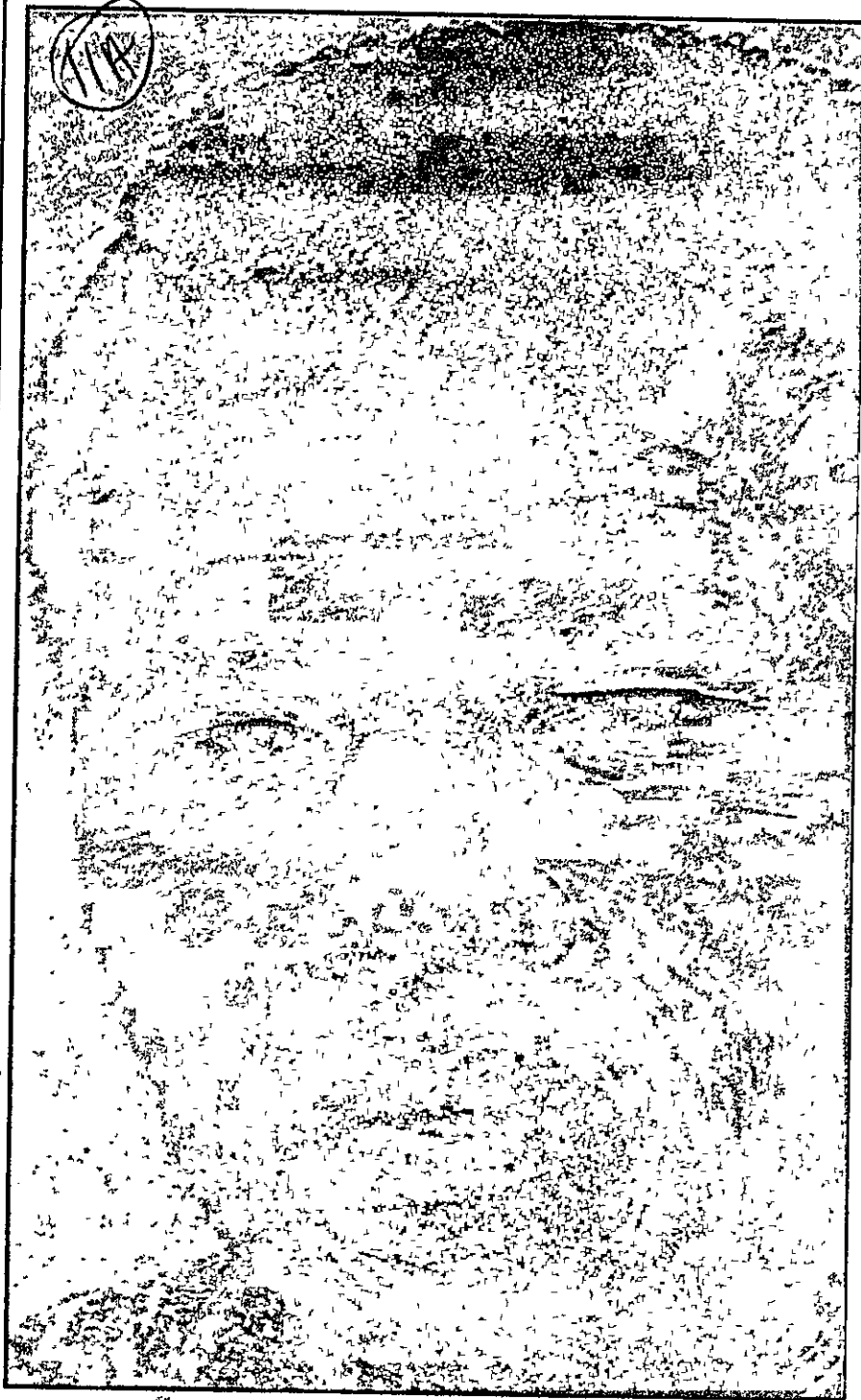


trading points the way to her concert

© Pic: EVANS MBOWENI.

IPS AL ISE

114 CAPS



Nelson to meet family leaders

By CHARLES MOGALE

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela celebrates two important events this month - his 71st birthday and the attainment of a law degree

By yesterday, preparations were at an advanced stage for the

ANC leader Nelson Mandela as he is pictured on a Cosatu poster.

birthday celebration for family members at Mandela's prison house.

The second function, to celebrate the conferment of a Unisa degree, will be held within the next two weeks and will be attended by 50 guests, excluding family

members. Anti-apartheid leaders thought to have been invited include Cyril Ramaphosa of the NUM, the general secretary of Cosatu, Jay Naidoo, and Cosatu president Elijah Barayi. Naidoo said he would "gladly accept" an invi-

ation but Cosatu had not received any official notification from the Prisons Service. The jailed leader's wife, Winnie Mandela, said she did not know who was on the list but "it would be nice if his fellow trialists and their

■ To Page 7

1114 16/7/89

Bush and Thatcher get tough on SA

By SOL MORATHI

THE UDF delegation that travelled overseas received promises from US President George Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to press the South African government to allow unrestricted political activity

The delegation led by UDF co-president Albertina Sisulu, left South Africa a month ago

They also met Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, numerous dignitaries and opinion makers

The group is expected to discuss apartheid with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl this week

The delegation appealed to Bush and Thatcher to apply maximum pressure on the South African government to create conditions for free political activity

Bush and Thatcher promised to press the government to lift the state of emergency, legalise political activity by anti-apartheid organisations, release Nelson Mandela, stop detentions without trial, abolish the death penalty and lift restrictions on activists

The group felt they kept apartheid on the agenda, exposed the government's unwillingness to change and assured people overseas that resistance against apartheid was continuing

However, Thatcher's opposition to sanctions against South Africa remained unchanged

The delegation is expected to return to South Africa soon after meeting Kohl

MaSisulu personifies struggle for dignity

By SOL MORATHI

ALBERTINA Sisulu has dedicated her life to the struggle

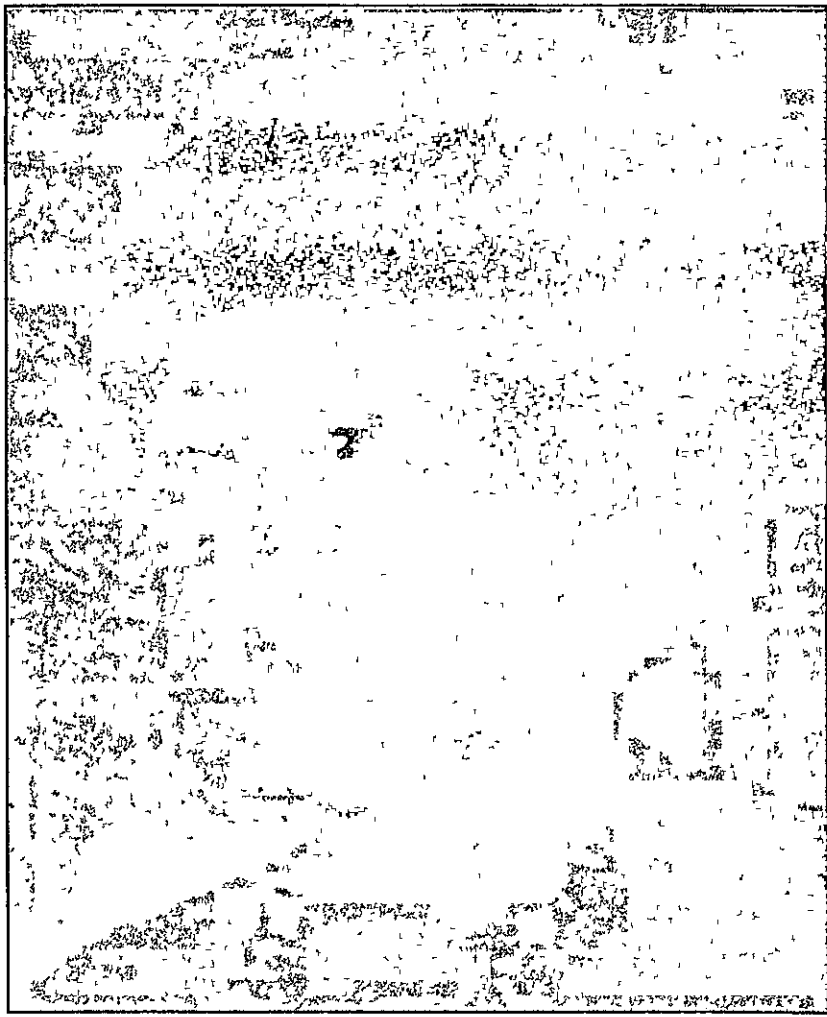
Better known as MaSisulu to her legion of admirers, she has been placed under house arrest and served several spells in solitary confinement over the last 25 years

However, she has remained a strong advocate of non-violence and of a non-racial South Africa

The latest in a string of harassments of her were restriction orders on June 12 which prohibit her from conducting Press interviews or having dealings with five organisations - including the Federation of SA Women - which she helped establish 35 years ago

Then last month out of the blue, only days after visiting her jailed husband Walter Sisulu, MaSisulu was granted an international passport and travelled to the US and Europe

Other activists who accompanied her included UDF



UDF leader Albertina Sisulu ... recently met US President George Bush at the White House.

leaders Curruke Ndlovu, Azhar Cachalia, Titus Mafolo and the Federation of Transvaal Women's Sister Bernard Neube

MaSisulu met US President George Bush at the White House, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at Downing Street and several dignitaries, including British Labour leader Neil Kinnock and Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal

Bush praised MaSisulu as personifying "the struggle for human rights and human dignity"

The Sisulu family are used to harassment. Walter, 72, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 with Nelson Mandela for ANC activities and treason. His son, Zwelakhe, has been in and out of detention

MaSisulu has been a target of harassment since 1956, when she led a demonstration of 20 000 women against the extension of pass laws to women

She was imprisoned two years later for leading a similar protest and in 1963, when her husband went underground with Mandela, she was detained and held in solitary confinement. Her 17-year-old son, Max, was detained at the same time

At one point both MaSisulu and Zwelakhe were banned and living in the same house. Among other things, two banned people are not allowed to speak to each other

"What was I supposed to do? Not ask him what he wanted for breakfast?" Albertina told her friends

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PRETORIA — Two men were gunned down in separate — and police believe possibly related — attacks in central Durban at the weekend, and faction fighting is believed to have been the motive

In the first incident at a crowded Victoria bus terminus in Market Street, Mr Nqabakayi Tsheligan Mthembu, 60, died when he was shot four times by an unknown gunman

He was struck in the left temple, the stomach and twice in the back

Crowds scattered as the gunman opened fire at pointblank range in an area where thousands of commuters were waiting for buses to take them home from work

In the second shooting, an unidentified man was shot in the right shoulder, the waist and the head near Berea Road railway station about midnight on Saturday

The shooting was reported to the police

Men gunned down in centre of Durban

Call 7413 17/7/87
11A

by the manager of the Tropicale Restaurant, Mr Silvan Moodley, according to Lieutenant Bala Naidoo

Four employees of the restaurant had been on their way to the station when the gunman approached them Three men es-

caped, but the fourth fell in a hail of bullets

Meanwhile, two men who are alleged to have killed one man and injured two others have been arrested in Mpumalanga, Natal, according to the weekend police unrest report

● Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday urged blacks in Maritzburg to work tirelessly for peace

Addressing a mass prayer rally at Imbani, the Kwazulu Chief Minister said Inkatha would strive for peace 'because it is determined to uphold the time-honoured ideals of the black struggle for liberation'

Chief Buthelezi again read the letter written to him by jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and said "We will not disappoint our heroes and our martyrs who went before us" — Sapa

Nurses to submit demands to minister

OWN Correspondent
THE nursing crisis has reached unprecedented proportions and urgent corrective action is needed to prevent further deteriorations, senior members of the profession said at the weekend

A delegation from the SA Nursing Association will submit demands for an immediate 15% increase to the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, later this week

Meanwhile, association executive director Ms Susan du Preez said "The shortage is affecting nursing services throughout the country

"It is clear that at the root of the shortage is pay" Ms Du Preez also said the growth of the private hospital industry had lured nurses away from provincial and state services with higher pay and more flexible and shorter hours

Police name dead lecturer

JOHANNESBURG — A University of Fort Hare lecturer who died at the Potchefstroom offices of the SAP narcotics branch at the weekend has been named

Police said Mr Tobias Benjamin van Niekerk, 36, was being questioned in connection with allegedly luring, molesting and committing an indecent act While being questioned, he fell over backwards in the throes of an apparent heart attack, police said

Preparations for an inquest are under way — Sapa

Blackwell slashes at women's TV fashion

NEW YORK — Designer Mr Norman Blackwell says there are some serious fashion problems on television

His list of the worst-dressed women on the tube, compiled for TV Guide, includes Roseanne Barr ("takes thrift-shop chic to the terrifying limit"), Vanna White ("mall fashion at its worst"), the women of "Dallas" ("glamour by excess") and Bea Arthur of "Golden Girls"

He gives qualified praise to Melanie Mayron, saying her "Thirtysomething" character "makes her own kind of Bohemian-flavoured fashion music"

There are some nicely-dressed prime-time women, specially Candice Bergen of "Murphy Brown" He also praises Angela Lansbury, Barbara Walters, Nicollette Sheridan of "Knotts Landing", Jane Curtin and Susan Saint James of "Kate and Allie" and Jane Wyman of "Falcon Crest" — UPI

PAC man found guilty on six charges to be sentenced on Thursday

PAC man found with arms

PIETERSBURG - A former Pan Africanist Congress commander was on Friday found guilty on six counts of terrorism in the Pietersburg Magistrate's Court.

Abraham Magagula (31) was found guilty on

six counts of terrorism by magistrate Mr G J J van Deventer but was acquitted on two counts of escaping from hospital and of pointing a gun at a policeman. Sentence will be passed this Thursday.

Defence counsel, Mr B M Ngoepe, said in mitigation of sentence that the

court should bear in mind that when Magagula left South Africa in 1985 he intended studying

He further submitted that sentence for the five lesser counts should run concurrently with sentence on the main count

The court heard that the accused left the country via Lesotho. He travelled to Tanzania and then to Tripoli in Libya where he underwent military training for six months

On his return to Tanzania he was appointed

commander of the PAC's Roof camp - Magagula, the State alleged, received instructions from Zimbabwe to carry out a mission inside South Africa.

He and two others allegedly infiltrated South Africa through Zim-

The three insurgents were arrested in Nancefield, the black township adjoining Messina. They were allegedly found to be in possession of three Scorpion semi-automatic pistols, six magazines and six hand-grenades. - Sapa.

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Mandela hosts party

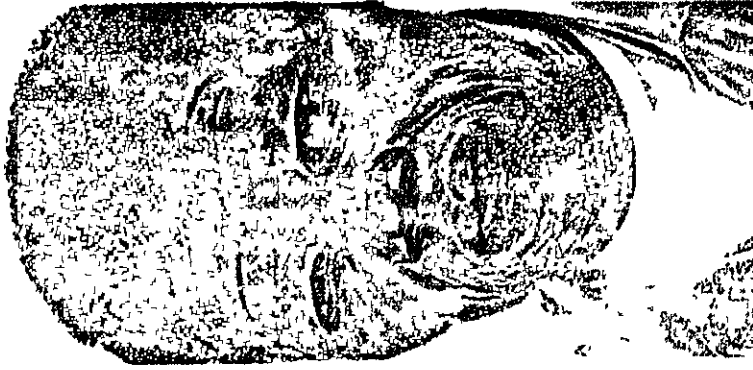
ANC finds

SOWETAN
Correspondent

THE African National Congress has given its nod of approval to Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with President P W Botha

This is the impression of a Democratic Party delegation after all-day talks with the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend.

The P W Botha - Mandela meeting was discussed at length during the talks



Party host Nelson Mandela.

THE world's most extraordinary prisoner plans to spend his 71st birthday on Tuesday with about 50 relatives, friends and community leaders, in the most un-prisonlike surroundings, discussing the future of South Africa.

Although the Prisons Service has declined to comment on the unprecedented "birthday party" on the grounds that to do so would be to "intrude on Mr Mandela's privacy," a source close to Nelson Mandela's family confirmed yesterday that the function was going ahead.

The ANC leader was planning to receive his family and a large group of prominent community leaders at his luxury "home" in the grounds of the Victor Verster Prison and to exchange views with them, the source said.

However, the occasion should not be seen as a party, the source said "Mr Mandela still has the status of a prisoner and we will continue

SOWETAN REPORTER

to treat him as such."

The source explained that "the family is not in the habit of throwing parties" and such a function would be out of context considering Mandela's imprisonment.

The occasion - to which 50 special guests had been invited to celebrate Mandela's birthday and his gaining a law degree - should rather be seen as "a get-together of family members and old friends of Madhuba" (Mandela's clan name).

"The list submitted to Prisons (Department) is not of people Mr Mandela wants to boogie with. The names are those of prominent community leaders and it is clear that he wants to exchange views with these people," the source said.

But by yesterday, none of the guests, except members of his family in Soweto and Transkei, had received a formal invitation.

The family source confirmed that relatives, who were informed of the occasion by the Prisons Service, would be attending although there was uncertainty whether his eldest daughter Zenani, who is in the United States, and her husband Prince Thumbumzi and their children would be there.

Early this year, after Mandela passed his final examination for admission to the bar as an advocate, Unisa approached the Prisons Service to make arrangements for his graduation.

The letter was passed on to Mandela who agreed to have the degree conferred in Paarl on condition he drew up his guest list

The list included fellow Rivonia trialists, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Elias Mokoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Raymond Mhlaba Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mrs June Mlangeni are also believed to have been on the list.

Cosatu's SA talks plan

CVC Tmp 17/7/89 11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's largest trade union federation, Cosatu, set down guidelines for future political negotiations in South Africa at its third biennial congress here at the weekend.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday after the congress, Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said his organisation was taking seriously the fact that political negotiations in South Africa were on the agenda, but added that the form and content of such negotiations was crucial.

He said government's present approach was "fraught with empty sounds", but added that "we recognise there are pressures on them and us to enter into negotiations".

The congress, which was attended by about 1 900 delegates, resolved that the mass democratic movement (MDM) should initiate discussions to develop a common position to avoid the imposition of a settlement unacceptable to the majority.

Genuine negotiations required the regime first to take certain unilateral actions to create the necessary climate, Mr Naidoo said.

These were set down in the resolution and included the unbanning of organisations, the release of

political prisoners and detainees, the return of exiles, the confinement of the SADF and SAP to barracks, the lifting of the state of emergency and the repeal of all security legislation, and the end of political trials and executions.

The resolution also stated any negotiations required the broad participation of "the people" in the process, and that only a sovereign, mandated and accountable body would have the authority to develop a new constitution.

Mr Naidoo, who said earlier that Cosatu was awaiting notification from the Prisons Department on whether it will be permitted to meet Mr Nelson Mandela, said the organisation had no misgivings about Mr Mandela's recent meeting with President P W Botha.

"(Mr) Mandela is part of our national leadership. We are confident he is able to express the views and aspirations of the majority, and the regime should take these seriously," Mr Naidoo said.

But, he said, "we reject government attempts to manipulate the situation in a way that may tend to cause divisions".

The congress also resolved to initiate discussions, centred on the ANC's constitutional guidelines, aimed at shaping a democratic constitutional model for South Africa.

It reaffirmed Cosatu's commitment to a strategic anti-apartheid alliance, but stressed that any such alliance must exclude representatives of big business and those who participate in apartheid structures.

The congress further resolved to reconvene an anti-apartheid conference — the previous one scheduled for last September was banned — by October and to formulate a Workers' Charter which should eventually guarantee the basic rights of workers in South Africa's future constitution.

A resolution proposed by the SA Railways and Harbours Workers' Union committed Cosatu and the entire MDM to fight privatisation and initiate a campaign to educate people about the harsh effects of the policy.

The congress expressed support for the abolition of the death penalty and formalised conditions for "acceptable disinvestment".

The congress urged Cosatu to work towards financial self-sufficiency. In this light it is to reduce its dependence on outside funding by 10% a year.

Finally, Cosatu decided to launch a major information programme on Aids, to fight against the dismissal of workers found to have the virus and to expose the conditions — including the migrant labour system and the housing shortage — which help spread Aids.

ANC ready to talk, says DP

CAPE TOWN 17/7/89

111

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC told a Democratic Party delegation that it was ready to meet all parties and confirmed that it was working on new initiatives for talks, according to a statement released here after a meeting between the DP delegation and the ANC in Lusaka at the weekend.

The delegation was led by co-leader of the DP, Mr Wynand Malan, while the ANC delegation was led by its secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo.

The DP told the ANC that talks should be initiated among all parties as a way of removing the obstacles to serious negotiations. The ANC replied that it was willing to meet all parties if approached, and was working on new initiatives.

The statement said that each party presented its analysis of the current situation in South Africa and views were exchanged on the interpretation of recent events, including the meeting between State President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The DP argued that an opportunity existed to break the deadlock in South Africa by opening up

the negotiation process "As long as the ANC and the South African government set preconditions for negotiations which cannot be met, the deadlock would continue."

The DP had therefore urged the ANC to express its willingness to meet the government without preconditions and argued that such a meeting could be used by both sides as an opportunity to talk about the removal of obstacles currently preventing serious negotiations.

The ANC had responded by arguing that their demands should not be seen as preconditions. New initiatives were needed to pave the way for a political resolution of the South African situation. However, they insisted that a climate conducive to negotiation must first be created.

"As long as the ANC is banned, it cannot organise and therefore cannot get mandates. The ANC is not prepared to enter serious negotiations without its

To page 3

From page 1

CAPE TOWN 17/7/89 (111)

leaders and without a mandate," the statement said. While recognising that the ANC saw the armed struggle and the isolation strategy as being means to bring about a non-racial democracy, the DP viewed these strategies as obstacles to serious negotiation. The ANC had also stated that it would soon be responding publicly to the SA Law Commission Report on Human Rights. While it supported many of the recommendations, it had major reservations in some areas.

At the end of the talks both parties committed themselves to further discussions when the general election was over.

The statement said that a delegation would leave Lusaka for Luanda today for talks with the Angolan government.

The DP delegation, which met President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia on Friday, consists of Mr Malan, Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Janne Momborg and Mr Janne Hofmeyr.

Apart from Mr Nzo, the ANC delegation included its treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, the head of its international affairs department, Mr Thabo Mbeki, a member of its department of information and publicity, Mr Tom Sebina, the head of its women's section, Ms Gertrude Shobe, a member of its national executive, Mr Steve Tsweu, and a member of its legal department, Mr Penneil Maduna.

Mr Malan would not confirm if the party would proceed to Maputo for talks with President Joaquim Chissano and members of his government, but DP sources said the delegation was expected there.

The delegation met the ANC and Dr Kaunda at the weekend. Mr Malan described the talks with Dr Kaunda as "excellent".

Mr Malan said the delegation promoted the concept that talks in Southern Africa should include the South African government and that Mr F W de Klerk should be received in all Southern African countries to enhance communication.

Dr Kaunda accepted this and indicated a willingness to meet Mr De Klerk. He told Mr Malan he would "size up" Mr De Klerk and if he got a positive response he would even be prepared to meet Mr De Klerk again in Pretoria.

Meanwhile, delegates speaking for the "mass democratic movement" at Cosatu's biennial congress last week echoed the ANC by stressing the need for a range of preconditions to be met before talks or "genuine negotiations" with the government could proceed.

These included the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the suspension of the use of "repressive legislation", the withdrawal of troops from the townships and an end to "political" trials — Sapa and Political Staff.

(News by A Johnson and B Sinek, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town, and K Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

17/7/89
Cape Times, Monday

11A
Political Correspondent

THE government had no plans to allow an internal wing of the ANC to operate legally in South Africa, a top government source said yesterday

The top-level denial that a compromise deal with the banned organisation was in the pipeline followed speculative reports at the weekend that

such a scheme was being "seriously considered" in official circles.

In terms of the scenario, a section of the ANC might be allowed to operate within the country following the release of Mr Nelson Mandela after the September election. The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would, however, remain banned.

Such a development was characterised as a way of bridging the gulf between the government and political exiles, and establishing common ground for talks between the government and its anti-apartheid foes.

However, a senior government source said yesterday that no such plan had even been discussed in either the State Security Council or the cabinet — the two highest decision-making bodies in the country.

It was "much too early" to start con-

Govt has 'no plans' for SA wing of ANC

sidering such eventualities, he said.

He said that possibility of senior members of the ANC returning to SA to run a legal, internal wing of the organisation, while Mr Mandela acted as a go-between among local opposition groups, the government and the ANC in exile, was "not on the programme".

NP leaders, while welcoming the apparently cordial meeting between President Botha and Mr Mandela, have cautioned against rising expectations about a thaw in relations between the government and the ANC itself.

The NP's chief information officer, Mr Con Botha, said last week that the ANC remained "an enemy of South Africa", despite the surprise meeting between the two leaders.

(Report by Anthony Johnson 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Mandela's big birthday bash

Cape Times
17/7/89
11A

By PETER DENNEHY

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, who turns 71 tomorrow, has been receiving a stream of prominent visitors at his Victor Verster Prison house — and more are on the way.

The largest family delegation to visit the imprisoned Mr Mandela will arrive in Cape Town today to celebrate his birthday — Mr Mandela's 25th in prison.

Many family members are coming from Transkei.

Mr Dullah Omar, a friend of the family, said there may be up to 15 members of Mr Mandela's immediate family arriving.

Mrs Winnie Mandela and daughter Ms Zindzi Mandela will be there, along with grandson Mandla from Swaziland.

Party food

Mr Mandela's son from his first marriage Mr Makgatho Mandela (Mandla's father) is also expected with his wife and other son.

His sister Ms Maki Mandela and her three children will be present too. Mr Omar said he was not sure what food would be served.

Generally the Prisons Service does not allow food to be brought into prison and it is not known what catering arrangements have been made for the

Naas axed as captain, so Tiaan loses out

By LOUIS VAN WYK

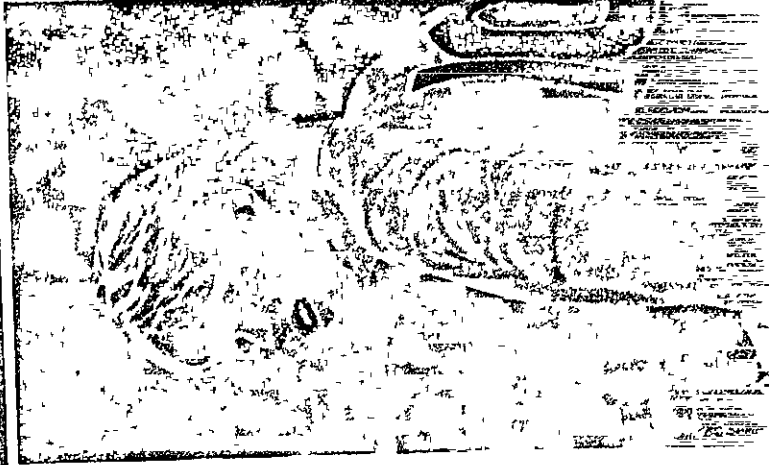
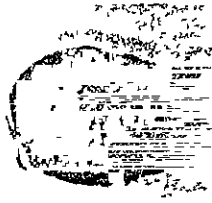
NAAS BOTHA has not been completely forgiven for quitting South African rugby at the end of last season — and then changing his mind.

The controversial Northern Transvaal flyhalf who led the Springboks to a 3-1 series victory over the New Zealand Cavaliers in 1986 has been denied the captaincy of the shadow Springbok team for the first match of this week's short internal tour.

Transvaal No 8 Jannie Breedt Botha's understudy against the Cavaliers will skipper the SA XV against his province's invitation team at Ellis Park in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

There can be little doubt that the selectors were divided on the captaincy issue when they met on Saturday to name the shadow Bok team and the majority view prevailed.

Botha did a good job as Springbok captain in 1986 and in the following two years he led North-



Oil-threat tanker 'to leave soon'

Staff Reporter

THE Brazil-bound oil tanker Arabian Sea, which has been laid up for repairs in False Bay for over two weeks, could be on its way by tomorrow morning, salvors say.

Fears were raised last week that the bad weather that was predicted for the weekend could cause tons of light crude to spill from the 360 000-ton tanker's damaged hull.

The laden tanker was given permission to enter False Bay more than two weeks ago after it had undergone running repairs for cracks to the hull off Durban.

Salvors have been tight-lipped about the extent of the damage and the ship's departure date. They have also denied that the tanker has polluted False Bay, saying that booms had been placed around the ship to contain any spillage. Several people have reported sightings of an oil slick from the ship.

Party food

Mr Mandela's son from his first marriage, Mr Makgatho Mandela (Mandela's father), is also expected with his wife and other son.

His sister Ms Maki Mandela and her three children will be present too. Mr Omar said he was not sure what food would be served.

Generally the Prisons Service does not allow food to be brought into prison and it is not known what catering arrangements have been made for the birthday party.

Mr Omar said he believed Mr Mandela's Rivonia trial comrades had already been to see him, apparently on Friday.

Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Wilton Nkwayi had all been his guests.

Mr Mandela was also visited by four Tembu paramount chiefs from Transkei last week.

Mr Johnson Mpu-kumpa, a veteran local trade unionist, yesterday said Chief Anderson Joyce, 53, Chief Bangiliswe Joyce, 71, Mr Pongomile Sadana, 68, and Mr Alfred Xobololo, 68, had visited Mr Mandela on Tuesday and Wednesday.

All had a history of opposition to the Matanzima brothers.

Chief Anderson Joyce had been deported twice since 1978 and his homes had been razed by bulldozers. Chief Bangiliswe Joyce had been banished to Louis Trichardt by the South African government in 1958.

Mr Sadana, once a national executive member of the opposition Democratic Party which opposed independence in Transkei, served an eight-year sentence on Robben Island for leaving South Africa without a passport. He had left to undergo military training.

Mr Xobololo was detained by the Matanzima government on numerous occasions, and spent some time under house arrest.

The men were "warmly received" by Mr Mandela, who saw them for three hours and had lunch with them, according to Mr Mpukumpa, who took the four to the prison.

Mr Omar said that as far as he knew no finality had been reached about the date or the guest list for Mr Mandela's graduation party.

Other sources have said that a large number of people would be attending.

● A Prisons Department spokesman said they could not comment on the visits.

weeks, could be salvors say.

Fears were raised that was predilect of light crude to damaged hull.

The laden tank False Bay more undergone runni Durban

Salvors have by the damage and

They have also False Bay, saying the ship to contain reported sighting

Yesterday the Department of Education, said some 60 past two weeks' persed by the which had been

Salvors said yet completed and of ships departure.

A weather off few gusts, but m

Bulldozer blade kills passenger

Staff Reporter

A FREAK accident at the weekend caused the death of a Kleinmond man when the blade of a bulldozer being transported on top of a truck ripped into a passing bus.

The accident occurred on the Bredasdorp-Struisbaai road at 7:30pm on Saturday.

Mr Llewellyn Botes, 23, of Protea Township, was seated behind the driver in the bus when the blade ripped open the side of the bus.

Two other passengers, seated behind Mr Botes, were seriously hurt.

Police are investigating a charge of culpable homicide.

Filly forces carryover

THE biggest feature race payout in years, the filly Fairy Spark paying R90 for a win and R14 for a place in the Boland Breeders Stakes at Milnerton on Saturday, set up both Pick 6 and jackpot carryovers.

The Pick 6 at Durbanville on Wednesday will be boosted by a R187 818 carryover and the jackpot by a R147 360 carryover. These are likely to swell the pools to three or four times their customary size.

Fancied horses obliged in the first five races. Then came Bel Bimbo paying R14 for a win in the sixth race, Fairy Spark paying R90 in the seventh and Harry Wynns R20 in the eighth — all for outlays of R1.

● Full report — Page 16

Workers plan week-long action against labour laws

17/7/89
114

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Employers and the State face a week of worker action at the beginning of September in protest against labour laws and the general election, the Congress of South African Trade Unions has warned.

After a three-day congress of the country's biggest labour federation, general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said Cosatu had decided to recommend to next month's workers' summit that workers take "sustained" action if their demands regarding the Labour Relations Amendment Act were not met by September 1.

This action would coincide with the "racist elections on September 6" which Cosatu believed would not contribute to peace. Mr Naidoo would not specify the kind of action envisaged.

In related resolutions Cosatu decided to initiate discussions on a future democratic constitution for South Africa, revolving around the African National Congress's constitutional guidelines. This would be coupled with the "urgent" drafting of a "workers' charter" reflecting workers' specific interests.

Coalition

Cosatu committed itself to taking part in building an anti-apartheid coalition of organisations supporting a political democracy and freedom of the Press and of association in a unitary South Africa.

Regarding a negotiated political settlement, Cosatu rejected "reformist solutions" as those failed to address "our fundamental social and economic needs".

It said it was imperative for government to create a suitable climate for negotiations, by, among other things, lifting restrictions on banned organisations, freeing all detainees and political prisoners unconditionally and confining the police and army to barracks.

The international community, including the Organisation of African Unity and the frontline states, would be urged to increase pressure to force the government to create conditions for negotiations.

Against violence

Other resolutions adopted by the more than 1 800 delegates included.

- Steps be taken to heal the split in the Cosatu-affiliated Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union by November

- The death penalty be abolished and that armed anti-apartheid cadres be accorded prisoner-of-war status

- A campaign be launched against violence against and among workers

- A timetable be agreed to between Cosatu, the National Council of Trade Unions and independent unions for the establishment of a single national federation and one union for each industry

(News by M Siluma, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Cape Town

The African National Congress has given its nod of approval to Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with President Botha.

This is the impression of members of a Democratic Party delegation led by co-leader Mr Wynand Malan after all-day talks with the ANC in Lusaka on Saturday.

The P W Botha-Mandela meeting was discussed at length during the talks with an ANC delegation led by secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and including Mr Thabo Mbeki

The DP's Mr Jannie Momberg said, in a telephone interview from Lusaka, his impression was that the ANC was intensely interested in the meeting

ANC delegates seemed to regard the Tuynhuys talks as an encouraging sign the Government was moving towards a position where talks about negotiations could begin.

No deviation

Mr Momberg said his impression was also that the ANC approved of the statement issued by Mr Mandela after his meeting with President Botha. The statement was regarded as not deviating from ANC principles.

Mr Momberg said his impression was that the ANC was showing signs of flexibility on certain issues

During the talks Mr Wynand Malan emphasised the need for peaceful negotiations

He urged the ANC and the Government to meet and talk without preconditions, with a view to opening full negotiations about ending apartheid

Mr Malan said that was the only way to break the deadlock over negotiating a peaceful end to the apartheid system

Sapa reports that the ANC told the DP it was ready to meet all parties if approached, and confirmed it was working on new initiatives for talks

No preconditions

The DP therefore urged the ANC to express its willingness to meet the SA Government without preconditions, and argued that such a meeting could be used by both sides as an opportunity to talk about the removal of obstacles currently preventing serious negotiations

The ANC had responded by arguing that their demands should not be seen as preconditions. New initiatives were needed to pave the way for a political resolution. However they insisted that a climate conducive to negotiation must first be created

While recognising that the ANC saw the armed struggle and the isolation strategy as being means to bring about a non-racial democracy, the DP viewed these strategies as obstacles to serious negotiation. The ANC had also said it would soon be responding publicly to the SA Law Commission's Report on Human Rights. At the end of the talks, all parties committed themselves to further discussions which, in September election was caused

Political Staff

ANC 'readiness for talks'

Tuynhuys meeting approved: DP perceives new flexibility

Stam 1/11/79

11A

17/7/84
1M

NP councillor back from ANC meeting

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A delegation of young South Africans with "diverse political opinions" and a National Party official returned from Lusaka after meeting officials of the African National Congress at the weekend.

The meeting took place under the auspices of Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa)

An Idasa official, Mr Wayne Mitchell, who led the delegation of 27 members which included Randburg NP city councillor Mr Stephan van Metzinger, said the delegation was made up of young South Africans with "leadership potential"

Mr van Metzinger is believed to be the first NP office-holder to attend a consultation with the ANC. He was not available for comment last night.

DIVERSE OPINIONS

The delegation left South Africa two weeks ago and met political, trade union and business officials in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia apart from the meeting with the ANC. The ANC delegation was led by secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo.

A statement released yesterday by the group said "We are a group of concerned South Africans with diverse political opinions. Discussions, covering a wide spectrum, were held with groups of people, including businessmen, politicians, diplomats and a delegation of the ANC."

"All the discussions were

characterised by an open exchange of ideas which made it possible for us to hear a variety of opinions as regards the conflict in Southern Africa. We declare unanimously that the visit has resulted in our seeing a better future for post-apartheid South Africa."

● The Argus Foreign Service reports that the ANC and representatives of other anti-apartheid groups met in London at the weekend to mount an international campaign opposing efforts by South Africa to reschedule about R30-billion owed to foreign commercial banks.

The London meeting, the first of its kind, is expected to draw up proposals ranging from threatening consumer boycotts of banks which agree to reschedule to lobbying the United States Congress and putting the issue on the agenda at the Commonwealth conference next October.

Mandela keeps himself fit

17/7/89
Soweto
● From Page 6

No one is certain of how a free Mandela would react, which is presumably one reason why Botha invited him to tea. Cachalia stressed that Mandela is kept well informed

"He has a short-wave radio and the South African newspapers I didn't see any from overseas, but he can have them if he wants them"

But Victor Verster is no open prison I asked Cachalia if Mandela was able to communicate advice and opinion to key people outside

"That is too difficult to answer," said Cachalia cautiously

Although Mandela has not said or done anything in the past 26 years to suggest he would deviate from his principles, he

has made gestures that show he sees himself as a bridge-building national leader rather than the spokesman for one party

Earlier this year he wrote to Buthelezi about the intercommunal battles in Natal and urged unity as if trying to play a mediating role. While the United Democratic Front and Cosatu, the trade union congress, denounced Thatcher and banned contact with British officials, he wrote a note to the British Ambassador in Pretoria conveying his best wishes to her

The tea party has added confusion

The Government announced that he and Botha agreed to support peaceful development. Mandela's supporters denounced it as a propa-

ganda ploy

Mandela said the Government version was accurate and he wanted to contribute to a climate of peace. The only way to do that, he said, was through dialogue with the MDM and in particular the ANC.

Calchaha thinks that if he were released he would go to Soweto. He would not leave. He would not go to Lusaka. He would demand that the exiles be allowed back

"It is not clear whether he would live in his wife's palatial house in Soweto or how he would cope with her entanglement in the case of the boy allegedly killed by members of her "football team" bodyguard


Perhaps his return would remove her from

the political front line

Recent impressions are that he would side with the pragmatists rather than the hardliners within the ANC, but his prime concern would be to maintain the unity of the movement and unite all the opponents of apartheid.

Although he has refused to repudiate armed force he probably would not call for its escalation. He is more likely to try to be the man who can talk to anybody, offer the whites a future and deliver black liberation.

That may prove an impossible equation, but at the moment of his release, Mandela would hold the future of Southern Africa in his hands. — *The Independent, London.*

Magagula
Star 17 7 89
a member
of PAC 

PIETERSBURG
Abram Magagula (31) of
Everton, Vereeniging,
was found guilty in the
Pietersburg Regional
Court on Friday of being
a member of the Pan
African Congress, of ille-
gally possessing fire-
arms, ammunition and
hand grenades and of
entering the country ille-
gally.

Magagula was acquit-
ted on charges of at-
tempting to escape police
custody from the Pieters-
burg Hospital and of
pointing a firearm.

Defence counsel Mr
B N Ngoepe said in miti-
gation Magagula's case
was not as serious as pre-
vious similar cases be-
cause he had not been in-
volved in a shoot-out with
police when arrested.

Judgment will be given
on Thursday. — Northern
Transvaal Bureau.

DP delegation to ^(11A) have talks with ANC

Start 14/1/78
A Democratic Party delegation, led by the party's co-leader, Mr Wynand Malan, leaves Johannesburg for Zambia today for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda and the ANC. ~~11A~~

A statement from the DP said Mr Malan would meet President Kaunda today and the ANC tomorrow to urge the organisation to come to the negotiating table and to exchange views.

"The message the delegation will be taking with it is that the opportunity for negotiation by all relevant parties inside South Africa is rapidly improving and that African states have a major role to play in getting the process off the ground," the statement said

Mr Tian van der Merwe, acting chairman of the DP's National Board, Mr Jan Momberg, DP National Board member and DP leader in the Western Cape Dr Jannie Hofmeyr will accompany Mr Malan — Sapa

(News by Kim Cloete, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

HERE IS a conundrum if the National Party cannot repeal the Group Areas Act for fear of losing its power base, how can it negotiate with the ANC for a transition to democracy without losing that base?

Put differently, how can the National Party under Mr. F. W. de Klerk possibly meet the soaring expectations raised, here and abroad, by the historic meeting in Tuynhuys of President Botha and Nelson Mandela?

The obvious answer is by leadership of a very high degree, the more likely answer, concealed in the labyrinthine deviousness of Nationalist political style is that the party's words and actions don't mean what they seem to mean.

There is a need to be clear on the party's intentions, for two reasons. Firstly, the elevation of Mandela to the status of negotiating partner, and the election rhetoric of people like Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, or Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok ("apartheid is an abattoir") have raised expectations so high that, if nothing much ensues, we risk another disillusion, here and abroad, as severe as Rubicon.

Secondly, the opinion poll conducted for Rapport by Mark van Meerling — a poll which has a track record of reasonable reliability — shows a marked weakening of the party's traditional base, from 48.7% of the electorate in April to 41.1% in June. This means that raised expectations coincide with a narrowing of room to manoeuvre.

The defections are especially worrying, not only because they are running high but because, once again, English and Afrikaans voters are acting in fundamentally different ways — Afrikaans mainly go right to the CP, English go left to the DP. The hopes that Afrikaans could be attracted into a genuinely reformist party are not being met.

In spite of all the efforts made by the DP to accommodate Wynand Malan's NDM and Wimpey de Klerk's

Mandela's coming! Is the National Party prepared?

KEN OWEN

"Fourth Force," despite the appointment of a majority of Afrikaners to the party's governing board, and despite the nomination of high-profile Afrikaans advisers like Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, the DP can muster no more than 7.8% of the Afrikaans voters.

The implication is inescapable that, so far at least, the National Party is falling between two stools: it is doing too little in the way of fundamental reform to hold its English voters (and a small number of mainly young intellectual Afrikaners), but too much to hold its own right wing. Its own base is shrinking from both ends.

Some points are clear: the NP has sensibly abandoned the illusion that it can win back the racists who have already defected to the Conservatives (barring, perhaps, a minority driven to defection by a decline in their economic fortunes or by the endemic corruption of government). The NP is competing robustly with the DP for what might be called the "moderate reformist" vote. That vote, it turns out, is overwhelmingly English.

At the same time, there are encouraging signs of enlightened leadership emerging in the campaign at

one time, it was only P. W. Botha who dared speak of the inevitability of change (remember his 1975 announcement, somewhat prematurely, of the death of apartheid?). Or his talk, on the day before Slabbert's self-immolation, of a black president? and the risked repudiation by his own party whenever he did so.

Now the party itself speaks of universal "participation" in government, and Coetsee, following the Law Commission talks of defending "group values" by entrenching the rights of the individual. Setting out his vision of a democratic SA he told the recent National Party congress: "The system must not violate the principle of universal franchise, or it will be self-destructive." That brings him close to one man one vote.

Hardly, the National Party has plainly abandoned the "African Option" — the belief especially prevalent in the security establishment and among less educated whites that the country might dig itself into a bunker of angry defiance of the rest of the world. Previously strained relations with

African states have — thanks again to the ever-resourceful P. W. — been turned into an instrument to break the deadlocks in both foreign policy and local politics. A complex web of relationships has been woven to bind local, regional and distant parties into a single, multi-faceted political process and the Botha-Mandela meeting has given that process almost unstoppable momentum.

Nevertheless, severe contradictions remain. Most obviously, negotiation cannot proceed very far unless Mandela is released. Nor can it proceed very far unless the ban on the ANC and other political organisations (including the SA Communist Party of which Govan Mbeki is a self-confessed member and of which half the ANC leaders are members?) is lifted.

Nor, indeed, could negotiation proceed unless the emergency were ended, opening the way for vigorous political protest against not only the Group Areas Act, but against all surviving vestiges of Verwoerdian apartheid. In short, the process creates its own imperatives.

The Law Commission, much more sensible than government, has suggested a systematic purge of the statute book to eliminate all laws

that might conflict with the provisions of a fully-fledged Western-style bill of rights. That process would do more than anything else imaginable to "create a climate for peaceful negotiation," but it might take years. It would be slow and technocratic, gradually widening the space for political activity.

Now, however, the pace has been stepped up dramatically. Unless Mandela is released soon after the election, a new Rubicon will threaten, and if Mandela is released, the pace will again pick up. A very high degree of leadership will be required to cope with the rush of events, and to bring a nervous white electorate along.

All this makes the election campaign a test of Nationalist leadership. If the party faces up to the implications of its own actions — of bringing Mandela to Tuynhuys; of open invidious discussions with the head of state — it must prepare the electorate for rapid change in the coming period.

In particular, it must begin to tell its followers that the Group Areas Act cannot survive; nor can the restricted franchise; nor can the Separate Amenities Act; nor can differential expenditure on education for whites and other races; nor can special subsidies for farmers; nor can the privileged status of the white public servants; nor can heavy court sentences for blacks and light sentences for whites; and so forth.

The danger, however, is that the National Party will revert instead to its usual style of semantic deceit, "separate development," "the extension of university education," "dispensation," "participation," "own affairs" and such verbal trickery has established a habit of dishonesty in the party.

The question in this campaign is whether the Nationalists will educate voters to look to Nelson Mandela as a leader of a democracy struggling to be born, or whether they will, once again, try to lie their way out of trouble.

Azapo loses court case

AN application by the security emergency Azanian Peoples Organisation, which challenged its banning, was dismissed in the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday.

The ban in terms of the security emergency regulations was renewed on June 10 last year. Azapo claims the regulations were invalid and of no force and effect in law.

It also claims that its banning in terms of the regulations was also invalid and of no force and effect in law.

The State President and the Minister of Law and Order, who are cited as respondents, disputed these claims and submitted that the emergency regulations and the banning of Azapo were valid. They asked that Azapo's application be dismissed.

President had acted within his powers in promulgating the regulations. He did not agree with the Azapo submissions that the regulations were contradictory and vague.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Booysen quoted a number of cases dealing with similar issues which had been decided in the Appeal Court.

He found that the State

PRETORIA — A second function at Mr Nelson Mandela's prison home at Victor Verster, to mark the conferment on him of a University of South Africa (Unisa) LLB degree, is in the pipeline

Mr Mandela celebrates his birthday at a family reunion today. Meanwhile, prison authorities have confirmed that they are considering an application for an "academic" function, to be held at a later date.

Unisa principal Prof Cas van Vuuren confirmed here that he had been asked to attend this occasion.

The law degree was conferred in absentia on Mr Mandela on May 17. Prof Van Vuuren said he did occa-

Prison academic function possible

sionally, as a human gesture, attend privately arranged functions for students who had been unable to attend the university's graduation ceremonies.

"This is not unusual. The other day in Cape Town I visited a student with cancer, for instance, and I also do so on overseas visits."

Prof Van Vuuren said the Prisons Service and Mr Mandela were arranging the function — Sapa

murdered family as... - Sapa-Ap

more emphasis on voluntary... NO SADE

Capl T-115 18/7/89 (11A)

Mandela's birthday visit

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By MALCOLM FRIED

MR Nelson Mandela's attorney does not believe today's family birthday gathering at the prison house of the ANC leader — or other recent visits — signal the imminent release of Mr Mandela.

Family members were expected to arrive in the city last night for the 71st birthday, at the Victor Verster Prison house.

The visit marks Mr Mandela's 28th year in prison

Over the past week Mr Mandela has received at least 12 guests, including six Rivonia treason trialists, four Tembu chiefs, Professor Fatima Meer and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Attorney Mr Ismail Ayob, who regularly sees Mr Mandela, said yesterday that the latest stream of guests was, as far as he knew, the most who had been received in any one period by the ANC head.

But he had received no indications that Mr Mandela was

about to be freed

"The visits are more frequent than usual, but not, I think, very significant"

Mr Ayob said that Mr Mandela had been given permission last year to have a family gathering on his birthday.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, daughter Zinzi and three grandchildren, Gadafi, Zoleka and Zondwa, were due to arrive last night from Johannesburg and stay overnight at the home of advocate Mr Dullah Omar be-

fore going to the prison this morning

From Swaziland, grandchild Mr Mandla Mandela was expected. He is the child of Mr Makgatho Mandela, a son from Mr Nelson Mandela's first marriage.

Mr Makgatho Mandela, a daughter, Maki, and her children were also planning to come to the gathering

The ANC leader's first wife, Mrs Evelyn Mandela, was not due to visit

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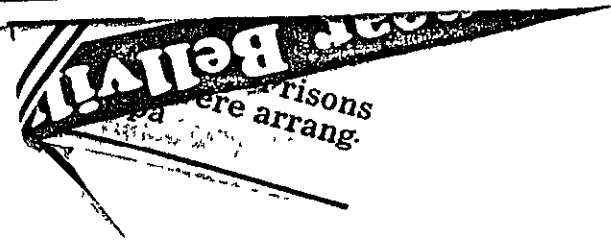
3 000 attend ANC Picnic for Leaders

TORONTO. — Mr Nelson Mandela was preparing for his dinner on Sunday night when people here began chanting his name.

And as the man who many believe will lead change in South Africa readied himself for another night in captivity, the African National Congress's People's Picnic for People's Leaders was about to begin at Queen's Park in downtown Toronto.

About 3 000 people arrived at this picturesque sight near the University of Toronto to hear speeches and live bands, eat South African food and buy literature ranging from pro-communist booklets to the history of the outlawed ANC.

The "ANC menu" comprised wots and pap, and SA hot dogs and burgers. — Sapa



Rect or to hand over degree

THE rector of the University of South Africa may personally hand over a law degree certificate to South Africa's most celebrated political prisoner, Mr Nelson Mandela. ~~SA~~

Sowetan
18/7/89

Professor Cas van Vuuren confirmed yesterday he had received a request to hand over the certificate personally to Mandela but said no final arrangements had been made **(11A)**

Van Vuuren said he would not be attending Mandela's birthday celebrations in Cape Town today but indicated that the award could take place at a future date. *Sowetan*

Mandela's law degree had already been conferred on him — in absentia. *18/7/89*

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Mandela birthday is no party

NELSON Mandela will have his family gathering around him for the first time in 28 years when he celebrates his 71st birthday in his prison house near Paarl today.

The celebration, in line with the Mandela family's practice of the past 28 years, will not be a party.

Mrs Winnie Mandela has said that her family had not celebrated her husband's birthday with a bash for the past 28 years.

"We have nothing to celebrate," she said in a recent interview. A family friend, advocate Dullah Omar, agreed with her.

Lonely life

"From my own knowledge of the arrangements it will be a family reunion hardly an occasion for celebration. It will be an occasion with a strong theme of sadness because after the reunion they will leave Mr Mandela to resume his lonely life," he said.

Due to arrive in Cape Town yesterday were Mrs Winnie Mandela, daughter Zinzi and three grandchildren, Gadafi, Zoleka and Zondwa.

Two children from his first marriage, his eldest son Makgatho and a daughter Maki, and their grandchildren are also expected in Cape Town from Transkei yesterday.

From Swaziland will come Makgatho Mandela's son, Mandla Mandela, the young man who visited his

SOWETAN Correspondents

grandfather while he was recovering from tuberculosis at Constantiaberg medi-clinic last year and who is said to bear a striking resemblance to the jailed African National Congress leader.

Mandela's first wife, Mrs Evelyn Mandela, is not expected to visit him, but other relatives from Transkei are expected to travel to Victor Verster Prison to see him.

From Johannesburg Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said he would not be at the birthday celebration.

"It is an occasion for the immediate family," he said.

Omar confirmed that the Rivonia treason trialists were briefly reunited with Mandela, the first accused in that trial, when they saw him for "a good few hours" at Victor Verster Prison last Friday.

Special suits

Mr Elias Motsoaledi, who is being held on Robben Island, was brought to the mainland where he joined Pollsmoor Prison inmates Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba and Andrew Mlangeni.

Wilton Mkwayi, another veteran ANC member who was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1965 and is being held at Pollsmoor, accompanied them on their visit to Paarl.

"Each of them wore a suit specially made for the occasion," Omar said.

"It was the first time that they had seen each other since Mr Mandela met Mr P W Botha. They obviously had a lot to talk about, but I can't give you any details."

Meeting with Mandela 'may save tour'

Case T-115
18/7/89

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — French rugby boss Mr Albert Ferrasse says the recent meeting between President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela could save the international rugby tour to South Africa next month

Mr Ferrasse, president of the French Rugby Federation (FFR), has been under pressure from his government to bar the country's rugby players from joining a team of English, Scottish and Welsh players to tour South Africa.

But he said yesterday that the "promising political developments" in South Africa, particularly the Tuynhuys meeting with Mr Mandela, might yet allow the French rugby stars to join the centenary tour.

He denied reports in Paris and Australia claiming that he had already submitted to government pressure and had told his players they could not accept invitations to go on the tour.

However, his optimism is not supported by other rugby officials nor the French sports press, who say the FFR will not be able to defy the government.

114
18/7/89
Cape Times
FFF posters
ripped down

DOZENS of posters advertising tomorrow night's Five Freedom's Forum (FFF) report-back meeting on its recent talks with the ANC in Lusaka were ripped down from lampposts in city suburbs within hours of being put up at the weekend.

FFF spokeswoman Ms Beverley Roos said about 40 posters had been cut down in the City Bowl area.

Posters were also removed in Sea Point, Mowbray and Rosebank

NP is to fight Pinelands

Political Staff

THE National Party last night named a Cape Town businessman, Mr Johan van der Burgh, as its candidate in the safe Democratic Party seat of Pinelands.

This was announced last night by the acting leader of the NP in the Cape, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

However, no decision has yet been taken on whether the NP will field candidates in three other safe DP seats in the Peninsula — Claremont, Constantia and Groote Schuur.

At this stage, it is unlikely that the NP will decide to contest these seats. A decision to put up candidates in these constituencies could still be taken when its Cape congress and the NP's head committee in the province

meet in Somerset West at the end of this week, but this seems improbable.

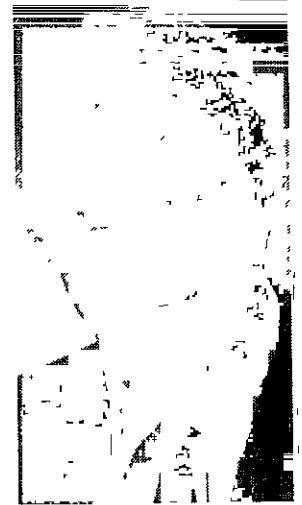
Mr Van der Burgh, a political campaigner in the days of the old United Party and former New Republic Party, is to take on the sitting DP MP for Pinelands, Mr Jasper Walsh.

In the May 1987 election, Mr Walsh had a 2 422 majority over the NP.

Mr Van der Burgh, a product of Bishops and the University of Cape Town, has interests in business and industry in the Cape and Transvaal and serves on the boards of various private and public companies.

Pinelands had never been an NP seat and since 1974 the PFP had won the seat by increasing majorities in succeeding elections.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St Cape Town)



Mr Van der Burgh

FW to allay concerns over Mandela meeting

NP has not gone 'soft on the ANC'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The National Party says the recent meeting between President Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela does not mean it has "gone soft on the ANC".

And despite the meeting, the NP is going ahead with its election campaign of running down the Democratic Party as being "soft on the ANC".

Mr Con Botha, the NP's chief information officer, confirmed this today, responding to reports of confusion in the NP ranks about the Botha/Mandela meeting.

Some NP members are dismayed that the meeting may have undercut their election strategy of attacking the DP for talking to the ANC.

Old attack

Sharp differences have emerged in the NP about the meeting. Some have seen it as step towards contact with the ANC and others believe it was aimed at driving a wedge between Mr Mandela and the ANC.

Mr Botha made it clear that the NP hopes to shrug off the apparent contradiction and pursue its old line of attack on the DP.

He said the latest issue of the NP mouthpiece, *Die Nasionals*, would make capital of remarks by former DP MP Mr Pat Poovalingam that the DP was in effect "taking orders from the ANC".

Mr Botha said that the meeting between Mr

Mandela and President Botha was a "breakthrough in the on-going saga about whether or not Mr Mandela would be released". One could not read more into the meeting, he added.

But he objected to assumptions that the meeting meant the NP was softening its approach to the ANC.

"This doesn't follow logically. The NP is still bound to the unequivocal renunciation of violence as a condition of taking part in negotiations."

Mr Botha said that this standpoint was unanimously adopted by the NP and still held good for the ANC or any other organisation.

It had been re-affirmed by the NP in its five-year action plan endorsed at its extraordinary federal congress last month.

"We are not going soft on the ANC. In fact, the ball is on the other foot. If the ANC wants to take part in negotiations, it must renounce violence and I see no indication of that."

Mr Botha said he thought that NP leader Mr F W de Klerk would deal with the Mandela issue fully when he addressed the Cape NP congress in Somerset West on Saturday.

If there was any negative reaction to the meeting from the electorate, he added, it would only be from the "unenlightened" who did not think the NP was serious about releasing Mr Mandela.

Conservative Party general secretary Mr Andries Beyers yesterday said the Mandela meeting was going to win the election for the CP.

"We are going to do to the NP what they did to the PFP in the 1987 elections," he said.

Azapo case is dismissed in Durban

Own Correspondent IIA

DURBAN — An application by the Azaman People's Organisation (Azapo), which challenged its banning, was dismissed in the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday.

Azapo was banned in terms of the Security Emergency Regulations proclaimed on June 10 last year.

Azapo claimed the regulations were invalid and of no force and effect in law.

It also claimed its banning in terms of the regulations was invalid and of no force and effect in law.

The State President and the Minister of Law and Order, cited as respondents, disputed the claims and submitted that the emergency regulations and the banning of Azapo were valid.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Booysen found the State President had acted within his powers in promulgating the regulations.

He found that the Minister of Law and Order had acted within his powers in banning Azapo. The judge ordered Azapo to pay the legal costs of the action.

July 18 1989

British MP: I won't see Nat Ministers

By Joe Openshaw

Because his request to visit Nelson Mandela had been refused by the authorities, there was little point in seeing Government Ministers, said British Labour Party shadow Foreign Secretary Gerald Kaufman, who arrived in Johannesburg yesterday on a 10-day visit

He told pressmen that although South African authorities had last week denied his request to see the ANC leader after many weeks of waiting for a reply, he had again asked to see him

"If Mr P W Botha can see Mandela, why can't I?" he asked

Mr Kaufman, who re-emphasised his and his party's opposition to apartheid and support for comprehensive mandatory sanctions, said the Labour Party

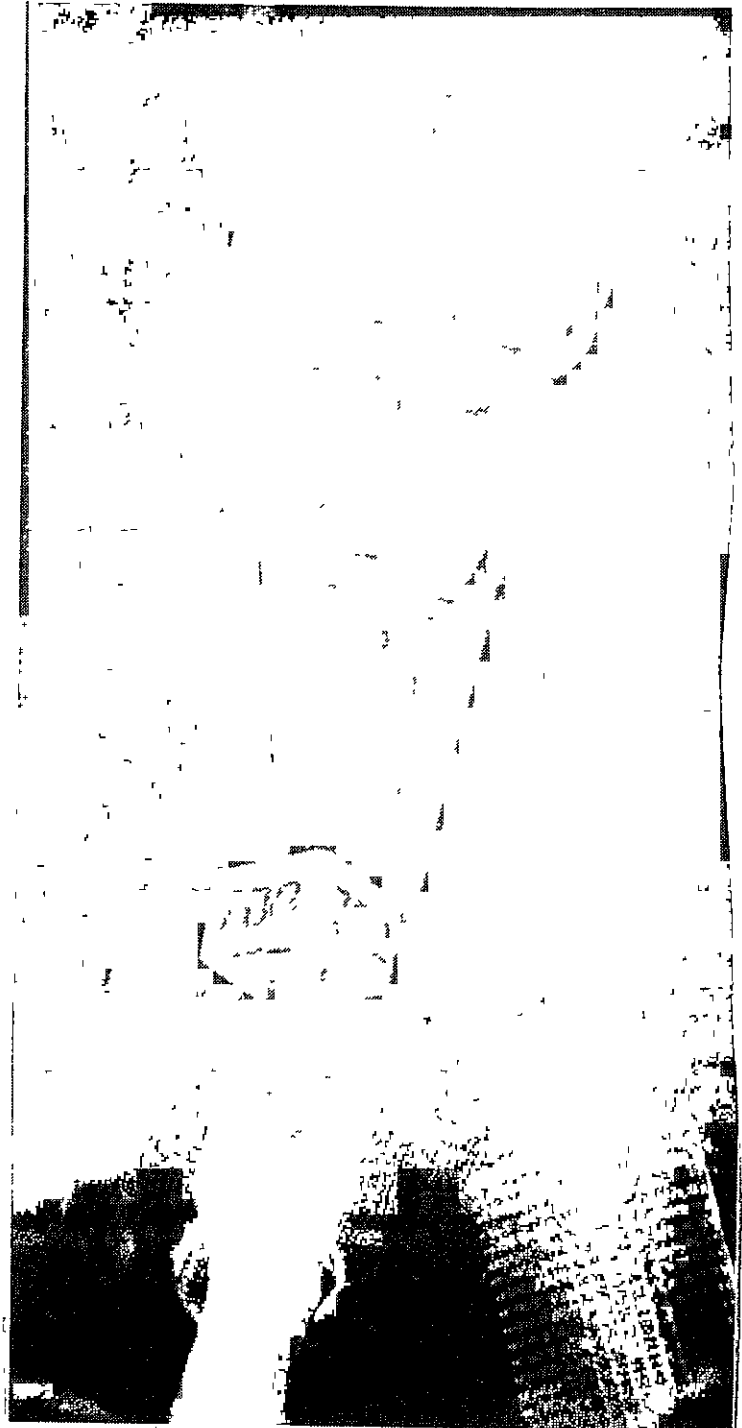
did not see significant reform in Mr F W de Klerk's statements

"We regard the only significant reform in South Africa would be a commitment to the complete abandonment of apartheid and the release of all political prisoners, among whom Mr Mandela is a leading figure"

Mr Kaufman is in this country at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches and will also visit Namibia for two days

His schedule includes visits to Johannesburg, Soweto, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Crossroads where he will meet community leaders from the UDF, Cosatu and Azaman People's Organisation as well as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Govan Mbeki

Former Black Sash president Mrs Sheena Duncan was among those who met Mr Kaufman at the airport



British Labour Party shadow Foreign Secretary Mr Gerald Kaufman is interviewed by the media on his arrival at Jan Smuts.

Buthelezi: Meeting with Tambo still being discussed

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has confirmed that a meeting between himself and Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress in exile, is being discussed

He has also welcomed the talks held last week between President P W Botha and the restricted ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela

Dr Buthelezi conveyed the news of the historic Botha/Mandela meeting to 5 000 delegates attending the annual conference of Inkatha at Ulundi. The report was greeted by enthusiastic applause

He said he viewed the message that the two leaders had met as the "greatest Christmas present God has given us at the time of this meeting"

The Inkatha president said earlier in the weekend that reports that he was to meet Mr Tambo at the end of this month were "premature"

He said such reports could hamper negotiations and that his schedule for August was already fully booked

In his address to the conference Dr Buthelezi said he had not received an invitation to meet Mr Tambo but admitted that "talks about talks" were going on

Informed sources believe the meeting will be held in London

He said the only thing that stood between him and the politics of negotiation with the new National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, was the "continuing incarceration of Mr Nelson Mandela and any continuing commitment to retain the present constitution"

Zeph on struggle

Five Jan 10/1984
THE liberation of South Africa was part and parcel of the struggle to liberate Africa from colonialism, Zeph Mothopeng told a mass rally in London last week

11A
Speaking on the situation inside South Africa the PAC leader said "The situation is such as to render conflict between the dispossessed, oppressed and exploited masses and the settler colonialists, inevitable

"The masses are poised to make a significant contribution to obtain freedom and self-determination"

To the thunderous applause of his audience Mothopeng mocked the reform initiatives of De Klerk

He said that the untutored read their own illusions into the mouthing of seemingly progressive terminology by the oppressor, like Vorster's "Give me six months" P W Botha's "Adapt or

die" and F W de Klerk's "Give me five years"

Mothopeng said that the question of genuine change from the Government remained a mirage

Sanctions

On sanctions Mothopeng dismissed the notion that Africans would suffer most through disinvestment as "nonsense" by pointing out that most multinationals employ primarily skill-intensive white labour.

Mothopeng gave a stern warning to Japan not to invest in South Africa or face the consequences

MANDELA MEETING



PRESIDENT BOTHA

TODAY



The Reverend Frank Chikane, right, addressing yesterday's Press conference at Mandela's home. With him are (from left) Mr Talets! Maleho, Mr Isaac Mogase, Mr Dali Mpoju, and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

By MZIKAYISE EDOM
MRS Winnie Mandela and her family have dismissed the talks between her husband, Nelson, and President P W Botha as "political mischief" by the Government.

The jailed ANC leader met Botha last Wednesday at Tuynhuys, the president's

'Talks with P. W. Botha political mischief'

official residence in Cape Town

It was reportedly their first face-to-face en-

counter and the meeting lasted 45 minutes

The Reverend Frank Chikane, general-

secretary of the South African Council of Churches, told a Press conference held at Winnie Mandela's home yesterday that Mandela's family "knew nothing about the meeting"

He also said Winnie would soon be visiting her husband and the meeting would be among some of the things the couple would discuss

Chikane said "Last Wednesday's meeting was a ploy to confuse the masses. We do not know why the meeting was called and under what conditions"

Meanwhile, KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, welcomed the talks between Botha and Mandela

He said "This is

Sowetan 10/7/89
Row over Mandela meeting
11A
ESH

From Page 1

certainly one of the last great gestures for which Botha will always be remembered by black people in South Africa"

Sapa reports that Britain has welcomed the talks describing them as "a very positive step". Spokesmen at both the foreign office and No 10 Downing Street, said Britain had been informed about the meeting but neither would speculate on what it might lead to

Chikane told foreign and local journalists the Government was taking advantage of Mandela's status as a prisoner. He also said it was wrong for Botha to hold talks with Mandela while he was being refused permission to consult with the masses before holding such a meeting

The Sowetan apologises for not carrying the top street seller competition entry form on Friday. We will extend the competition by a week.

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency

To Page 2



Craven "A" cigarettes are made in Europe.

Call Times 10/7/89 (11M)

Inkatha calls for link-up

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inkatha movement has suggested that it should link up with the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF to make a joint approach to foreign governments and international donor agencies for financial backing to rehabilitate people who have lost all their possessions in the ongoing

Political comment in this issue by J C Viviers, G Q Kling, G E Shaw, J V Scott, A Johnson and B Streek. Headlines and sub-editing by A Henderson, D Moyle and J Levy, all of Newspaper House, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town

black-on-black violence in Natal.

A resolution to this effect was adopted at the annual conference of Inkatha, held at Ulundi over the weekend.

Another motion urged the president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to continue with his peace initiatives while the basis for joint action between Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu was negotiated.

It called on the UDF and Cosatu to do what they could to end the vio-

lence even while peace was being negotiated, and on the ANC to continue supporting the negotiations.

The conference decided to express its hope to the ANC that there were indications that the organisation was moving towards the acceptance of the need to solve South Africa's problems through the politics of negotiation, and that it was doing so with other parties with whom the ANC would eventually share a multi-party political system.

See 10/7/87

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Talks may herald united black front

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The possibility of an historic meeting between Inkatha and the African National Congress to end violence in Natal was further enhanced at the weekend when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told more than 5 000 members of the movement that Mr Oliver Tambo was now prepared to meet him and that a possible meeting was being discussed.

It is believed that the meeting would be held in London, the venue of a meeting between the two organisations in 1979.

It is also understood that the

meeting will involve the ANC national executive committee members, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and leaders of the UDF.

Addressing the Inkatha conference in Ulundi at the weekend, the Zulu leader said the ANC had broadcast a statement condemning black-on-black confrontations and calling for successful negotiations between Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF.

TALKS ABOUT TALKS

"I understand that a statement has been made in which the ANC say that Mr Oliver

Tambo is now prepared to meet me.

"Formally, however, I have received no such invitation and I can only say that there are talks about talks and a possible meeting is being discussed, that is all for now," he said.

He emphasised that if there were no end to nitrol and mud-slinging between the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance on the one hand and Inkatha on the other, it was doubtful if they were going to create peace.

It was still early to say how negotiations between the UDF, Cosatu, Inkatha and the ANC would actually pan out.

"In the event, it will probably be direct discussion between myself and, say, Mr Tambo which will be the most important part of what transpires." "Formal conferences must be held but, beyond these, the real work needs to be done by the leaders themselves. Let us now meet as leaders of the oppressed," he said.

Referring to the letter written to him in February from Victor Verster Prison by jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Chief Buthelezi said Mandela was calling for solidarity in the approach of all the black political organisations concerned.

Historic alliance formed

THE African National Congress and Inkatha are on the verge of forging a historic alliance expected to lead to a joint bid for negotiations with the Government. *11A*

This startling development follows surprising and unexpected disclosures last week. *11B*

A meeting between ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo and Inkatha's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is being arranged, possibly within a month, ostensibly

Sowetan 10/7/84
● To Page 2

Alliance forged

● From page 1 *11A*

ably to discuss peace in Natal

It will bring together the United Democratic Front, Inkatha and Congress of South African Trade Unions and the ANC

Delegations from the three internal organisations met last month in a series of meetings and agreed on a joint set of proposals to end the spiralling violence

A major proposal was a meeting of the four presidents — Tambo, Buthelezi, Elijah Barayi of Cosatu and UDF co-leader Archie Gumede

In terms of these proposals, the meeting of the four presidents will appoint a permanent consultative committee to attend to on-going difficulties as well as act as a joint peace committee. *Sowetan 10/7/84*

Task

The task of this committee will be to organise a peace conference

In the series of on-going meetings between the four organisations a broad based unity against apartheid is likely to be formulated. Inkatha would then not be part of any deal with the Government without the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC also being involved

Referring to the joint peace proposals Buthelezi said at the weekend "We could well be entering into an era in which black politics is given a completely new face"

In an unrelated development last month the ANC asked supporters to assist in drawing up a negotiation strategy in a bid to prepare for talks with the Government

WANDA AND ELLA AND PWA

Scare over equine herpes virus

Staff Reporter

AN EQUINE herpes virus which could cause mares to abort at a rate of 100% in a susceptible situation and also causes paralysis and death in pregnant mares has infiltrated Cape stud farms.

A number of mares can die of this condition and the Stud Health Committee of the Equine Practitioners Group has asked for a voluntary temporary quarantine of movement of any horses onto any studs country-wide.

The national chairman of the committee, Dr Chris Marlow said yesterday.

The virus rhinopneumonitis caused paralysis and abortions among pregnant mares on a stud in the North Cape.

Dr Marlow said a number of horses were sold in Matieling two weeks ago and part of these originated from this stud.

The breeders were unaware that the horses were suffering from this condition as it was not diagnosed on Friday.

The committee then asked transport companies not to deliver horses to studs and they were taken to the Cape Showgrounds at Goodwood.

Equine flu cost West End Cape racing at least R20 million two years ago.

Cloudy and cold

PAGE 2

Flight delay

Passengers on a flight between Harare and Durban were told President Robert Mugabe had been responsible for them taking off two hours late.

PAGE 2

UK missile

South Africa wanted the British Star streak missile at any cost, an arms dealer at the centre of the scandal said at the weekend.

PAGE 3

Opinion poll

There was a dramatic drop in support for the NP between April and June according to a new opinion poll.

PAGE 5

Apology

Swapo leader Mr Theo Ben Gurrah yesterday apologized to former Swapo detainees released from Angolan camps where they had claimed they had been tortured.

PAGE 7



MR P W BOTHA the outgoing but still powerful president

THE HISTORIC meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela, head of the African National Congress, and the State President Mr P W Botha, has stunned and surprised most South Africans.

The unexpected encounter at Tuynhuys between the outgoing but still powerful president and his jailed ANC foe of many years caught even top government figures completely off guard.

There was widespread and divergent reaction to the weekend announcement of Wednesday's meeting for Mrs Margaret Thatcher revealed that the British government had been kept in the dark about the meeting and warmly welcomed it.

Whitehall Africa experts however shared the bewilderment of the ANC's representatives in Europe who said they had no advance warning of the meeting on behalf of Mrs Winnie Mandela at a hastily convened press conference in Johannesburg. Rev Frank Chikane, with a silent Mrs Manjiva sitting next to him, said a delegation would be sent to Mr Mandela shortly to discuss the meeting.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu expressed his surprise and said a head of state had at long last heeded calls for negotiation.

KwaZulu chief minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Ulundi that this was one of the last great gestures for which Mr Botha will always be remembered by black South Africa.

Other reaction was more cynical. Mr Botha's meeting with Mr Mandela had the markings of a straight forward stunt. Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said on his return from Harare last night.

Dr Slabbert said Mr Botha appeared to have arranged the meeting to make it as difficult as possible for Mr F W de Klerk to run his own election campaign.

It's part of the sulk/milk syndrome Mr Botha really knew about this in this way he was about he would not be.

Dr Slabbert said Mr Botha by his meeting had removed the NP's most important attack against the Democratic Party — that is soft on security.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee who was present at the historic meeting said Mr Mandela had confirmed his support for peaceful development in South Africa.

Asked whether this could be interpreted as a commitment to peace which the NP's year plan sets out as the only limitation on participation in



MR NELSON MANDELA the ANC leader, taken in the 1960s

South Africans 'stunned, surprised' at secret meeting

scientists and opposition parties agreed yesterday whether this was done with the NP's approval or not. Most non-Nationalists can't say whether they were also convinced that the encounter was a P W Botha initiative rather than a co-ordinated government move. It was staged by the outgoing president to upstage new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk.

Professor David Welsh, head of Southern African studies at UCT's political science department said yesterday: "This meeting amounts to an extraordinary acknowledgement of Mr Mandela's and hence the ANC's significance as players in the SA situation. It probably will torpedo whatever thoughts the NP may have had in exploiting the ANC's bogey in election."

Symbolically the meeting acknowledges that the government should be talking to the ANC. Professor Welsh said Mr De Klerk's clenched fists in the coming election campaign political negotiations. Mr Coetsee said: "Nothing has happened which is not in line with the NP's 5 year plan. No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted," he said.

President Botha said Mr Mandela however asserted themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa.

Their conversation took place in a pleasant spirit. The possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed.

The dramatic meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and President Botha last week would have the effect of sparking the National Party's guns in the coming election campaign.

Mr P W Botha 'stunned, surprised' at secret meeting

Mr F W de Klerk must tell the country whether this was done with the NP's approval or not. A British Embassy spokesman said the talks were a good thing as far as they go. It's a positive indication, but we have been working for Mr Mandela's release and everything else is of much lesser importance.

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The men who made history

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At Your Service

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Target 6

Poovalingam ousted after attack on DP

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Mr Pat Poovalingam, MP for Reservoir Hills and the most senior member of the House of Delegates for the Democratic Party, has been expelled from the party

Mr Tian van der Merwe, acting chairman of the DP's national board, said yesterday that the decision had been taken because of "completely unfounded" allegations Mr Poovalingam had made during the past week against both the party itself, and specially against two of its leaders, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

Mr Van der Merwe said that Mr Poovalingam had made no apology or retraction by Friday afternoon, when they had decided to implement their decision. Mr Poovalingam was not available for comment yesterday.

The national board met in the city on Saturday to finalise their position

after Mr Van der Merwe and Mr J Walsh, the DP's chief executive, spent Thursday and Friday in Durban with the Natal coastal regional committee to discuss the issue.

The meetings were called after a row on July 1 when Mr Poovalingam slammed as "racist" the national executive's decision to limit the party's participation in the House of Delegates.

At the time Mr Poovalingam said he would be joined by fellow DP MP Mr Mahmoud Rajab in forming a new non-racial Democratic Party.

Mr Poovalingam accused Dr Worrall and Mr Malan of giving in to the demands of the ANC "for reasons of political opportunism and expediency".

"The national board has decided to terminate Mr Poovalingam's membership of the DP," Mr Van der Merwe said.

(News by Patrick Leeman, 12 Devonshire Place Durban 4001)



Khabi Mngoma . . . speaking at Funda Centre.

ARTISTS should play a role in the liberation of blacks in this country, former University of Zululand music lecturer, Professor Khabi Mngoma, said at the weekend

Mngoma, a director of the Ionian Choir, was addressing about 60 people at the Funda Centre in Soweto

He said: "It is clear we have to wait for a while before there is a new

'Artists must join struggle'

dispensation and a South Africa we all long for. The artist must project our lives to this new South Africa "

The theme of the seminar, organised by Council for Black Education and Research,

was "The Arts Towards Social Reconstruction"

It will run every weekend until August 19. Some of the speakers will include poet Don Mattera, musician Bheki Khoza and the Lesotho Minister of Tourism and Culture, Dr M Damane.

Mngoma said "Our arts are part of our lives. As long as there is no one man one vote in this country, we are playing marbles," he said

1978/10/10

11A

SA writers meet exiled counterparts

Star 10/7/89.

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — White and black writers from South Africa are holding a three-day get-together in Zimbabwe with their counterparts in exile and with African National Congress activists.

The exchange of views by the 60 authors, including such personalities as Andre Brink, Breyten Breytenbach and Wally Serote, is taking place at the Victoria Falls.

In Harare, 27 businessmen, academics and local government officials from South Africa are gaining first-hand knowledge of current conditions in Zimbabwe before going on later this week to Zambia to meet the ANC.

Both gatherings have been arranged by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

At the Victoria Falls yesterday, an ANC spokesman told the writers that the organisation was not fighting for negotiations but for the eradication of apartheid.

The ANC would need clear-cut signals from the South African Government that it was interested in genuine negotiations, he said.

He appealed to whites in South Africa not to remain in the pavilion but to become involved in creating a new society.

AN African National Congress document secretly circulating in the country is canvassing support for a change of position on negotiations with the Government.

The document goes so far as to suggest the formation of a constituent assembly with the power to draw up a new constitution

Emphasising a need for urgency the ANC says detailed plans for the negotiation initiative would have to be formulated before the Organisation of African Unity summit later this month

The review of the ANC's position on negotiations is based on consultations with among others the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions

The document is a reaction to a strategy by National Party leader FW de Klerk and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who, according to the organisation, are trying to exclude the ANC from any internal settlement

The move towards negotiations is in contrast with the ANC's position in 1987 when it refused to consider the question unless certain preconditions were met

However, the ANC believes there are "clear signs the Government will take "positive steps" towards negotiations and meet the 1987 preconditions if international and local pressure is stepped up

The document suggests that the demand for the suspension of violence and how the ANC will respond to calls for this in the context of a negotiated settlement, have to be considered

Although still in the embryonic stage, the document emphasises an urgent need to act swiftly "

The ANC, in explaining its change of attitude to negotiation, is expecting

- The emergency to be lifted,
- The ANC leader, Walter Sisulu, to be released before the elections,
- Nelson Mandela and other high-profile political prisoners to be released after the elections,
- Legislation to be passed allowing blacks in Parliament — and a black might even be

- brought into the Cabinet,
- De Klerk to invite all South Africans to an open-ended indaba to negotiate a new dispensation', in an attempt to exclude the ANC
- Thatcher to announce a contact group, consisting of representatives of the major Western powers and including some of the ANC's close

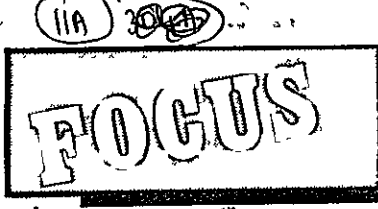


F W de Klerk open-ended Indaba.



Margaret Thatcher to announce political settlements

ANC SHIFT ON TALKS WITH GOVT



friends, to visit South Africa

SOWETAN Correspondent

Other factors influencing the need for negotiations are

- Indications from the Soviet Union that it is prepared to work for a peaceful settlement with the West,
- The Chinese view of accepting modification of the political system as a starting point,
- Indications that large amounts of aid will be given to frontline state to rebuild their economies should the South African issue be resolved

At the Commonwealth Summit in Malaysia late in October, Thatcher will announce a process

Walter Sisulu will be released before the election and Nelson Mandela after the election on September 6.

of political settlement and call for a halt to sanctions "This would put pressure on the ANC to become involved in

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Tholoe Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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this process and to stop the armed struggle "

The document says "FW is working on a proposal to have negotiations without the ANC He is planning some kind of 'representative forum' of all race groups which is likely to be set up quite soon

"With the establishment of this forum, it is anticipated that Thatcher will move to give South Africa access to the world. Her campaign against sanctions will take on a new intensity", says the document

Surrender

"We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political settlement," the document says

Another idea related to the constituent assembly is the suspension of Parliament and the formation of an interim government. This would need detailed elaboration and could be part of a negotiation proposal "

Common

The document says these issues need to be discussed inside and outside the country to reach a common approach

"Our position should become an all-African one This is crucial to our ability to influence the rest of the world The frontline states have a crucial role in this," the document says.



Historic Mandela-PW meeting lifts hopes for peaceful change

A step closer to freedom

Star 10/7/87

Nelson Mandela's dramatic meeting with President Botha in Tuynhuys has brought the jailed ANC leader a step closer to freedom, the Government said last night.

Both Mandela and Mr Botha have confirmed their support for peaceful development in South Africa, and this was a "step in the right direction", Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information, said.

However, he said that the statement was a "bit too cryptic" to qualify as a commitment to peace, which is what the Government is now requiring from political prisoners as a precondition for release.

This has replaced the previous insistence that such prisoners should renounce violence as a condition of securing release.

Complicated

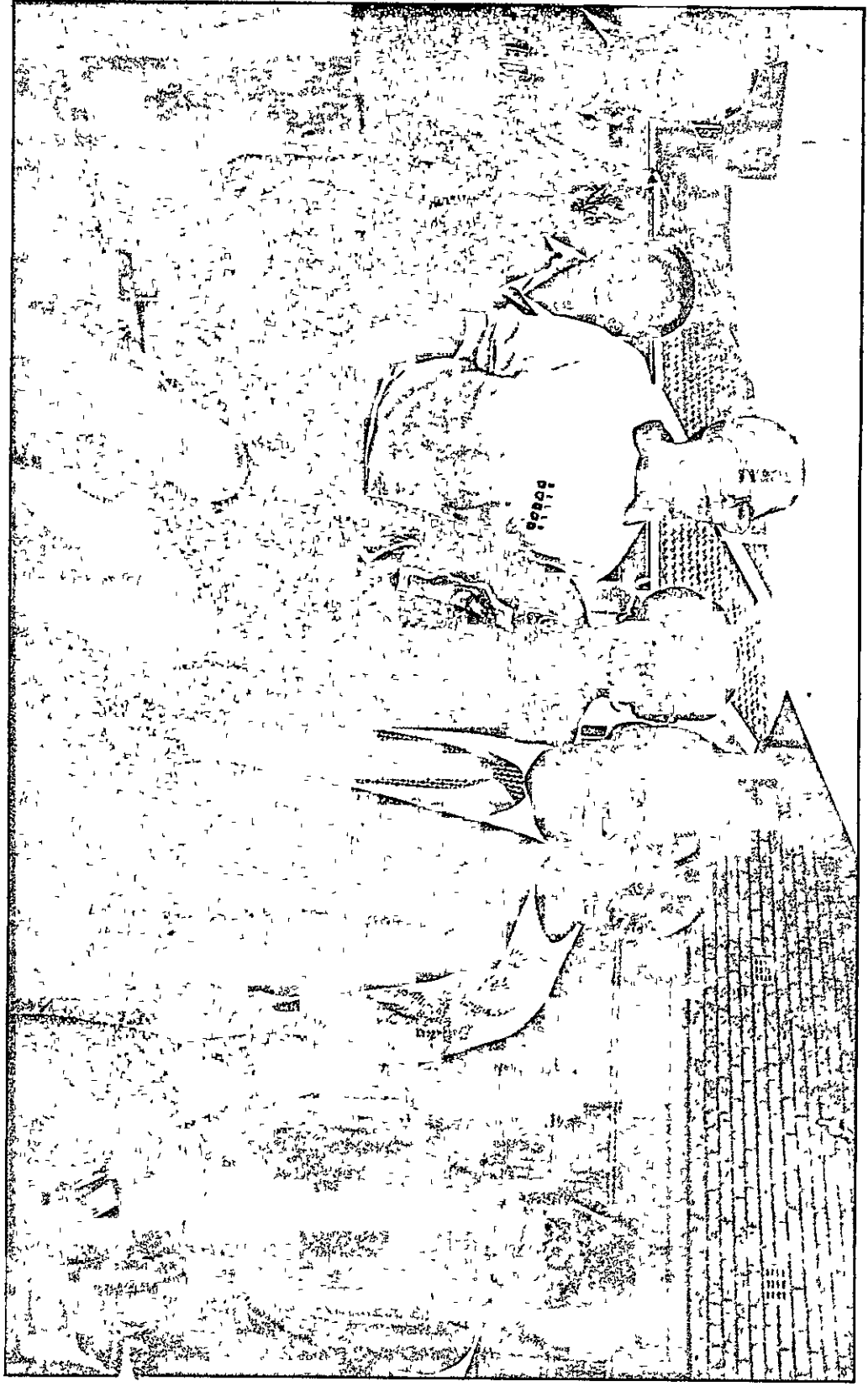
"I wouldn't go as far as saying that the way has been opened for his release. A commitment to peace is a bit more complicated than that," Dr van der Merwe said.

But it's definitely a step in the right direction, and as such it is definitely very helpful."

Britain has welcomed the meeting, describing it as "a very positive step".

Spokesmen at the Foreign Office and No 10 Downing Street said yesterday that Britain had been informed of the meeting, but neither would speculate on what it might lead to.

The meeting was major news in radio and television bulletins yesterday and was given front-page prominence in some newspapers, with commentators speculating that Mandela's release might be imminent.



Facing the media... the Rev Frank Chikane (front) addresses members of the media at a conference held at Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home yesterday afternoon. Behind him is Mrs Mandela with community leaders (from left) Mr Tssetsi Maleho, Mr Isaac Mogsse, Mr Dali Mpefu, Mrs Lilly Mphuthi and Mrs Story Muruta.

a commitment which he and the organisation he heads have to negotiate. I think that one has to say there was more, in a sense, to be gained than lost (from the meeting)." Archbishop Tutu said

distance himself from Mr Botha's meeting if it becomes a political liability," he writes.

The London *Sunday Times* notes that in some South African circles, Mr Botha's meeting with Mandel

The meeting was hailed by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha as "probably one of the most important political developments of our time."

Mr Coetsee stressed that "no policy

Nelson Mandela, a portrait from a Department of Information booklet Talking with the ANC published in June 1986.

REDISCOVER
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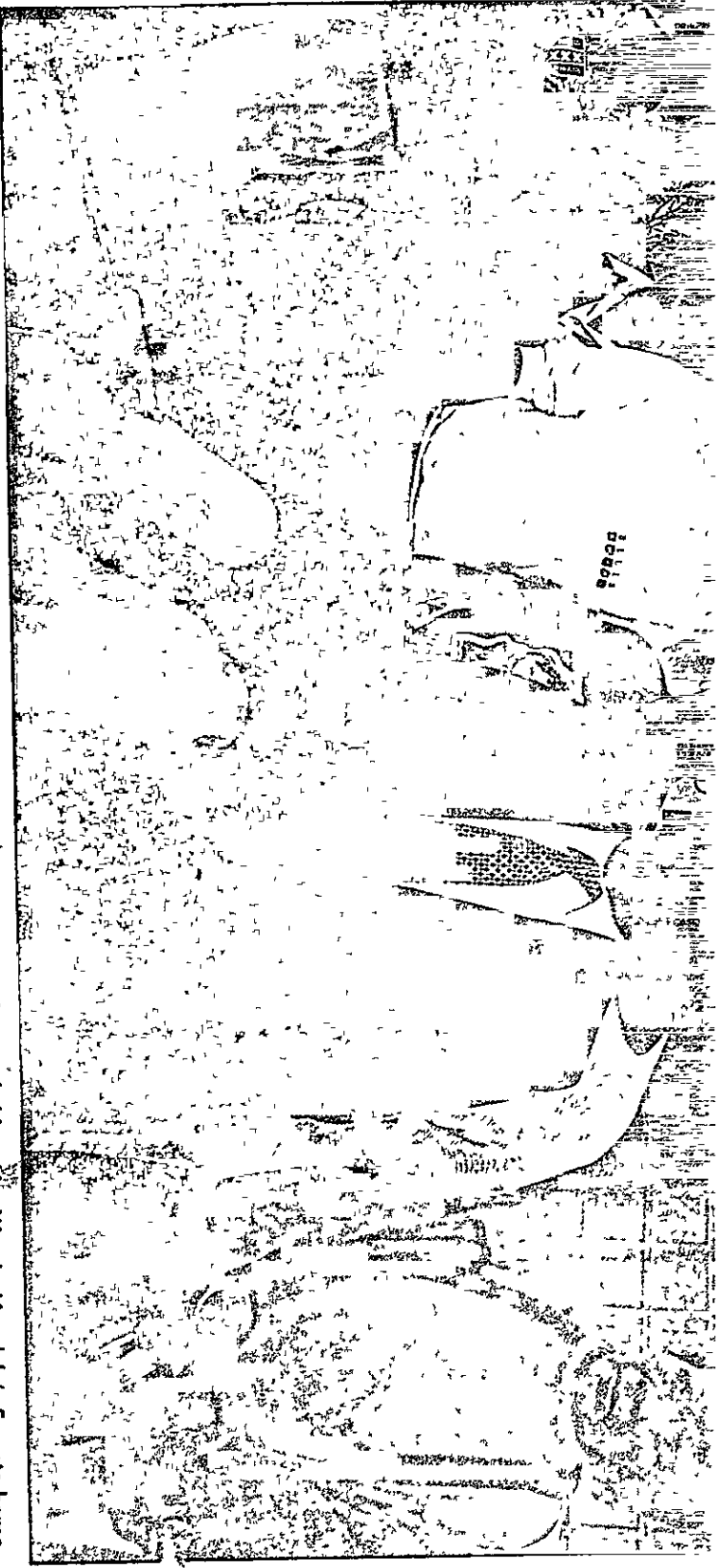
The meeting was major news in radio and television bulletins yesterday and was given front-page prominence in some newspapers, with commentators speculating that Mandela's release might be imminent.

The Rev Frank Chikane yesterday poured cold water on the meeting, but Archbishop Tutu found the development encouraging.

Mr Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said the meeting was "merely a ploy by the ruling minority to sow confusion in our minds and the minds of the outside world".

Issuing a statement at Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home "on behalf of the community leaders", Mr Chikane said "It is pure mischief to pretend that Mr Nelson Mandela can have talks of any significant effect without access to his people."

In Cape Town, Archbishop Tutu described the event as "the outgoing President meeting someone who is going to succeed him in Tynhuys". "I am surprised, although we have been calling for people to meet I think that Mr Mandela demonstrated



Facing the media... the Rev Frank Chikane (front) addresses members of the media at a conference held at Mrs Winnie Mandela's Soweto home yesterday afternoon. Behind him is Mrs Mandela with community leaders (from left) Mr Tsietzi Maleho, Mr Isaac Mogase, Mr Dalu Mpofo, Mrs Lilly Mphuthi and Mrs Story Murutqa.

a commitment which he and the organisation he heads have to negotiate. I think that one has to say there was more, in a sense, to be gained than lost (from the meeting)," Archbishop Tutu said

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that it was likely Mandela would be released soon after the election. He made the observation in Umtata, Zululand, in his farewell address to delegates to an Inkatha conference

Tread carefully

However, the Government had to tread carefully as it had to take into account the far-right wing US government officials, welcoming news reports of the talks, described the meeting as "significant".

A commentator in *The Observer*, London, while seeing the meeting as "an historic step" notes that it placed the Government at a minimum of political risk

"The relationship between Mr Botha and the new leader of the National Party, Mr Frederik de Klerk, is known to be tense and in the coming election campaign Mr de Klerk can

distance himself from Mr Botha's meeting if it becomes a political liability," he writes

The London *Sunday Times* notes that in some South African circles, Mr Botha's meeting with Mandela is seen as an attempt to "steal Mr de Klerk's thunder over Mr Mandela's release". In others, it is believed to be a carefully contrived attempt by the National Party to "demystify" Mandela in the eyes of many whites

News of the State President's meeting was given extensive coverage in the US media with the *New York Times*, among other newspapers, publishing the event on the front page and devoting considerable space to the story in its inside pages

Dr van der Merwe denied the meeting was a "rogue act" by President Botha as has been speculated. He pointed out that the meeting had been arranged through the mediation of Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, who had also attended the meeting

Mr de Klerk has said that he was fully informed of the developments

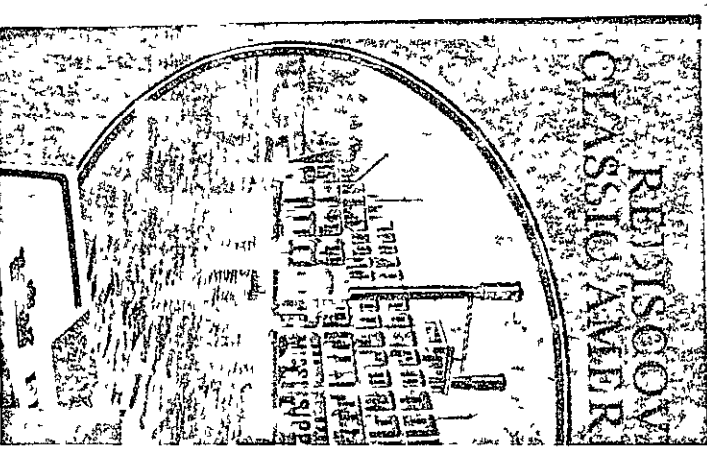
The meeting was hailed by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha as "probably one of the most important political developments of our time"

Mr Coetsee stressed that "no policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted". "President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa. Their conversation took place in a pleasant spirit."

'Pointing fingers'

Dr van der Merwe said the meeting was part of an "on-going process, some parts of which are more visible than others. There's a lot of talking and to-ing and fro-ing going on"

Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party spokesman, said the fact that the President himself had spoken to the leader of the ANC meant the Government could no longer make political capital by pointing fingers at the DP for talking to the ANC — Political Correspondent—The Star's Foreign News Service—Staff Reporter—Own Correspondent—Sapa



Now Thatcher pleads for Sisulu and Mpetha

18/04/10/7/89

THE political prisoners British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher wants released — Walter Sisulu, 77, and 79-year-old Oscar Mpetha — have spent most of their adult lives fighting apartheid.

Sisulu was given a life sentence in 1964 in the Rivonia trial along with ANC leader Nelson Mandela, whom Thatcher also wants released, while Mpetha was jailed for five years in 1985 after being convicted under the old Terrorism Act.

Mpetha is the oldest political prisoner in SA. One leg was amputated after he began his sentence and he suffers from diabetes. He has spent much of his sentence in Groote Schuur Hospital, where he passes the time knitting jerseys.

His wife Rose and son Kari died while he has been in jail, but on both occasions he was refused permission to attend their funerals. A veteran trade unionist, Mpetha was also Cape chairman of the ANC in 1958 and one of the first presidents of the UDF when it was formed in 1983. He also served a number of banning orders and spent four years in jail between 1960 and 1964 after being con-



BARRY STREEK in Cape Town

victed of furthering the aims of the ANC. Sisulu is held in Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town with four other Rivonia trialists. He was general secretary of the ANC between 1949 and 1954 until government compelled him to quit.

Within the ANC, he is credited as being one of the key figures in transforming the body into a mass movement before it was banned in 1960.

He was banned and house-arrested before he disappeared in 1963 to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, the underground military wing of the ANC. Three months later he was arrested at Rivonia.

Sisulu's wife Albertina is one of the presidents of the UDF and one of his sons, Zwelakhe — editor of New Nation — was restricted last year after being released from detention under the emergency regulations.

Peace hopes

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"The point is that Mr Mandela is a significant person and we would like to see all South Africans adopting a reasonable and constructive attitude towards peaceful negotiations. We are grateful for any step in that direction.

"We have been squaring up to a situation where we can do some talking, and this is totally in line with what we want."

Asked whether the meeting meant Mandela's release was now imminent, the source said "This is another step in that direction, but it does not mean he will be released next week."

A British Embassy spokesman said the talks were a "good thing as far they go. It's a positive indication, but we have been working for Mr Mandela's release and everything else is of much lesser importance."

ADELE BALETA reports that West German Ambassador Immo Stabreit said yesterday the meeting could only be viewed as a positive step towards Mandela's release and a negotiated settlement in SA.

SUSAN RUSSELL reports that KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the meeting as "epoch-making".

He described the talks as one of Botha's last great gestures which would always be remembered by black South Africans.

"We are quite encouraged as a result of this meeting to conclude that the release of Dr Nelson Mandela is now only a question of time," Buthelezi said.

"All of us have every reason to be hopeful that a big thaw within South Africa itself has begun."

SAPA reports DP co-leader Denis Worrall as saying in London "The fact that President Botha talks to Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC, makes it so much easier for us to justify to the (white) electorate the talks which we are having with the ANC."

TIM COHEN reports that DP justice spokesman Dave Dalling said the meeting was very encouraging and would contribute to the peace process.

CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis said yesterday the meeting was an attempt by Botha to neutralise the NP's whole campaign against the DP. "How can the NP now criticise the DP for meeting with the ANC if they are doing it themselves?" Derby-Lewis asked. "This is another example of P W Botha's revenge against the NP camp."

Buthelezi to meet Tambo

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday confirmed a meeting between himself and head of the external mission of the ANC Oliver Tambo was being discussed

Buthelezi said, however, reports that the meeting would be held either at the end of this month or early in August were "premature" and could prejudice the deliberations

He said the meeting was unlikely to be held in August as his schedule was already heavily booked

The Inkatha president, addressing the annual conference of the movement, which was attended by 5 000 delegates, said he was glad President P W Botha had met restricted ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuis early last week

Inkatha secretary-general Oscar

Own Correspondent

Dhlomo said at the conference that government was seriously considering the unconditional release of Mandela

He said this had been the outcome of talks held in May between himself, Inkatha national council chairman Frank Mdlalose and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee

He told the Inkatha delegations that Nelson Mandela had grown in stature as a statesman while under incarceration

The Minister had said the processes of the release of Mandela had started

His eventual release would depend on the conduct of his colleagues who had been released before him, Coetsee had said

The Justice Minister had added that government expected that, once he was released, Mandela would play a constructive role in negotiation politics

15/08/1977

UDF, Bush 'milestone'

W/L AKGAS 11-7-89 114

WASHINGTON. — President Bush has indicated he would consider financial sanctions against South Africa, the United Democratic Front delegation to the White House said after their meeting on Friday.

Tricameral role: DP in a cleft stick

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party is in a crisis over whether to take part in the coloured and Indian elections after the party leadership broke off all-day talks last night in stalemate.

Party unity is at stake in a dilemma that is bound to anger either side, whatever path the leadership chooses.

The latest development raises the prospect of a rift with extra-parliamentary groups, but the threat of a schism in the party is probably of greater immediate concern to the leadership.

Talks will resume next week.

A decision to back the three DP MPs from the House of Representatives — Mr Charles Redcliffe (Schauderville), Mr Cecil Kippen (Durban Suburbs) and Mr Archie Poole (Belhar) — and the 11 potential candidates in the House of Delegates election would anger those who favour closer links with extra-parliamentary groups.

They have argued that DP participation in the racially separate tricameral election would be a political snub to groups outside parliament, and reflect badly on the party's anti-segregationist principles.

However, refusal to back the MPs and candidates in the two Houses would in turn anger moderates in the party who believe the DP should seek as wide a support base in parliament as possible.

The delegation, led by UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, included UDF treasurer Mr Azar Cachalia, UDF national chairman Mr Curnick Ndlovu, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women (FTW) Sister Bernard Ncube, UDF executive committee member Mr Titus Mafolo and Ms Jessie Duarte, a member of the executive of FTW.

And the UDF has spread the word in America. If National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk comes the US next month the organisations and people in sympathy with the anti-apartheid struggle must make it as unpleasant for him as possible.

The UDF had been invited to Washington by Mr Bush as part of the process of broad consultations with South African leaders.

First time

At a press conference after their 30-minute meeting with the President, Mrs Sisulu said the UDF regarded the meeting as a milestone in its struggle against apartheid. It was the first time that an anti-apartheid organisation from South Africa had been to the White House.

However, Mrs Sisulu said, the significance of the meeting would ultimately depend on whether the Bush Administration went further than making mere statements condemning apartheid.

Mrs Sisulu said the delegation had told the President the five-year plan announced by the National Party this week was aimed at further dividing the country and entrenching apartheid and white domination.

"We appealed to the Bush Administration to apply maximum pressure on the South African Government to create conditions for free political activity in our country. We

By DAVID BRAUN
Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

stressed our support for comprehensive mandatory sanctions," Mrs Sisulu said.

The delegation, she said, had called for specific immediate financial sanctions, to include

- Immediately stopping any renegotiation or rolling over of South Africa's debt,

- Blocking all trade credits for South Africa, and

- Maintaining the ban on all new loans or investment in South Africa as set out in the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

Mrs Sisulu said Mr Bush showed an interest in these financial sanctions when she pointed out that they would send a powerful message to the white administration of South Africa while not affecting the black community.

Mr Cachalia said Mr Bush had been non-committal about imposing further sanctions on South Africa, but that he had shown an interest in the proposed financial sanctions.

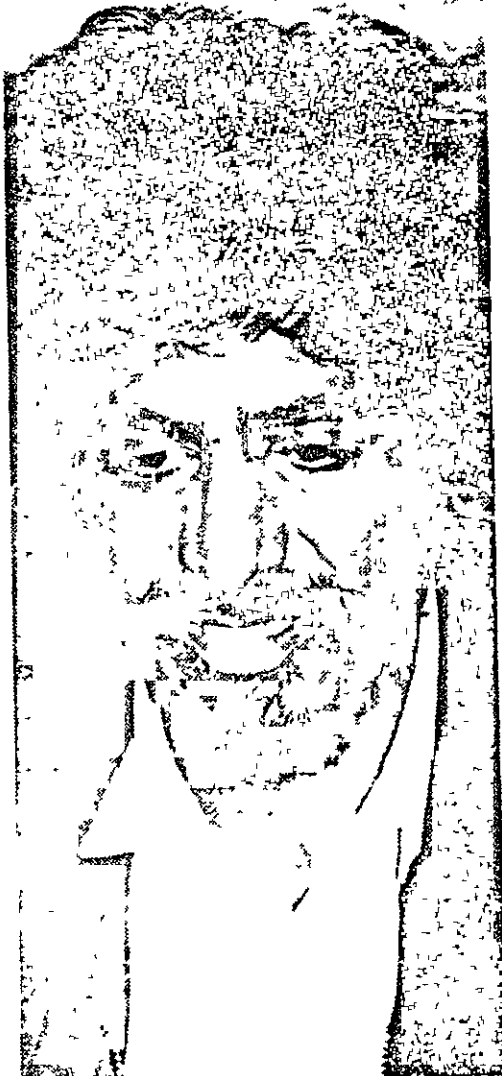
Activists

Meanwhile, US anti-apartheid activists and organisations have begun preparing for Mr de Klerk's visit.

A petition urging President Bush not to see Mr de Klerk is being circulated and church groups and other organisations are preparing for mass street demonstrations.

Mr de Klerk's visit is, however, still not officially on. As time goes by it is apparently becoming increasingly unlikely that he will meet President Bush and, if he comes at all, he will be virtually smuggled into Washington on a low-key informal visit to have talks with the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker.

First peace rally held in Maritzburg



Jay Naidoo ... call for commission of inquiry.

MORE than 6000 people attended an incident-free Cosatu/UDF peace rally held in Edendale, near Maritzburg on Sunday. *Sowetan 11/7/89*

The meeting, held at the Wadley Stadium, follows a similar meeting of the alliance held at Currie's Fountain in Durban last weekend. These were the first two peace rallies held by Cosatu and UDF. *(11/7)* *(S)*

Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu, urged those present to become fully involved in the peace initiatives in Natal, which he said had the support of the Cosatu/UDF alliance, Inkatha and the African National Congress.

Naidoo called for an independent commission of inquiry into the ongoing violence which has claimed more than 2000 lives. *(S)*

Need for peace

Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, national president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa also emphasised the need for peace in Natal and said his organisation wished to be included in the peace talks

There was a strong police presence along the road to the stadium and at the rally. Maphumulo thanked the South African Defence Force and South African Police for their unobstructive presence.

No incidents of violence were reported.

Winnie tells newsmen after visit to ANC leader

WIMMIE MANDLA TO SPEAK

11/7/89

Sowetan 11/7/89

11/4

JAILED African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, has submitted a statement to prison authorities to be released to the public, South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Reverend Frank

SOWETAN Correspondent

Chikane, told a Press conference in Johannesburg last night.

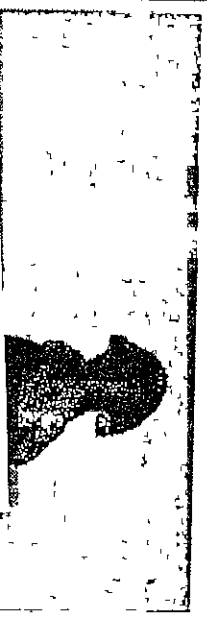
In a statement about Mrs Winnie Mandela's visit to her husband at the Victor Verster prison near Paarl yesterday, Mr Chikane said the purpose of the

visit was to consult with him on reports issued to the media by Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the speculation these had caused.

He said by the time Mrs Mandela met her husband he had already handed a copy of his statement to prison authorities and

10 Page 2

London's most heroic



But Mandela wanted to issue a statement "to deal with some speculation that has arisen," placing the 45-minute meeting in "proper context." "Mandela asked us to convey to the people that he is in good health and values their support at all times," Chikane said. "The people's leader (Mandela) went on to say that his position and that of the movement he is leader of has not changed in any way." Chikane said that because Mandela was a prisoner of the Government and was not free to propagate his ideas, community leaders did not know whether his statement would reach the public unaltered.

Monday visit

From Page 1

distribution from its most famous prisoner.

"It is policy not to comment on whether or not any requests have been made by or received from any individual or to disclose the contents thereof," the chief of prisons liaison, Brigadier Enka van Zyl, said. SA Council of Churches general secretary, The Rev. Frank Chikane, said Mandela had handed a statement to his munders before Mrs Winnie Mandela visited him early on Monday at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

It is not clear whether Winnie knows the contents of her husband's statement. Chikane said the purpose of the visit was to consult Mandela on news reports about a meeting between the ANC leader and Botha in Tynhuys last Wednesday. The encounter seemed to have taken Winnie off guard.

A statement issued on behalf of Winnie said her husband had confirmed the Tynhuys meetings, and that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's description of what had transpired was "fairly accurate."

2 Cape Times, Tuesday, July 11, 1989

Historic meeting between Thatcher and Sisulu



Mrs Thatcher

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher will have an historic meeting at Number 10 Downing Street tomorrow with a UDF delegation led by the movement's co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu

Mrs Thatcher's decision to meet Mrs Sisulu, executive chairman Mr Curnick Ndlovu, national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia, and executive committee member Mr Titus Mafolo is seen as an event of major political significance for South Africa

There is now strong speculation that tomorrow's meeting will set the scene for Mrs Thatcher to have talks in the near future with Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, who is due to meet President George Bush

Refused contact

Mrs Thatcher has previously refused to have any contact whatsoever with the ANC, the UDF, or any other wing of the "Democratic Movement"

The last British non-Labour prime minister to meet the ANC was Mr Lloyd George, who met the movement's founder president Mr Sol Plaatje in 1919 Mrs Sisulu and her party, who have just had a successful meeting with President Bush will present themselves to Mrs Thatcher as representatives of the authentic leaders of the majority of South Africans

They will have a blunt message for her, that there can be no prospect of serious negotiation for settlement in South Africa until the Pretoria government dramatically improves its reform proposals

The UDF group will tell Mrs Thatcher that if she wishes to play a mediating role, she should tell Pretoria that, as a start, all political prisoners and detainees must be released, all opposition groups unbanned, the media unshackled, the emergency lifted and ethnic and racial group legislation removed from the constitution

UDF acknowledged

British Anti-Apartheid Movement organising secretary Mr Mike Terry said "How Mrs Thatcher will react is a matter of conjecture But it is historic that she has found herself having to meet the UDF, thereby acknowledging their powerful role in South Africa, present and future

"In 1984 when Mr P W Botha came to London, Mrs Thatcher refused to meet a similar UDF delegation It is now a very different story — and she knows it We are convinced she cannot now continue to refuse to meet Oliver Tambo"

Mrs Sisulu and her party will also be meeting Dr Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury, labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock and Sir Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth

Kangaroo courts: Homes raided

CM. TMS 11/7/89 *11*

By RONNIE MORRIS

A KHAYELITSHA community centre and the homes of three headmen allegedly used as kangaroo courts were raided simultaneously on Saturday following an order granted by a Supreme Court judge last week

The headmen whose houses were raided are Mr Peter The-tani, Mr Kwale Mpongwana and Mr David Olifant

Three teams, which included the deputy sheriff of Wynberg, lawyers, court interpreters and witnesses, took part in the raids. Police accompanied the raiding parties

The order was asked for Mr Mgcini Mkaza, Mrs Margaret du Plessis, Ms Eunice Peter and Mr Michael Mtshotsho, who had al-

leged in the Supreme Court that they had been forced to attend kangaroo courts in Khayelitsha

A legal representative for the applicants yesterday said it was decided to apply for an "Anton Pillar order". The proceedings took place in camera in the chambers of Mr Justice J Foxcroft

The purpose was to get evidence for final hearings for interdicts and also for contempt of court charges the clients are bringing against Mr Mahi Hoza

Mr Hoza and the town committee was unaware a raid would be conducted

The "Anton Pillar order" is used in a situation where fears exist that evidence will be lost

Mr Hoza, town councillors and headmen had been cited as respondents in three urgent interdict applications in the Supreme

Court to stop kangaroo courts

Mr Hoza has consistently denied any link between himself, the headmen and the kangaroo courts. He has also denied such courts existed at all

Since interim interdicts had been granted against Mr Hoza, reports had still been received of people being called before the courts and it had become clear that court documents of some sort had been kept, the lawyer said

In terms of the order it cannot be made public if any documents or items were seized or not

Mr Hoza has 14 court days in which to apply for an order overturning the order granted by Mr Justice Foxcroft.

Mr Peter Hazell, instructed by Mallin icks, Ress, Richman and Closenber Inc, appeared for the applicants

Thatcher to see the UDF

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By SUE LEEMAN, The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — In an apparent turn-about, Mrs Margaret Thatcher has agreed to meet a top-level UDF delegation led by co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu

The British Prime Minister appears to have been persuaded to see the group after hearing of the welcome they received when they met President Bush in Washington recently

Her decision may also have something to do with the announcement that Mr P W Botha had a meeting last week with jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela

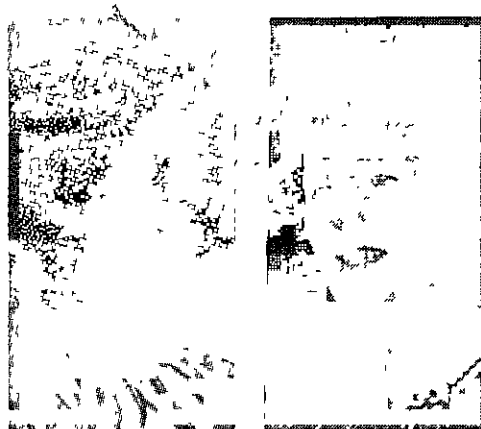
The move to meet the UDF has been hailed as a victory by anti-apartheid groups, who say it can now be only a matter of time before Mrs Thatcher agrees to see ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo

Downing Street is keeping characteristically silent before the event, but this is believed to be the first time in her 10-year term that Mrs Thatcher has agreed to see a UDF delegation

Resistance group

The group which will go to Downing Street tomorrow afternoon includes UDF executive chairman Mr Curnick Ndlovu, national treasurer Mr Azar Cachala and national executive committee member Mr Titus Mafolo. Also on their schedule are meetings with Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock and Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Sonny Ramphal

Mrs Thatcher's decision to see the group — believed to be the first time a British Prime Minister has met representatives of a South African resistance group since Lloyd George met Sol Plaatje in 1919 — is being hailed by anti-apartheid groups as a major concession by Mrs Thatcher to their demands that she listen to "the voice of South African liberation"



Mrs Sisulu

Mrs Thatcher

Mrs Thatcher and the Foreign Office have a stated policy of "hearing all sides of the story", but Mrs Thatcher has so far been hesitant to meet either the UDF or the ANC

In 1984, a UDF delegation came to see the Prime Minister about the political refugees holed up in the British consulate in Durban, but were unable even to gain access to Foreign Office ministers. The best the UDF has managed so far was Mr Archie Gumede's 1987 meeting with Minister of State in the Foreign Office, Mrs Lynda Chalker

The delegation is keen to avoid the interpretation that by approaching Mrs Thatcher they are supporting her policy on southern Africa. When the group passed through London last month on its way to the United States, Mrs Sisulu made it clear that the UDF would continue its strenuous opposition to Mrs Thatcher's anti-sanctions policy

But the UDF group believes it can make a convincing case for comprehensive mandatory sanctions when it reaches Downing Street and will be hoping to persuade Mrs Thatcher to relent and see Mr Tambo

De Beer hails PW-Mandela meeting

Political Reporter (11A)

The meeting between State President Botha and jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has drawn further favourable reaction from the Democratic Party.

Speaking in the Cape constituency of Maitland last night, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer hailed the Tuynhuys meeting and the recent trip by 115 South Africans to meet the ANC in Zambia as historic events.

"Let us all pray that these events are the beginning of a process of negotiation that will bring peace to our country — peace on a basis that will overcome our international isolation and so enable us to return to prosperity," Dr de Beer said.

The DP's Southern Transvaal chairman, Mr Peter Soal, said

the Botha-Mandela meeting was a "development of hope".

He said the meeting was the first between the Nationalists and the ANC, and expressed the hope that further meetings of this nature would be held prior to Mr Mandela's unconditional release from prison.

The president of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), Mr Tom Boya, has congratulated President Botha on his "bold move".

Hailing the meeting as a gigantic step, Mr Boya said Mr Mandela was a definite force to reckon with for any peaceful settlement in the country.

Mr Boya said he hoped the historic meeting was not a NP election ploy and Mr de Klerk would take the meeting further to meaningful negotiations.



Mrs Thatcher



Mrs Sisulu



11A

Thatcher agrees to see UDF delegation

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — In an apparent turnabout, Mrs Margaret Thatcher has agreed to meet a top-level United Democratic Front delegation led by co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

The British Premier appears to have been persuaded to see the group after hearing of the welcome they had received when they met President Bush in Washington recently.

Her decision might also have something to do with the announcement that President Botha had a meeting last week with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The move to meet the UDF has been hailed as a victory by anti-apartheid groups, which say it can now only be a matter of time before Mrs Thatcher agrees to see African National Congress president

Mr Oliver Tambo.

Downing Street is keeping characteristically silent before the event, but this is believed to be the first time in her 10-year term that Mrs Thatcher has agreed to see a UDF delegation.

The delegation, which will go to Downing Street tomorrow afternoon, includes UDF executive chairman Mr Curnick Ndlovu, national treasurer Mr Azar Cachalia and national executive committee member Mr Titus Mafolo.

Other items on their schedule include meetings with Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock and Commonwealth secretary general Sir Sonny Ramphal.

The UDF group believes it can make a convincing case for comprehensive mandatory sanctions when it reaches Downing Street, and will be hoping to persuade Mrs Thatcher to relent and see Mr Tambo.

SWAY IN COMMUNIST EAST

Talks symbolic recognition — US

By David Braun, The Star Bureau ^{staff} 11/7/89
WASHINGTON — The United States government has welcomed the historic meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela, saying it hopes the get-together brings closer the day when all political prisoners in South Africa will be free to take part in the resolution of the country's daunting problems.

A spokesman for the State Department described the meeting between the two South African leaders as symbolic recognition by the South African Government of the important role Mr Mandela and other black leaders had to play in the search for a peaceful negotiated solution to the country's problems.

The spokesman said: "We hope the South African Government will take steps to create a climate in which such negotiations can take place."

- The spokesman said these would include:
- The release of Mr Mandela and all political prisoners.
 - The unbanning of political organisations.
 - The lifting of restrictions on other political

leaders.

"We continue to urge the South African Government to release Mr Mandela.

"We are hopeful that the meeting last week brings us closer to the day when Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa are free to participate freely in the resolution of their country's daunting problems."

● The United Democratic Front delegation in Washington has told America: no significance should be attached to the meeting.

INTERNAL FEUDING

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said in a statement from his Washington hotel that the delegation had discussed the meeting and it concluded no significance could be attached to it in the absence of a clearly stated position from the National Party as to its intentions.

It appeared the meeting was very much to do with the internal feuding in the National Party, particularly the tensions between Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha, Mr Cachalia said.

Mandela speaks

MR NELSON MANDELA has confirmed that he met President P W Botha last week and has said that the account of the meeting given by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was "fairly accurate".

This emerged yesterday after Mrs Winnie Mandela had flown to Cape Town and visited her husband at his quarters at the Victor Verster prison, Paarl. Accompanied by Mrs Mandela at a news conference later in the day in Johannesburg the Rev Frank Chikane general secretary of the SA Council of Churches said yesterday that Mr Mandela had "confirmed that a meeting did take place on Wednesday". The statement by the Minister of Justice which included an announcement

that both Mr Mandela and Mr Botha had confirmed their support for peaceful development in South Africa was "fairly accurate" on what transpired at the meeting, Mr Mandela told his wife, Mr Chikane said.

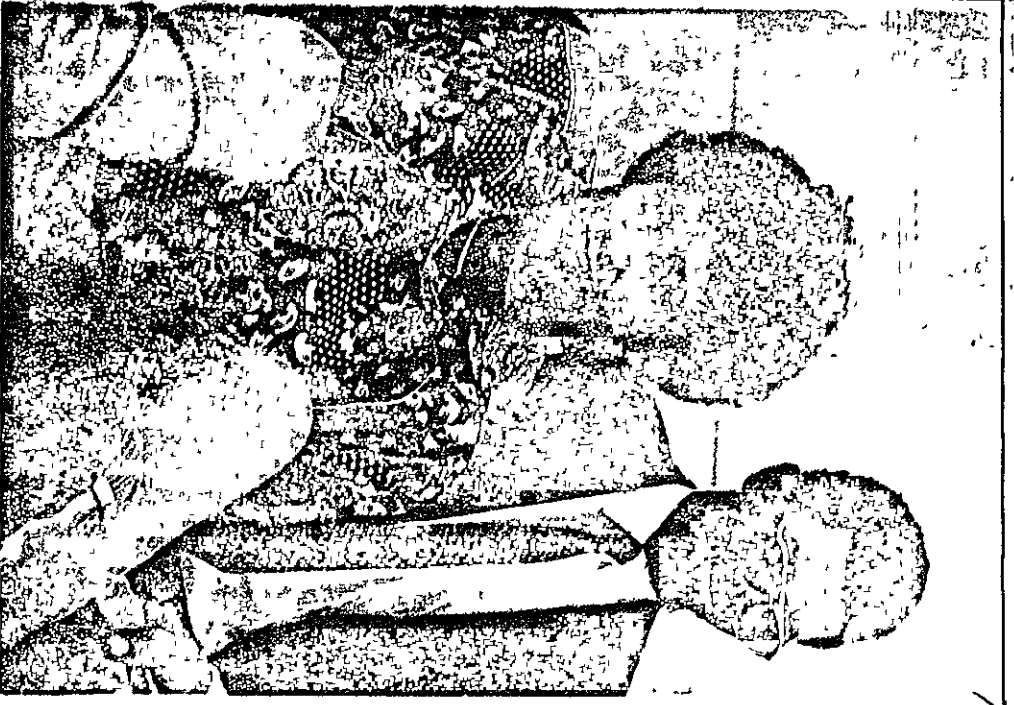
City poll on Pw-Mandela meeting

However, he (Mr Mandela) said, in order to deal with some speculation that has arisen, he will soon release a statement that will put the meeting and the discussions in their proper context. Mr Chikane said Mr Chikane said as far as he was aware Mr Mandela's statement was already in the hands of prison authorities who have sole discretion over what may be divulged. A spokesman for the Prisons Department, Brigadier Erica van Zyl,

*Mr Tump
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said last night: "It is policy not to comment on whether or not any request have been made by or received from any individual or to disclose the contents thereof". Throughout the press conference Mr Chikane and Mrs Mandela evaded questions regarding the circumstances that led to the surprise meeting between the two men.

"Community leaders that have been consulted after this meeting agree that it is best for us to let the leader speak for himself on this issue", Mr Chikane said. Mr Chikane said the Mandela family had not known about the scheduled meeting, but added that channels of communication between prisoners and their families were never adequate. The Cape Times Political Correspondent reports that President Botha remained silent yesterday about his landmark encounter with Mr Nelson Mandela which continues to make waves.



PRISON VISIT Mrs Winnie Mandela addresses an impromptu press conference outside Victor Verster Prison yesterday. Behind her is Mr Dalibon Mpofo, a former member of the Free Nelson Mandela Campaign. *Picture: ANNE LANG*

Fact-finding 'for the people'

By MALCOLM FRIED
NATIONAL community groups sent Mrs Winnie Mandela to the Cape yesterday to try and find out why her husband, Mr Nelson Mandela, had met the State President. The organisations had asked Mrs Mandela to re-

port on last Wednesday's dela and "people's organisation" completely by surprise. Mrs Mandela was accompanied by one aide former Free Mandela Campaign member Mr Dalibon Mpofo and fetched by Mrs Farelle Omar.

A.T.O

Thatcher to meet Albertina

LONDON — In an apparent turn-about, Mrs Thatcher has agreed to meet a top-level UDF delegation led by co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

The British Premier appears to have been persuaded to see the group after hearing of the welcome they received when they met President George Bush in Washington recently.

Her decision may also have something to do with the announcement that Mr P W Botha had a meeting last week with

SOWETAN FOREIGN STAFF

jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The move to meet the UDF has been hailed as a victory by anti-apartheid groups, who say it can now only be a matter of time before Mrs Thatcher agrees to see ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Silence

Downing Street is keeping characteristically silent before the event, but this is believed to be the first time in her 10-year term that Mrs Thatcher has agreed to see a UDF delegation.

The delegation which will go to Downing Street tomorrow afternoon also includes UDF executive chairman Curnick Ndlovu, national treasurer Azar Cachala and national executive committee member Titus Mafolo. Other items on their schedule include

meetings with Labour leader Neil Kinnock and Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Sonny Ramphal.

Thatcher's decision to see the group — believed to be the first time a British Prime Minister has met representatives of a South African resistance group since Lloyd George met Sol Plaatjes in 1919 — is being hailed by anti-apartheid groups as a major concession by Mrs Thatcher to their demands that she listen to "the voice of South African liberation".

Refugees

In 1984 a UDF delegation came to see the prime minister about the political refugees holed up in the British Consulate in Durban, but were unable even to gain access to Foreign Office Ministers. The best the UDF has managed so far was Archie Gumede's 1987 meeting with Minister of State in the Foreign Office, Lynda Chalker.

When the UDF group passed through London last month on its way to the US, Sisulu made it clear that the UDF will continue its strenuous

Joint peace plan urged by Inkatha

Sowetan 11/7/89

11A

THE Inkatha conference in Ulundi, Zululand, yesterday urged the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to continue with peace initiatives while the basis for joint action between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions was negotiated.

Passing resolutions towards the end of a two-day Inkatha conference

in Ulundi, the conference further urged Buthelezi to continue expanding what he was doing until positive joint action taking place with equal pace with what Inkatha was doing proved to be effective.

The conference also resolved to call upon Cosatu and the UDF to do what each could do to bring about an end to black-on-black violence

even now while a peace process was being negotiated.

Praising Buthelezi "for the bold way in which he has mounted a meaningful, grass-roots peace initiative which is reaching out to the masses," the conference resolved to call upon the ANC to continue in its support for negotiations between Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu.

'Whites cannot be protected as a minority'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

GUARANTEES for minorities were a waste of time and there was no way whites could be protected as a minority, the chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, said yesterday.

"There's only one way to guarantee a minority and that is to get the majority to want to protect the minority.

"To win the confidence of the majority is the only way," Mr Mudge said in an interview in the latest issue of Leadership, which was released yesterday.

Whites had tried to protect themselves as a minority in Zimbabwe when they were given 20 guaranteed seats.

"Nowhere did the whites stand together as they did in Zimbabwe, and it got them nowhere."

However, 10 years ago whites would not have accepted Resolution 435 in Namibia easily.

The constituent assembly, which later became a national assembly, that was elected in 1978 had a black majority.

"It was not recognised, but for most of the past 10 years, Namibia has been ruled by a black majority. People got used to a black government."

Mr Mudge said the response of whites in Namibia would depend on which government comes to power. "The question of whether it is black or white is irrelevant, it's an ideological question."

INVESTORS WELCOME... Swapo President Mr Sam Nujoma leaves a Cairo hotel yesterday at the end of a news conference where he said Swapo would welcome foreign investors if it wins elections in November. He told reporters Swapo would however expect foreign companies to invest some profits in Namibia. Mr Nujoma, who arrived in Egypt from Libya, said he had received promises of support and technical assistance in Cairo and Tripoli.

17 000 exiles repatriated

WINDHOEK — The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) had repatriated 17 189 Namibian exiles from neighbouring countries to date, a senior UN spokesman said here yesterday.

And UNHCR commissioner Mr Jeanne Pierre Hocke arrived here at the weekend for a first-hand look at the repatriation programme.

Meanwhile it is reported that a total of 88 318 of Namibia's estimated 650 000 plus eligible voters registered in the first five days of the registration campaign, a spokesman for the Administrator-General said yesterday — Sapa.

US: No going back on 435 in Namibia

WINDHOEK — The process of implementing United Nations Resolution 435 for Namibian independence had gone beyond a reversible threshold and would be implemented fully with elections in November, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen said yesterday.

He told a media briefing at the end of his short visit here that there were, however, areas for concern.

"We took very seriously the complaint of the UN Secretary General

(Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar) about the excessive use of force in northern Namibia and the abuses by the police forces."

Mr Cohen arrived here on Sunday from Luanda where he attended — as an observer for his country — the talks of the Joint Commission of Angola, South Africa and Cuba on regional peace accords in southern Africa.

The director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, described the two-day meeting as satisfactory. Referring to the Namibian situation, Mr Cohen said negotiations would continue with South Africa to continue the process "of defusing the rather tense situation there (in the north of Namibia)".

Mr Cohen was also concerned about reports

that not all detainees held by Swapo had been released.

"Until such time as they can all be accounted for I would hope Swapo would co-operate with the International Red Cross and United Nations High Commission for Refugees to make sure there were no unaccounted-for people."

The UN special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, was to be congratulated for the excellent work the UN was doing and the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, for the good work and co-operation with Mr Ahtisaari.

Mr Cohen left Windhoek for South Africa yesterday afternoon.

It will be the second South African visit of the current tour of South Africa — Sapa.

Tambo invited to French celebration

PARIS — ANC leader Oliver Tambo will "represent South Africa" at the July 14 Bastille Day celebration commemorating the 200th anniversary of the 1789 French Revolution.

Over 30 heads-of-state, 13 from Africa, will join 17 000 carefully picked foreign guests at the extraordinary festivities.

President Mitterrand and his guests, representing every country in the world, will be on a special podium.

No SA government official will be there. *SPW 11/7/87*

The announcement of Mr Tambo's presence came on the TV news last night made by Jacques Attali, the senior presidential aide responsible for drawing up the guest list.

Mandela wanted statement issued, says Chikane

11A

Star 11/7/89

Mr Nelson Mandela had submitted a statement to prison authorities to be released to the public, South African Council of Churches general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane told a press conference in Johannesburg last night.

Referring to Mrs Winnie Mandela's visit to her husband yesterday, Mr Chikane said her aim was to consult him on reports issued to the media by Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee.

He said by the time Mrs Mandela met her husband, he had already handed a copy of his statement to prison authorities and asked that they publicise the contents so he could keep his people informed about last Wednesday's meeting with the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The ANC claimed that the meeting was a public relations show to pretend Mr Botha was moving towards talks to end apartheid.

FACING ELECTIONS

"It would be wrong for anybody to believe that the meeting signifies the start of negotiations between the black people of South Africa and the National Party government," said an ANC spokesman.

The Government, facing elections on September 6, was "playing to its voters inside South Africa and also to the international community..."

The ANC had no advance knowledge of the meeting, the spokesman said. It did not condemn the meeting outright and ANC sources said it felt the meeting could be part of moves to free Mr Mandela.

● In Windhoek yesterday, Mr Herman Cohen, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, welcomed the meeting.

● Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said it was astounding that Mr Botha had met Mr Mandela while the Government condemned talks with the ANC. — Reuter-The Star's Africa News Service-Pretoria Correspondent.

● See Pages 2 and 15.

Thatcher to meet UDF leaders tomorrow

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will meet a UDF delegation led by the movement's co-president, Albertina Sisulu, tomorrow.

Thatcher's decision to meet Sisulu, executive chairman Curnick Ndlovu, national treasurer Azhar Cachalia, and executive committee member Titus Mafolo is seen as an event of major political significance for SA. There is now speculation that tomorrow's meeting will set the scene for Thatcher to hold talks in the near future with ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is due to meet President George Bush.

Thatcher has previously refused to have any contact with the ANC or the UDF.

Sisulu and her party, who have just had a successful meeting with Bush, will present themselves to Thatcher as representatives of the authentic leaders of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

They will have a blunt message for her, that there can be no prospect of serious negotiation for settlement in SA until the Pretoria government dramatically improves its reform proposals.

The UDF group will tell Thatcher that if she wishes to play a mediating role, she should tell Pretoria that, for a start, all political prisoners and detainees must be released, all opposition groups unbanned, the media unshackled, the emergency lifted and ethnic and racial group legislation removed from the constitution.

British Anti-Apartheid Movement organising secretary Mike Terry said it was historic that Thatcher had found herself having to meet the UDF.

"We are convinced she cannot now continue to refuse to meet Oliver Tambo"

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Mandela statement under scrutiny

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela has prepared a statement on his meeting with President P W Botha and has submitted it to the prison authorities for clearance, a Press conference in Johannesburg was told yesterday

His statement would put the meeting and the discussions in a proper context, said a statement compiled by Mandela's wife Winnie, SACC secretary general Frank Chikane and National Union of Mineworkers secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa

An SA Prison Services spokesman, Brig Erica van Zyl, approached for comment last night, could not immediately confirm or deny that a statement by Mandela had been received

The Press conference followed a visit by Winnie Mandela to her husband yesterday

The statement read by Chikane

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RIAAAN SMIT

said Minister of Justice Kobie Coetzee's version of the meeting last week was "fairly accurate"

"However in order to deal with some speculation that has arisen he (Nelson Mandela) will soon release a statement that will put the meeting and the discussions in a proper context," the statement said

11A

Tampered

Mandela remained a prisoner of the SA government and was therefore not free to propagate his ideas.

"Therefore, we do not know whether what he has to say will reach the public without being tampered with," the statement said

In Lusaka, meanwhile, Sapa reports that the ANC said yesterday

that Botha met jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela in a public relations show to pretend he was moving towards talks to end apartheid

The government, which faces elections on September 8, was "playing to its voters inside SA and also to the international community to pretend that they are moving towards negotiations", a spokesman said

But the ANC did not condemn the meeting outright and ANC sources said this was because the guerrilla group felt the meeting could be part of moves by the government to eventually free Mandela

In Pretoria, CP leader Andries Treurnicht expressed astonishment at the meeting

"Many people in SA are now sick and tired of seeing Mandela used as a political football both inside and outside the country," Treurnicht said.

The historic meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela is like a political kaleidoscope, portraying different political configurations and contrasting interpretations with each twist and turn of events.

But three central and compelling assessments can be identified since news of the 45-minute face-to-face meeting held at Mr Botha's Tuynhuys office in Wednesday, broke at the weekend.

Briefly, they are that the meeting was:

- A Government ploy to confuse the outside world and Mr Mandela's many admirers within South Africa
- Part of an ongoing Government plan for the phased release of Mr Mandela
- The action of an embittered Mr Botha, seeking to regain the limelight even at the cost of embarrassing Mr F W de Klerk, who succeeded him as leader of the ruling National Party

The first of these constructions was manifested in a statement released by Mrs Winnie Mandela and Soweto community leaders on Sunday night.

It noted that Mr Mandela was a prisoner and that, therefore, "whatever meeting might have taken place did so in the context of a prisoner and his captors".

No jailed leader, the statement added, could talk meaningfully to Mr Botha without freedom to confer with his comrades in the extra-parliamentary opposition and his

That Tuynhuys tete-a-tete: Statesmanship or sour grapes?

Were last week's Mandela-Botha talks part of the Government's phased freeing of the world's best known political prisoner — or the President's last-ditch attempt to go out in a blaze of publicity, asks PATRICK LAURENCE

At the time Mr Mandela said, "Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts". He refused to renounce "armed struggle", saying that the ANC had turned to that option only when its choice was to surrender.

Then came Mr Mandela's counter-demands: "Let him (Mr Botha) renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him urban the people's organisation, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled."

The second explanation for the talks was offered by Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe. He presented it as another step towards Mr Mandela's release, saying: "It is part of the ongoing programme of preparing the groundwork for negotiations."

Speaking on condition of anonymity, a Government source elaborated in an interview with The Star.

He recalled that Mr Botha had presided over earlier stages in Mr Mandela's phased release, citing the ANC leader's transfer in August last year from Pollsmoor Prison to a private clinic in Cape Town and later to Verster Prison in Paarl.

He concluded that Mr Botha had now taken the process a step further by meeting the man who was first jailed in 1962 when Mr Botha was still a junior Minister in Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's Cabinet and whose political stature grew as Mr Botha himself rose to the pinnacle of power.

The third exponent of the talks presented them as the maverick action of an embittered leader on the eve of his forced retirement, rather than the considered action of the Government as a whole.

As the respected Afrikaner intellectual, Professor Hermann Gillmore, put it: "For the past three months there have been constant rumours that Mr Botha wants to do something big. I smell his embitterment. He wants to show them he is not dead."

Mr Botha relinquished his position as leader of the National Party in February after suffering a "mild stroke" in January. But when he did so, he made it clear that, having shed his party political persona, he wanted to play a unifying and reconciling role as President.

The NP, however, was strongly opposed to a division of power between the president and party leadership. It mounted a rebellion against the frequently unascendable Mr Botha, forcing him, in a gentlemanly but ineluctable manner, to call an early general election and go into early retirement.

Mr Botha's bitterness surfaced publicly late last month when, to the embarrassment of the NP, he refused to attend a farewell banquet organised for him.

Mr Botha's meeting with Mr Mandela appears to have embarrassed the NP not so much because it took place but because of its timing.

It occurred in the midst of a general election campaign in which the National Party, fearful, as ever, of the Conservative Party, is anxious not to appear as though it is buckling under pressure to release Mr Mandela.

The reluctant admission — in the face of leads to the press — by Minister of Justice Mr Koble Coetsee that the Botha-Mandela talks took place, was extremely cautious. It reflected embarrassment.

It spoke of Mr Mandela paying a "courtesy visit" to Mr Botha without clarifying how a prisoner pays a "courtesy visit" to a head of state unless he is invited to do so. It stressed that "policy matters" were not discussed nor were negotiations conducted.

But, according to a well placed observer, Mr de Klerk has his own plan to speed up the phased, incremental release of political prisoners: he will move into action after the September 6 election, freeing two veteran political prisoners — Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Oscar Mphahlele, both in their late seventies — to set the scene for the final unshowering of Mr Mandela.

(11A)

Mandela speaks ^{one 7/7/89} Winnie

wife of attorney Mr Dulah Omar

The ANC in Lusaka yesterday dismissed the meeting as a "public relations show" aimed at convincing the international community and voters that negotiations to end apartheid had begun

The ANC had had no advance knowledge of the meeting and did not know what it was about, the spokesman said

Mr Botha returned to his Tuynhuys office yesterday after a spell in the country but he declined to elaborate on the sketchy statement issued after the historic meeting last week by Mr Coetsee

A Tuynhuys spokesman said yesterday that he "could not say anything" about possible future meetings between the two leaders

Meanwhile, last week's meeting continued to draw widespread reaction

The discussions in Lusaka last week between the ANC and more than 100 South Africans, and the talks between the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela and President P W Botha could lead to real peace in South Africa, one of the co-leaders of the DP, Dr Zach de Beer, said last night

"Let us pray that these events are the beginning of a process of negotiation that will bring peace to our country — peace on a basis that will overcome our international isolation and so enable us to return to prosperity," he said at the launch of the campaign by the DP candidate for Matieland, Dr Esther Lategan

In Pretoria, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht described the meeting as "astounding" in view of the fact that the government was "condemning discussions with the ANC"

"Many people in South Africa are now sick and tired of seeing Mandela used as a political football both inside and outside the country," Dr Treurnicht said, adding Mr Mandela could never be a leader for the white people of South Africa

"The question is what does the Parole Board say? Is the finding that Mandela has been rehabilitated and has finally turned his back on violence and revolution and has rejected communism?"

"It will be typical of the type of NP hypocrisy which makes that party so objectionable if it now approves of this meeting with an ANC leader and simultaneously continues to condemn other organisations also meeting with the ANC," Dr Treurnicht said — Political Correspondent Sapa-Reuter and UPI

(News by Anthony Johnson 122 St Georges Street Cape Town and Sapa Harmsen Street Johannesburg)

The well-placed source said Mrs Mandela had not anticipated the P W Botha meeting and had no idea what it might signify

She was being sent to see the jailed ANC leader because "the people want to know what's happening"

After seeing her husband, Mrs Mandela said at an impromptu press conference in the rain outside the prison it would be up to community organisations to follow up the Tuynhuys meeting

She believed her talk with Mr Mandela had clarified the issue. However, she would leave it to community leaders, under the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, to decide on a course of action

Meeting with President Botha at Tuynhuys

MANDELA



P.W. BOTHA

Sowetan 12/7/89

VERSION



Nelson Mandela, a photograph from a Department of Information booklet, "Talking with the ANC", published June 1986

UNDER

11A

WRAPS



IMPRISONED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela's version of his meeting with President Botha is apparently being held by prison authorities who are keeping mum about it.

The Department would not even confirm or deny yesterday whether it had received a statement for public

To Page 2

From Page 1

asked that they publicise the contents so he could keep his people informed about last Wednesday's meeting

"Mandela asked us to convey to the people that he is in good health and values their support at all times"

Chikane said according to what Mr Mandela told his wife, Coetsee's reports on the meeting were "fairly accurate" Mandela said he would soon release a statement that would put the meeting and discussions in "proper context"

Chikane emphasised that because Mandela was a prisoner of the South African Government and was not free to propagate his ideas, it should be noted that they did not know whether what he had to say would reach the public without being tampered with

Chikane denied he had claimed Mandela was being manipulated by the Government, but said information was being carefully used

"It is clear that those in power have tried to use this meeting as some form of propaganda to portray an image of the South African Government as one that was willing to talk

"We are saying there are no negotiations. The meeting was between a prisoner and his captor. It is unfair to make his family a communication organisation to convey political decisions and issues that Mandela is dealing with"

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Danelin Correspo



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OFFICE

A-G still to decide on ^{Soweto murder 12/7/87} Stompie dossier ¹¹³

THE Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand is to decide whether Mrs Winnie Mandela had committed any punishable offences connected to the death of teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi Sepei, after receiving a dossier on nine suspects who were members of the Mandela Soccer Club.

The dossier was submitted to the office of the A-G after an intensive investigation by the Soweto murder and robbery unit.

A spokesman for the A-G's office said Mandela had been linked to Stompie's death in statements and evidence in the dossier.

However, it would take some time to examine the dossier, the spokesman said.

The investigation into the Mandela Soccer Club began a few months ago after allegations such as abduction and murder were made against club members.

Mandela statement: Does it exist?

CMK Tint's
12/7/89

11A

By MALCOLM FRIED
and ANTHONY JOHNSON

A POSSIBLE statement from Mr Nelson Mandela on his meeting with Mr PW Botha has created expectations in community groups across the country — but authorities have declined to say whether such a statement exists.

Mrs Winnie Mandela said on Monday outside Victor Verster Prison, after visiting her husband, that he was definitely planning to issue a statement following last Wednesday's Tuynhuys talks.

A spokesman for the South African Council of Churches said yesterday that national community organisations were waiting for "this promised direction from Mr Mandela's own mouth".

Details he had released through Mrs Mandela were "just a part of it — he is the leader and we really want a full report in his words", said the official of the SACC which, under general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, is representing community groups on the Mandela issue.

The SA Prisons Service would not comment yesterday on the existence of a statement and the Department of Justice had "no knowledge of it at all".

Official sources indicated that the cabinet would have to sanction the release of an explanation from Mr Mandela.

At very least, the release of the statement would have to get the nod from the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

However, a spokesman for the minister's office, who said "we don't even know if this statement exists", said Mr Coetsee was travelling in the Eastern Transvaal and could not be contacted.

Mr Coetsee is due at an official function in Mossel Bay today and then travels to Riviersonderend for a political meeting, so it is not clear when he would be in a position to consult with his cabinet colleagues on the statement, if it exists.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, who last saw the jailed ANC leader on Saturday, said he had received no indication when Mr Mandela would take a public stand.

"Mr Mandela is an honourable man," said Mr Ayob. "I assume he was asked not to say anything until after Mr Botha had made an announcement. I don't know when he'll be allowed to speak."

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela had twice before been permitted to go public, the last time in April, when he had released to the media a letter to British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Mr Dave Dalling said in a statement yesterday that it was in the public interest that the details of the meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr Botha be disclosed.

He said that any attempt by the Prisons Department or National Party politicians to block a report apparently drawn up by Mr Mandela on the meeting would not be in the interests of South Africa or a proper understanding of what occurred and the implications of this.

Sacos says no to sports congress

Staff Reporter

THE South African Council on Sport (Sacos) has turned down an invitation by the interim committee of the National Sports Congress to attend a conference at Wits University this weekend to unify disparate sporting groups.

Last week NSC spokesman Mr Mluleki George called on Sacos to attend the conference "in the interest of unity" and also to assist in the formation of "a single mass-based sports movement".

The NSC said Sacos was "a necessary party in this historical process and their decision to attend would be welcomed by the mass democratic movement"

Yesterday Sacos president Mr Joe Ebrahim said the decision not to attend was taken by the executive committee in consultation with the presidents of its affiliates and guided by a majority viewpoint

"The proposed presence and participation of avowed multi-national sports administrators such as Issy Kramer, Tommy Bedford, Tony Wilcox, John Baxter and the Wits Sports Council, among others, at the conference would gravely compromise non-racial sports persons and affect the Sacos Double Standards Resolution."

Sacos was the "authentic non-racial sports body in South Africa" and its bona fides had been accepted and confirmed by all the progressive trade unions, community and political organisations, as well as the NSC Interim Committee itself.

"We believe that the launch of a second non-racial sports body which will be vying for the same constituency will be confusing and divisive to the non-racial sports movement in our country."

Mr Ebrahim said Sacos had noted that the last item on the agenda of the conference was the appointment of a commission with terms of reference for the launch of the NSC and related matters.

"It is quite clear that Sacos cannot be party to the launch of an organisation which will be operating in opposition of itself and vying for its membership."

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Skw 12/7/89 (11A)

ANC pledge to 'fight, not talk'

ARUSHA (Tanzania) — The African National Congress has ruled out a political settlement in South Africa similar to the one in Namibia and vowed to intensify guerilla warfare.

A spokesman said accords signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa paving the way for Namibia's independence, and Moscow's changed foreign policies, had raised false hopes in southern Africa — Reuter

6/16/74
12/1/74

Govt mum on Mandela statement

119 RIAAN SMIT

MINISTER of Justice Kobie Coetzee could not be reached for comment yesterday on whether a statement by jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela after his meeting with President P W Botha last Wednesday would be released, a department spokesman said

After Winnie Mandela visited her husband on Monday, SA Council of Churches secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane said that as far as he was aware the jailed leader's statement was in prison authorities' hands

The statement would put the discussion between Mandela and Botha "in a proper context", Chikane said

Prison Services spokesman Brig Erica van Zyl said on Monday it was not policy to comment on whether a request had been made by or received from any individual, or to disclose its contents

If government authorised Mandela's statement, it would be his first direct public words in 26 years

Star 12/7/89

Prisons stay mum on Mandela Has ANC leader made statement on PW meeting?

Political Staff (11A)
Mr Nelson Mandela's version of his meeting with President Botha is apparently being held by the Prisons Service, which is keeping mum about it

The department would not even confirm or deny whether it had received a statement for public distribution from its most famous prisoner

"It is policy not to comment on whether or not any requests have been made by or received from any individual or to disclose the contents thereof," said the chief of prisons liaison, Brigadier Erika van Zyl

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said earlier that Mr Mandela had handed a statement to his jailers before Mrs Winnie Mandela visited him on Monday at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl

Contents

It is not clear whether Mrs Mandela knows the contents of her husband's statement, but the SACC does not have a copy of the statement, according to a spokesman, Mr Sakkie Makozoma

Sapa quotes official sources in Pretoria as saying that the Prisons Service could not take it upon itself to sanction release of Mr Mandela's statement

They pointed out that a decision of

such import was not likely to be made public before the Cabinet had had a chance to formalise it

● Referring to Mr Mandela's earning an LLB degree from the University of South Africa, a Prisons Service spokesman has confirmed that "consideration is being given to the arrangement of an occasion at which the degree certificate can be presented to Mr Mandela in the presence of his immediate family and friends"

● The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, has denied claims by the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party that last week's meeting between President Botha and Mr Mandela signified the first talks between the Government and the banned African National Congress organisation

Dr van der Merwe emphasised yesterday that the meeting had been between the State President and Mr Mandela — not the Government and the ANC

● The Star's sister newspaper in Cape Town, *The Argus*, has been refused permission to interview Mr Mandela

The Argus applied to the Prisons Service at the weekend to interview him in prison in Paarl

"I regret to inform you that an interview with Mr Mandela is not considered opportune," said liaison officer Mr J H Smith

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Star 12/7/89

Bill of Rights: ANC's ideas are revealed

There is a definite similarity between the SA Law Commission's proposed Bill of Rights and the ANC's legal ideas on the subject, Lawyers for Human Rights said at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

LHR met ANC officials in Lusaka at the weekend for talks on protection of human rights in a post-apartheid SA, with special reference to the Law Commission's working paper.

The Law Commission's document had not been rejected by the ANC, LHR said, and the ANC had no difficulty with the proposition that the linguistic, cultural and religious rights of groups should be respected. But the ANC was opposed to group political rights and to a constitution structured on ethnicity.

RACIALLY EXCLUSIVE

LHR said the Law Commission's paper in some respects seemed to be intended to entrench white privilege. Clauses discussed in depth in this regard included article 10, which "seems to envisage retention of racially exclusive schools".

A clause relating to capitalist enterprise, it was felt, had no place in a Bill of Rights as it sought to restrict the government to the pursuit of a particular economic policy.

Article 17 also presented difficulty, LHR said, because "it seems to allow the perpetuation of racially exclusive enterprises, provided no public or State funds are involved".

"Right to life" discussions on the death penalty revealed that all the ANC delegates were against the death penalty, and LHR welcomed this opinion.

That such discussions on a Bill of Rights might influence the ANC's constitutional guidelines seems quite possible, as the already published guidelines are understood to be only a working blueprint.

LHR added, "We hope that as a result of our debate, the ANC will issue a fuller statement on its attitude towards a Bill of Rights for SA." — Sapa.

Zinzi Mandela's poems

now published in SA

11A

Star
12/7/89 By Kaizer Nyatumba

The only black-owned feminist publishing house in the country, Seriti sa Sechaba, has staged a major coup in the literary world by bringing to South Africa Miss Zindzi Mandela's teenage poems — more than 10 years after they were first published in the United States.

Miss Mandela's award-winning poetry collection, "Black As I Am", was first published by the Los Angeles-based Guild of Tutors Press in 1978, and for a long time was not readily available in South Africa.

Now jointly published by Seriti sa Sechaba and Madiba Press, the collection contains more than 50 poems written by Miss

Mandela between the ages of 13 and 15 while still a pupil at Waterford in Swaziland.

In a foreword for the first publication of the anthology, in 1977, United States human rights activist and Atlanta, Georgia, mayor Mr Andrew Young wrote: "The South Africa of Zindzi Mandela is a land on the edge of a consciousness whose time has come, and whose power dwarfs that of the police and armies. It is the consciousness of the fundamental dignity of all of us, brothers and sisters under a Creator, and of the fundamental birth-right of our freedom."

In one of her often-quoted poems, "A tree was chopped down", Miss Mandela writes about her father's continued incarceration.

She sees him as a tree which has been chopped down and "the fruit, the wife and children/ who meant so much to him/ tasty/ loving as they should be/ all on the ground/ the roots, happiness/ cut off from him".

Months spent on planning the visit to the Tuynhuys

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

11A 12/7/89

STRATEGY

PREPARATIONS for the meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela took several months and all the arrangements were cleared with Mr Mandela, according to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee. He said today that the circumstances around Mr Mandela looked dramatically different from 20 or 25 years ago.

In a Nationalist Press interview, Mr Coetsee, who played a decisive role in the preparations for the meeting, said it had taken place with the full knowledge of National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

The meeting was "out-and-out a South African initiative without any intervention or influencing by outside parties".

Mr Coetsee said the whole matter must now be allowed to develop calmly "because, in the light of what we already know we must deduce that Mr Mandela would want to make a contribution to peaceful development in South Africa".

The Minister said that over a period of months he had created an opportunity for Mr Mandela to meet the President informally, on the basis that there were no undertakings or negotiations — purely on the basis of courtesy.

He had expected that such a meeting would take place in a pleasant spirit, as the

Mr de Klerk was kept fully informed and was also informed that Mr Mandela also took a strong stand against foreign interference in South African affairs.

Asked how he had found the meeting, Mr Coetsee said it was an occasion for a conversation between two strong personalities with divergent political viewpoints.

(News by Tos Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

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Tues 5/10
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11A

Democrats decide not to split off

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The nine official Democratic Party candidates contesting the general election in the House of Delegates, as well as the 11 "independent" Democrats, decided at a meeting last night not to form another party after the expulsion from the DP of MP for Reservoir Hills, Mr Pat Poovalingam

Mr. Poovalingam said after the meeting that he too would contest the seat as an 'independent' Democrat

He said he still considered himself as a member of the DP because he regarded his expulsion by the national board as "unlawful"

(Report by P Leeman, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

Historic meeting at No.10



HISTORIC MEETING . . Mrs Albertina Sisulu shakes hands with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher after talks with a UDF delegation at 10 Downing Street yesterday. The visit marked the first official contact between representatives of the mass democratic movement and a non-Labour prime minister since 1919. **Report — Page 3.**

SA hit squad active in Botswana — claim

4911-71-1/13 13/7/89
By BARRY STREET (11A)

THE Botswana security forces suspect that a South African hit squad is operating in the country.

But in Pretoria the police yesterday rejected the Botswana claim

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said he was not aware of any such action on the part of the police.

Botswana Defence Force commander Lieutenant-General Mompoti Morafhe said in Gaborone yesterday that a public statement about the matter could jeopardise the investigation, but added that security forces had always suspected the presence of "such people" in the country.

Claims about the presence of a South African hit squad in the city appeared in a lead article in a Botswana newspaper, "Mmegi", last Friday

SAP sources said it was possible that the "hit squad" in Botswana, if it existed, was composed of dissident ANC members

Much at stake for NP and ANC in Mandela initiative

THE surprising meeting between President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela brings to mind the famous final paragraph of J M Roberts's *The Pelican History of the World*. At the end of the monumental study, which covers the span from ancient Egypt to the strategic issues of the 1980s, the author observes that there are only two general truths that emerge from the study of history "One is that things tend to change much more, and more quickly than one might think. The other is that they tend to change much less, and much more slowly, than one might think."

Roberts adds wryly that the only advantage in being a historian is that one may be a little less surprised by the outcome, whatever it is. However, so unexpected were the Botha-Mandela meeting and other recent developments that even our historians were initially dumbfounded. At the same time if one had pieced together bits of information, some of which have not been yet reported in our Press, the recent Tuynhuys meeting should not have taken us all by complete surprise.

Let us look first at the NP side. President Botha's approach to constitution-making has always been "We (the NP) lay the table

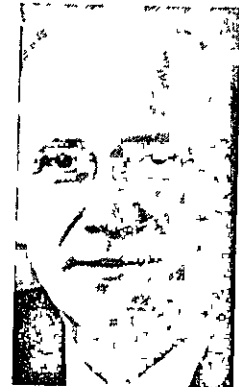
and serve the dish if they (the coloured people Indians or Africans) don't want it, they can lump it." He instructed the luckless Mr Heunis to find some black leaders with whom a constitutional deal could be struck. As Mr Heunis failed to deliver, Mr Botha got increasingly enraged. Nevertheless he continued to hope for some breakthrough in the search for accommodating black leaders and accordingly refused several requests from Mr Heunis to see Mr Mandela.

Visits

The FW de Klerk-Gerrit Viljoen team which has replaced the Botha-Heunis Old Guard has in one important respect a different approach to constitution-making. Instead of trying to suck in pliable black leaders into a NP-designed constitution, Mr De Klerk and Dr Viljoen believe the time has come for the major black and white political formations to put their respective constitutional proposals on the table and negotiate on the basis of them.

Mr Tuynhuys 13/7/87 HA

Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN GILJOMEE



Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr FW de Klerk believe the time has come for the major black and white political formations to put their constitutional proposals on the table and negotiate on the basis of them.

the party willing to talk to all black leaders and able to persuade Western leaders to bring South Africa back into the international community.

The Mandela initiative also explains Mr De Klerk's surprisingly favourable reception abroad. It is the kind of thing which Western leaders devoutly hope for. Mr De Klerk almost certainly also discussed the ground rules under which leaders such as Mr Mandela will operate. In the NP's view there cannot be any question of mass rallies in the townships attended by hundreds of thousands of people. If the NP gets its way the drawing up of a constitutional model will have to take place behind closed doors and its support tested by way of referenda.

Possibility

This brings us to the African National Congress and its response to the Mandela initiative. The ANC is at the moment going through a painful process of readjustment. The euphoria of "within six months we are in the Union Building" is gone. The ANC's withdrawal from Angola was painful to its morale. Most importantly, despite all the denials, the Russians were inexorably forcing the ANC to explore the political route to the full while continuing to exert pressure militarily and politically.

The first public evidence of a new ANC political initiative appeared in the Frank-

furter *Allgemeine Zeitung* a few months ago. In this a chief ANC strategist (Mr Joe Slovo) raised the possibility of Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Thaba Mbeki being allowed to return home openly to mobilise an internal ANC if there was sufficient evidence that the South African Government would allow it.

Insecure

There are strong rumours that Mr Mandela during the past month sent a memo to Lusaka which caused considerable consternation. It is just possible that Mr Mandela may have suggested that a Mandela-Tambo Mbeki team commit itself to building an internal ANC and presenting the ANC's constitutional model.

My impression of the ANC is that while it is utterly convinced it will ultimately prevail, it is tremendously insecure in changing current short and medium-term tactics and strategies. The ANC may well suffer a disastrous split if it decides to go the route of a legalised internal ANC committed to finding a compromise constitutional solution.

The stakes are tremendous. If things in the Mandela initiative go wrong for the NP it may well find itself confronted with a rampant CP and mandatory sanctions. If it goes wrong for the ANC its struggle at the very least will be set back many years. If it goes right for both it will be one of history's greatest and most pleasant surprises.

Favourable

But why does the NP engage in such a risky adventure just before an election in which the Conservative Party is poised to make considerable gains? I believe the Mandela initiative will be the main feature in the plank which the NP will use in addressing itself to voters attracted to the Democratic Party. This will present the NP as

Writers' 'yes' to boycott

OWN Correspondent
13/7/89

VICTORIA FALLS — South African writers concluded a four-day meeting here with members of the African National Congress by passing a resolution welcoming the ANC's May 1989 position paper on a selective cultural and academic boycott of the country

Deploring cultural impoverishment which, they said, resulted from enforced separation, they looked forward to "an Afrikaans freed of its racist connotations", and described "entering the struggle" as "the means of beginning to be a South African"

A spokesman for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South

Africa (Idasa) said the resolution was adopted unanimously by the 45 writers, most of whom were African-speaking and lived in South Africa

The Idasa spokesman said there was no contradiction in the delegates' support for the cultural and academic boycott, since the ANC did not oppose discussions between South Africans, or links with those furthering the cause of liberation

In their final communique the writers said. "The intention of this well-considered policy is isolating the regime culturally and the strengthening, simultaneously, of all forms of progressive South African culture"

MANDATE FOR PEACE

Southern 13/7/84

11A



Nelson Mandela,

THE only way to end violence and bring about peace in South Africa is through dialogue with the mass democratic movement and particularly the African National Congress, jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in a statement released by the Prisons Department yesterday.

SA Press Association

The department said Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee confirmed that Mandela, in reaction to comment on his widely publicised meeting with State President P W Botha, had released the statement for media publication.

Statement

The jailed ANC leader said his release was not an issue at this stage "As implied in the original statement (Mr Coetzee's), I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa."

He said he had made the statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President, but that

future press statements were unlikely.

"I believe, however, that at this early stage further statement to the press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development"

Mandela's wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, yesterday, (today), told a BBC correspondent her husband was not given the opportunity to prepare for his meeting with the State President.

Mandela was told personally by Mr Coetzee on Tuesday night last week that he was to meet Mr Botha the following morning. Mrs Mandela said

He therefore had no opportunity to consult with his people and subsequently decided to go ahead with the meeting.

Mrs Mandela said her husband told her of the sequence of events when she visited him for one hour on Monday at his prison home in Paarl.

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NAIL POLISH

Sowetan 13/7/89.

BUTHELEZI TO MEET TAMBO

LONDON — Inkatha's London office has confirmed that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will meet ANC leader Oliver Tambo in August, probably in the British capital, for talks about how to end the fighting in the Natal townships.

The movement's chief representative, Mr Ben Skosana, said the arrangements depended on the report on peace initiatives which was being compiled by Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu.

Talks to end the fighting among blacks

They had already produced a draft copy and were working on a final report to be ratified by the president. "It is then that Buthelezi will meet with Tambo."

He added: "I was informed that the report proposes that the

meeting be held outside Africa, probably in London. They are looking at August to hold the meeting. (IA) (S)

Skosana said the UDF and Cosatu had proposed Harare as a venue, but Inkatha had said Zimbabwe or any other African country was "not actually neutral as far as Inkatha was concerned

"We proposed the USA or Western Europe. But I think they all preferred London," he said

Nelson's other visitor

AMID all the excitement around Mrs Winnie Mandela's visit to her husband on Monday, his biographer, Professor Fatima Meer, spent the day with him working on an international edition of his life-story, *Higher Than Hope*

Confirming his visit from Durban, Meer, a life-long friend of the Mandelas, declined to comment on what went on between Nelson Mandela and his wife during the 80 minutes they shared at Victor Verster prison.

"My visit was business," she said. They had spent the day working on his biography.

"We are coming up with four international editions - English, American, Scandinavian and German - which will contain all that is in the South African version and more."

Mandela had read the South African edition and had noticed a few inaccuracies. "He requested that we sit down and polish the international edition. We're making the book as factually correct as possible and try to cover as much ground as possible."

ANC men jailed in ^{11A} Botswana

GABORONE — Five South African ANC members convicted of charges relating to the possession of arms and ammunition in Botswana, were yesterday each sentenced to an effective five years' imprisonment, the Botswana Press Agency reports.

The accused, who confessed to being members of the African National Congress and participating in political activities in South Africa, were each sentenced to two five-year terms on two counts.

The court ordered that the sentences run concurrently.

The convicted men are Faku Senzangakhona, Tebogo Letshwaro, Ngabulo Nyongolo, Edward Moagisi and Sipho Makgalema.

THE United Democratic Front delegation ended its triumphant visit to the US this week as guests of honour at a private dinner party at the home of Democratic Senator David Boren

From all accounts it was a hugely successful ending to a successful 10-day mission

Present at the party were movers and shakers in the US Congress the media and big business

Among the half dozen senators present were Edward Kennedy, Nancy Kassebaum and Sam Nunn

Boren described it as a very moving and powerful experience He told the gathering he had visited the home of the leader of the UDF delegation Mrs Albertina Sisulu, in South Africa last year, one of the more profound experiences of his life, and he had wanted to invite her to his home ever since

The six members of the UDF delegation - Sisulu, Sister Bernard Ncube, a Catholic nun and president of Transvaal Federation of Transvaal Women, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, national chairman of the UDF and veteran trade unionist, Mr Azhar Cachalia treasurer of the UDF and Human Rights attorney, Mr Titus Mafolo, executive committee member of the UDF, and Jessie Duarte, executive committee member of the Federation of Transvaal Women were locked in several small groups in the party for much of the evening

The delegation returns to South Africa this week with much to be happy about

Its tour came about when President Bush invited Sisulu a co-president of the UDF, to



ALBERTINA SISULU

SISTER NCUBE

RED CARPET ROLLED OUT FOR UDF SIX

Successful ending to a 10-day mission

visit him in the White House The meeting was to be part of a series in which the new US Government would attempt to canvass the views of a wide range of South African leaders

For Sisulu and others in the delegation it was their first visit outside South Africa. It was a tour which rivalled that of the National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, who travelled to Europe in June

En route to the US they stopped over in several European coun-



tries, and were received by the heads of government of Sweden and France.

In the US they met Bush addressed a specially convened meeting of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, and had dozens of individual meetings with influential senators, congressmen, business leaders academics and administration officials, including Secretary of State Mr James Baker

On their way back, they met the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, leader of the opposition Mr Neil Kinnock and the leader of the Anglican Church, Archbishop Runcie

It was the first time the United Democratic Front had mounted such a high profile foreign tour and the first time the organisation had been received at the highest level in foreign countries

The experience has

SOWETAN Foreign Service - Washington

greatly enhanced the international credentials of the organisation which, ironically, is virtually completely banned at home

In an interview in his Washington hotel before leaving the US, Cachalia said the clear message the UDF team had received on its travels was that it was being taken as an increasingly serious player in the future of South Africa.

"I just hope one of the constructive effects of this will be that the South African Government begins to accept that as well," he said

Cachalia, whose well-ordered, soft-spoken but extremely forceful speaking style impressed many Americans who heard him said the significance of the UDF's tour started before the delegation left

home, when the Government granted the travellers passports

"Not one of us would have been able to travel otherwise," he said.

He believes the Government gave them their passports because of the mounting economic crisis in South Africa.

The National Party needed to give the impression that it was reforming, he said.

Cachalia attached great significance to the fact that Bush had gone out of his way to recognise Sisulu's role in the struggle against apartheid in his statement after his meeting with the UDF

Policy

Even more significant, he said, was Bush's reference in his statement to Walter Sisulu, a leading member of the African National Congress

The Bush administration had signalled a major departure from the standpoint of the Reagan administration on apartheid he said

However, it remained to be seen what actions would follow the rhetoric

Cachalia said it was made quite clear to the UDF that the administration did not want to repeat the debacle of the Reagan Administration, which had a major confrontation with Congress over South Africa The new approach was to look for a bipartisan policy so as to secure the speedy end of apartheid

Bush had himself assured the UDF his administration wanted to act as the catalyst to bring the different South African parties together so as to create a basis for a non-racial democracy

Cachalia said the UDF found the issue of sanctions to be an open one

Sowetan 13/7/89

11A

Afrikaans writers say unban ANC

Sowetan 13/7/89



AFRIKAANS writers have agreed with the ANC that apartheid must be rejected,

the ANC ban lifted, the state of emergency ended, political prisoners released, troops removed from the townships and laws that ban legitimate political activity abrogated.

The 45 South African writers committed themselves to these objectives after a four day meeting with an ANC delegation at the Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe.

A communique stated: "The conference expressed its total rejection of apartheid as writers together from both inside

and outside South Africa, intensely aware of our shared concerns and deploring the way in which our culture is impoverished by our enforced separation, we commit ourselves to work for the objectives outlined."

Aims

The communique spoke of aims of finding a truly representative South African literature in which Afrikaans, freed of its racist connotations, would naturally find its place.

The communique con-

cluded: "We recognise that an organisation such as the Congress of South African Writers (Cosaw) is a legitimate representative of the sentiments expressed over days together at the Victoria Falls.

"Entering the struggle is the means of beginning to be a South African. It is not heroic to oppose apartheid - it is normal"

Meanwhile at ANC headquarters in Lusaka the protection of human rights in a post apartheid South Africa was discussed between the ANC and a delegation of Lawyers for Human Rights.

Mandela a gifted intellectual, says Coetsee

Political Correspondent

JUSTICE Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee has referred to the meeting between President Botha and Nelson Mandela as an "absolute breakthrough" for peaceful development.

Speaking at an election meeting in Riversdale last night, Mr Coetsee said it had led to the breakthrough of Mr Mandela declaring himself in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Coetsee, who previously said he spent a long time arranging the meeting, said last night that he had in the past few years spoken to Mr Mandela on several occasions.

He had found him to be an approachable person with specific gifts, especially intellectual. He had sometimes told him things in confidence "but in my experience he never 'dropped' me."

In the light of Mr Mandela's earlier refusal to forswear violence the question had arisen of whether it was not an absolute breakthrough if Mr Botha created the opportunity for Mr Mandela to speak to him and Mr Mandela said he was in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Coetsee said this was precisely what had happened.

Mr Mandela had given his approval to the initial statement issued at the weekend which stated that Mr Botha and Mr Mandela were in favour of peaceful development.

The meeting had solved a deadlock in South Africa without recognition being given to the viewpoints of the ANC or anyone else who was in favour of violence.

The government's standpoint remained that it would not negotiate

with oppressors but that it would talk to those in favour of peaceful development.

Mr Mandela had not used the meeting with Mr Botha to talk as ANC leader on behalf of the movement.

He had paid a courtesy visit to the President. The meeting was based on Mr Botha's viewpoint that Mr Mandela must be treated decently and in a Christian way.

If South Africa wanted to make further breakthroughs there should be further occasions such as this meeting, Mr Coetsee said.

A spokesman for the President's office said today Mr Botha had no comment on the meeting or on Mr Mandela's statement.

Idasa director Dr Frederik van Zyl Stabbert said that the most sig-

nificant thing so far had been the silence of the President.

"If this had been so meticulously planned over a long period to occur specifically before an election in which the National Party is being attacked from the left and the right, then the former leader of the party, together with the current one, should explain how it forms part of the party's election programme and the possibilities for negotiation."

"Whatever the case might be, the symbolic significance of the meeting and the consequences that will flow from it have generated a momentum that will outstrip any of the party's motivations there may be among Nationalist leaders," Dr Stabbert said.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Nelson Mandela says talks with the ANC are the only route to peace

11A3
25/8

JAILLED ANC leader said last night the only way to peace was through dialogue with the mass democratic movement and the ANC.

The Prisons Service last night released for publication the statement by Mandela after his meeting with President P W Botha.

The text in full, reports Sapa, reads: "The statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on the meeting between the State President and myself is an accurate reflection of what happened at the meeting. The statement, however, constitutes no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years, namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement, and, in particular, with the

African National Congress, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country.

"I make this statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President. I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the Press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development.

"I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage. As implied in the original statement, I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa."

The Prisons Service said Coetsee con-

firmed that Mandela had released the statement for media publication. President Botha last night declined to comment on Mandela's statement.

In his weekend statement on the talks, Coetsee said no policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted. The men had "availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in SA."

RIAN SMIT reports DP co-leader Wynand Malan said that what was important in Mandela's statement was the commitment not only to peace but also to the searching for a peaceful way of peace.

"The fact that government has been prepared to release the statement is of even greater importance, because it confirms

the absolute necessity of negotiations also with the ANC," he said.

The statement also supported the position the DP had taken on talks with the ANC. "The challenge to Mr de Klerk is to take the NP into this position."

CP spokesman Andries Beyers said his party condemned the talks with the "terrorist organisation" in the strongest possible terms.

"The electorate will cast judgment on September 6 on whether or not they agree with the NP's talks with Mandela."

TIM COHEN reports that DP adviser Van Zyl Stabert said the political significance of Mandela's statement — which he viewed as conciliatory — was not its contents, reflecting what Mandela had always

felt, but the fact that it was released. "Mandela's position has always been that government cannot do a deal with him alone. He is part of the movement. The release of the statement reflects a slight change of attitude on the part of government."

Sapa reports that Winnie Mandela told a BBC correspondent yesterday that her husband had not been given the chance to prepare for his meeting with the President. Mandela was told by Coetsee on Tuesday the following morning, she said. He therefore had had no opportunity to consult with his people, and subsequently had decided to go ahead.

● Comment Page 6

Lift ban on ANC - writers

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa
News Service

11A

HARARE — Afrikaans writers have agreed with the African National Congress that apartheid must be rejected, the ban on the ANC lifted, the state of emergency ended, political prisoners released, troops removed from the townships and laws which ban legitimate political activity abrogated.

The writers committed themselves to work for these objectives after a four-day meeting with an ANC delegation at the Victoria Falls.

Forty-five South Africans, mostly Afrikaans writers, met an ANC delegation that included cultural representatives and writers.

Among those who attended the conference were Andre Brink, Breyten Breytenbach, Etienne van Heerden, Antjie Krog, John Miles, Ampie Coetzee, Gerrit Olivier, Hein Wilhelmse and Jeannette Ferreira.

The writers said they wanted to see a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

A communique said they committed themselves to work for the objectives outlined.

The gathering spoke of finding a truly representative South African literature, in which Afrikaans, freed of its racist connotations, would naturally find its place.

It agreed to encourage the creation of national literature departments at universities.

Thatcher (11A) rejects UDF demand for (12) sanctions (12)

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — In a 40-minute meeting at Downing Street yesterday, a UDF delegation led by co-president Mrs Albertina Sisulu pressed Mrs Thatcher to change her mind about sanctions and to take a harder line in demanding the release of political prisoners

But the British Prime Minister made it clear she would have to agree to disagree with the UDF group Star 13/7/87

However, Downing Street said she had promised to continue pressuring the South African Government on a "case-by-case" basis to show clemency to those sentenced to death for political offences

The Prime Minister's office said the two sides had agreed during an "amicable" discussion that the way forward was through peaceful negotiations

A clearly tired Mrs Sisulu had little to say beyond the fact that the British Premier had agreed apartheid must go as soon as possible

The group also had a meeting with Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Sonny Ramphal yesterday

Today they are to meet the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, and Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock

Thatcher a brick wall on sanctions — Sisulu

LONDON — Albertina Sisulu, heading a high-powered UDF delegation, yesterday met sympathy from British PM Margaret Thatcher — but ran into a brick wall on the mandatory sanctions question

The 40-minute tea-time talks were later described by a Downing Street spokesman as "amicable" Sisulu, however, said Thatcher had been "non-committal" on certain key issues

Sisulu's entry to 10 Downing Street marked the first official contact between representatives of a mass democratic movement and a non-Labour Prime Minister since 1919

8/Jan 13/7159
JAYNE LA MONT

It was also considered of particular political significance as Thatcher had previously flatly refused any contact with the ANC, the UDF or its affiliates.

The delegation, comprising Sisulu, UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia and executive member Titus Mafolo, presented themselves as representatives of the authentic leaders of the majority of South Africans

Thatcher is understood to have shown a particular interest in Sisulu's life, her work

in Soweto and her jailed ANC leader husband, Walter

Afterwards Sisulu told reporters "Thatcher was non-committal, but as for apartheid, she said they are all working towards abolishing it"

A Downing Street spokesman said the prospect for change in SA had been discussed and agreement reached that it was essential for apartheid to be abolished

It is widely speculated that yesterday's talks were a forerunner to a more significant meeting between Thatcher and ANC president Oliver Tambo

● Picture. Page 2

Nat's public talks with ANC a 'first'

81 Day 13/7/87

20783

11A

Political Staff

HARARE — An NP town councillor and former MPC is due tomorrow to become the first NP member to talk publicly to the ANC

Stephan van Metzinger, who has been on the Randburg Town Council since 1977 and was the youngest mayor in SA the following year, is one of 27 people on an Idasa-sponsored tour of the Frontline states, and will take part in two days of talks with the ANC in Lusaka tomorrow

Van Metzinger who has twice been mayor of Randburg is currently the deputy-chairman of the management committee. He was NP MPC for Randburg from 1981 until the provincial councils were abolished in mid-1986

Van Metzinger said yesterday he was travelling in his personal capacity as a businessman and had "come with an open mind". He had consulted both the NP caucus in Randburg and his company before embarking on the trip

He said the talks with the ANC were only two days out of 14 and that the group was consulting a whole range of opinion

Reviewing the tour so far, he said he remained convinced that "the way to peace is not through revolution or the tak-

ing up of arms, but by constructive dialogue between the parties involved"

It was clear that fundamental change in SA had to take place — and quickly

Van Metzinger said he had not hesitated to state that he was a member of the NP and an office bearer. He is the first NP member to participate publicly in talks with the ANC. Private talks with NP members have taken place in the past

If he is expelled from the NP for the ANC meeting, the party's poor position in Randburg will be further weakened

□ MICHAEL HARTNACK reports from Victoria Falls that SA writers and ANC members have concluded a four-day meeting with a resolution welcoming the ANC's paper in May on a selective cultural and academic boycott of SA

They deplored "the cultural impoverishment which results from enforced separation" and looked forward to "an Afrikaans freed of its racist connotations"

An Idasa spokesman in SA said the resolution was adopted unanimously by the 45 writers, most of whom were Afrikaans-speaking and lived in SA

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B/Dag
1317/89

119



British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Albertina Sisulu of the UDF in London yesterday

B/Dag 1317/89
Firm's provisional liquidation granted

SUSAN RUSSELL

A JOHANNESBURG company, Cremark Chemicals (Pty) Ltd, was granted an order in the Rand Supreme Court this week placing itself in provisional liquidation.

Cremark's MD, Peter Mock, said in an affidavit that although the company's assets exceeded its liabilities by a relatively small amount it was in a position where it was no longer able to obtain funds to conduct its business activities.

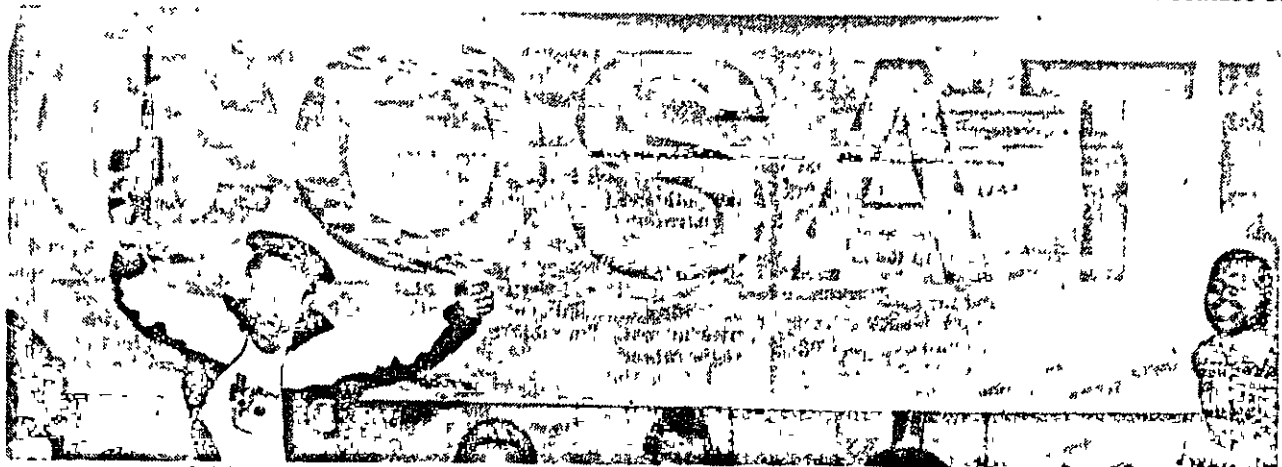
Mock said Cremark had assets of R7 850 000 against liabilities of R7 700 000.

He said Cremark was acquired from Protea Chemicals Ltd in August last year for R3 333 915. R1m of the purchase price was to be paid in September last year and the balance in four instalments in May-August this year.

A notarial bond was drawn up in terms of which Cremark acknowledged its debt to Protea for R2 234 000. As security the company bound all its stocks of finished goods, work in progress and stocks of new materials.

Cremark was unable to pay the June 31 instalment which led Protea to obtain a judgment against the company enabling them to take possession of stock until Cremark recovered R1 739 230 from finished goods, work in progress and raw materials.

Mock said it was essential to appoint a liquidator urgently to preserve the goodwill built up by Cremark over the years.



A delegate brandishes a toy gun at Cosatu's national congress yesterday. Picture: BERNICE SCOTT

Cosatu sceptical of govt's commitment

ALAN FINE

B/Dam 13/7/89

EXPRESSIONS of extreme scepticism of the SA government's commitment to meaningful political negotiation, and attacks on the role of "imperialist" powers in this process, marked the opening session of Cosatu's national congress in Johannesburg yesterday.

President Elijah Barayi told the almost 2 000 delegates that State President P W Botha, or NP leader F W de Klerk, had six months to begin negotiating with the ANC, failing which the armed struggle would continue.

No signal

He said a "desperate attempt is being made to convince us De Klerk, a racist to the core, can be trusted with the initiative for change."

British PM Margaret Thatcher was the main advocate of this position, which backed the belief that the British had always been part of the SA problem.

But Barayi urged the White House and Downing Street to prevail upon De Klerk to allow new plans for an anti-apartheid conference to go ahead.

The bi-annual report of the Cosatu secretariat said there had not been a single signal that government was prepared for genuine negotiations.

It said the "democratic movement" could not consider negotiations without

a climate of free political activity.

The creation of such a climate required the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the unbanning and lifting of restrictions on all organisations and individuals, the unconditional return of exiles, the withdrawal of troops from townships and their confinement to barracks, the halting of executions and political trials, and the repeal of security and other legislation prohibiting free political activity.

The report said while Cosatu was committed to pursuing its struggle through non-violent means, it understood why the "national liberation movement" was forced to resort to armed struggle.

The Labour Relations Act (LRA) and the Natal peace initiative were two other issues prominently addressed by Barayi and the secretariat.

The secretariat said effective action against the LRA would be important in determining whether Cosatu could play a decisive political role.

It said Cosatu, the UDF and Inkatha had, while acknowledging their differences, agreed to work together to end the Natal violence, to end vilification of each other, and to publicise at mass level the need to build peace.

'Just cause' ANC men jailed

STW 13/7/57
GABORONE — Five South African ANC members, convicted of charges relating to the possession of arms and ammunition in Botswana, were yesterday each jailed for five years — although the magistrate said they were fighting for a "just cause".

The Botswana Press Agency said the five, who admitted being ANC members and taking part

in political activities in South Africa, were sentenced to two five-year terms on two counts to run concurrently.

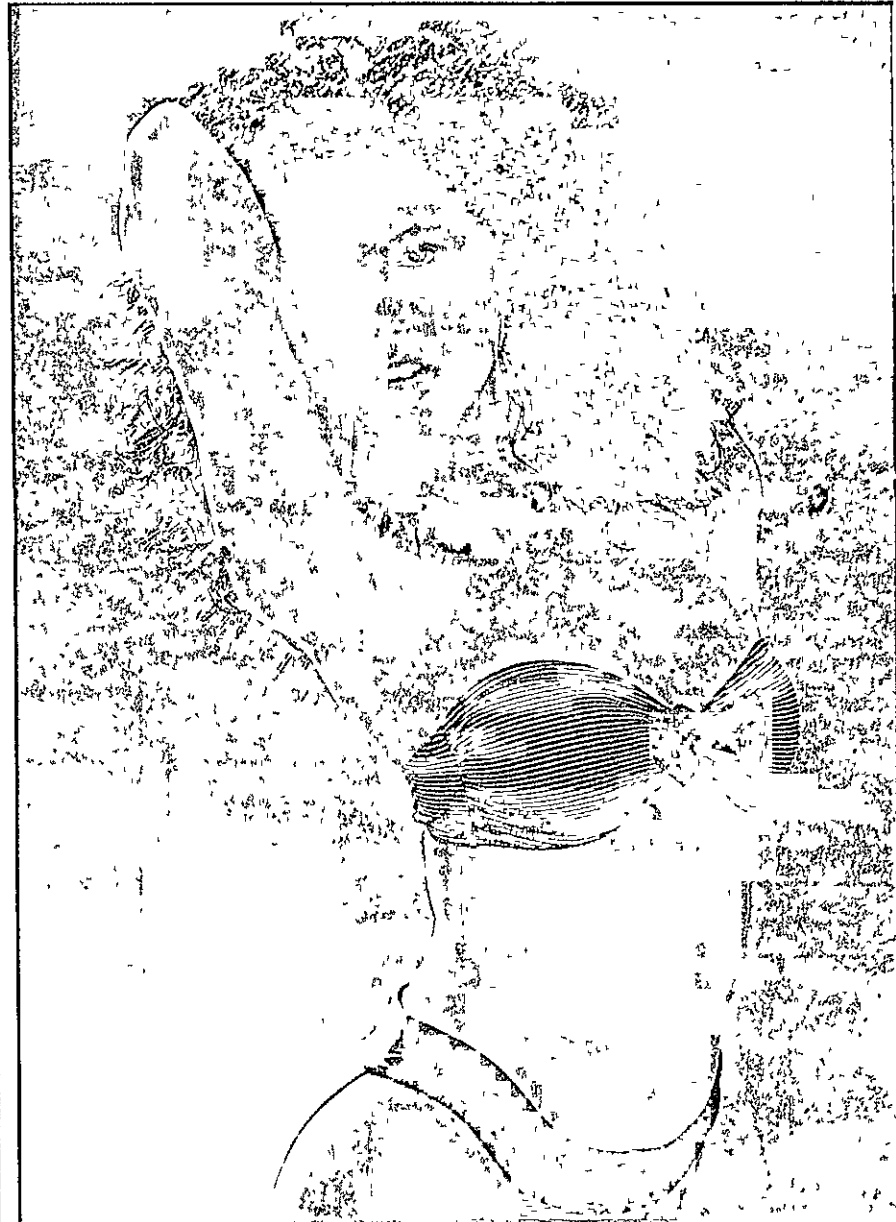
They are Faku Senzakhona, Tebogo Letshwaro, Ngabulo Nyongolo, Edward Moagisi and Siphon Makgalema.

The magistrate said they were fighting for a just cause, but possession of arms was a threat to security. — Sapa (11A)

Inkatha, ANC and UDF in peace bid

Star 8/7/89

11A



Talks could herald 'a new political era'

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night disclosed that a document, which could lead to a powerful new united force in South African politics, had been prepared for a meeting to be held soon between himself and the presidents of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu

In his presidential address to Inkatha's national council, the kwaZulu Chief Minister said he could see future historians "tracing a whole new political era and the final collapse of apartheid to the document"

Chief Buthelezi was referring to a document — details of which have not yet been made public — which had been drafted by delegates of Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions at their recent peace meetings in Natal

Conference will debate proposals

Certain aspects of the proposal would be debated at today's annual general conference of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi said, adding that he would ask his party's delegates to present the conference with a synopsis of the recent joint talks

Last night's national council meeting had to formulate certain relevant amendments to Inkatha's constitution which the conference would consider

While Inkatha should do nothing to upset what he called the combination of peace initiatives, "we still have to face up to the question tomorrow of whether we have to abandon what we are doing and rely only on the combined initiative" as the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance had suggested

"It is where we go from here that we have to be cautious about," Chief Buthelezi said

"I can well see future historians tracing a whole new political era, and in fact the final collapse of apartheid, to this very document and to the united action that it made possible

"Because it has still to be presented to the president of the ANC, I cannot distribute it or quote from it in full just now"

Chief Buthelezi said his "gut feeling" was that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu were re-appraising their attitude towards Inkatha as part of the re-appraisal of the South African situation

Today's conference needed wisdom to examine seriously whether his gut feeling was correct "We could well be entering into an era in which black politics is given a completely different face," he said.

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

'A free Mandela is key to talks'

LONDON — Mrs Margaret Thatcher has told MPs she believes change is taking place in SA but that negotiations between the different races are unlikely until Nelson Mandela is released. (11A)

Answering a question from a Labour MP in the House of Commons yesterday who asked her to press for Mr Mandela's release, she said: "We are constantly raising the question of the release of Nelson Mandela. I do not

believe that any negotiations about the future of SA between all the people of that country could be brought about before that release. (11A)

"I cannot say when that will come about, but I do believe there is change in South Africa. The most important thing now is to get the Namibian agreement under way and hope that after the next election there will be moves towards genuine negotiations."

60 SA writers to meet in Zim

Cap. Times 8/78 11A

ABOUT 60 black and white South African writers will participate in a South African writers' conference at Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) announced yesterday.

The conference, which will be the first major meeting of its kind between mainly Afrikaans writers and some of those black writers who identify closely with the "liberation struggle", will be hosted by Idasa and takes place from today to Tuesday, Idasa said.

A number of distinguished South African writers — like Breyten Breytenbach, Andre Brink and Wally Serote — are among the delegates who have, however, been drawn largely from the younger generation of South African writers.

Themes to be explored at the conference include: The Afrikaans writer today and possible future directions, the writer and national liberation; women writers in South Africa, and South African literature.

In addition, a session has been set aside for the ANC leadership to spell out the movement's general policy and its position on controversial issues like the armed struggle and cultural boycott.

Several members of the ANC's national executive committee — including Thabo Mbeki — will attend the conference.

Most of the black writers who will attend the conference live in exile, Idasa said.

The delegation that will travel from South Africa includes writers like Menan du Plessis, Ingrid Fiske, Antjie Krog, Jeanne Goosen, Fanie Olivier, Etienne van Heerden, John Miles, Jeanette Ferreira, Hein Willemse, Ryk Hattingh and Welma Odendaal. — Sapa

PAC pair out after 10 years on island

By MARTIN
NTSOELENQOE

PAC members Johnson Nyathi and Ben Ntoele were released this week after serving 10 years on Robben Island for terrorism.

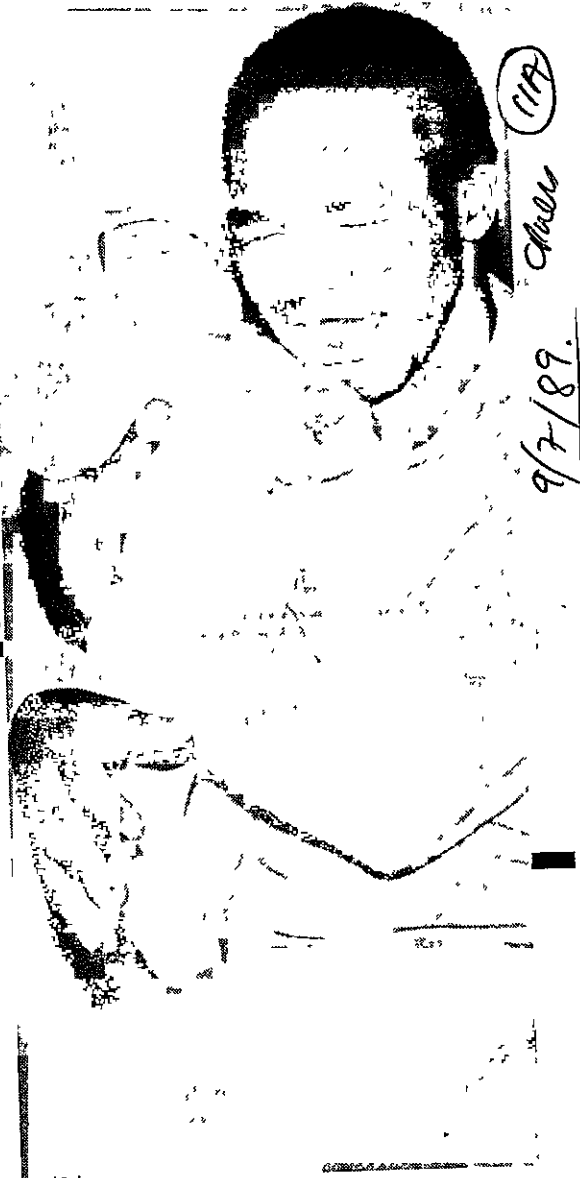
Nyathi was initially detained in 1976. He and 17 others were sentenced in 1978 after a lengthy treason trial known as the Bethal trial, because the case was heard in the Eastern Transvaal town of Bethal.

Johnson Nyathi ... released after serving a 10-year sentence on Robben Island for terrorism.

The trial was a result of the 1976 Soweto uprisings and involved members of the PAC - including president Zeph Mothopeng.

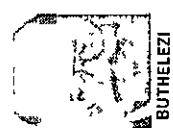
While on Robben Is-

land Nyathi studied through the Institute of Certified Bookkeepers. Before his arrest he worked as a ticket examiner with the South African Railways.



Peace talks are on!

S/Times 9/7/84
1984/11



BUTHELEZI

By PETA THORNYCROFT and SHAUN HARRIS

ANC President Oliver Tambo and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to hold "end the bloodshed" peace talks in London within a month.

An ANC source said negotiations towards dialogue between the two leaders — who have been at loggerheads for decades — had been going on for some time

And locally, an important decision, vital to a joint attempt by the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha to end the endemic political violence in Natal, will be taken later today at Inkatha's annual conference at Ulundi, KwaZulu

The Sunday Times was told that the ANC was "deeply worried" by the spiralling bloodshed in Natal.

Risks

The banned organisation is believed to have anticipated that some of its supporters might be "confused" by the meeting between Mr Tambo and Chief Buthelezi, given the ANC's long-standing anger at the Zulu leader's anti-sanctions and anti-violence stance

"It has come to a point where, regardless of the political risks, the ANC wants an end to the fighting in Natal. Apart from trying to end the

ANC set to meet Inkatha

slaughter — which is an immediate task — the ANC's longer-term aim has always been unity among blacks. But the primary objective is to stop the killing now," said the source

There are some in the ANC who believe that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela has exercised considerable influence from behind his prison walls in getting Mr Tambo and Chief Buthelezi around a negotiating table

They point to Mr Mandela's letter to Chief Buthelezi written from Victor Verster Prison earlier this year as being a starting point in the process towards peace in Natal

Of all the much-publicised meetings between the ANC-in-exile and people from inside the country, political observers believe the one between Mr Tambo and Chief Buthelezi will be the most significant to date

Ever since Mr Tambo left South Africa in 1960 after his second banning order — and the subsequent banning of the ANC — to head the organisation's external mission, relations between him and Chief Buthelezi have grown increasingly hostile

Chief Buthelezi has often indicated he would be willing to meet Mr Tambo, but the ANC has always turned him down

Rallies

Meanwhile, at Ulundi today the more than 5 000 conference delegates will be asked to consider a proposal to accept and implement the "joint peace plan" — a result of earlier meetings in Durban between delegates from Inkatha, Cosatu and the UDF — or reject it and continue with the series of peace rallies Chief Buthelezi has been conducting in the region

However, it is unlikely the joint peace plan will be scuttled. Chief Buthelezi made it clear in his presidential address to Inkatha's National Council on Friday night that he favoured the initiative

The only matter open to debate today will be whether Inkatha decides to accept the joint plan

Although the Inkatha leader would not disclose details of the proposal — he wants the presidents of the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF to consider it first — he did sketch an outline of what it encompassed

After next month's meeting of the "big four" — Chief Buthelezi, Mr Tambo, the UDF's Archie Gumede and Cosatu's Elijah Barayi — to examine the combined document, it is proposed that two committees be appointed. One would be a permanent consultative committee to try to overcome "difficulties" between the respective organisations, and the other a joint peace committee

Party would infringe our family ideals, says Winnie

9/7/89
MH

REPORTS of an application by jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela to have a graduation party in his isolated prison bungalow have been quashed by his wife, Winnie.

"It is an infringement of the family's ideals and our respect for the man. There is no occasion for a man behind bars to celebrate," she told Sapa

Mandela was recently awarded a degree in law after completing his studies by correspondence

Winnie Mandela, who clashed with her husband and members of the Mass Democratic Movement recently because of her relations with the Mandela Football Club, said the family was not in the habit of throwing parties and such a function would be "out of context" considering her husband's incarceration

Mandela's lawyer, Ismael Ayob, said "I know about it (the application for the party) but I did not make the application"

Reuters news agency earlier quoted sources close to the Mandela family as saying Mandela had asked the SA Prison Service a month ago for permission to hold a graduation party for up to 50 people.

Winnie Mandela said she had last seen her husband three weeks ago. She knew nothing about such an application made by him, she said

Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1964 after being convicted of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government by revolution

He is presently being held in a prison bungalow in Paarl, near Cape Town

The only gathering planned was a prayer meeting on her husband's birthday, July 18, Winnie Mandela said

"We shall be with him on his birthday and we are hoping to bring family members from Transkei and his grandchildren"

If this can be arranged, it will be the first time in 20 years that the Mandela family will be together

Winnie Mandela said she would be delighted if jailed black leaders Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi and Ahmed Kathrada - mentioned in the report as among those who Mandela wanted to invite to his "party" - could be present on her husband's birthday

"They are considered to be part of the family anyway and we have not seen them for 20 years"

She said she did not know who the "sources close to the family" - who allegedly submitted the basis for the earlier report - could have been

A spokesman for the SA Prison Service said "The matter of a graduation ceremony for Mandela is being considered" - Sapa

The historic encounter — one of the most sensational developments in South African politics for decades — took place in Tuynhuys on Wednesday.

Official confirmation came after a Tuynhuys spokesman denied that the meeting had taken place at all.

Late yesterday — in response to an inquiry by the Sunday Times, which had heard of the meeting from unimpeachable sources — the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, issued a statement to news agencies confirming that the two men had met for 45 minutes.

Mr Coetsee said "President Botha met Mr Mandela informally in Tuynhuys on July 5, when the latter paid a courtesy visit to the State President. "No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted.

"President Botha and Mr Mandela, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa.

"Their conversation took place in a pleasant spirit.

"The possibility of further steps or negotiations was not discussed.

"I was present during the visit."

Mr Mandela was taken to Tuynhuys from the bungalow he occupies in the grounds of Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

The meeting — and the discussions which presumably preceded it — were shrouded in the deepest secrecy.

It is likely that only selected guards were used to escort the VIP prisoner. Officials were informed only on a "need-to-know" basis, the tightest form of State security.

First hints that something important was afoot surfaced in Lusaka and London late this week.

ANC sources in the Zambian capital said yesterday it was clear that there was "something in the air".

While he could not confirm that the meeting had actually taken place, one source said "We've heard the rumour. It's buzzing around town."

However, in Cape Town, Mr Jack Viviers, spokesman in the State President's office, responded to inquiries by denying the two men had met.

Later he called the Sunday Times to say "No such meeting took place at Tuynhuys."

Impact

Several hours later, following further inquiries by the Sunday Times, Mr Coetsee issued his statement.

Although only scant details have been released about the matters discussed by the two elderly but still towering figures in South African affairs, news of the meeting is likely to make a major impact abroad and at home.

Western leaders have been urging the South African Government to open negotiations with the ANC and called insistently for the release of Mr Mandela when the leader of the National Party, Mr FW de Klerk, visited European capitals last month.

Yesterday a spokesman for Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, reacted positively when told of the meeting.

He said that No 10 Downing Street had not heard of the encounter.

He added "It's what we've been calling for all along."

"A meeting by itself, however, is not enough — we are looking for nothing short of Mr Mandela's unconditional release."

Asked last night to comment, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said "It is important to note that these are two South African leaders who met each other without mediation from outside. At the same time, this meeting will have wide, positive support which will benefit all the people of South Africa."

"It was probably one of the most important events of our time."

National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk confirmed that he was kept fully informed about the meeting.

However, as a member of Mr Botha's Cabinet he did not want to comment on meetings held by the head of state.

"It is the State President's prerogative to meet whom he wishes, and I abide by his

By PETA THORNYCROFT in Harare,
JEREMY BROOKS in London
and LESTER VENTER and DRIES
VAN HEERDEN in Pretoria

decisions on such matters," Mr De Klerk said.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said last night he had "no idea" the meeting had taken place.

"No mention of this was made by Mr Mandela during our talks this week," said Mr Ayob on his return from Cape Town yesterday.

Within South Africa, news of the meeting comes at a time when a major shift is taking place in alliances and in strategies towards inter-racial negotiation.

At the NP federal congress last week, the ruling party seemed to shift its position on the question of talking to the ANC.

Instead of the usual insistence that the banned organisation must first renounce violence, it marginally softened its position by declaring that people "who have a commitment to peace" would be permitted to take part in negotiations.

Options

It is unlikely that the NP would have raised objections to the Botha-Mandela meeting since the State President is no longer leader of the party and sees himself as a head of state above party politics.

As such he is well placed to explore options for talking to the ANC without compromising the party from which he has lately quietly distanced himself — even to the point of not attending a farewell banquet in his honour.

Mr Botha's attitude towards the release of Mr Mandela was outlined in a speech to Parliament on April 17.

He said the ANC leader had a role to play in achieving his freedom.

"If he is prepared to contribute to a peaceful settlement of South Africa's future I will personally welcome it," he said.

"In such a case, Government would react open-heartedly."

He said it would be futile to release Mr Mandela if this led to his re-arrest and increased conflict.

"I hope he realises this. No head of government who is responsible for the promotion of good order can lend himself to processes which result in group domination, the defeat of democratic principles and the destruction of private initiative and free enterprise."

Informed sources said yesterday that Mr Mandela would also have used informal channels of communication to consult with the leadership of the ANC before agreeing to meet Mr Botha.

Strategies

In black political circles, too, there have lately been hugely important shifts in attitudes towards a negotiated settlement of South Africa's central political problems.

Various organisations in the "mass democratic movement" — from the ANC to the United Democratic Front and the trade unions — have for weeks been discussing strategies for negotiation.

Urged by foreign powers — East and West — to seek solutions through negotiation rather than through armed struggle, there has been intense debate to prepare a practical bargaining position.

It will be the central issue when Cosatu, the umbrella trade union body, holds its congress in Durban this week. Representatives from other organisations who are not restricted or in exile will be observers among the expected 2 000 delegates.

At the same time, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi disclosed in Ulundi on Friday that there had been a thaw in the long-standing iciness between his Inkatha movement and the ANC, UDF and Cosatu.

He revealed the existence of a document

□ To Page 2

ANC leader whisked
from jail house for
historic secret visit

STimes 9/1/89.



Drama as Tuyenhuys
denies it — then an
admission by Coetsee

PVVINTERS MEET MANNDOHIA

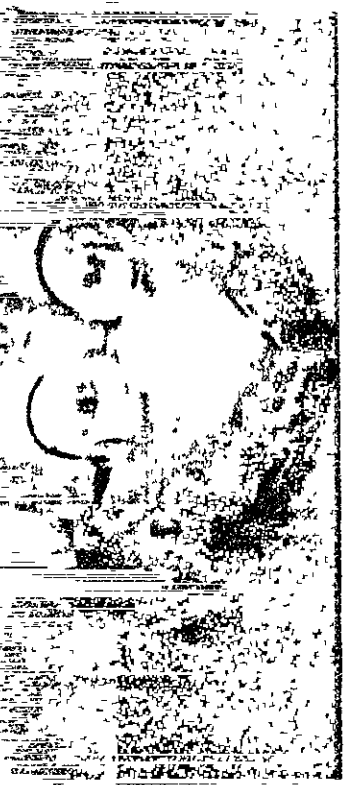
PRESIDENT BOTHA and Mr Nelson Mandela met in Cape Town this week.

The historic encounter — one of the most sensational developments in South African politics for decades — took place in Tuyenhuys on Wednesday.

Official confirmation came after a Tuyenhuys spokesman denied that the meeting had taken place at all.

Late yesterday — in response to an inquiry by the Sunday Times, which had heard of the meeting from untraceable sources — the Minister of Justice, Mr Koble

By PETA THORNGROFT in Harare,
JEREMY BROOKS in London
and LESTER VENTER and DRIES
VAN HEERDEN in Pretoria



EXCLUSIVE PICTURE SPECIAL
GROSSKOPF
The

to know what it was for. The result was much soul. With its bases in Angola being. It is right that we should be

Talks help ANC form more realistic policies

SITimes

11A

9/7/89

SINCE the original meeting between a small party of businessmen led by Gavin Reilly and the ANC in 1985, several more meetings have taken place focusing on economic and business issues.

In Dakar in July 1987, and again in Lusaka in July 1989 key debates centred around the economic and business issues.

The obvious question must be whether these debates have served any purpose, or whether people who interact with the ANC are, according to State President Botha and Minister Vlok, no more than useful idiots?

The answer is unequivocally in favour of having served a worthwhile purpose, and makes nonsense of Botha and Vlok's use of Lenin's maxim

It would be foolish to claim that such brief, often once-off, interactions have served to fundamentally alter the ANC's economic policies. There has, however, been a discernable sharpening of debate and increasing tolerance to listen to one another.

The ANC's contributions have become substantially less rhetorical and ideological. They are displaying a real concern for practical realities and understanding of South Africa's interdependence with and vulnerability to international trends.

Demands

This level of reflection has by their own admission been at least partially due to the demands of responding to the realities and limitations of economic growth and distributive processes raised in such debates.

A common mood in the ANC is that these interactions with a spectrum of business people and economists have forced them to focus on issues that they would otherwise perhaps not have addressed so soon.

The business and economic debate has also shown another pleasing development. It is no longer characterised by the brittle ideas of the rampant free marketeers whose purist philosophies are as impractical as their extreme opposites supporting the notions of a State-planned ownerless society.

The debate in Lusaka all but lost the characteristics of a socialism versus capitalism debate.

The core of the ANC's debate centred on the need to understand that mere dismantling of apartheid was not enough. Race domination in both political and economic spheres is viewed as the basis of the problem that must be resolved if any true freedom and equality is to be pursued.

on the future of SA

economic reconstruction required to overcome the racial domination in this sphere could not be attained by a mere change of ownership and control.

Whatever differences appeared, tended to be related to the nature of State intervention and principles of ownership and control required to achieve economic transformation.

The internal delegation emphasised the need for liberating and empowerment-g geared state interventions which could serve to overcome the historic educational, social and discriminatory inhibitors of personal initiative and private ownership.

The ANC were less specific. They reject the notion of an ownerless society. They support the need for a mixed economy with a definite private sector and therefore private ownership.

They are however less clear on the nature and extent of the economic mix, and the mechanics of ownership. Private ownership of capital for workers is still viewed with some suspicion as being divisive and diluting worker unity.

Views on State intervention also tend to greater control and directive-minded strategies. The feeling relayed is that the nature of the mix and intervention must be "left open to programmatic process".



Christo Nel

businessman and consultant, gives his impressions of the ANC's economic policy

A mere dismantling of apartheid will not serve to reconstruct and transform our society. This has historically never been translated into an idea of a "millennia leap" or outright nationalisation of the economy.

Instead the notion of the early Sixties that "nationalisation would be based upon a strong private sector", has now started focusing on several more specific dimensions.

A welcome confluence of ideas centred around the need for skills development and retention.

Crucial

The oft-stated ANC position that all whites were crucial to South Africa and that there was no intention of "forcing whites out of the country" was emphasised.

Both delegations also acknowledged the need for specific affirmative action programmes geared both at skills development and overcoming the historic discrimination within the workplace specifically, and society generally.

There is a growing focus on both the growth and distribution requirements facing South Africa. This focus was shared in Lusaka by the internal South African delegation.

Both delegations agreed that punitive distributive mechanisms or simplistic nationalisation could not work. The ANC emphasised that

Suspicion,

This may raise the suspicion of an attempt at creating purposeful nebulousness to deceive business.

Equally it probably indicates the problem of lack of rigour and detail due to lack of practical experience in running either business or a national economy.

The comfort of not having to drive a political economy provides space for ideological liberation and resistance-g geared strategies. This cannot be the nurturing ground for responding to the realities of driving the political economy.

Conversely it is unfair to castigate a movement in isolation for not having yet developed definite clarity on economic policy.

The danger, of course, is that the policies wrought in isolation and developed theoretically, may become the practice of tomorrow.

This perhaps, more than anything else, emerged as the motivating force for supporting the development of ongoing contact between specifically business leaders, economists and the ANC.

At the end of the day, the Lusaka meeting was characterised by game participants battling with difficult concepts. It must be infinitely preferable to participants playing games and conceptualising battles.

After the latest meeting between white South Africans and the ANC in Lusaka, the choice grows narrower . . .

THE petite Zambian cashier at Lusaka's Intercontinental Hotel paused for a moment to survey the jostling crowd of white South Africans and ANC delegates in the foyer

"Tell me, she asked, have you buried the hatchet yet?"

The question innocent as it was, symbolised much of the comment that surrounded the visit by South Africans to the ANC — a political Haj as the sceptics claimed.

The 100 Five Freedoms Forum delegates who went to Lusaka last week to meet the ANC did not represent power and certainly did not go to negotiate. They did however go to learn exchange views and where necessary argue.

One thing emerged very clearly after a weekend of endless debate. The ANC may be united, but it is being buffeted by changing influences and circumstances — just like the National Party. And, like F W de Klerk's men, they are having to respond to those challenges.

Where does this pressure come from? Primarily from two sources

Recognition

Ironically the first derives precisely from the ANC's own diplomatic successes. From 1985 onwards as internal insurrection in South Africa mounted the South African Government responded by attempting to isolate the ANC — militarily, socially and diplomatically.

It did not work. In the absence of any credible reform movement under way within South Africa, and mindful of domestic political pressures, Western leaders like Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan reluctantly moved to a de facto recognition of the ANC.

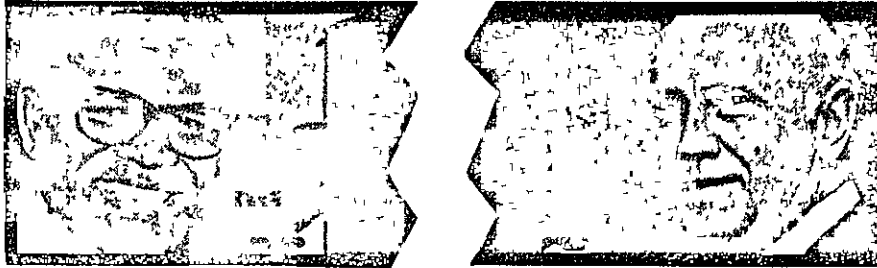
Thus British Minister of State Linda Chalker met ANC leader Oliver Tambo in London in June 1986. In January the following year US Secretary of State George Schultz did likewise.

But this new-found respect for the ANC posed its own problems. To continue holding the diplomatic high ground it had to prove it was a reputable opposition-in-exile and not a bunch of wild bombers.

It was put to Mr Tambo most succinctly by George Schultz when he said he knew what the ANC was against but he needed to know what it was for.

The result was much soul-

THINK or



THUMP?

the KwaZulu Natal Indaba the SA Law Commission between factions within the bureaucracies and tendencies within the ruling party.

Is there a possibility that the NP and ANC will soon begin negotiations?

Probably not. Although there are indications that some form of deal can be struck over the elements of a new society, real debate is being stymied by the passionate dispute on means.

The Government insists the ANC ends its violence before it can participate in negotiations. The ANC conversely believes the armed struggle is one of its best levers and does not intend cashing it in while political prisoners are still incarcerated its organisation is banned and the security forces continue wielding virtually unlimited powers of detention. It is a typical egg and the chicken argument.

In the short term, the National Party cannot acknowledge the central political importance of the ANC because its white constituency — propagandised into a doctrinal opposition to the organisation — would not allow it.

Pressure

And, seen from Lusaka's point of view, the hard young men of the townships and the guerrilla camps would not meekly accept surrender of arms without some very concrete up-front gains first.

So where to now?

Both camps, whether they admit it or not are under centripetal pressure. For F W de Klerk it is from economic decay, international isolation and a rightwing which is partly fed by the failure of the National Party to deliver effective domestic reform. For Oliver Tambo it is pressure to maintain the diplomatic initiative and keep control of the younger, radicalised elements in South Africa's townships.

A meeting of minds is thus not impossible. The most we can hope for in the short term is that Mr De Klerk will regain political ascendancy on the question of relations with the ANC and not leave the running to the liturgically antagonistic police and the repetitive banalities of their Minister. Mr Tambo, for his part, must keep his adventurers, putschists, bombers and assassins in check.

That way the thinkers may at last get the better of the thumpers.

Brian Pottinger

reports on the meeting in Lusaka this week between white South Africans and a high-level ANC delegation



searching in the ANC and eventually a guideline on constitutional and economic policies which has been extensively if covertly, circulated in South Africa.

Maintenance of this Mr Nice Guy image requires the ANC at least to appear conciliatory in public and to taper off its military actions — particularly random terrorism.

Dependent

But there is also pressure from another source. The Soviet Union — traditional backers of the ANC — have not ordered the ANC to halt its military campaigns, but Moscow has signalled, very clearly, that it would much prefer a political settlement.

With its bases in Angola being

relocated to Tanzania and Ethiopia, the ANC's "contribution" to peace in the region is more dependent than ever on Soviet support — and suasion.

These pressures manifested themselves in the Lusaka meeting in different ways. Among the significant shifts were a retreat from hard-line socialism, dropping of the demand for immediate transfer of power, proposals for a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution, a coy endorsement of the white component of the September 6 elections, commitment to individual liberties and an acknowledgement of ethnic or cultural minority rights.

Cynics will insist this is all lip service and that once in power the ANC would quickly ditch its democratic pretensions.

It is right that we should be

sceptical — one only has to look at our own ruling party to observe the gap between what politicians say and what they do. It is also true that the ANC showed its smiling face in Lusaka — the hard-eyed commanders of its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe, were not present.

Factions

Yet — and this is crucial — once the ANC commits itself to public positions the debate can start. We all know that pieces of paper are worthless and that there will be peace in South Africa only when there is an equitable spread of balancing forces (military, economic and political) so that no one faction will gain more by breaking the covenant than it would be abiding by it. That would be the end of the negotiations.

The bump-and-push variety of negotiations are, in a sense, already under way between various communities and power brokers in our society — unions, business,

111A

ANC violence not on, says DP candidate

CP Correspondent

THE ANC was "defensive" when tackled on the contradictions between its strategies of building a broad anti-apartheid alliance and using violence, said the Democratic Party candidate for Groote Schuur, Dene Smuts.

Like the National Party, the ANC was trying to build its power base and one of the ways it was trying to do this was by building an anti-apartheid coalition

Smuts, the former editor of *Fair Lady* who resigned after she was told not to publish an interview with Dr. Denis Worrall in 1987, said there was much to be admired in the charterist tradition

"It is clear that politics and power is what makes the ANC tick but the point is worth making because it is all too easy in a situation as polarised as ours, where so many have suffered for their opposition to apartheid, to slip into unquestioned support for the most glamorous of our liberation movements

"The only acceptable agenda is a truly democratic one like that of the DP - principles not partisanship"

"The ANC are politicians who, like any politicians, will try to get potential support on their own terms and according to their own agenda"

"At the same time, they continues with strategies like the armed struggle, which are clearly counter-productive," she said

Suzman pleased by good ANC attitude

CP Correspondent

THERE was a far better attitude towards a negotiated settlement among the ANC than anticipated, veteran Democratic Party MP for Houghton, Helen Suzman, said after the Lusaka discussions.

"I have always said it is a question of not if, but when the government and the ANC will talk to each other."

Suzman, who is retiring after 36 years in Parliament, said she had criticised sanctions and



Retiring veteran MP Helen Suzman wonders "when the peace talks will begin".

rejected violence in the discussions.

"No one in the ANC was enthralled by these views but I did not encounter any hostility as a result."

On Zambian TV she said she was "absolutely" opposed to sanctions, adding that "they are to-

tally counterproductive because, if successful, they would result in a ruined economy. There is no point in working to inherit a wasteland".

Asked about her views on violence, Suzman replied she was against violence by the government, the police or the ANC.

She said she had expressed the same views in the discussions with the ANC.

"There was a better attitude towards a negotiated settlement than I had anticipated but, of course, there has to be a truce on both sides.

"On the whole, the

discussions were held at a high level. There was a good spirit and an interesting cross-section in both delegations

"Contact and communication must be a plus factor in helping to create a climate in which negotiations can start," said Suzman.

FRANK TALK

CP Correspondent

9/2/89

NEVER has dialogue between the exiled ANC and white South Africans been so frank and honest as during the Five Freedoms Forum-organised conference in Lusaka last weekend.

There was no hesitation by either side to put their cards on the table, fearlessly discuss controversial issues and give an ear to the other side's point of view.

The frankness and honesty of the three-day conference assumed a new dimension in the context of recent talks with the ANC - the Five Freedoms Forum delegation consisted only of white delegates, many of them Afrikaners who had never met members of the banned movement

Since the initial path-breaking visit to the ANC by leading members of the South African business community in August 1985, more than 70 meetings between South Africans from "home" and those in exile (the ANC) have taken place

At least 25 of these meetings were between white South African passport holders and the ANC. But never before has a white delegation been as diverse as the latest group

The South Africans from "home" came from 13 different towns and cities and represented over 30 organisations and groups involved in working for change inside and outside Parliament

What impressed many white delegates was the willingness of the ANC to discuss a future South Africa and its present problems, admitting that the movement did not have all the answers. This admission was taken as an indication that the ANC also wanted the input of white South Africans

Pointed out forum chairman Mike Olivier in his address to the conference: "If we are to be part of a common and peaceful future, we need at least to know each other"

The issues discussed during the conference included negotiations, violence, its causes and effects, sanctions, change and a future South African constitution

To allow for lengthy and intensive interaction on these issues, 13 workshops were established.

Attention was given to violence and the armed struggle, with both the forum and ANC delegations expressing concern about the spiral of violence, militarisation and its long-term effects on South African society

"The scars of war are serious and should be minimised by disciplined and humanitarian conduct," said the workshop on violence in its report-back to the conference

Of particular importance was the effect of the armed struggle on the white community. Some delegates felt it was counter-productive for whites, whose fears of violence could turn them away from support for the abolition of apartheid

However, for some whites the development of the armed struggle had an awakening effect. This was also true of some whites who served in the SADF. The ANC argued that one had to view the armed struggle from the point of view of a just and unjust war. The movement explained that its use of violence was aimed at matching the violence of apartheid and pointed out that the ANC only adopted the armed struggle after years of peaceful protest had no positive results

The use of the armed struggle by the ANC was explained at length by ANC delegates and the organisation's president, Oliver Tambo, who attended all sessions of the conference in person

Recent
ANC
talks
with
white
group
hailed

11A

Cherry



ANC president Oliver Tambo... explained use of violence.

The question of soft targets was raised with great concern on both sides. It was explained that attacks on civilians had never been ANC policy and that few such incidents took place

Pretoria's attempts to hide essential information about the ANC's understanding of the armed and other forms of struggle from the South African public, and its propaganda about the struggle, were condemned

Sanctions probably received the most attention, with much of the debate focusing on their economic effects

Some delegates argued that sanctions had only aggravated the economic crisis in South Africa and the country might find it impossible to recover from a spiralling economic decline

Although consensus could not be reached on many issues, the conference agreed that the basic aim of supporting sanctions was to get rid of apartheid.

The ANC remained committed to comprehensive, mandatory sanctions while opinion varied among the white delegation. Most delegates supported further investigations of targeted sanctions

The question about the who, when and how of negotiations in achieving the goal of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa was also strongly debated

It was agreed that in a sense negotiations had already started - maybe not around a table but certainly as a process and on different levels

The ANC made it clear, however, that direct negotiations with the South African government were not on the cards until Pretoria had shown its willingness to prepare a climate conducive for negotiations

There was consensus that constitutional negotiations be about the formation of a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa - not anything less

- Ano

Groups chatted like 'born again democrats'

CP Correspondent

WELL-known communists involved in last week's discussions between the ANC and 114 white South Africans were talking like "born-again democrats," according to Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town.

"Amazed" by this talk, he also dismissed suggestions that "the ANC dog is wagged by the Communist Party tail" as "untrue."

In fact, the reverse was true, he said. "The Communist Party has become more-or-less assimilated into the ANC."

Welsh said one well-known communist, "much demonised in South Africa," had told of his strong support for Mikhail Gorbachev.

When asked whether he saw any chance of the Soviet Union proceeding along the lines of Poland and Hungary, where multi-party systems are in the process of being established, he replied "I hope so" and went on to denounce one-party systems as recipes for tyranny.

A political scientist, Professor Welsh said he had been impressed by the "modest and scholarly" Zola Skweyiya, with whom he participated in a session on constitutional options.

"The ANC's demand is for universal franchise in a non-racial, unitary state but in discussions the impression was that they accepted my argument that in the South African conflict no part or movement was likely to find itself in a position to impose its own constitution.

"They were entirely amenable to the proposition that divided societies must, at all costs, avoid 'winner-takes-all' outcomes," Welsh said.

His impression was that the ANC was aware that minorities may have fears about racism under majority rule.

"Areas of possible compromise and agreement are there."

Welsh said there was a pathological suspicion of the government's bonafides, which was hardly surprising, and a general belief that FW de Klerk's recent statements were merely re-statements of the "same old thing" and "a rear-guard action to preserve apartheid."

whole page

TIA

9/7/89

TIA

SUNDAY TIMES PICTURE SPECIAL ON THE LIFE AND SOUL OF THE ANC'S LUSAKA PARTY

SUNDAY TIMES, July 9 1989

HEIN BOCHERMAN MR. GROSSKOPF

In some ways he seems no more outspoken than a lot of young Afrikaners. Until he begins to speak about violence...

By Brian Pottinger

HE COULD be anybody's kid brother or favourite son. Hein Grosskopf is all boyish charm and good manners — standing back for ladies, opening doors and apologising when interrupting somebody to make a point.

Yet he is not the boy next door. The 25-year-old Grosskopf is a member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and has been accused by the police of complicity in two car bombings — at Krugersdorp and Wits Command — in which three civilians died and 90 were injured.

Since then the lanky fair-haired Afrikaner has become in the eyes of the white public the typical revolutionary terrorist — se-
cretive, daring, gold-blooded and omnipresent.

On politics, in its broadest sense, he remains no more outspoken than a whole generation of other young Afrikaner reformists who have emerged from Stellenbosch, RAU or Pretoria. He appears compassionate, sincere and dedicated.

ANGER

When it comes to the question of violence, the shutters come down. The "armed struggle" he insists, is both necessary and justified.

"When blacks or Indians from South Africa come here to talk the question of violence hardly arises," he mused to one conference delegate, "they all accept it as necessary, but not white South Africans."

What brought about this conversion from naïveté? Grosskopf is not saying, although on several occasions



BOYISH CHARM in Lusaka

two faces of Hein Grosskopf Pictures ELSABE WESSELS

BOLD UNITY PLAN

11A
Gwen
9/7/89

By S'BU MNGADI

PLANS for a bold new united force against apartheid, between Inkatha and the ANC, were made public this week.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi revealed for the first time on Friday an as yet unpublished document which he claims could "lead to a new powerful united force in South African politics".

This document - the result of a series of Natal peace talks between Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu alliance - has been prepared for a proposed meeting soon between Buthelezi, ANC president Oliver Tambo and UDF/Cosatu leaders.

Addressing Inkatha's National Council, Buthelezi said future historians would trace a new political era and the final collapse of apartheid to the document.

As a result of this "blueprint" the UDF's Achebe Gumedede, Cosatu's Elijah Barayi, Tambo and the Inkatha leader will meet late this month.

Buthelezi has suggested Europe or the US as a venue but the UDF/Cosatu leaders want Lusaka or Harare.

He disclosed parts of the document - annoying the UDF and Cosatu who say he breached confidence.

Cosatu, UDF will only be revealing the document at Cosatu's congress in

Inkatha, UDF, ANC to talk for peace

Johannesburg next weekend

Two committees - a permanent consultative committee and a joint peace committee, will then be appointed to organise a peace conference scheduled for August.

However, Buthelezi sounded a word of caution that he did not want to fail Inkatha by turning it "into a lame duck which could be shot and destroyed to satisfy the political hunger of the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC."

Central to his scepticism is that the monopoly of leadership Inkatha has enjoyed in Natal/KwaZulu will have to be curtailed.

UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe told a peace rally at Durban's Currie's Fountain last weekend that, although the UDF and Cosatu wanted peace, they were not surrendering to apartheid.

See Comment Page 8

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A SIGNIFICANT shift in the government's pre-conditions for negotiations could pave the way for discussions with the ANC and make it possible for Mr Nelson Mandela to be released, even if he does not renounce violence.

In the past, the government has repeatedly stated that the ANC would have to renounce violence before it would consider any negotiations with banned organisations, and the release of Mr Mandela would only be considered if he also renounced violence.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, who is head of the NP's information directorate,

Govt shift over ANC talks

Mr Tinkis 11/7/89
HA

said at a briefing in Pretoria this week that this issue related to conditions spelt out by President P W Botha regarding Mr Mandela's possible release.

Mr Du Plessis said an important shift had taken place because Mr Botha had said that Mr Mandela 'could be "willing to promote peace".'

The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said the requirement of the renunciation of violence as a pre-requisite to negotiations had created possi-

ble problems, because some organisations said they had not actively propagated violence and for this reason they did not see why there was a need to renounce it.

Dr Van der Merwe added, "We are moving away from the almost misleading requirement that violence should be renounced."

NP leaders stressed at the NP's federal congress that the new requirement would be a commitment to peace rather than the renunciation of violence.

Yesterday, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine, said the reported announcement by the NP that the only qualification for participation in the negotiation process was a "commitment to peace" was "a major shift".

"If this is seriously intended, this is an extremely important step towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa

"If these reports are correct, it represents a dramatic shift and opens the door for the ANC and other groups in exile to become key actors in resolving the present conflict.

"The ANC is on record that negotiation is the preferred method of getting rid of apartheid, but they were forced to resort to the armed struggle because every other channel was closed to them.

"The test for the NP will be whether or not they are willing to

recognise the important role of the ANC and the support it enjoys inside South Africa, and therefore their right to take their place at the negotiation table.

"Obviously, many other thorny questions remain before negotiation becomes a reality. The release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations and the lifting of the state of emergency are only some of them.

"But if the government is serious, and has been correctly reported, then this new stance should be seized upon by all those who long for peace and justice in a tragically divided South Africa." Dr Boraine said.

No ANC-Inkatha meeting?

GM 4 Times 11/7/89 (112)
LONDON — No one was available at the Inkatha office here yesterday to comment on a report that ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo might soon meet the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

The Independent quoted Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the Inkatha general secretary, as saying here on Thursday that the meeting would take place at a

mutually agreed venue soon

It is thought to be linked to negotiations in Durban last week between Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu on an eventual truce and peace agreement

The ANC office in London said yesterday it had no knowledge of any meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Tambo — Sapa and Own Correspondent

SA and ANC in big private talks

w/c Mbeki
11/7/89

(11A)

By STEPHEN WROTTESELEY
Weekend Argus News Editor

THE South African delegation in Lusaka is involved in behind-closed-door "workshops" with one of the largest groups ever of ANC members

Open City campaigner Ms Beverly Roos said from Lusaka today that the ANC group totalled 80 people, including 20 members of the national executive committee.

"Almost everybody who is anybody is here," she said

Ms Roos is one of the 115 Five Freedoms Forum delegation meeting the ANC for a three day conference

The conference is focusing on the role of whites in a changing society.

"I can't give any details of what has come up in the workshops yet, but I can say we're working quite hard," Ms Roos said

Largest group

The 115 white South Africans form the largest group to meet the ANC and include educationists, journalists and members of Nusas

Among them is Leslee Durr, the Stellenbosch student leader at the centre of the recent row over segregated residences

Ms Roos said that among the ANC delegates was Mr Hein Grosskopf who was head of protocol

Mr Grosskopf has been accused by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, of planting a bomb in Krugersdorp which killed several people

Legal experts criticised Mr Vlok for his handling of the affair after a series of letters between Mr Grosskopf's mother, Mrs Santie Grosskopf, and the minister

Mrs Grosskopf said Mr Vlok should make public amends for twice declaring her son guilty of serious crimes

Ms Roos said Mr Grosskopf was "mixing very freely with the South African delegation" and had chatted in general political terms

Ms Roos said there were cordial relations between the delegations and that the South Africans had been hospitably received.

Before the delegation had been able to check in on its arrival, it had been "swept off" to State House for a reception organised by President Kenneth Kaunda at which ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, was present

A "big fuss" was made of Mrs Helen Suzman who is retiring from parliamentary politics

Twelve members of the South African delegation had been hosted at a function organised by journalists who wanted to know their views on the political situation, sanctions and violence

Ms Roos said the delegation had been particularly impressed by the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki, the head of the Department of International Affairs

Azapo man defended after clash

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has denied that its acting publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, was shouted down as an individual during the service on June 16 to mark the 13th anniversary of the 1976 student unrest.

Azapo maintains that hostility expressed by the crowd was directed at Mr Myeza as a representative of his organisation and was not a reflection on the man himself.

It seems the incident at Soweto's Regina Mundi Catholic Church was a result of the underlying friction between the United Democratic Front (UDF), which has been accused of trying to disrupt the service, and Azapo. It is reported there are ideological differences between the two bodies.

The theme of the service had been "black unity against repression" and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) — which had secured the venue — had invited other organisations "to join hands".

When the UDF asked for a place in the programme,

11A

LINDA RULASHE

8/27
1/7/87 -

the BCM felt it was a unique opportunity to show that unity in action was possible. But this was not to be.

Mr Myeza took the stage amid shouting from the crowd, which refused to let him speak. Chanting of slogans such as "Viva ANC" and "Viva BCM" intensified, then panic spread as people tried to leave the church and were confronted by police.

The BCM later issued a statement condemning the actions of the UDF.

"As for the allegations made against comrade Muntu (that he was a spy), the BCM mocks and rejects them in the strongest terms possible."

Acting publicity secretary for the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, in response to the statement, said he took strong exception to the "gross way" in which his organisation was described, but declined to comment further as he felt it might inflame the existing situation.

Slovo, Tambo and Hein Grosskopf will join in stand on negotiation demands

Razor debate with ANC

NATIONAL negotiations will be a key topic in discussions by the 115-member South African delegation meeting the ANC in Lusaka this weekend.

The conference comes in the wake of an announcement by the African National Council this week that it has released a consultative document to formulate a common position on the issue of negotiations.

Pat Devereaux writes that the document was apparently initiated in October 1987 and drawn up after the recent meeting of the ANC national executive in Lusaka.

The question of the preconditions of who should be at the negotiating table, how hostilities will be resolved, and how a new South African government could be set up, are among the issues put forward.

Saying it rejected "secret negotiations", the ANC added that it believed it is time for the people of South Africa to establish a joint position on talks.

The theme of the conference is "The Role of Whites in a Changing South Africa".

The group will meet a delegation of 40 ANC members, including leader Mr Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, and one of the most wanted men in South Africa, Mr Hein Grosskopf — who allegedly planted the Krugersdorp bomb.

Also with the ANC delegation will be South African Communist Party chairman Mr Dan Tloome and the party's secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo.

Besides examining the process of negotiation, the conference will discuss the participation of whites in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Saturday Star's Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that Mr Tambo yesterday reached to the power-sharing proposals President-elect, Mr F W de Klerk in a statement, but his words may not be quoted in South Africa.

Mood of enthusiasm

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, in his opening speech at State House in Lusaka on Thursday night, said he was prepared to meet Mr de Klerk for talks.

But he rejected the notion that apartheid could simply be re-formed into a better type of apartheid. The overall mood at the talks in Lusaka is one of enthusiasm and excitement.

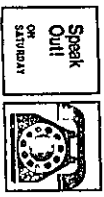
It is unlikely that major policy decisions will



ANYONE FOR A LAUGH? The National Party leadership has been intent on projecting a serious and resolute image in order to win the election, but on Thursday's congress something Mr Pik Botha said obviously tickled Mr F W de Klerk's funnybone

Vlok rapped for his R15000 'racist' reward

MOST Speckvort calls felt Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok was wrong to offer a R15 000 reward to help



and without thought of reward if Mr Vlok wants to (give a reward) he should use his own money, not taxes." Mr Isaac Mubwandzi, South Hills: "I think it's disgraceful. It makes it look as if black children are unimportant. A child is a child, whatever his colour." Mr Ned Pillay, Lenasia: "The Minister is in a child, whatever his colour." Mr Marks Tshole, Jobert Park: "The Minister is in a child, whatever his colour." Mr Vlok: "I am showing open racism."

Pushing in winter hats for to treat

ALAN ROBINSON

LONDON — McDermott went west to Wimbledon yesterday and ended in the lion's den. Superbats loves media like little adore castor oil. So he blundered into Wednesday's press queue to \$50 scribbles all over the world. It was like a madhouse. He was in hand, was apparently heading for players' locker room. Pressmen looked astonished as the uned guest appeared in their midst. Then brave enough to venture "Hey John don't want to be this is the press area. McDermott's not invited and his hip curled into a smidgen. "So that's smelt," he spat



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The overall mood at the talks in Lusaka is one of enthusiasm and excitement

It is unlikely that major policy decisions will emerge, but the very fact that the South African group was in Lusaka, said one delegate, was a statement in itself

The Zambia Airways jet bringing the delegation to Lusaka from Johannesburg yesterday was said to be carrying a bomb

None was found by disposal experts who combed the plane shortly after passengers had disembarked

Saturday Star's Foreign News Service reports from Berne in Switzerland that the Swiss Government is contributing R67 000 towards the cost of the Lusaka talks

A Swiss Foreign Ministry spokesman said four other Western governments were also helping to finance the meeting, though he declined to name them

He said Switzerland decided to make the contribution because it viewed the conference as "falling within the framework of positive measures to promote dialogue between all South Africans"

The British government is not contributing to the cost, according to a Foreign Office spokesman in London

But he pointed out, however that the government had helped subsidise talks between black groupings and white South Africans in the past

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ANC violence is defended by Grosskopf

By BRIAN POTTINGER: Lusaka

ANC mystery man Hem Grosskopf has emerged from the shadows — and passionately defends his commitment to "armed struggle".

However, he refuses to answer allegations that he was involved in car bombings in Johannesburg and Krugersdorp

Wearing a neat grey suit, the lanky young revolutionary headed the ANC protocol team which welcomed a group of 120 prominent South Africans to Lusaka this week

After mingling with delegates at the Five Freedoms Forum conference with the ANC on Friday, the man accused by the Government of being a terrorist bomber went to ground again yesterday

He mixed easily, his quiet and courteous manner combining strangely with his vehement and open commitment to "the armed struggle"

PICK 6

GOSFORTH PARK: There were 169 winning ticket holders collecting R7 761 50 each. Numbers: 7; 4; field; 7, 13, 18; 4; 7

GREYVILLE: With the cancellation of four races, 6 8159 ticket holders had little difficulty scooping R5 80. Combination: Field, field, field, 7, 13, 18, 6. MINERTON and FAIRVIEW

Due to a computer breakdown, the results will only be announced tomorrow

12 die in Bop riot

FOUR policemen were burnt to death and five others killed with axes when chaos broke out at a community meeting at Leeuwfontein, Bophuthatswana yesterday

Three civilians were also killed

There has been conflict between police and residents of Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte since the two communities were incorporated into Bophuthatswana last year

Stalemate!

THE North-South clas

Enigmatic

Grosskopf, 24, took part in group discussions on violence and defended the ANC's decision to take up arms as both justified and inevitable

But he refused to be drawn on his personal life, contact with his family and his movements since leaving South Africa

Beyond confirming that he was still "in the army", was considering studying further, and observing that the thing he missed most about home was the sea around the Cape, he remained enigmatic

Mr Grosskopf's appearance at Lusaka Airport caused a stir among dele-

To Page 2

Grosskopf defends ANC violence

gates. One group — predominantly Democratic Party supporters — thought it tactless of the ANC to include him in the talks party while others said they had come to meet the ANC in all its aspects.

Yesterday, Mr Mike Oliver, Five Freedoms Forum chairman, said he was aware Mr Grosskopf's presence had become an issue. However, the ANC had placed no limits

on the Five Freedoms Forum delegation and the FPF had not thought of imposing restrictions

During his talks with conference delegates, Mr Grosskopf gave the impression of being a deeply committed young Afrikaner who had joined the ANC out of an idealistic belief that it was the best way to change society

He refused to discuss specific allegations about his complicity in car-bomb blasts at the Johannesburg

Laughable

The ANC has rejected as "laughable" the National Party's five-year plan and related preconditions for an end to its "war"

Despite a tough public stance, some significant new lines in ANC thinking have emerged. These include an acceptance that the South African situation has changed dramatically and that the ANC should remain responsive to signs of flexibility in the new administration

The ANC delegation consisted of most members of the National Executive Committee — Oliver Tambo, Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki and Pello Jordan included — together with a range of ordinary ANC functionaries

The delegation from South Africa comprised academics, businessmen, churchmen, journalists and students. A number of Democratic Party members were present, including Mrs Helen Suzman

All were in Lusaka in their private capacities

The Zambian Government accorded the visit high status, with President Kenneth Kaunda hosting a reception at State House

Keynote addresses were delivered by Oliver Tambo and Mike Oliver. In discussions on negotiations, the ANC made clear it would not unilaterally suspend violence until a set of preconditions had been met

These included the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, an end to the state of emergency, withdrawal of troops from the townships, the lifting of bans on all political organisations, the repeal of all repressive legislation, the return of all exiles and an end to all executions

But, said a senior ANC man, it was possible that violence could be ended if the incoming De Klerk administration responded creatively to the ANC position

MANY township youths – generally known as “comrades” – have become hooked on mandrax and activists believe the drug has been introduced to defuse the political militancy of the youth.

The mandrax plague has hit townships around South Africa's three biggest cities – Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

A *City Press* investigation revealed that mandrax-abusing youths had become a common feature of life in Umlazi, Clermont, Kwa-Mashu, Lamontville, Chesterville and Ntu-

zuma. They are also often seen loitering near shops in Soweto, particularly in Orlando East, Eldorado Park and Noordgesig and in other Johannesburg townships.

The situation in Cape Town is much the same.

Little less than a year ago, these teenagers were toy-toying and chanting political slogans – or they were in detention under the state of emergency.

A family in Chester-ville, who were committed activists, have become “parliamentarians” – or mandrax middle-men. Neighbours say the family had been regularly raided in the past but now the police never visit them.

Although some of these mandrax abusers insist they are still activists, comrades brand them as drop-outs and counter-revolutionaries.

The drug plague in the townships has caught almost everyone off-guard.

In Natal, it spread so rapidly the atmosphere is now fraught with fear.

The commander of the SA police's Durban narcotics bureau, Capt PH Roux, confirmed police had received several reports that “comrades” had turned to drugs.

Mandrax “buttons” are usually crushed, mixed with dagga and smoked in a broken bottle neck. A “button” costs between R15 and R25.

Mandrax is generally imported but two huge local factories have been discovered by police. There the mandrax was packed in capsules known as “lockroaches”.

Syndicates are also now manufacturing mandrax locally.

The director and head of clinical services for SANCA in Johannesburg, Dr S De Miranda, said the drug problem in South Africa affected all races.

“The drug trade is no big business and, with urbanisation and industrialisation, more vicious drugs are around in addition to dagga and glue.”

Mandrax users were often very aggressive and had been linked to many

Court rules on ‘dagga’ student

CP Reporter

A KWAMASHU student who had been named as a dagga smoker and expelled from school was reinstated unconditionally this week after lawyers acting for him reached an out-of-court settlement.

Selby Ngcobo, 17, a Standard 10 pupil at the KwaShaka School in KwaMashu, was expelled in May this year after a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly named him and eight others as trouble-makers.

On expelling Ngcobo and the eight other students, the principal warned that if any of them entered the school they would be shot. Ngcobo said in an affidavit.

Through the Legal Resources Centre, Ngcobo launched an application in the Durban Supreme Court to have his expulsion set aside.

The matter was withdrawn this week after settlement was reached.

What



Cape Town jockey Mark Suth Right Prerogative after winn July Handicap at Greyville yet

Activists abandon politics

From Page 1

crimes of violence, he said.

Christian Welfare worker Iris Baltoucos agreed.

She said mandrax users often suffered from extreme depression and personality change.

“Eight out of ten murders, rapes and crimes of violence are drug-related,” she said.

Max, 18, is a typical example of a township mandrax user.

His hangout is the local shopping complex near a shebeen, whose owner is a “parliamentarian”.

Max spent 14 months as an emergency detainee at Durban's Westville Prison between 1986 and 1988. When he came out of detention he heard the comrades wanted to “discipline” his cousin, who was accused of being a gangster.

“Though I support the struggle, I had to protect my family.”

He deserted the comrades and was soon introduced to mandrax by his cousin. However, he claims that even though he no longer associates with the comrades he is still an activist.

Meanwhile “Sipho”, a “parliamentarian” in Clermont, is in a dicey situation.

The local community accuses him of working for the “system” because the drugs he sells have created divisions between local comrades.

Many Durban “parliamentarians” live in fear of being attacked by locals and many want arms to protect themselves.

They vow to “deal” with anyone who interferes with their trade.

“Drugs are here to stay,” said Sipho.

MAN AND DRAYKINDS

Residents
allege plot

as activists
turn to drugs

Special investigation by
SIBU MNGADI and SOPHIE TEMA

MANY township youths — generally known as 'comrades' — have become hooked on mandrax and activists believe the drug has been introduced to defuse the political militancy of the youth.

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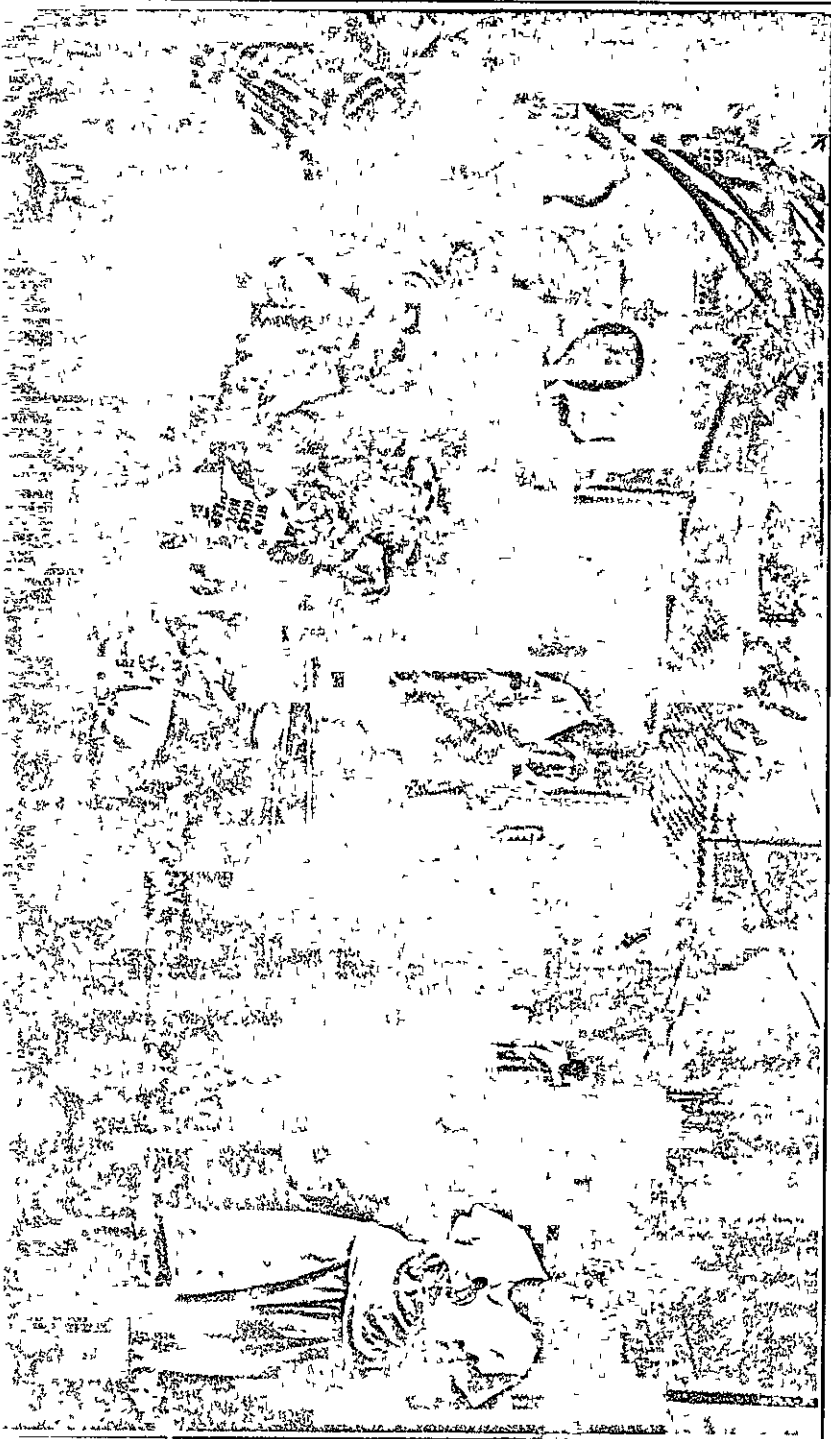
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Court

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The situation in Cape Town is much the same.

THE HARSH WREATH OF APARTHEID



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11A

ANC stands by its decision to include Grosskopf

Staff Reporter

LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) on Saturday defended its decision to include a white guerilla in its delegation to a meeting in Zambia with white liberals from South Africa.

The guerilla, Hein Grosskopf, is wanted in South Africa for alleged involvement in a 1987 bomb attack which killed several people.

Some members of the 115-strong South African delegation to the four-

day talks, which examined political changes taking place in South Africa, objected to Grosskopf's presence.

Harvey Tyson, editor of the Johannesburg Star, said "I find it singularly untactful for him (Grosskopf) to meet the party when the South African government is claiming he is the most wanted terrorist. It makes headlines and hides so much seriousness in this project." — Sapa-Reuter

Staff Reporter

A JOINT communiqué from the ANC and Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) delegations after their three days of talks in Lusaka emphasised "the possibility of pursuing different strategies to achieve a non-racial democracy".

The statement, issued after the talks ended late yesterday afternoon, stopped short of endorsing participation in the tricameral Parliament, but it did not explicitly condemn it either.

The communiqué was read out at the end of the conference and assented to by about 50 ANC and over 100 FFF delegates.

It said, "While there was general agreement that the present Parliament is not representative of all South Africans, there was recognition that white progressive opposi-

ONE THIS 3/7/89 (110)

ANC talks agree on different strategies

tion has a role in mobilising white public opinion.

"To this end, the conference stressed the need for white parliamentary forces to inter-act and consult with the extra-parliamentary movement".

The communiqué said the conference had "emphasised the possibility of pursuing dif-

ferent strategies to achieve a non-racial democracy" but it also "underlined that the extra-parliamentary struggle was a major vehicle for meaningful change".

For the ANC delegation, a spokesman said, the conference had been an opportunity "to develop a deeper understanding of the conditions and some of the fears prevailing in the

white community".

On the side of the FFF delegation, the conference increased awareness of the need to unban the ANC, the statement said.

"We believe that every effort must be made to work towards these conditions that will establish a climate for the political resolution of the conflict within our country.

- Unbanning the ANC and all other political organisations
- Releasing political prisoners
- Lifting the state of emergency and abrogating those apartheid laws that seek to criminalise legitimate political activity.
- Withdrawing the SADF and paramilitary forces from the townships
- Allowing the safe return of exiles

About half of the ANC's national executive committee attended the conference, entitled "The Role of Whites in a Changing Society".

Inkatha, ^{CNF} alliance ²⁻¹⁴ agree to ^{3/7/89} meeting ^{11A} with ANC

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance have both agreed to the necessity of a meeting with the African National Congress (ANC), according to Cosatu's general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

Mr Naidoo was reporting back on the discussions and agreements reached between the three organisations during the peace talks held in Durban recently aimed at ending the Natal violence.

Addressing about 7 000 people at the Cosatu/UDF rally at Currie's Fountain yesterday, Mr Naidoo said an important part of the peace process was to have meetings with Inkatha.

The crowd behaved in a disciplined manner. Although there was a strong police presence, no incidents of violence were reported.

Mr Naidoo said it had become clear to all three organisations that separate peace initiatives were only leading to more dividedness.

Idasa-led tour of frontline states

12/6/89
3/7/89

(11)

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A group of 28 young South Africans have left for a 14-day tour of the frontline states, where they will meet heads of state, political and academic organisations before meeting the African National Congress

The purpose of the tour, which is sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), is to give concerned white businessmen, local government leaders and academics the opportunity to acquaint themselves first-hand with developments in the neighbouring states of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia

The tour leaders are the national co-ordinator of Idasa, Mr Wayne Mitchell, and the Northern Transvaal regional director of Idasa, Mr Andre Zaaiman

The tour begins in Namibia where the group will observe the political situation as it is unfolding during the transition period leading up to independence.

Discussions will be held with a cross-section of Namibian leadership including Swapo, the DTA, the Administrator-General, Untag and members of the Namibian security forces, academics of the University of Namibia, newspaper editors, trade unionists and women's organisations.

The group's next stop is Zimbabwe, where they will have a close look at reconciliation in the post-independence period.

The delegates' last stop will be in Zambia where the group will have discussions with President Kenneth Kaunda and members of his government.

The tour will culminate in a two-day conference with an ANC delegation in Lusaka.

MP's threat to quit over DP decision

CML 10/15 3/7/89 (30/11/89) 114

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party last night gained a few days "breathing space" to defuse the row which has erupted over its decision to make participation in the election virtually a whites-only affair

The DP's executive decided after a marathon meeting at the weekend not to contest any seats in the coloured House of Representatives and slapped tough acceptance criteria on any additional candidates in the Indian House of Delegates

The controversial move sparked accusations of "betrayal" and "hypocrisy" from certain factions within the party, the threatened resignation of at least one DP MP and the possible formation of a breakaway party — the Non-Racial Democratic Party

However, the leading DP dissident and MP for Reservoir Hills, Mr Pat Poovalingham, said that he had been persuaded by party members to withdraw his resignation pending the outcome of a meeting with the DP regional committee in Durban today

And another DP MP who may resign as a result of the participation decision, Mr Mamoud Rajab of Springfield, said last night that his possible resignation would also hinge on the outcome of today's meeting

Mr Poovalingham, who described

the weekend decision as "quite clearly opportunistic and unprincipled", said that he would be prepared to review his threat to resign should "the more insulting" aspects of the DP executive's decision on participation be changed, particularly relating to its "tone and import"

This related to the specially strict criteria which the DP had applied to potential Indian parliamentary candidates which did not apply to white candidates

The DP executive said that while the party reserved the right to make its own decisions regarding participation, "the fact of increased DP participation in the other two Houses would make it very difficult for the party to play a catalyst role in getting negotiations (among diverse constituencies inside and outside Parliament) started"

The DP noted that while it recognised that there would be "some disappointment among certain members" over the decision, it believed that "the national interest must be served ahead of the party's natural desire to contest all Houses of Parliament"

Mr Poovalingham said that he wanted the requirements for DP candidates of all races to be standardised "Failing that we will go ahead and form a new party — the Non-Racial Democratic Party — which will also field white candidates."

Councillors urged to obey court order

114
CM Trunks 3/7/89

Staff Reporter

MEMBERS and councillors of the Lingelethu West town committee were asked at the weekend not to take the law into their own hands and to ensure that a Supreme Court order granted on Wednesday was strictly obeyed.

Mr Graham Lawrence, chief executive officer of the committee, made the request during an address to the town committee yesterday morning in compliance with the order issued by Mr Justice H L Berman.

An urgent application had earlier been brought by two Lingelethu residents who alleged they had been ordered to attend a kangaroo court sitting.

Mr Justice Berman issued an interim order calling on the town committee to show cause why a final order should not be granted interdicting and restraining the town committee and a Mr Magqaza, acting singularly or jointly with others, from participating in, assisting in, encouraging, permitting or allowing any unlawful attack on the two residents.

Mr Lawrence, as chief executive officer, was further ordered to inform all members and employees of the committee of the full text of the order within seven days.

Mr Lawrence also told the council that Mr Justice Berman had heard an application for interim relief, from which there was no appeal.



ANC and SA group both learnt a lot from talks

W.C. Africa 3/7/89 11A

LUSAKA — The largest group of white South Africans to meet the African National Congress ended four days of talks yesterday with a call for the lifting of bans outlawing the ANC and other opposition groups in South Africa

A joint statement after talks between 117 South Africans and some 50 ANC officials said conferees differed in strategy but agreed on the need to end apartheid
The unbanning of the ANC

and other organisations so they could participate in political life was among conditions necessary to resolve the conflict in South Africa, the statement said

Both sides recognised the ANC as an important force in the fight to create a non-racial democracy in white-governed South Africa

"Our conference has enabled the exchange of views and the exploration of common perspectives among South Africans committed to the shared objective of a united, non-ra-

cial and democratic South Africa," said the statement

It added the Lusaka talks, attended by 23 white South African university professors, 20 business people, 16 journalists, five editors and several members of town or city councils, enabled the ANC "to develop a deeper understanding of the conditions and some of the features prevailing in the white community"

The conferees called for the release of political prisoners including ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the withdrawal of

military and paramilitary forces from black townships, the lifting of the state of emergency and "the abrogation of those apartheid laws that seek to criminalise legitimate political activity"

Former Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman said most whites at the talks opposed economic sanctions and the use of violence by the ANC to end apartheid

"I think we've learnt a lot and I think we've taught people quite a lot as well. Our aim is the same but the strategies differ," she said

AP/WIDEWORLD

AP/WIDEWORLD

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Archbishop Naidoo's death 'deeply shocking'

star 3/7/89

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has expressed the Anglican Church's "deep shock" at the sudden death in London this weekend of the Most Rev Stephen Naidoo, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town

In a statement released by his office in Cape Town, Archbishop Tutu said "We are deeply shocked by the news of Archbishop Stephen's death

"We had developed a wonderful relationship, which was particularly important for the Church's struggle for justice and peace in our country

"We are praying for the repose of his soul and for comfort and condolence for the bereaved — both for members of his immediate family and his diocesan family"

Archbishops Naidoo and Tutu were frequently involved in joint action with other Church leaders

They were among leaders who were arrested when they tried to march to Parliament in February last year and they negotiated for the release of hunger-striking detainees with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, earlier this year

Bomb hits ANC offices

~~11A~~
11A

EXILES

Sowetan 31/7/87

ESCAPE

BOMB

LUSAKA - Several people were hospitalised yesterday after a bomb exploded outside a house occupied by black South African exiles, eyewitnesses said.

A neighbour in the Lusaka suburb of Kamanga said the blast damaged houses but it seemed no-one was killed.

The neighbour, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the explosion left a 2-metre deep crater in the sidewalk adjoining the house

It demolished part of a wall and a boundary fence, she said.

Police sealed off the scene of the blast. It was not immediately known if South Africans were among the unspecified number of people injured.

Police released no details of the bombing

Last month the African National Congress accused the South African Government of mounting a new sabotage campaign against its members and facilities in Zambia.

Three Lusaka-based ANC officials were injured in a series of blasts at ANC offices in June

**Fourth
winner**

Don't delay. Get your **Sowetan** Stickers now. Lucky readers can earn themselves a whopping R500 by simply attaching a Sowetan Sticker on to their cars. Today's winner is on page 4. Hurry!

One person died near the ANC headquarters on June 22 in downtown Lusaka when explosives he was carrying blew up, police said - Sapa.

'ANC has largest support'

Sowetan 4/7/69

IT WAS a fact that the ANC has — in some way or another — the largest support in South Africa, hence the recent visit to the organisation in Lusaka by a group of whites from around the country.

"The PAC on the other hand is not as big a force. There was an understanding, however, that should there be negotiations, the PAC would be represented," Mr Michael Olivier, chairperson of the Five Freedoms Forum said yesterday.

The delegation revealed a 'newer understanding' of the exiled organisation after meeting with 85 members of the ANC, including the top brass

Bush to step up black aid

Sowetan 4/7/84

(CIA) *(11A)*

IN a further demonstration against apartheid, US President George Bush is to step up assistance to black South Africans, according to a statement released by the United States information service in Pretoria.

Bush made the announcement following a 20-minute meeting with United Democratic Front (UDF) leader, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, in Washington on Saturday

"We believe strongly that apartheid is wrong and that it must end. We want to see the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa as a result of negotiations among the legitimate representatives of all South Africa's people," Bush said.

To achieve this goal, Bush said they would expand assistance to black South Africans in the fields of education, community development, employment, housing and human rights.

However, the plan should not be misunderstood as support for apartheid, but rather as a concerted effort to end the system, the President said — Sapa-AP.

father, says the match was such a success that he is sure he will have George champion

Inkatha lauds

UDF-Cosatu

peace talks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Central Committee of Inkatha has applauded the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) for their participation in peace talks aimed at ending the Natal violence

In a series of resolutions adopted at the weekend, the committee members said they were "appalled at the black-on-black confrontations which destroy black opposition to apartheid and which shame everyone in the black struggle for liberation"

They expressed appreciation for indications from the African National Congress (ANC) which showed it also supported their moves towards peace

Inkatha reaffirmed its commitment to non-violence, but stressed that it wanted radical change through negotiation

"However, we warn black South Africa not to be so blinded by anger and disillusionment that they cannot see a start to the process of negotiation when it does emerge," the committee said

Inkatha urged black anti-apartheid organisations to support positive measures adopted by new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk

But they emphasised that if Mr De Klerk wanted their support, he should immediately initiate talks for the speedy and unconditional release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela

Star 4/7/89



11A

Spear man Grosskopf 'relaxed and happy'

Political Reporter

Mr Hein Grosskopf, the man publicly blamed for the Krugersdorp car-bomb explosion in March last year, is happy, relaxed and well.

This was the impression of South Africans at the Five Freedoms Forum conference with the African National Congress.

Mr Grosskopf, a self-confessed member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, acted as the ANC's chief of protocol at the three-day conference on the role of whites in a changing society.

Mr Gavin Evans, a member of the FFF's executive, said Mr Grosskopf was grateful for his parents' efforts in challenging the Government for publicly condemning him without a trial.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Evans said the ANC would suspend its strategy of violence if certain preconditions were met which would enable the banned organisation to participate freely in the political process and in negotiations.

Educationist Dr Franz Auerbach said that this viewpoint had been expressed three years ago at the time of the eminent persons group's visit to southern Africa.

Dr Auerbach, chairman of Jews for Social Justice, said the South African Government at the time had countered the proposal by demanding that the ANC denounce violence.

US urges SA talks

THERE was such a symbolic relationship between white and black in South Africa that there would have to be a negotiated settlement, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, said last night.

He was addressing the Press briefly after he and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, had discussions at the Union Buildings

Cohen, who is on a 10-day trip to Southern Africa, said he assumed there would be changes in the policy of "constructive engagement" of the previous US administration towards South Africa.

He was speaking to people across the political spectrum in South Africa, including the Government, the

Sowetan 4/7/85
SA Press Association

Democratic Party and the United Democratic Front

On Angola, Cohen said he expected a final peace settlement there before the end of the year

Botha said he and

Cohen's talks had been a follow-up to discussions they had in Rome

Yesterday they discussed, briefly, topics including Zaire, South Africa's security situation, Mozambique and Namibia Today Cohen meets National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk in Durban — Sapa

PEACE HOPES GET A BOOST

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S 1197

THE peace process in Natal and KwaZulu received two powerful boosts at the weekend.

But there is still no finality on a meeting of the leaders of Inkatha, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the African National Congress.

At least 6 000 people attended a UDF-Cosatu peace rally at Currie's Fountain, Durban, on Sunday. It was the first open-air rally that Cosatu and the UDF had been allowed to hold since 1987, when they held a peace rally in Maritzburg.

The police allowed the rally to take place on condition that speakers restricted themselves to speak about peace and that no banners of banned organisations

A BOOST

6000 attend Durban rally

were displayed.

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting UDF publicity secretary called on the Government to take action against people who were responsible for the violence. He said the important element in the

peace talks had to be reconciliation.

Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu secretary-general, said the movement for peace had to become rooted in everyday life. He said there had to be a joint

commitment to isolate vigilantes and to put pressure on the people who were arming them.

Meanwhile in Umtata, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi said in his presidential address to Inkatha's central committee at the weekend that the theme for Inkatha's annual general conference would be "a year of action and organisation for peace and preparation for the future."

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After 'amazingly open, honest and genuine' talks in Lusaka

ANC's terms for homecoming

By Esmaré van der Merve,
Political Reporter

"I know you're going home, I so wish I could go home too"

With this remark a woman member of the banned African National Congress in Lusaka said goodbye to 115 fellow South Africans on Sunday after a three-day Five Freedoms Forum conference in Zambia on the role of whites in a changing society

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, delegates gave their impressions of the discussions with about 60 ANC members, including 21 members of the ANC's national executive

The ANC's contribution to the wide-ranging discussions were "amazingly open, honest and genuine", FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier said

Despite "strategic and other differences", all delegates shared the objective of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, he said

Viewpoints expressed by the ANC delegates were that the organisation

- Opposed the September elections for the Indian and Coloured Houses of Parliament, but
- Accepted the principle of the protection of individual human rights, but feared that the National Party was "hijacking" the concept of a Bill of Rights to impress Western nations A Bill of Rights should be negotiated between all political groups
- Was prepared to enter into negotiations with the South African Government and other parties once certain conditions

Delegates to the Five Freedoms Forum's three-day conference with the ANC on the role of whites in a changing society returned from Lusaka on Sunday. Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg are FFF executive member Mr Gavin Evans, FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier, Black Sash Transvaal chairman Ms Judith Hawarden, FFF publicity secretary Ms Gael Neke and Anglican Church clergyman Mr Robin Briggs

not of the white House since it recognised the representative nature of the House of Assembly and the constructive role of progressive white parliamentarians

● Had not formulated clear long-term strategies on detailed economic issues such as fiscal and monetary policies or foreign exchange control, and welcomed input in this regard

were met. These included the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency and the abrogation of those apartheid laws that sought to criminalise legitimate political activity, the safe return of exiles and the withdrawal of the SADF and paramilitary forces from the townships.

Fundamental aspects

Mr Olivier said these demands should not be viewed as preconditions, but as "fundamental aspects of a situation

which needs to change" before a climate and framework for negotiations could be created

In-depth discussions on the ANC's economic policy revealed that the organisation

● Remained adamant that comprehensive sanctions would bring about fast political change

● Supported financial sanctions as the most effective weapon to

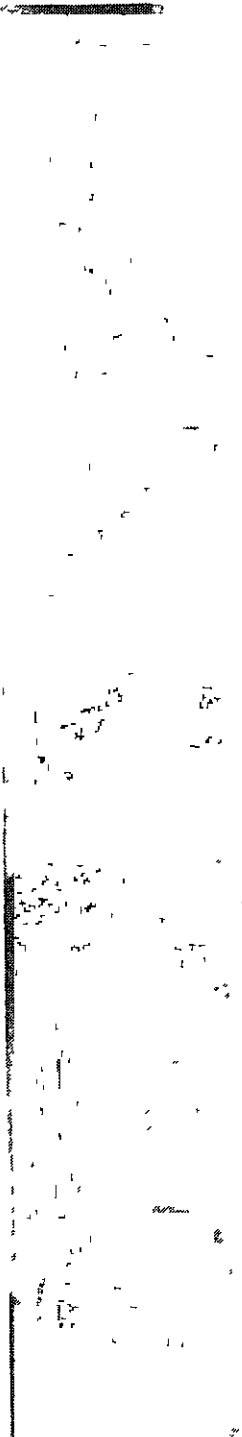
force the government to negotiate

● Recognised the necessity of foreign investment for a growing economy

● Realised that the "African experience of socialism was fraught with problems", in the words of FFF executive member Mr Gavin Evans

● Was pragmatic about issues such as the redistribution of wealth and nationalisation

● Would encourage the development of black business by, for example, state bank loans to aspirant entrepreneurs



Picture by Sean Woods.

Inkatha (IA) praises UDF and Cosatu on initiative

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Inkatha central committee has applauded the UDF and Cosatu for their participation in peace talks aimed at ending violence in Natal

In a series of resolutions adopted at the weekend, the committee said it was "appalled at the black-on-black confrontations which destroy black opposition to apartheid, and which shame everyone in the black struggle for liberation"

The committee expressed appreciation for indications from the ANC that the exiled organisation also supported the peace moves

"We record our thankfulness that Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu are now exchanging ideas as organisations involved in the struggle," the committee said

"We have always called for a united front against apartheid"

The committee reaffirmed Inkatha's commitment to non-violence, and expressed anger at the government, which it blamed for delaying negotiations

The government's attitude had disillusioned many, said the committee

"However, we warn black South Africa not to be so blinded by anger and disillusionment that they cannot see a start to the process of negotiation when it does emerge"

Inkatha urged black anti-apartheid organisations to support positive measures adopted by new NP leader F W De Klerk, emphasising, however, that if De Klerk wanted the organisation's support he had to initiate talks among rank-and-file members of the NP for the speedy and unconditional release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen Newsbills by Trevor Bisseker Head lines and sub-editing by Michael Moon All of Times Media Ltd 11 Diagonal Street Johannesburg

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ANC moving to negotiation — Suzman

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Political Staff

THE veteran Democratic Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, criticised sanctions and rejected violence on Zambian television at the weekend and at the recent conference between the ANC and a delegation of 115 white South Africans.

"No one in the ANC was enthralled by these views but I did not encounter any hostility as a result," she said yesterday.

Mrs Suzman, who is retiring after 36 years in Parliament, answered questions on the "Good Morning Zambia" programme in Lusaka on Sunday morning.

She was asked if she still opposed sanc-

CAH 7/11/87 5/7/87
tions and she replied "Absolutely They are totally counter-productive because, if successful, they would result in a ruined economy. There is no point in working to inherit a wasteland."

She was also asked about her attitude towards violence and replied that she was "against violence, whether institutional on the government side, or excessive use of power by the police, or from the ANC".

She expressed the same views at the conference with the ANC.

She said she believed the ANC was moving towards a negotiated settlement.

"There was a better attitude towards a negotiated settlement than I had anticipated. But of course there has to be a truce on both sides."

"On the whole, the discussions were held at a high level. There was a good spirit and an interesting cross-section in both delegations."

"Contact and communication must be a plus factor in helping to create a climate in which negotiations can start."

"I have always said that it is a question of not if but when the government and the ANC will talk to each other," she said.

Released PAC
STEV 5.17.79
men arrive home

By Montshiwa Moroke

Two members of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) arrived home yesterday after each serving 10 years' imprisonment for furthering the aims of the banned organisation.

They are Mr Funani Benny Ntoele (47) of Mamelodi West and Mr Johnson Nyathi (44) of Kagiso. The pair were released from Robben Island where Mr Ntoele has spent about half his life.

The men were among the 18 accused in the Bethal trial which started in June 1979 and which lasted for about 18 months.

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6/7/89

Supremacist charged in ANC attack

SYDNEY — A member of an ultra-right-wing political group was charged on Tuesday in a shotgun attack on the home of the chief representative of the ANC in Australia.

Michael White, 19, was charged with possessing a firearm with intent to commit an indictable assault.

The home of the ANC representative, Mr Eddie Funde, was hit by two shotgun blasts on January 27. A hallway and a door were damaged.

According to testimony, White is a member of the National Action group, a small group of white supremacists in Australia who say they oppose "multiculturalism" — Sapa-AP

Giant steps for the NP to take

The first of two articles by HARVEY TYSON, Editor of The Star, Johannesburg, who was the South Africans who met the ANC in Lusaka this week

McG 5
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11A

OPINION

TWO of South Africa's main political protagonists, the Nationalist government and the African National Congress, are being sucked into a negotiating process which has been going on for several years in this country, albeit in unobtrusive, indirect, and often contradictory ways

The NP has adopted one of those meaningless meanings of "negotiation", and will continue to squirm for some time yet, certainly well beyond the election on September 6. What about the ANC?

It, too, is squirming and its militant supporters within South Africa haven't yet understood the real issues. The ANC not only has to contend with pressure from the outside world, it has to contend with rival factions within South Africa who cannot wait to take up the "spear" if the ANC shows signs of loosening

its grip on the armed struggle

Refugee militants of all parties abroad now seem less "hardline" than their followers at home

The Nationalist government may never have a stronger position from which to abandon thoughts of the laager, and to reach out and bargain. Its problem is how to stay in the driving seat, and still meet the minimum requirements for fair bargaining. The steps cited for real negotiation threaten to become ritualistic. They are: Release Mandela and all political prisoners; Unban all political movements; End the emergency. Begin talking.

Those steps would "normalise" the situation and provide level ground for all interests to canvass support for the national convention, or constituent assembly, or merely for the talks about talks. But they are giant steps for the Nationalist government. How could it survive sudden nation-wide political demonstra-

tions by millions of black voters? On the other hand, how could it deal with the first minimum requirement — releasing Mandela — and still gag his followers?

The African National Congress also has problems, as indeed do all the extra-parliamentary forces who want to lead the "new order". The problem is not only whether or not to negotiate, but at what stage to announce one's intentions. To go in too early might prove fatally weak. To go in too late may mean joining a queue. To keep jostling for position at the head of the queue may result in missing the merry-go-round ride after others have sneaked aboard.

Can intimidation of "sell-outs" be effective if the government begins to offer real power to the people?

The interlocking obstacles present a strong possibility of destructively negative stalemate. A prolonged stalemate could take the form of war, or a seemingly endless jostling for position before nego-

tiation. Either stalemate will cost all South Africans dear. The economy will sink. Real change and possible prosperity will retreat into the next century.

On the other hand the prospects of a peaceful, non-racial, democratic state of being welcomed back onto international platforms and playing fields, and of retaining sufficient economic resources to re-build southern Africa well that is a vision worth pushing from every angle.

Pressure on both sides can ensure progress.

Pressure already exists in brutal economic forces crowding in on South Africa. Others, such as an international boycott of South African passports, may be attempted if the government does not move dramatically after September.

Different pressures are already forcing change in the ANC. These changes will be examined in tomorrow's article.

result of saying the plaintiff had failed to maintain the tyres in good condition.

Labour Party to fight all 80 seats in House

Political Staff

11A

CAPE TOWN — Aspiring Labour Party candidates will be gathering in Cape Town next week for a nomination process in which the party will be putting up candidates for all seats in the House of Representatives.

Selections will start on Monday and national secretary of the party, Mr Abe Williams, said the successful candidates would probably be announced at the weekend.

"We will be putting up candidates in all 80 seats in the House. We have plenty of people to choose from," he added.

One of the LP's chief concerns in the September election will be to increase the percentage polls, particularly in metropolitan areas like the Peninsula.

It is widely perceived that an improvement in the credibility of the House of Representatives will depend on a higher voter turn-out.

Mr Williams believed more people would come forward to vote than in 1984. "We sense that there is a greater urge among communities to get involved."

"People have seen that we have been fighting for change in Parliament, and I think that is going to make a difference."

Dismissing Mr Carter Ebrahim's Democratic Reform Party, Mr Williams said. "We are not expecting much opposition. A party which enters an election with the aim of being the Opposition is not much of a party."

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

ANC to open
office in
Washington

ANCUS 6/7/89
11/9

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress intends to open an information office in Washington this year

The decision is likely to generate controversy in the light of opposition from conservative American groups to Soviet support for the ANC and to what they regard as the group's Marxist orientation

The Bush administration, unlike former President Ronald Reagan's, has taken an active role in seeking to promote negotiations between the black majority in South Africa and the government

Last week, President George Bush hosted Mrs Albertina Sisulu at the White House, and National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk is expected to visit the US next month — becoming the first South African leader to do so in 30 years

Sapa-AP

Cosatu congress to focus on links with other sectors

By Stan Hlophe

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) announced in Johannesburg yesterday that it would hold its third national congress from July 12 to 15 at the Nasrec centre, Crown Mines.

General secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said matters to be discussed include:

- Strengthening and building of grassroots structures in all sectors.
- Building of structured links between the different sectors of the mass democratic movement

at local and regional level.

- Achieving democracy and socialism in South Africa.
- Negotiations of the future and path to realisation
- Making it impossible for the apartheid regime to regain the political initiative
- Building the broadest support of the people for the struggle against the Labour Relations Act.
- Mobilising mass solidarity for Swapo and the Namibian people.
- Building an anti-apartheid coalition.

Guest speakers are expected from the continent and abroad.

Representatives from the Organisation of Trade Union Unity, Commonwealth Trade Union Congress, World Federation of Trade Unions, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, United Nations, and International Labour Organisation will attend.

The independent National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), church bodies, sports, cultural and teacher bodies have also been invited.

The theme of the Congress will be, "Educate, consolidate, and advance to victory".

Funda hosts lectures on art, culture

Sowetan 6/7/89

11A

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THE Council for Black Education and Research and Funda Centre have jointly organised a series of lectures to promote community awareness of indigenous arts and culture.

The theme of the lectures is: *The Arts: Towards Social Reconstruction*. The lectures will be held on Saturdays from July 8 to August 19 at the Funda Centre, Diepkloof, starting from 10am.

"Indigenous arts and

culture is beginning to enjoy more attention as a source of "national identity" for those seeking socio-economic solutions for a post-apartheid society.

Viability

It is also a source of economic viability for those who are taking advantage of international interest in South Africa," a statement by the organisers said.

Demonstrative exhibitions and performances will be organised to enhance presentation and discussions. The last day of the series will be marked by a festival of music, dance, fine arts and drama.

Negotiation holds risks for SA Govt and ANC

The new buzzword in South Africa is "negotiation". A climate for negotiation will benefit everybody . . . but it brings huge risks and problems to all parties **HARVEY TYSON**, after discussions with the ANC and its opposite numbers, looks at some of the obstacles. He does so as South Africa approaches the final crossroads leading to uncomfortable change — or to an endless swamp of violence.

Two of South Africa's main political protagonists, the Nationalist Government and the African National Congress, are being sucked into a negotiating process which has been going on for several years in this country, albeit in unobtrusive, indirect, and often contradictory ways

The NP has adopted one of those meaningless meanings of "negotiation", and will continue to squirm for some time yet, certainly well beyond the election on September 6

What about the ANC? It, too, is squirming and its militant supporters within South Africa haven't yet understood the real issues.

Less hardline

The ANC not only has to contend with pressure from the outside world, it has to contend with rival factions within South Africa, who cannot wait to take up the "spear" if the ANC shows signs of loosening its grip on the armed struggle.

Refugee militants of all parties abroad now seem less "hardline" than their followers at home

The Nationalist Government

Everybody wants peace but then only on condition

"Negotiation" is beginning to gather as many distorted meanings as the word "democracy". But at least "negotiation" has not yet come to mean the precise opposite of the dictionary definition.

Everybody wants peace, including the ANC, the PAC, the NP, and most of the CP, yet none of the main South African players wants real negotiation. Each would like to see the other side partially surrender

However, two major developments are causing most leading players to revise their differing strategies.

Firstly, almost all of the South African political power groupings are being manoeuvred into a position of stalemate, where bargaining may come to be seen as better than the blowing out of brains

White South Africans face the prospect of a collapsing economy;

flight of money and skills; clamp down on trade and even travel beyond our borders; and finally an unwinnable war.

Black South Africans face the same economic and military threats. Black militants are gradually beginning to understand the options, particularly the external militants who are being squeezed by the peacemakers and international power-brokers.

Secondly, negotiation, even settlement, in southern Africa has taken on the momentum of a merry-go-round. It is whirling in Angola and Namibia and Mozambique. The merry-go-round is just beginning to turn in this country

The trick in South Africa will be to increase the pace so that no-one can get off. Because any big boy who has a ticket for the ride, and then manages to get off, is likely to throw bombs.

may never have a stronger position from which to abandon thoughts of the laager, and to reach out and bargain

Its problem is how to stay in the driving seat and still meet the minimum requirements for fair bargaining.

The steps cited for real negotiation threaten to become ritualistic

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level ground for all interests to canvass support for the national convention, or constituent assembly, or merely for the talks about talks. But they are giant steps for the Nationalist Government.

How could it survive sudden nationwide political demonstrations by millions of black voters? On the other hand, how could it deal with the first minimum requirement — releasing Mandela — and still gag his followers?

The African National Congress also has problems, as indeed do all the extra-parliamentary forces who want to lead the "new order".

The problem is not only whether or not to negotiate — but at what stage to announce one's intentions. To go in too early might prove fatally weak. To go in too late may mean joining a queue

To keep jostling for position at the head of the queue may result in missing the merry-go-round ride after others have sneaked aboard

Can intimidation of "sell-outs" be effective if the Government begins to offer real power to the people?

The inter-locking obstacles present a strong possibility of destructively negative stalemate. A prolonged stalemate could take the form of war, or a seemingly endless jostling for position before negotiation.

Vision for peace

Either stalemate will cost all South Africans dear. The economy will sink. Real change and possible prosperity will retreat into the next century

On the other hand, the prospects of a peaceful, non-racial, democratic state, of being welcomed back on to international platforms and playing fields, and of retaining sufficient economic resources to re-build southern Africa — well, that is a vision worth pushing from every angle.

Pressure on both sides can ensure progress. Pressure already exists in brutal economic forces crowding in on South Africa.

Others, such as an international boycott of South African passports, may be attempted if the Government does not move dramatically after September. Different pressures are already forcing change in the ANC.

These changes will be examined in tomorrow's article

Local powers (11A) under spotlight

Star 6/7/89
The delegation of powers to coloured and Indian management committees will come under the spotlight at a conference of the Transvaal Association of Management Committees

Mr Jimmy Oliver, secretary of Tamcom, said various management committees had been invited to attend the conference at Sabie on July 22.

"After last year's municipal elections there are a lot of new people. We will start to train them on how local authorities must operate," he said. — Pretoria Correspondent

ANC looking for negotiation chance, says Lusaka delegate

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress leaders still firmly committed to an armed struggle and sanctions are looking for a chance to negotiate, but not on government-created structures

These are among the conclusions Professor David Welsh of UCT's department of political science drew from his talks with the ANC during the recent Five Freedoms Forum visit to Lusaka

He said at the opening last night of the campaign of Democratic Party MP for Gardens, Mr. Ken Andrew "The four-day visit was characterised by a relative absence of dogma with the exception of their position on the armed struggle and sanctions

"But the ANC was quite flexible on constitutional issues

"They acknowledged minorities might have legitimate fears, though they rejected the National Party's approach to group rights. They said 'no' to federation, and I suspect their objection is based on the fear this would mean crystallising the homelands"

But he added "It seemed to me, even with my cynicism, there are possibilities of reaching a constitutional accommodation with some of their people. One should not romance the ANC, but the sense I came away with is that the ANC is looking for an opportunity of coming into a negotiating situation

BECOME A WASTELAND

"There is a recognition that if the deadlock goes on, South Africa could become a wasteland, but they will not come into structures designed by the apartheid government and which they perceive as measures to perpetuate apartheid"

Professor Welsh said the "bogey image of the ANC being wagged by the communist tail is eyewash"

"The whole issue of the ANC is a central feature of politics in South Africa. I believe the whole future of South African politics turns on whether a negotiating climate and forum can be created in which we can bring together representatives of all peoples, and that definitely includes the ANC"

While the ANC had been "demonised and criminalised" by part of the media and politicians, "they are bright, they are smooth — as diplomats — and they are filled with nostalgia and homesickness"

"Several of us spoke up strongly that at this stage the armed struggle is counter-productive and that it plays into the arms of the far right. Others argued sanctions are striking at the most hopeful roots of black bargaining

"The ANC's stance on these vital issues is quite intractable. They say these are their bargaining chips and attribute changes in the country to these strategies"

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

11A

By NIC BORAINÉ

THERE are those who argue that Zanu (PF) entered the Lancaster House negotiations and Swapo accepted UN resolution 435 without ever having thought seriously about governing their respective countries.

The African National Congress appears to be trying to ensure that it doesn't make the same mistake.

The constitutional guidelines, published by the ANC after two years of discussions among their members, suggests that the ANC isn't just caught up with the strategies and tactics of how to defeat the government.

The international situation is such that there is a lot of pressure on both the ANC and the National Party to reach some kind of compromise through a process of negotiations.

ANC's learning from Zimbabwe

In this context, the publication of the guidelines will help to ensure that South Africans will be thinking about the kind of future they want and not be caught offguard by any quick deals between the superpowers

At some point in the process of their formulation, the guidelines were much more detailed — more like a constitution that has the Freedom Charter as the preamble

After a lot of debate within the ANC, they decided to publish fairly non-specific and general guidelines rather than proper constitutional proposals

The reasons for this, says the ANC, is the recognition that a new constitution should be formulated by a sovereign, popularly elected constituent assembly

The guidelines themselves have a preamble and 10 different headings, covering the state, franchise, national identity, bill of rights and affirmative action, economy, land, workers, women, the family and international affairs

In the preamble it is stated that "We in the African National Congress submit to the people of South Africa, and those throughout the world who wish to see an end to apartheid, our basic guidelines for the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa"

The ANC's draft is non-prescriptive in its content and is clearly intended to be open for further discussion

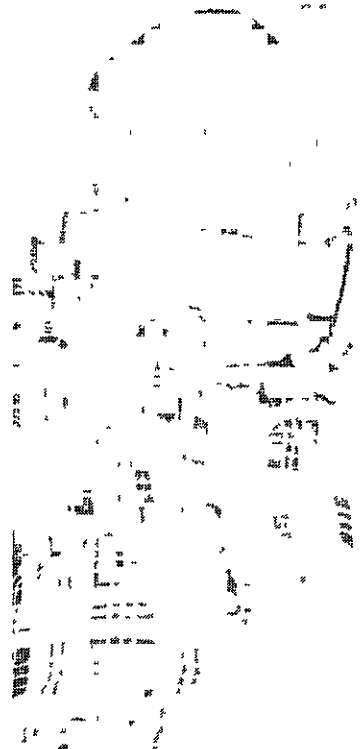
The guidelines themselves do not replace the Freedom Charter but they form part of the process whereby "the Freedom Charter must be converted from a vision for the future into a constitutional reality"

At a time when so many elaborate "solutions to the South African problem" are being marketed furiously by every sociologist/political party/Western country/business analyst who can find the sponsorship to make themselves heard, the ANC's guidelines come across as straight forward and practical

The guidelines reject any kind of federalism and envisage a multi-party democracy where everyone will have the right to vote and stand for office

The state would be "unitary" and "nonracial" While a single national identity will be promoted, the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people will be recognised and provided for

There will be a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter and



ANC leader Oliver Tambo

a programme to eliminate racism

The ANC envisages an important role for the state in the economy in as far as it will "define the limits to the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity" They envisage an economy which will have a public, private, co-operative and small-scale family sector

The guidelines talk non-specifically about "land reform", protecting the rights of workers to strike and form trade unions and the right of women to participate equally in society

At several points the guidelines talk about "Affirmative Action" to redress the disadvantages that the majority has experienced in most walks of life.

Finally, the guidelines are in favour of South Africa being "non-aligned"

Many academic observers and constitutional experts had hoped that the guidelines would spell out more clearly the form of state envisaged by the ANC. As one can see from the above, they have been disappointed

Whatever the temptations, the ANC stuck to the principle that "the people must be consulted" and hence the guidelines are exactly what they purport to be — guidelines for discussions

However, there are clarifications of positions and possibly even shifts in the current ANC thinking that are exposed in the document.

These include the ANC's commitment to a multi-party democracy and a bill of rights that will protect the individual.

The guidelines, even more clearly than the Freedom Charter, avoid promising to legislate for a socialist economy or the direct participation of mass organisations in government

However, this seems to be in line with current thinking in both ANC and South African Communist Party journals which seem to be stressing that government can create the space for different forms of social and economic organisations, but what ultimately emerges must reflect the democratic will of the majority

An ANC person said at a recent conference in Harare that the guidelines were "not only meant for a post-apartheid South Africa"

"It is an ideological instrument, a morale booster and a clarification of our objectives in our present struggle against apartheid"

The publication of the guidelines serve the purpose of allowing the supporters of the ANC and other political actors in South Africa to be thinking quite concretely about what would be on the table in any negotiations.

The fact that people have discussed the guidelines very widely and the ANC has had substantial feedback will facilitate matters when negotiations are finally on the agenda

Smith 6-12/7/89.

Surprise as Mbeki meets top US official

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Restricted former African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki unexpectedly received permission to leave the Port Elizabeth magisterial district to meet a senior United States official in Johannesburg this week.

Mbeki, 78, was one of several anti-apartheid leaders who met US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen.

The meeting with Cohen, who is presently touring Southern Africa, followed the recent meeting between UDF president Albertina Sisulu and US President George Bush.

Mbeki may not be quoted, but according to close associates Mbeki reflected the broad policies of the ANC and the South African Communist Party."



Govan Mbeki

Other anti-apartheid leaders who held brief talks with Cohen are Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe and Sayco president Peter Mokaba.

Mokaba said he believed the meeting had "served some useful purpose in terms of giving us some insight into the present thinking of the Bush administration regarding our struggle here."

Mokaba said there appeared to be some form of movement, "there is some intention on the part of the United States administration to engage both opposition sides here unlike Reagan's constructive engagement policy."

"Although we didn't agree with everything he said, we are pleased that he envisaged holding a meeting with the ANC, particularly with president Oliver Tambo."

Mokaba said the talks were a "milestone" and "significant indeed" taking into account that Cohen comes from the Republican Party, the people who have been so opposed to us and refused even to listen to us, especially on the issue of economic sanctions and disinvestment."

"The meeting this week with Cohen has shown that our struggle had been legitimate all along and that it is becoming clear to all that no solution to the problems of this country can be obtained without talking to the legitimate leaders of the majority people."

Lusaka reunions and awakenings

By SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE weekend meeting between a high-powered delegation of the African National Congress and 115 white democrats represented a milestone in the ANC's efforts to win white support.

Both sides agreed that it could serve to pave the way for the meeting which would eventually have to take place between the government and the ANC.

Views differed as to how soon this would be, but there was a consensus that it was time to get down to serious preparations.

There were many signs that the interaction between ANC exiles and the white arm of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has reached new levels of maturity and seriousness.

"If I think back to my days in the Congress of Democrats in the 1950s it is a totally new phenomenon to see this tremendous surge of activity by white democrats" said an ANC source.

In those days we whites were a small isolated group and it was dangerous even to breathe the name ANC. Now everyone wants to meet us.

The 60 strong ANC delegation was challenged by the diversity and seriousness of the white group which gathered under the banner of the Five Freedoms Forum.

All were agreed that it was not the time for public concessions or gestures. But that did not prevent an exhaustive and candid debate around armed struggle, sanctions and the preconditions for negotiations.

Suspicion

Some of the white delegates said it was unfortunate that the same candid and open relationship they had established with the ANC often did not exist with members of the MDM inside the country.

One white delegate said attempts to establish alliances with the MDM were often thwarted by mistrust and suspicion of white overtures. More effort should be made to reach out and consolidate ties with the MDM.

It emerged at the conference that a dialogue based on a reconciliation of the ANC's constitutional guidelines and the South African Law Commission's report on a Bill of Rights is already underway.

The report of Judge PJJ Olivier formally acknowledged the ANC's position on a Bill of Rights.

The ANC is reluctant to formally acknowledge the legitimacy of a statutory body and insists that the detail of a Bill of Rights will have to be negotiated. But there is clearly already enough common ground between the two documents for a meaningful debate.

A striking feature of the conference was the deep respect shown to human rights stalwart Helen Suzman by ANC president Oliver Tambo and the ANC delegation.

Although Suzman spoke out strongly against sanctions and the ANC's armed struggle, she was accorded a place of honour at the top table with Tambo on the opening day of the conference.

During the course of the meeting the ANC spelled out its preconditions for talks to hammer out terms for a cessation of hostilities on both sides and work out a constitution for a



Top ANC president Oliver Tambo, FFF's Barbara Buntman and Mike Olivier



Left The ANC's Reg September in conversation with Wits academic David Shandler

For many of us the ANC had been demoralised by the government, but this impression has not been able to survive the contact we have had here, said John Greene, a lecturer in electrical engineering at the University of Cape Town.

In the debates and commissions which were held on subjects such as negotiations, violence, sanctions, socialism, business and the media, the divergence of views in the white delegation was often as wide as that between the groups.

This often found members from the internal group siding with ANC members on some issues while other members of the white group found themselves in another camp.

Congress officials were unanimous that the three-day meeting would prove vital in mapping the future course of the Congress in the era of pre-negotiation which was already underway.

The ANC accorded the meeting top status by fielding 20 out of 35 NEC members in a high powered delegation of 60 people.

Reasonable

This was underscored by a reception for the 175 delegates given by Zambia's president Kenneth Kaunda on the eve of the conference.

President Kaunda repeated his offer to meet National Party leader FW De Klerk to hasten the demise of apartheid.

In the commission on negotiations ANC officials expressed concern at the prospect of National Party leader FW De Klerk making an offer after the September 6 election which it would not be possible to reject outright.

It was thought such an action package would include the release of Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the emergency, the legalisation of an internal wing of the ANC and a selective amnesty to prisoners not convicted of violent crimes.

ANC officials accepted that while such an offer would not meet all the ANC's preconditions for negotiations, it would appear a reasonable response to the movement's demands and would, in turn, require a creative response.

The meeting in Dakar, Senegal between 60 Afrikaners and 16 ANC officials in July, 1987 provided the impulse for the initiative that led to the drawing up of the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

Last week's Lusaka meeting has laid the groundwork for a detailed response on negotiations.

nonracial democracy in South Africa.

The conditions were the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, the lifting of the ban on the ANC and other political groups, the lifting of the state of emergency, the removal of SADF troops from the townships and the repeal of repressive laws.

ANC spokespersons made it clear that they favoured a Constituent Assembly - like the one proposed in Namibia - to draw up a new constitution.

This would mean that one person, one vote elections would have to be held before the constitutional debate began.

The atmosphere of tolerance and reconciliation at the meeting was symbolised by the reunion of ANC NEC member Steve Tshwete and his security police interrogator of 26 years ago, Donald Card - now the mayor of East London and a Democratic Party councillor.

Magnets

Tshwete, who served 15 years of an 18-year sentence on Robben Island for his activities in Umkhonto we Sizwe in the early 1960s, met Card at the airport with a traditional Xhosa greeting.

From then on the two men appeared to be drawn to each other like magnets and could be seen exchanging jokes and conversing in Xhosa.

The appearance of Henk Grosskopf, the MK cadre blamed by the government for the Krugersdorp bomb which killed four people in 1987, caused somewhat of a stir among some of the white delegates.

"They felt it was a provocative action which could play into the hands of the government. Others commended the ANC's honesty for not trying to conceal its more unpalatable aspects."

As head of protocol at the conference, Grosskopf, a tall and softly-spoken 24 year-old, met the delegates at the airport and maintained a high profile throughout the proceedings.

An initial stand-off by some delegates turned into growing curiosity and Grosskopf soon became the centre of attraction on the conference fringes.

He spoke frankly about his love for his country, the factors that had driven him to leave and join the ANC and the longing he had to return to a free South Africa.

Homesickness

He feels angry about what he regards as his trial by media over the Krugersdorp bombing, but is not prepared to discuss his military activities.

He admires his mother for coming to his defence in an exchange of letters with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Many of the delegates were moved by Grosskopf's obvious homesickness as he danced and sang freedom songs with some of the younger delegates from both sides on the last night of the conference.

But there were also many light moments - as when Joe Slovo reminded Helen Suzman that she had once lectured him in economic history.

"Yes many of my students turned out bad," she sighed.

"Another white delegate started an intervention from the floor: "I don't want to be the nigger in the woodpile..."

Since a meeting between the ANC and a team of businessmen led by Anglo American chairman Gavin Reilly three years ago some 64 official meetings by more than 3 000 South Africans of all races have taken place.

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Burial of activist (11A)

FORMER Robben Island prisoner and executive member of the Azanian Students Movement, Bashi Gugushe, who died at the weekend, will be buried tomorrow at Ikageng.

Gugushe (23), former chairman of Azasm in Ikageng near Potchefstroom, died after being stabbed by what the organisation described as "reactionary forces"

"He served several years on the island and on his release worked tirelessly by conscientising the student population in the township," the spokesman said

A service will be held at the Methodist Church from 12 noon

ANC ^{not 7/18/89} sentences: 'SA judges to be judged?'

Own Correspondent 114

JOHANNESBURG. — South African judges might be brought before court under a new regime to explain why they chose to sentence ANC and PAC combatants to death when it was possible to find extenuating circumstances, Professor John Dugard said here yesterday.

Addressing a public meeting calling for the abolition of the death penalty, the director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University said a judge could find that an ANC combatant's regarding himself as a soldier reduced his blameworthiness and served as an extenuating circumstance.

Professor Dugard said that though South Africa refused to sign and ratify the 1977 Geneva Protocol which granted PoW status to members of liberation movements, this protocol had been widely accepted. "In some quarters it is argued that it is now part of international customary law, and therefore binding upon states whether they have signed the treaty or not."

Mandela wants prison party

JOHANNESBURG. — Nelson Mandela wants to hold a party in prison for up to 50 people to celebrate gaining a law degree, sources close to his family said today.

Mr Mandela, who is in his 27th year in captivity, asked the Prisons Service a month ago for permission for a graduation party at his one-man jail in Paarl, they said.

Prisons Service spokeswoman Elsa Jones said the department was considering a request submitted by Mandela. She declined to elaborate.

LONELY

Apart from visits by his wife Winnie and meetings with small groups of other family members, Mr Mandela, 70, has been allowed only occasional visits from friends.

He is held in a luxury bungalow in prison grounds after being moved from Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison last year to be treated for tuberculosis. Visitors say he is lonely.

The sources said Mandela wanted to invite his entire family and a number of jailed black leaders, including Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi and Ahmed Kathrada, imprisoned for life with him in 1964 for plotting to overthrow white rule.

The entire Mandela family has not met together for more than 20 years. — Sapa-Reuter.

Labour Relations Act high on Cosatu congress agenda

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The union campaign against the Labour Relations Act (LRA) will be one of the main issues for discussion at Cosatu's four-day third national congress beginning here on Wednesday, general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said

The congress is to be attended by 1 875 delegates representing the 921 497 paid-up members of Cosatu's 16 affiliates

Mr Naidoo said serious attention would also be given to the question of political negotiations

Cosatu's basic position was that the democratic movement had never opposed meaningful negotiations, and it was up to the government to create

conditions for free political activity which would make them possible

The congress would also discuss Cosatu's vision of the future. This would include debate on the ANC's constitutional guidelines, the "fraudulent" September 6 elections, and the NP's recently announced five-year plan

The Natal peace initiative, including the Cosatu and UDF talks with Inkatha, and calls for an independent commission of inquiry into the regional violence, would be a further matter addressed, Mr Naidoo said

Broadening an anti-apartheid coalition, sanctions and disinvestment, privatisation and deregulation, Aids, union unity, and unemployment are also on the agenda

Ground for negotiation has not been laid

Soweto 7/7/89 11A

THE SABC was celebrating in its morning comment yesterday, saying that the international community is now reassessing the value of economic sanctions

It said that exports have increased
Several recent state-

ments from representatives of various Western governments do in fact show that the new leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, has raised their hopes for negotiations on the future of South Africa

A new spirit seems to have come into all discussions about this country.

I remember the first American assessment of De Klerk immediately after he became leader of the NP he was called a possible Nixon of South Africa.

Nixon? The hopes were that just as the

conservative American President Nixon had broken the Cold War by going to China, De Klerk would be the conservative to lead South Africa to democracy. Since then De Klerk

has charmed some European leaders like Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl

Last week he threw his long-awaited balloon, the Five-Year Plan, into the air. But before that dramatic moment, there were widespread stories of behind the scenes shuttle diplomacy to get the African National Congress and the Government to talk

Into this activity comes the story of an ANC document circulating secretly in the country canvassing support for a change in position on negotiations with the Government

It suggests the formation of a constituent assembly with the power to draw up a new constitution

De Klerk has certainly put on the charm

Let us look at what he has publicly put on the table

- Setting up of institutions in which leaders of all groups can participate in the creation of a new constitutional future,

Freedom

- A possible acceptance by the NP of a Bill of Rights as part of a negotiated constitution,

- Greater emphasis on freedom of association and of dissociation in group formation,

- Decriminalisation of the Group Areas Act

According to some analysts the most important concession that the NP has made is to insist that the groups participating be committed to peace, thus stepping down from the original demand that participants first denounce violence

But is this a stepping down or a re-wording of the original condition? Obviously only the insane are not committed to peace

The plan has been attacked on various grounds, but all the criticism points out that the NP has in fact not changed any of the policies created under the leadership of P W Botha

Let us be very generous and assume that De Klerk is playing two games — to win votes at the September elections, a public one that accepts the basics of apartheid, and then another behind the scenes in which he is keen on genuine negotiation

This would mean that he is entering the negotiations without a mandate to dismantle apartheid he can only manoeuvre within the limits set by a society obsessed with race and racial domination

PERSPECTIVE

Joe Thobe



At this stage the NP is not even talking of scrapping the Group Areas Act it is suggesting a more efficient bureaucracy to implement it

If a white comes to live in Soweto, his neighbours could then complain to a bureau and officials of that body would get to him and offer him alternative accommodation

He would be prosecuted only after refusing the alternative accommodation

No, sir The ground for negotiation has not been laid yet There will be a lot of red herrings to get us chasing nothing

The ANC believes that Walter Sisulu will be released from prison before the election and that Mandela and other high profile leaders will be released after the elections

It is important that these leaders be released, but it will add nothing to the big picture until white South Africa agrees to "an open-ended indaba to negotiate a new dispensation"

It is only then that liberation movements can start taking De Klerk and the NP seriously For now, it is obvious that FW is only interested in beating sanctions and the isolation of this country

The joyous shouts that came over the airwaves from Auckland Park yesterday morning demonstrate this very clearly

ay July 7 1989

114
Soweto 7/7/89

ANC, Government being sucked into negotiation

TWO of South Africa's main political protagonists, the Nationalist

Government and the African National Congress, are being sucked

Editor of *The Star* Harvey Tyson, after discussions with the ANC and its opposite numbers, looks at some of the obstacles to negotiations. He does so as South Africa approaches the final crossroads leading to uncomfortable change — or to an endless swamp of violence



into a negotiating process which has been going on for several years in this country, albeit in unobtrusive, indirect, and often contradictory ways

The NP has adopted one of those meaningless meanings of "negotiation", and will continue to squirm for some time yet, certainly well beyond the election on September 6. What about the ANC?

It too is squirming, and its militant supporters within South Africa haven't yet understood the real issues. The ANC not only has to contend with pressure from the outside world, it has to contend with rival factions within South Africa, who cannot wait to take up the "spear" if the ANC shows signs of loosening its grip on the armed struggle. Refugee militants of all parties

abroad now seem less "hardline" than their followers at home

The Government may never have a stronger position from which to abandon thoughts of the laager, and to reach out and bargain. Its problem is how to stay in the driving seat, and still meet the minimum requirements for fair bargaining. The steps cited for real negotiation threaten to become ritualistic. They are: Release Mandela and all political prisoners; Unban all political movements, end the emergency; Begin talking.

Those steps would "normalise" the situation and provide level ground for all interests to canvass support for the national convention, or constituent assembly, or merely for the talks. But they are giant steps for the Nationalist Government. How could it survive nationwide political demonstrations by millions of black voters? On the other hand, how could it deal with the first minimum requirement — releasing Mandela — and still gag his followers?

Mahlangu is a respected leader

By LEOGANG HASHATSE

LEBOHANG, the Leandra township which has been in the news recently because of racist assaults on its residents, is being led by a man, who in spite of his involvement in a Government structure, is regarded not as a sellout but as a true leader

Mr Dobi David Mahlangu, the mayor and chairman of the Lebohang Town Council (LTC) and a member of the Lebohang Action Committee (LAC), is revered and accepted completely in his community

Mahlangu's position is similar to that of Mr Maszi Dube, a former Robben Island and mayor of Lamontville in Durban who was killed because he was an activist

Dube was a highly acclaimed leader in a relentless struggle against the incorporation of Lamontville into Kwa-Zulu

Activism

The involvement of Mahlangu in a government structure and the fact that he plays an activist role can also be compared to that of Mr Enos Mabuza, the Kwa-Ngwane homeland leader who was received well by the ANC on a recent visit to Lusaka

Mabuza's political role has been problematic with Pretoria

Since the debate is not an easy one, the answer will obviously be difficult to reach. It is perhaps for this reason that activists and extra-parliamentary leaders have tended to avoid the question

Mahlangu who moves around Lebohang freely and without fear, sees himself, unlike his predecessors, as part of the total life of his community

He believes his role extends beyond merely solving domestic problems between husband and wife or children and parents and dealing with the usual water, electricity and housing issues

Brutality

He is known to avoid no issues especially those involving police brutality and excesses, assaults of the black people by gun-toting whites as well as tackling the Government on the question of granting more land and houses

Police brutality and harassment, vigilante violence and assaults by whites have been a common feature of the crowded township which has a high unemployment rate estimated to be at least 60 percent

In January 1986 anti-removal leader Ampie Mayisa was brutally hacked to death by a vigilante force formed to oppose the LAC and their campaigns

Mayisa's house was destroyed in an attack believed to be by the same people who killed him and so was Nkabinde's house Nkabinde was chairman of the LAC at the time

In the same month, several houses of leaders and members of the LAC were raided again by the vigilantes

The following year in January, Solomon Nkondo was shot dead Nkondo's sister Rebecca, his brother Patrick and July Ntswene a friend, were also shot but they survived According to Mahlangu the municipal police were responsible

Another man, Solomon Mahlangu, was also shot dead allegedly by a municipal policeman in February 1989 Bafu Sithole is the latest victim

Anger

The community was angered by these deaths especially since nothing was being done to solve them According to Mahlangu these deaths compounded by the fact the former town council was inefficient and neglected the needs and aspirations of the people, cost them control of the community and of council

The former councillors who were isolated and lived behind barbed wire, were deposed in the October 1988 election by Mahlangu and five of his colleagues

Since then, the new mayor has set himself the task of tirelessly fighting to fulfill aspirations of the people and campaign against all injustices suffered by the people of Lebohang

Reducing the high unemployment rate, raising wages of the black workers of Leandra acquiring more land and providing the people with their own homes, have been set as priorities by Mahlangu and his council

Mahlangu is negotiating with employers in the surrounding area,

such as Sasol, to provide employment, increase wages of Lebohang residents and that employers should attempt to provide their workers with homes

He is also talking to the Government for more land and houses

The LTC leader has further urged the authorities to investigate and bring to justice those responsible for the murder of Lebohang activists

He is taking up the case of people such as Mr Daantjie de Klerk who

was assaulted and tortured by whites

These are the kinds of campaigns and the nature of Mahlangu's leadership that make him popular with residents, including activists

His house and that of other councillors have not been fenced with barbed wire He does not see the need for such fencing for "I am a friend and not an enemy of the people", as he puts it

In his conduct and in the way he executes community affairs, he has struck me as a humble down-to-earth and a democratic person — some qualities lacking in the behaviour of a number of activists and extra-parliamentary leaders



Dobi David Mahlangu is the mayor of Lebohang Town Council but he is regarded as a true leader and not a sellout.

I want my children to succeed in life...

I had to leave school when I was 15, because my parents couldn't keep me there any longer Then I had to educate myself I studied till late by candlelight, when I was already tired after a day's work. I had to go to evening classes And when I see how important it was, I'm glad I did

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FOCUS

FACE TO FACE WITH ANC

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

"I now trust the ANC," the mayor of East London, Mr Donald Card, said in Lusaka

Card, a former security policeman, has in the past been responsible for the incarceration of some members of the banned organisation

He and 114 other delegates conferred with the ANC at its headquarters in the Zambian capital last week. The trip was organised by Five Freedoms Forum (FFF)

Mr Franz Auerbach, the chairman of Jews for Social Justice, said at a Press briefing on the group's return this week "This conference has helped substantially to build a climate of trust and, given the background, I think that is significant

"The demonisation of the ANC over the years has led to many white people forgetting that these people are all fellow South Africans," Auerbach said "And if there was one word that kept creeping in throughout the conference it was 'compatriot' "

But the group's trek was also a signal to the ANC that there are white South Africans who are committed to meaningful change

Mr Michael Olivier, chairman of the FFF, said after the briefing "We believe that the ANC has the largest support base in the country. Hence our decision to meet and discuss with it the future of the country "

Unique

Discussions ranged from the question of violence of the State participation in the tricameral Parliament, Olivier said

"The talks were amazingly honest, open and genuine. The conference was a unique opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the conditions and fears prevailing in the white community," he said

Mr Gavin Evans, an executive member of the FFF, said "The ANC

'Many whites have forgotten that these people are our fellow South Africans'

was very grateful for the kind of information the delegates were able to give its members

The ANC had not formulated a clear long term strategy on detailed economic issues such as fiscal and monetary policy or exchange control "It welcomed input in this regard," Evans said

There was, however, consensus on the objective of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa "despite strategic and other differences," Olivier hastened to add

Gael Neke of the FFF explained reasons for the group's visit to Lusaka

"We have a real problem in this country, namely that we have extremely little know-

ledge about what the ANC really is. To glean such information was one of the aims of this conference "

She said State media controls and Press restrictions prevented ordinary white South Africans from knowing what the ANC was all about

"Impressions generally held by whites are false, or otherwise very limited, as the ANC tends to be demonised by the Government.

"This is a very serious problem considering we're going to have to negotiate with the ANC in future," Neke said.

Strategy

The discussions on violence were divided in two parts. Judith Hawarden of the Black Sash said, "The first was violence of the state machinery — the violence against the people of South Africa.

"The other," Hawarden explained "was the adoption of a strategy of armed struggle "

"The background and reasons why the ANC adopted this strategy was discussed. There was some understanding for this course of action," she said.

But the two groups agreed to differ on strategy. "Although we agreed on a common goal, the ANC and the anti-apartheid forces within the country had adopted different strategies," Hawarden said



ANC leader Oliver Tambo who attended the talks.

The ANC was specifically asked what its attitude was on the attacking of civilian targets and necklacing. A spokesman said there were logistical problems and often "discipline was lacking", Evans explained

"There was a feeling that over the past nine months there had been a bit more control. The policy was not to hit civilian targets and they also said they condemned necklacing out of hand," he said.

In summing up the viewpoints expressed by the ANC, the FFF reported that it would

- Support a boycott of the September elections for the Indian and coloured Houses of Parliament, but not of the white House since it recognised the representative nature of the House of Assembly and the constructive role of progressive white parliamentarians
- Accept the principle of the protection of individual human rights, but feared that the National Party was "hijacking" the concept

of a Bill of Rights to impress Western nations, A Bill of Rights should be negotiated between all political groups

• Enter into negotiations with the South African Government and other parties once certain conditions were met

These included the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of all political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency, the abrogation of apartheid laws which sought to criminalise illegitimate political activity, the safe return of exiles, and the withdrawal of the SADF and paramilitary forces from the townships

Sanctions

Olivier reported that these demands should not be viewed as preconditions, but as fundamental aspects of a situation which needed to change before a framework and climate for negotiations could be created.

The ANC remained firm in its belief that comprehensive sanctions would bring about fast political change, thus reducing violence. But it had a more open approach on socialism and nationalisation

Evans said the ANC realised the African experience is fraught with problems

"The organisation is pragmatic about issues such as the redistribution of wealth and nationalisation. It would encourage the development of black business by, for example, state bank loans to aspirant entrepreneurs," Evans said



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlolo. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg

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'Lift standard of black managers'

Sowetan 7/7/89

11A
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MAJOR business groups have been urged to formulate strategies to uplift the standard of black managers and to stop "passing the buck" to other sectors of the South African community.

The president of the Black Management Forum, Mr Don Mkhwanazi, said the time for "passing the buck" had run out. He was speaking at the

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

launch of the BMF Excellence in Achievement Award sponsored by Kellogg's company in East London

Mkhwanazi said. "South African managers must influence and shape the environment to the benefit of all and not

just a section of our population.

"Black managers have a major role to play in transforming South African society."

He said as long as blacks were excluded from the political decision making machinery in the country, there would not be peace, prosperity and stability.

"There will be no peace as long as millions of blacks continue to live in abject poverty, are unemployed, unemployable and unskilled," he said.

"In BMF we acknowledge the fact that, if it were not for pain, suffering and the struggle of the masses, we would not be talking of black managers."

It was BMF's vision to fight for a democratic



DON MKHWANAZI

South Africa where black and white would share equally the economy and political power.

He said the award recognised men and women who have succeeded and achieved something despite the odds created by South Africa's socio-economic and political environment

Sisulu speaks to UN's Africa group

By Stan Hlophe

11A

Mrs Albertina Sisulu will address the United Nations's Special Committee on African Affairs in New York today

A spokesman for the South African delegation said from New York yesterday the overseas visit had been a success

The delegation, which included UDF members Sister Bernadette Ncube, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, Mr Titus Mafolo and Mr Azachar Cachalia, was warmly welcomed, the spokesman said

The delegation's next stop would be London where Mrs Sisulu, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu, would see her exiled children

The spokesman said Mrs Sisulu had met several heads of state and had consistently called for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa as a peaceful weapon for political change.

In discussions she had highlighted.

● The plight of political prisoners on the death row.

● Restrictions in the country

● Police harassment

● Disappearances and assassinations of activists

In Stockholm Mrs Sisulu met the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr Ingvar Carlsson, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Sten Anderson.

In France she met President Francois Mitterrand and his wife Danielle

In the United States she met President George Bush, Secretary of State Mr James Baker; an assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Ambassador Herman Cohen, and the chief whip of the Democratic Party, Congressman Bill Gray.

Mrs Sisulu said there could be no negotiation unless the climate was right. Factors that would help create this atmosphere were

● All political prisoners being released

● Exiles being allowed to return home

● The ANC, PAC and other groups being unbanned.

● The state of emergency being lifted

Stan 7/7/84

Who gains what?

Last week's talks between ANC representatives and a Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) delegation in Lusaka have again focused attention on where the benefits — if any — of such contacts actually lie

The inclusion in the ANC delegation of alleged arch-terrorist Hein Grosskopf seemed to some to indicate contempt for the political flak visitors to the ANC inevitably face on their return to SA

Grosskopf's attendance had National Party (NP) election strategists chortling with satisfaction this week. There is little doubt that contacts between the ANC and "white liberals", particularly supporters of the Democratic Party (DP), will be an important aspect of the party's election campaign

The DP is keenly aware of the political traps the NP is setting for participants in talks with the ANC. This was reflected by DP MP Jan van Eck's last-minute decision to withdraw from the FFF delegation

An NP onslaught, spearheaded by Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, against talks with the ANC has been gaining momentum in recent months. It is understood that before the election "sensational" evidence may be produced in an attempt to further discredit contacts with the organisation

Government is clearly worried that continued discussions with the ANC by a wide range of respected, moderate South Africans will undermine its own efforts to portray the organisation as an uncompromising Marxist terrorist revolutionary force, unworthy of inclusion in a negotiated political settlement

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in SA. To some extent the contacts also pre-empt whatever future moves government may make towards dealing with the banned organisation

So can the ANC "give" something in return which would enable the visitors better to justify their actions to a generally hostile white audience back home?

Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, co-founder of the Institute for a Democratic SA (Idasa), plays a leading role in setting up meetings with the ANC. He believes that while specific trade-offs are not feasible because of the nature of the contacts, increased ideological flexibility and a softening of attitudes is evident on both sides. Such meetings enable myths and stereotypes on both sides to be broken down. In so doing, they build a climate for negotiations based on consideration of the cost of not negotiating

There is no question about the need to talk to the ANC if one accepts that the choice is between negotiation and violence, Slabbert adds. "We believe the ANC is one of the major players, if not the major player, in the game. It is, therefore, vital to understand what they are thinking and to see if they can be pulled into future negotiations"

He says he has never made a secret of his personal reservations about aspects of ANC policy and strategy, but does not regard these as an obstacle to talks. Ultimately, he observes, "one can only really assess the policies and actions of the ANC once they

are free to participate in the constitutional process and are subject to the demands and problems of other participants"

Slabbert rejects the argument that contact with the ANC gives the organisation legitimacy and publicity. He maintains that government, through its own actions, legitimises it more than anyone else. He also believes it is impossible to implement a ban on talks, as government apparently tried to do soon after contacts began. He acknowledges that a party such as the DP faces a problem in its approach to the ANC

"My view is that the DP should send its executive to talk to the ANC and to establish common issues. They should then come back and tell the electorate what they talked about. They should get it off the agenda and not let their opponents use it against them"

He says the worst thing that could happen to the DP is for the government to have talks

with the ANC before it does. The DP's dilemma is the same as that facing both the white electorate and the NP: consolidating a power base at the expense of negotiating with the ANC, or vice versa

The ANC's recently published constitutional guidelines, argues Slabbert, make significant statements on key issues and are a clear indication that the organisation is willing to negotiate. DP co-leader Denis Worrall does not regard talks with the ANC as a "reciprocal" arrangement in terms of trade-offs. "We will talk to the ANC before the election on the basis of our own agenda with the intention of conveying to them certain critical views"

DP co-leader, Wynand Malan, rejects Vlok's contention that, while white liberals talk to the ANC in Lusaka, the organisation shows its contempt by continuing to kill civilians in bomb attacks in SA. Malan contends that talks with the ANC are necessary to end the violence — just as government accepted talks were necessary to end the conflict in Angola and Namibia. "You make no contribution to peace by talking only to those who agree with you. One doesn't hold a peace conference between friends". He stresses that the DP rejects violence as a political tool for change and agrees with government that violence in SA will not end until the ANC abandons its "armed struggle". And that is the point: what do we do to bring an end to the violence?



Slabbert

Grosskopf

Biko medical ethics trust fund

By Jacqueline Myburgh 

Almost 12 years after Steve Biko's death the doctors who forced the SA Medical and Dental Council to hold an inquiry into the behaviour of two district surgeons yesterday saw the end of "a series of tragic occurrences" which, according to Dr Phillip Tobias, "severely damaged the integrity of the South African medical profession".

Dr Tobias, former dean of the University of the Witwatersrand's Medical Faculty and one of the "triumvirate" of doctors who challenged the SAMDC in court, handed over a cheque for R17 000 to the present dean, Professor Clive Rosendorff, for use in the advancement of medical ethics in South

Africa.

The money was left in a Biko trust fund formed when Supreme Court action against the "Biko doctors" was taken. When the court ruled in favour of Dr Frances Ames, Dr Trefor Jenkins and Dr Phillip Tobias and awarded them costs, the money was no longer needed for the purpose for which it had been donated.

It was decided to divide the money between the University of Cape Town and the University of the Witwatersrand for use by their respective Medical Faculty Ethics Committees.

The gift will be the basis of "The Steve Biko Medical Ethics Trust Fund".

11A

(11A) Fmuel 7/7/89

such as JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem, Wits Graduate School of Business director Andy Andrews and economics author Christo Nel, is that the most important aspect of their recent trip to Lusaka lay in introducing the ANC to hard economic realities and the shift in the ANC's position to one of greater ideological flexibility on economic questions. The interchange holds important lessons for future bargaining with the ANC, they add.

Bethlehem says he was able to expose to the ANC its weakness of approach to crucial economic issues, such as monetary policy, balance of payments problems, exchange rate management in a world of floating currencies, commodity price fluctuations and global economic realignments.

"The problem is that when the ANC thinks about SA they do so as development economists or political historians in a macro fashion, without considering the basic eco-

BUSINESS AND THE ANC

Talking cents

While it may appear just another white pilgrimage to the ANC — the 71st and largest to date — with little new to add to the country's political stand-off, returning businessmen insist that the recent Lusaka indaba was important (see "ANC Talks")

The consensus among business people,

(11A) Fmuel 7/7/89

conomic motivations which drive the country. This is a problem with developmental economics the world over," Bethlehem explains.

"They were surprised and grateful for the input we were able to make and there is no doubt in my mind that we made an important contribution to narrowing the gap between their position and people in business and administration back home, though it may take time for our experience to help shift the official viewpoint back home.

"I see the ANC and National Party as the key players, notwithstanding the importance of other groupings such as the CP and Inkatha. I think it is the patriotic duty of every South African to bring about a situation where these two can come to a negotiating position before the damage done to the country over time becomes irreparable.

"It is said trips like this give the ANC respectability, but I think this makes it more difficult for the ANC to justify hitting soft targets and helps move them away from violence."

It also seems that the international demise of collectivist economic policy in the socialist world has not gone unnoticed by the banned organisation.

Logic and economics, however, are still trumped by politics. The priority on the Left's agenda remains attending to the consequences of decades of black deprivation. That is understandable. Yet this balance is being reconsidered. Certainly there is greater realisation that a political victory without the economic fruits would be largely barren.

Disarming apple pie from the ANC

MKS
7/17/89

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The last of two articles by HARVEY TYSSON, Editor of The Star, Johannesburg, on last weekend's talks with the ANC in Lusaka

It is only three years since black militants and white parliamentary voters met formally in open congress, possibly for the first time, to discuss a post-apartheid society

That conference, sponsored in Port Elizabeth by Dr van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), was one of the more depressing talk sessions I have attended in a long life of listening to political gobbledegook

It was depressing because of the meaningless Marxist definitions of "democracy" and "freedom" and the ideological clichés about Parliament, capitalism and the rest. Worse, the South African Police arrested some delegates

Last weekend, in Lusaka, a similar convention seemed light years away. The only comparison I could find was just one sample of mirror image. A black security policeman tried to detain a white clergyman for taking a photograph of Zambia's

Swapo refugee camp

But South African militants abroad have changed

What does the ANC stand for today?

The conference was encouraging because both sides were prepared to take risks. And "the whites" and the ANC actually listened to each other, sometimes shouted at each other, or at least became tightlipped over sanctions and violence

Flexibility

The ANC seemed flexible on private enterprise, minority rights (protected by a Bill of Individual Rights), and Press freedom. It seemed blissfully unaware of, and willing to be advised on, some technical problems in economics, education, health. All this was disarming

I shall detail one example of the new flexibility — the example which I went to Lusaka to test. It is the ANC's definition of "Press freedom" on a continent where "freedom" means you can support the government. Nowhere in black Africa does an "alter-native" Press operate. Only gentle and "constructive" criticism is allowed even in the most democratic country

outside of South Africa

What does the ANC propose?

"We strongly believe in Press freedom. We also believe in responsibility and accountability."

What does that mean?

"It means we would not tolerate anti-Semitism, racism, or nazi propaganda in the media. But otherwise anyone could produce any kind of newspaper, from say the British 'Guardian' to the conservative 'Daily Telegraph', from the girly 'Sun' to 'The Independent'. Every political ideology (except racism) will be possible in the Press."

Other forms of censorship?

"Obscenity is not a problem. It is a matter of taste."

What if one of the media were to preach secession from your unitary State?

"Why not? In any case it would be a minor aberration, like a royalist political party in the United States."

Well, what about a serious constitutional challenge to the government — say 50 percent of the people wanting change?

"That feeling would need

airing, so that the nation could continue to develop."

What about media ownership? State-controlled TV which you have criticised back home?

"Yes, we are concerned about exclusive white, centralised control of the Press and electronic media. We shall have to find a mechanism to provide many more papers for the people — African language papers for instance. The mechanism could be State papers, party or community papers, perhaps subsidised media as in Europe."

It was a reminder that this policy was like Pik Botha's policy as given to foreign visitors — very different from the version fed to the people. Yet it was remarkable that all of it was for the public record.

It is an example of why ANC attitudes (and those of all other political movements) need to be tested in negotiation, under pressure, in practice.

It was a demonstration of how easy it is to talk — even when some of us (Helen Surman was the most vocal) condemned loudly and without qualification their policy of violence.

Lusaka talks proved hopeful pointer

ANC is becoming more flexible, too

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Decades of isolation and propaganda in South Africa have turned whites into naive travellers and frightened negotiators. Yet the time has come to start bargaining — or settle for ceaseless civil war. What is there to negotiate about? HARVEY TYSON, who accompanied 113 whites to Lusaka at the weekend, examines their ANC encounter

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The longer we debated the more apple-pie we were offered

It was a reminder that this policy was like P. W. Botha's policy as given to foreign visitors — very different to the version fed to the people. Yet it was remarkable that all of it was for the public record

It is an example of why ANC attitudes (and those of all other political movements) need to be tested in negotiation, under pressure, in practice

It was a demonstration of how easy it is to talk — even when some of us (Helen Suzman was the most vocal) condemned loudly and without qualification their policy of violence

An encounter with 'gewone mense'



Thabo Mbeki ... argues persuasively.



Oliver Tambo . impressive politician.

This was at least the 70th publicly recorded meeting between the ANC and South African passport-holders since 1985; about the 50th publicised meeting since that Idasa conference. South Africans ranging from Gavin Relly and Danie Craven to members of the FCI and Stellenbosch University SRC have met the ANC recently — and I can think of many more South Africans, some close to Government, who have done so in secret.

Yet the jet-load of whites and the 60 ANC top-brass who debated for three days in Lusaka were seen as pioneers in seeking a negotiating process. What the conference did was make it easier in the future for other South Africans, including Government spokesmen, to meet the ANC (and PAC and other extra-parliamentary groups).

Distorted image

But the white voter's image of the ANC has been distorted out of sight since its president, Albert Luthuli, was banned 30 years ago for attracting too much white support.

Today the ANC leaders are seen as demons. Censorship and propaganda have turned them into monsters, and given them more power than they possess. The demons, though not quite sanctified by meeting the former Anglican Archbishop of South Africa and the rest of the delegation, were seen to be normal men and women — a fact which almost overcame many white delegates. One can smile at Engels with good intentions greater than good sense, and Afrikaners with hearts bigger than their heads, who go overboard at these encounters.

Propaganda machine

Yet it is the Nationalist closed-circuit propaganda machine which has transformed sophisticated white South Africans into frightened travellers and naive negotiators.

Perhaps, if ever Oliver Tambo and Thabo Mbeki appear on SABC-TV, half the white audience will swoon. The leaders are charming men; impressive politicians; and they argue persuasively that they have less blood on their hands than any Government man responsible for police action. White South Africans may swoon, not so much at the unfamiliarity of such faces on the box, but because they seem *gewone mense*, just like their favourite MP.

That does not mean the ANC have transformed into angels

Grosskopf speaks to press

Mr Hein Grosskopf, ANC chief of protocol during last week's consultation between the ANC and 114 South Africans, calls himself a "political soldier" who would not have been ashamed to be responsible, as alleged, for a car bomb blast in 1987

A member of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Grosskopf talked to the Afrikaans weekly newspaper, *Vrye Weekblad*

The interview is published today. On allegations by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that he was connected with a Krugersdorp bomb blast in

1987, he said the allegations were made with a reason

"My ANC membership was a danger to them because people could identify with me and they had to destroy this potential identification"

He did not confirm his connection or non-connection with the "operations"

"To tell the truth, if I had done what they said I had done, I doubt that I would have been ashamed the three instances they connected to me are military operations"

Labour to contest all 80 seats

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Aspiring Labour Party candidates will be gathering in Cape Town next week for a nomination process in which the party will be putting up candidates for all seats in the House of Representatives

Selections will start on Monday and LP national secretary Mr Abe Williams said the successful candidates would probably be announced next weekend

"We will be putting up candidates in all 80 seats in the House. We have plenty of people to choose from," he added

One of the LP's chief concerns in the September election would be to increase the percentage polls, particularly in metropolitan areas like the Peninsula

It is widely perceived that an im-

provement in the credibility of the House of Representatives will depend on a higher voter turnout

Mr Williams believed more people would come forward to vote than in 1984 "We sense that there is a greater urge among communities to get involved

11A (circled) 2007 (circled)

FIGHTING FOR CHANGE

"People have seen that we have been fighting for change in Parliament, and I think that is going to make a difference"

Dismissing Mr Carter Ebrahim's Democratic Reform Party, Mr Williams said "We are not expecting much opposition. A party which enters an election with the aim of being the Opposition is not much of a party"

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

No ANC call on whites to boycott polls

By GAVIN EVANS

THE African National Congress will not call on whites to boycott the September elections

This was confirmed by representatives of the banned organisation during the "Whites in a changing society" conference in Lusaka last weekend.

In a commission on the role of parliamentary opposition, ANC members said their national executive committee had decided to call for a boycott of the coloured and Indian elections, but recognised that "there was no boycott tradition in the white community."

"We still regard the whole tricameral parliament as fundamentally illegitimate and therefore we won't call on whites to vote, but we also have not intention of mounting a boycott campaign among our white compatriots," an ANC representative said.

The commission served as a forum for intense discussion between DP and ANC members on the issue of putting up candidates for the two "junior" houses. Among those who attended it were Helen Suzman, parliamentary candidates Dene Smuts and Graham Retief, and senior DP members Bill Sewell and Jannie Hofmeyr.

ANC members present said the main distinction they drew between white anti-apartheid opposition MPs, and those in the other two houses was that the latter had clearly been rejected by their communities.

They urged DP members to forge links with extra-parliamentary groups and to work together in joint campaigns.

A joint communiqué, endorsed by both ANC and FFF delegates, emphasised the "possibility of pursuing different strategies to achieve a non-racial democracy."

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The greying man at the door

For all the fierce debates, the meeting was not without its moments of irony or humour

Several of the delegates described the event as a "life-changing experience."

One was South African Boilemaker Society unionist Willie Coetzee. He and fellow unionist Frikkie Buringtag were the only two white workers to attend. Shortly before departure two others dropped out.

"I'm sorry the other workers chickened out, but they'll be hearing from us. The next delegation will be one from our unions," Coetzee said for the businessmen the conference served as an opportunity to offer insight into issues which might confront the ANC in a post-apartheid situation. They gave their views on the "hard economic realities" likely to face the country.

There were few who were not impressed by the movement's openness to hear opposing views.

Suzman said she found the ANC "much less dogmatic" about economic affairs than she had expected, although she still disagreed with them about their strategies of violence. For a few of the delegates the conference was a chance to patch up past differences.

Over five years ago the Argus Group ran an article on Slovo, making defamatory allegations in connection with the assassination of his wife, Ruth Slovo successfully sued the company, but the Argus Group refused to apologise.

At the conference *Star* editor-in-chief Harvey Tyson approached Slovo, held his arm, and simply said, "I'm sorry." At the Lusaka airport last Thursday

A SHORT, greying man stood next to President Kenneth Kaunda greeting the Five Freedoms Forum guests at Lusaka's State House.

As one of the delegates stepped forward to introduce herself, he greeted her by name. "But who are you," the surprised delegate inquired.

The man's name was Oliver Tambo. He was very glad to meet her. And not a bit piqued that she hadn't recognised the leader of the ANC.

While many of the 114 visitors from home retained their differences with the banned movement, there were none who were not impressed by the dignity and humility of the African National Congress' 71-year-old president.

His quiet but decisive role was one of the highmarks of the four-day conference.

In his opening address FFF chairman Mike Olivier said "What I think we all have in common is a desire for a non-racial and democratic future but I suspect that we will not all agree on exactly what this entails and how best we should get there — this is the essence of what we are here to talk about."

Fierce debates on sanctions and violence ensued but seldom without a trace of humour and goodwill.

"Let's take a bet on it," shouted outgoing Houghton MP Helen Suzman after general secretary of the South African Communist Party Joe Slovo suggested that comprehensive sanctions could bring the government to the negotiation table within six months.

Earlier, Slovo had reminded Suzman that she had lectured him in Economic History at Wits University 45 years ago. "You're not the only one of my students who went wrong, you know," she retorted.



His comrades call him 'Akeela' but to Cecilie Cilliers, of Women For Peace, he is Hein Grosskopff

Star 7/7/89

Commission
on SA gets
R2,7-m grant

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The proposed US commission to provide special training opportunities for disadvantaged South Africans is to kick off with a grant of \$1 million (R2,7 million) from the American government.

The commission, created by Congress, will primarily raise its funds from the US private sector.

According to congressional sources, it will not confine its activities to sponsoring the training of disadvantaged South Africans for middle management jobs in business and government service.

It could also be involved in correcting other imbalances between white and black South Africans, such as in health facilities and housing.

Not a cent of the commission's money is to go to any individual or organisation connected with the South African Government. The funds are instead to be channelled through organisations which are known to be committed to the abolition of apartheid.

Refugees from South Africa, such as those in neighbouring states, may also qualify for training sponsorship from the commission's funds.

Firebombing: 'guerrilla' held

W. Mail 7-13/7/89.

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By THAMI MKHWANAZI

A MAN believed to be a trained guerrilla has been arrested in connection with the AK-47 and firebomb attack in February on the Soweto home of Federation of Transvaal Women organiser Dudu Olive Chili, in which a teenage girl died.

Soweto residents believe the attack was launched to avenge the murder of a member of Winnie Mandela's "football club", Maxwell Madondo.

The man, who is described by the parents of the dead girl, Finki Msomi, as a "freedom fighter of dubious character" is alleged to be facing numerous charges of murder and attempted murder.

Numerous AK-47 rifles said to be linked to crimes had been confiscated by the police, a source said.

Finki's Orlando West parents were summoned last week to the Soweto security police headquarters in Protea for questioning. An identification parade was also held.

Captain RV Bloomberg, of the South African Police press liaison division in Pretoria, yesterday said the man had been arrested some time ago, and that his case docket would be forwarded to the attorney-general before the end of this month.

Bloomberg would not say whether or not the suspect was a trained guerrilla.

The body of 13-year-old Finki was engulfed in flames following the attack by balaclava-clad men in the early hours of February 23.

A relative who had been watching television in the lounge, Barbara Chili, went outside to investigate when she heard a gate opening.

She found a man wearing an overcoat with a balaclava pulled over his face, carrying an AK-47.

As she fled, gunfire raked the house, and windows were broken to allow petrol bombs to be thrown inside the building.

During the attack, the clothes of

Barbara and two girls inside the house, Finki and Judith Msomi, caught alight. Finki later died, while the other two suffered burns.

Eye witnesses said they saw a cream-coloured kombi and a car in the road opposite the house.

They said they had earlier seen a group of youths roaming around near the house, making threats.

The attack came a day after Dudu Chili was arrested in connection with Mandela Football Club member Madondo's killing. She is standing trial with six youths, including her two sons, Sibusiso and Mphike.

She has since been released on bail. The other accused have been refused bail.

SA stance limits judges dealing with ANC cases

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Although under South African law a judge could not accord full prisoner of war status to ANC combatants, he did have some personal choice in the matter, Professor John Dugard, Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, said yesterday.

At a meeting hosted by the Centre and the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, Professor Dugard said a judge should find that because the ANC combatant tried before him regarded himself as a soldier engaged in a recognised armed conflict, it would reduce his moral blameworthiness and serve as an extenuating circumstance.

"Certain judges take a very strict approach towards extenuating circumstances and there may indeed be judges who believe that their judicial duty prevents them from showing mercy in such cases," he said.

Professor Dugard said although

South Africa had signed and ratified the 1949 Geneva conventions which essentially aimed to provide protection to those involved in an international war or armed conflict, it had refrained from giving any support to the 1977 protocols which provided that the Geneva conventions apply to persons engaged in armed struggles against racist regimes, alien occupation and colonial domination.

These protocols had been widely accepted and some argued that they were now part of internationally customary law and binding upon states whether they had signed the treaty or not.

"South Africa does not regard the 1977 protocols as binding upon it. Consequently, South African courts are precluded from treating ANC and PAC combatants as prisoners of war and must try them under the ordinary criminal law of the land," Professor Dugard said.

11A



2 000 to attend 'significant' Cosatu talks

THE most significant political meeting in the country this year — that's the way the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has billed its annual congress next week. And the claim has some justification.

The congress in Johannesburg, expected to be attended by up to 2 000 delegates from around the country, will be one of the biggest anti-apartheid rallies to be staged under the four-year State of Emergency.

But the importance of the congress lies less in its size than in its timing and the serious issues that have been placed on its agenda.

High on the list will be discussion about what approaches the "mass democratic movement" should adopt to the question of a negotiated settlement to the South African conflict.

"As we are all aware the issue of negotiations have been placed on the agenda," said Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo at a press conference this week.

Last month a high-powered team from Cosatu and the restricted United Democratic Front (UDF) held a meeting with African National Congress delegates in Lusaka to discuss the possibility that Pretoria will submit to pressure from Western powers and launch a negotiating drive after the

A negotiated settlement in South Africa, the ANC's constitutional guidelines, the elections and the Labour Act are among the issues to be debated at Cosatu's crucial congress
By EDDIE KOCH

elections in September.

Union officials have begun reporting to their members about their talks with the ANC. Sources in Cosatu say the congress will be the place where a comprehensive and more formal position on the issue will be adopted.

More than 1 800 delegates will attend from Cosatu's 16 affiliates while the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), independent unions, UDF affiliates, religious organisations, sports groups and teachers' associations will send a large team of delegates as observers.

Most anti-apartheid groups have been prevented by the State of Emergency from holding mass meetings, thus leaving the labour federation's congress as the most significant forum in which the MDM can canvass and debate the issues of the day.

Linked to this discussion will be debate on the ANC's constitutional



Cosatu's Jay Naidoo

guidelines for a post-apartheid South Africa as well as an examination of the "fraudulent" elections and the National Party's recently announced five-year plan "which we see as a recipe for disaster", said Naidoo.

Also top of the congress agenda, said Naidoo, is a "campaign to smash

the Labour Relations Amendment Act". Cosatu, Nactu and a number of independent unions will meet major employer groups and government officials at the end of this week for a top-level summit aimed at negotiating revisions to the Act.

If these talks fail the labour movement plans to mobilise for a national strike and will hold a workers' summit in August as a build-up to this possibility. Delegates from Nactu and the independent unions have been invited to the congress and will use the meeting as a forum to co-ordinate their plans to fight the labour law.

The UDF/Cosatu peace initiative in Natal will come under scrutiny at the congress.

"We will examine the role of the state in the violence and the need for an independent commission of enquiry into the police in Natal," said Naidoo.

Other crucial items will be the need to build unity between the country's main trade union groupings, the need for the creation of a broad anti-apartheid coalition, solidarity with Swapo and the National Union of Namibian Workers during the run-up to independence elections, and a review of the federation's stance on sanctions and disinvestment.

NEGOTIATION IS NECESSARY AND POSSIBLE



His comrades call him 'Akeela' but to Cecille Cilliers, of Women For Peace, he is Hein Grosskopf

The greying man at the door

A SHORT, greying man stood next to President Kenneth Kaunda greeting the Five Freedoms Forum guests at Lusaka's State House

As one of the delegates stepped forward to introduce herself, he greeted her by name. But who are you, the surprised delegate inquired.

The man's name was Oliver Tambo. He was very glad to meet her and not a bit piqued that she hadn't recognised the leader of the ANC.

While many of the 114 visitors from home retained their differences with the banned movement there were none who were not impressed by the dignity and humility of the African National Congress' 71-year-old president.

His quiet but decisive role was one of the highmarks of the four-day conference.

In his opening address FFF chairman Mike Olivier said "What I think we all have in common is a desire for a non-racial and democratic future but I suspect that we will not all agree on exactly what this entails and how best we should get there — this is the essence of what we are here to talk about."

Fierce debates on sanctions and violence ensued but seldom without a trace of humour and good will.

"Let's take a bet on it," shouted outgoing Houghton MP Helen Suzman after general secretary of the South African Communist Party Joe Slovo suggested that comprehensive sanctions could bring the government to the negotiation table within six months.

Earlier, Slovo had reminded Suzman that she had lectured him in Economic History at Wits University 45 years ago. "You're not the only one of my students who went wrong, you know," she retorted.

For all the fierce debates, the meeting was not without its moments of irony or humour

Several of the delegates described the event as a "life-changing experience".

One was South African Boilermakers Society unionist Willie Coetzee. He and fellow unionist Frickie Bunting were the only two white workers to attend. Shortly before departure two others dropped out.

"I'm sorry the other workers chickened out, but they'll be hearing from us. The next delegation will be one from our unions," Coetzee said.

For the businessmen the conference served as an opportunity to offer insight into issues which might confront the ANC in a post-apartheid situation. They gave their views on the "hard economic realities" likely to face the country.

There were few who were not impressed by the movement's openness to hear opposing views.

Suzman said she found the ANC "much less dogmatic" about economic affairs than she had expected, although she still disagreed with them about their strategies of violence.

For a few of the delegates the conference was a chance to patch up past differences.

Over five years ago the Argus Group ran an article on Slovo, making defamatory allegations in connection with the assassination of his wife, Ruth First. Slovo successfully sued the company, but the Argus Group refused to apologise.

At the conference *Star* editor-in-chief Harvey Tyson approached Slovo, held his arm, and simply said, "I'm sorry."

At the Lusaka airport last Thursday

afternoon East London mayor Donald Card was greeted with a bearhug by ANC national executive committee member Steve Tshwete.

In the early 1960s Card then a security policeman had detained and interrogated Tshwete, and had been responsible for sending him to Robben Island for 18 years.

At the end of the conference Card told delegates how grateful he was for the way he had been treated and that he now recognised the ANC's legitimacy and the calibre of its leaders.

Some of the delegates recognised a tall, impressive looking young man in a grey suit. Though his colleagues called him "Akeela", enough of those present remembered him as Hein Grosskopf to cause a stir.

For the first day some of the delegates whispered that the presence of Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok's favourite alleged guerrilla was "insensitive". But after being reminded that they had come to see the ANC, and not a watered down version of it, they softened.

By the end of the conference there were few delegates who had not used the opportunity to chat to the Umkhonto weSizwe member.

Grosskopf, 24, said it was ANC policy for members neither to confirm nor deny involvement in individual attacks.

He said he had been "tried, convicted and sentenced" by the press and by Vlok, without any evidence having been produced. He added he was grateful to his parents for their role in exposing Vlok's behaviour.

"I find it hard to believe that the press' fascination with my presence here is not an expression of racism," he noted. "There are several black MK members here yet they seem to be of no interest to the newspapers."

No ANC call on whites to boycott polls

By GAVIN EVANS

THE African National Congress will not call on whites to boycott the September elections.

This was confirmed by representatives of the banned organisation during the "Whites in a changing society" conference in Lusaka last weekend.

In a commission on the role of parliamentary opposition, ANC members said their national executive committee had decided to call for a boycott of the coloured and Indian elections, but recognised that "there was no boycott tradition in the white community".

"We still regard the whole tri-cameral parliament as fundamentally illegitimate and therefore we won't call on whites to vote, but we also have not intention of mounting a boycott campaign among our white compatriots," an ANC representative said.

The commission served as a forum for intense discussion between DP and ANC members on the issue of putting up candidates for the two "junior" houses. Among those who attended it were Helen Suzman, parliamentary candidates Dene Smuts and Graham Retief, and senior DP members Bill Sewell and Jannie Hofmeyr.

ANC members present said the main distinction they drew between white anti-apartheid opposition MPs, and those in the other two houses was that the latter had clearly been rejected by their communities.

They urged DP members to forge links with extra-parliamentary groups and to work together in joint campaigns.

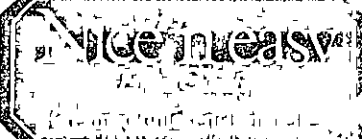
A joint communiqué, endorsed by both ANC and FFF delegates, emphasised the "possibility of pursuing different strategies to achieve a non-racial democracy".

As his hand moved toward my knee,
I felt the earth tremble. My Chicken Tagliatelle
had aroused his taste for the exotic?



"Your Chicken Tagliatelle surely evokes visions of midnight beneath the Bridge of Sighs" he exclaimed. There was no reason to tell him it was not home cooked. "I try to capture the imagination" I replied, rather demurely.

He moved closer. "I'm sure you will find what I have in mind most captivating" he whispered, seductively. As the colour rushed to my cheeks, I silently thanked the stars that we were dining by candle light.



For busy foodlovers

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11A

BEYOND LUSAKA: THE MESSAGE OF THE FIVE FREEDOMS VISIT IS THAT SERIOUS



Face to face .. Steve Tshwete greets the man who jailed him for 18 years, Donald Card, while Oliver Tambo meets Michael Olivier

Pictures by GAVIN EVANS

THE ANC is willing to suspend violence if the government meets its conditions for a negotiated settlement.

This was stressed by senior representatives of the banned movement at a conference on "The role of whites in a changing society", in Lusaka last weekend.

In reply to a question by Houghton MP Helen Suzman, ANC president Oliver Tambo indicated that the suspension of violence was possible if the government released all political prisoners, lifted the State of Emergency and other laws which criminalise political activity, unbanned banned organisations, withdrew the SADF and paramilitary forces from the townships and allowed the safe return of exiles.

"Far from being a block to entering negotiations these conditions will allow the kind of free association that will make a negotiated settlement possible," said an ANC representative.

Notably absent from the ANC's terms for negotiation were the demand for troops to be confined to barracks, and for all discriminatory legislation to be repealed — both pre-conditions raised by some internal groups.

"We cannot agree to a unilateral suspension of our armed struggle — there's no basis while Mandela is still in prison and the Emergency has just been reimposed.

"We must step up the pressures to get the regime to accept that the real solution is face reality and negotiate seriously or to take steps to end apart-

Negotiations: The ANC sets its conditions for talks

The biggest yet South African delegation to meet the ANC last week focused on specific policy issues. Naturally, the key themes were pre-conditions for a negotiated settlement, sanctions, violence and capitalism vs socialism. Weekly Mail reporter GAVIN EVANS, who was one of the delegates, reports

heid", a representative said. ANC international department head Thabo Mbeki indicated that the movement was sceptical about the government's willingness to enter genuine negotiations and that the ANC would attempt to intensify its struggle on all fronts to create the climate for negotiations.

ANC representatives emphasised, however, that they welcomed the prospect of a negotiated settlement as they did not want to "inherit a wasteland".

They said the aim of their conditions was to enable the ANC to be able to participate meaningfully in the negotiating process, and for the ANC to be able to consult its constituency.

In a commission on negotiations there was consensus that the aim was the establishment of a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa, but that there was a difference between negotiations and surrender talks.

A joint communiqué, unanimously accepted at the end of the conference by all 200 delegates, said "We believe that every effort must be made to work towards those conditions that will establish a climate for the political resolution of the conflict within our country".

The conditions listed were those outlined earlier by Tambo.

Questioned by delegates on the ANC's policy on "soft targets", movement representatives stressed that its cadres were under strict orders to avoid endangering the lives of civilians.

They said that in the past such attacks had been carried out by members acting contrary to instructions or by "enemy agents", but that there had been no such attacks recently.

They also reiterated that for over two years the ANC had condemned the practice of necklacing, and this had contributed to the eradication of the practice.

Several of the Five Freedoms Forum delegates argued that the "armed struggle" impeded the process of change and was ineffective as a strategy and counter-productive in organising whites.

However, there was agreement that the violence of apartheid preceded the armed struggle, and that the ANC used it as a political strategy rather than as an end in itself. Most delegates agreed that it would be impractical to call on the ANC for a unilateral cessation of violence.

The ANC reiterated its support for comprehensive economic sanctions, but stressed that it did not want a "long, drawn-out process which would have serious long-term effects on the economy".

South African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo reiterated the view that that if comprehensive sanctions were applied by all South Africa's trading partners the government would be at the negotiating table

within six months.

In response, Suzman, who presented a paper arguing against sanctions, said that instead of starving out apartheid by means of disinvestment, a better strategy was to "drown it with investment". She argued that this would contribute to the the unionisation of skilled workers who would have the power to ensure the downfall of apartheid.

Wits Business School Dean Professor Andy Andrews argued for a more targeted approach by focusing on the "loosest brick". He warned against a sanctions strategy which would have the effect of destroying the economy.

Pointing to examples in south-east Asian countries Jeremy Cronin of the ANC argued against the view that democratisation necessarily followed from economic growth.

"We fully realise that this is an issue which has to be handled responsibly and we certainly are not arguing for a scorched earth policy.

"But our view is that until the political power question is addressed, the other issues in our society cannot be resolved adequately. Our strategy of sanctions is therefore not contradictory to the future goal of a growth-based economy".

ANC representatives indicated that they favoured a mixed economy in a post-apartheid society and indicated that they would not indulge in "wholesale nationalisation".

"The experience in Mozambique and other African countries has shown us the kind of devastation that can result from over-hasty nationalisations. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that nationalisation would lead to greater worker control," a senior ANC and SACP representative said.

The ANC would also support the growth of a black business sector and would encourage foreign and local investment.

"We understand that while foreign investment will have to be on terms acceptable to us, it will also have to be on terms acceptable to the foreign investors — otherwise there will be no investment," a representative said.

The ANC also indicated that they would have to encourage whites to stay in the country, and that this would entail economic inducement.

"However, we can guarantee there will be no economic or social dislocation in a post-apartheid society," a representative said.

Commenting on the session, JCI chief economist Ronnie Bethlehem said he was impressed with the non-dogmatic approach of the ANC to economic issues, but that there were several areas relating to economics and business practice on which it had not formulated a position.

On the issue of a future South African constitutional dispensation, the ANC indicated that it had no objection to a Bill of Rights setting out the rights of the individual.

ANC president Oliver Tambo indicated his organisation had studied the SA Law Commission's Bill of Rights but would not make proposals to the commission because it was an unrepresentative government body.

THREE REASONS WHY THIS VISIT WAS UNIQUE

THE visit by 114 white South Africans to Lusaka last weekend was unique in three senses.

First, it was by far the largest delegation to meet the ANC. The 91 strong ANC delegation was also larger than at any previous such meeting.

Second, the "Whites in a changing society" conference focused on commissions into policy issues, rather than generalised plenary sessions.

Third, most members of the delegation from South Africa were members of organisations working in the white community. About 35 groups were represented.

The ANC delegation, which included 20 national executive committee members, was made up of 65 men and 26 women. Twenty four of them were involved with administration and protocol.



COSATU
CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

NATIONAL ACCOUNTANT

The CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (Cosatu) has a vacancy in its Head Office in Johannesburg, which it urgently needs to fill. Letters of application including a CV and at least two contactable references should be addressed to The General Secretary, COSATU, P O Box 1019, Johannesburg — Fax (011) 834 6528. These should reach us by Thursday 26 July 1989.

The duties will include:

- developing and implementing financial policies and procedures
- budget preparation and control
- maintenance of a proper cashflow
- dealing with other federations trade unions (including our affiliates) and our lawyers on financial matters
- dealing with staff matters such as salaries etc
- consolidating head office and regional accounts
- preparing periodical financial statements and presenting these at various meetings
- investigating and reporting on various ad hoc financial issues
- assisting the other accounts staff where and when necessary

Applicants should:

- have the necessary practical skills and experience to take the books up to balance sheet level
- be able to operate a PC computer and have elementary word processing and spreadsheet skills
- be highly motivated and efficient
- be able to operate under pressure and handle crises
- have initiative and be prepared to work long hours when necessary
- be able to work effectively in a democratic environment
- have a strong commitment to the principles of COSATU
- preferably be able to start the first week in September 1989

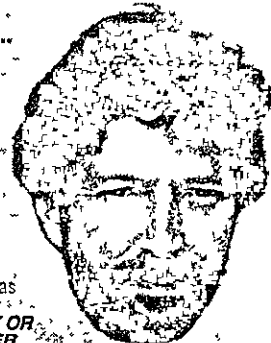
KING'S TRUST 21 ANNIVERSARY CONCERT SOMHLOLO STADIUM SWAZILAND

FRI 21 JULY Brenda Fassie... PJ Powers... Sakhile... plus others...

SAT 22 JULY ERIC CLAPTON AND HIS ALL-STAR BAND! JOAN ARMATRADING! ... plus... Stimela... Mango Groove... MarcAlex... plus others...

SUN 23 JULY DIRECT FROM LONDON — LABI SIFFRE! THE HOUSEBAND! ...featuring international artists... .. plus! ..Bright Blue... Tananas plus others...

* BOOK AT COMPUTICKET OR BUY TICKETS AT BORDER * VALID PASSPORTS OR TRAVEL DOCUMENTS ESSENTIAL



Buthelezi's plan to end apartheid

ULUNDI — Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night disclosed that a document which could lead to a new, powerful united force in South African politics has been prepared for a proposed meeting soon between himself and the presidents of the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu

In his presidential address to Inkatha's National Council, he said he could see future historians tracing a new political era and the final collapse of apartheid to the document

The Kwazulu Chief Minister was referring to a document — details of which have not been made public — drafted by delegates of Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu at their recent peace meetings in Natal

Certain aspects of the proposal would be debated at today's annual conference of Inkatha. He would ask his party's delegates to present the conference with a synopsis of the recent joint talks

Last night's national council meeting had to formulate certain relevant amendments to Inkatha's constitution, which the conference would have to consider

Presented to ANC

While Inkatha should do nothing to upset what he called the combination of peace initiatives, he said "We still have to face up to the question today of whether we have to abandon what we are doing and rely only on the combined initiative, as the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance"

"Because it has still to be presented to the president of the ANC, I cannot distribute it or quote from it in full"

Chief Buthelezi said his "gut feeling" was that the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu were re-ap-



Dr Buthelezi

praising their attitudes towards Inkatha as part of their re-appraisal of the South African situation, and the major developments which were likely to emerge.

Today's conference needed wisdom to examine seriously whether his gut feeling was correct.

"We could well be entering into an era in which black politics is given a completely different face."

The Inkatha president pointed out that this year's Inkatha conference was taking place "in the midst of a leadership crisis" in the National Party.

If NP Leader Mr F W de Klerk did become State President with complete control of that office after the September elections and took meaningful steps towards the politics of negotiation, Inkatha would have to throw its full weight behind any developments which were positive

If the ANC, in particular, and the UDF and Cosatu were reading the times correctly, they would know that major shifts were taking place in the whole of Southern Africa.

He believed that they knew that the hate which had led to

the "hateful" killings spreading from the greater Maritzburg region to other parts of Kwazulu and Natal was destroying black unity and had to be stamped out

"I must say that, on face value, the document being presented to the four presidents — myself, Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Archie Gumede (of the UDF) and Mr Elijah Barayi (of Cosatu) — is positive and represents a very major advance towards really meaningful black politics," Chief Buthelezi said

Without revealing the major content of the document, Chief Buthelezi did disclose the following points

"It is proposed that the four presidents meet and that the agenda will be to examine the document drafted after their meetings

Peace conference

"It is proposed that the presidents appoint two committees. One would be a permanent consultative committee which attends to ongoing needs to overcome difficulties between the organisations

"The other is a joint peace committee which will be set the task of organising a peace conference which would bring about an organising committee representing Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu

"The peace conference would also appoint a joint peace rally committee which would be responsible for a mass rally in a troubled area. There would also be separate joint peace committees to organise rallies in the widest possible range of areas where violence has taken place"

The Inkatha president commented "These proposals cannot be faulted from the point of view of Inkatha's politics we must do nothing from our side that scuttles them" — Sapa.

Winnie angry over Mandela 'party' plans

W/C NEWS 8/7/89

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By VIVIEN HORLER and
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus
Reporters

PLANS are going ahead for a private graduation ceremony — "not a party" — for imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at his Victor Verster Prison house.

Amid angry statements from Mrs Winnie Mandela that celebration parties were not in the family tradition, Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, confirmed today that an application had been made for a private graduation ceremony.

Mr Ayob was reacting to reports that Mr Mandela was hoping to give a party for 50 guests to celebrate his graduation with an LLB degree from Unisa.

Confirmed

Speaking at DF Malan airport on his way to a "routine" consultation with Mr Mandela today, Mr Ayob said. "My understanding is that what has been applied for is a private graduation ceremony, not a party, to be attended by Mr Mandela's tutors from Unisa and immediate family."

His interpretation of the nature of the event was supported by a statement from the Prisons Services "It is confirmed that consideration is being given to the arrangement of an occasion at which a degree certificate can be presented to Mr Mandela in the presence of his immediate family and friends."

It is believed the application for the private graduation ceremony was made by Mr Man-

dela himself at the suggestion of Unisa academics.

Last night Mrs Winnie Mandela said she had not applied to the Prisons Services for permission for the party.

"I have not made an application for any party I will not do so because it is not in keeping with the family tradition."

Tradition

Mrs Mandela said from her Soweto home she had seen her husband three weeks ago and he had not discussed a graduation party with her.

"I know of no family tradition to throw a party. We have nothing to celebrate. How could we if my husband's a prisoner?"

The Mandela family had not celebrated Mr Mandela's birthday since his imprisonment "We have always fasted on his birthday."

However, the family hoped to visit Mr Mandela on his birthday on July 18 "We shall be with him on his birthday, all his grandchildren and his family from Transkei."

Mr Ayob said he did not know when the private ceremony was to take place. He also

did not know who would be invited "I assume it will be close family members and some tutors from the university."

It has been rumoured that jailed African National Congress veterans Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi and Ahmed Kathrada — charged and convicted with Mandela in the Rivonia Treason Trial — would be invited to the graduation ceremony.

Mr Mandela's plans were leaked to the Press by sources allegedly close to the Mandela family.

The guest list for the graduation party is a closely guarded secret.

'Fantastic party'

Athlone attorney Mr Essa Moosa, who represents Mrs Winnie Mandela in Cape Town, said he had not been informed about the ceremony.

"It will be quite a fantastic party if it gets off. Let's see what happens," he said.

Mrs Amina Cachalia, who with her husband Yusuf, is a life-long friend of the Mandelas, said she had read reports about a party "but I don't know of it."

The hopes of peace

By DICK USHER
Labour Reporter

THE lives of millions of people could be affected by the outcome of two sets of negotiations taking place on different issues between groups with widely divergent ideological perspectives.

In Natal, the Inkatha movement is sitting down with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) in an attempt to find solutions to the inter-race strike which has racked black communities in South Africa's most densely populated province over the past two years, claiming at least 2 000 lives.

And in Johannesburg, the South African Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), representing all the important employer bodies in the private sector, and Cosatu, Nactu (the National Council of Trade Unions) and several independent trade unions, representing about 1.5-million organised workers, have started negotiations over the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

Promulgation of the Act last year, which had been preceded by fruitless talks about several contentious aspects, raised deep dissatisfaction in the trade union movement which has threatened to declare a national dispute with employers if this round of talks does not produce concrete progress.

ROUGH estimates are that, including dependents, about one-third of South Africa's population have a direct interest in the outcome of the negotiations.

According to experts in the field, the important thing about the negotiations, beyond the

prospects of peace they hold out, is that they are taking place at all.

The Natal talks see two groups with opposing views on investment and disinvestment, free enterprise and socialism sitting down to talk about community peace. In Johannesburg while employer representatives of capitalism are discussing industrial peace with representatives of overwhelmingly socialist oriented, overwhelmingly black worker organisations.

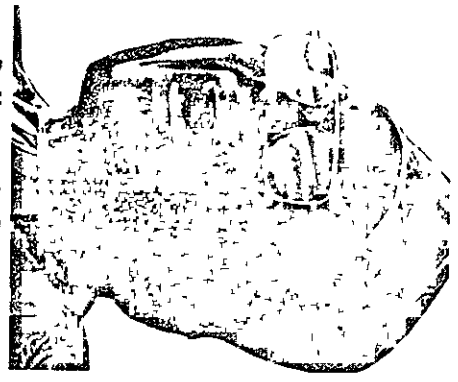
Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, said that in both sets of negotiations, the people most vitally and intimately concerned were, in spite of some opposing points of view on both issues sitting together in an attempt to negotiate a settlement of problems.

"Effectively, while the government talks about talking, the people of South Africa are taking the lead in seeking solutions to their country's problems and demonstrating that they are well ahead of the government in their desire to negotiate peaceful solutions to South Africa's problems," he said.

NOT only did the talks demonstrate their ability to negotiate with each other but also, because the talks were actually happening, their willingness and ability to negotiate as the substantive talks were the end result of discussions required to get them under way.

"These milestone talks are important because they are an example to others that it is possible and important for groups, in spite of divergent opinions and interests, to face each other in good-faith negotiations, to resolve their differences to mutual benefit, and the overall good of South Africa," said Dr Buthelezi.

"In South Africa we need reconciliation at



Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

two levels, between black and black and between black and white, so these talks are the beginning of a very important process at both those levels."

Mr Bobby Godsell, a director of Anglo American and chairman of Saccola, said the talks should be seen as one outcome of a growing realisation over the past few years that the solutions to problems start when people take charge of their own lives and situations.

While the two sets of negotiations were high-profile examples of this, he said there were doz-

ens of other examples — such as negotiations over the Soweto rent boycotts and with Eskom over electricity tariffs.

"What we are seeing is a change in rhetoric and a demonstration of the overwhelming desire by people to start a process of negotiation, particularly where you can see concrete results."

PROFESSOR Frank Horwitz of UCT's Graduate School of Business said the talks should be seen in the context of various other less overt negotiations which had been achieving incremental successes in black townships.

"They were, overall examples of bi-lateral public negotiation which in the short-term were important, and reflected a greater strategic approach by community groups of being willing to enter into dialogue with authorities."

"They're examples perhaps of less rhetoric and greater realism," said Professor Horwitz.

"We have to be hopeful about these talks. Would they have started if those involved did not feel discussions held the possibility of resolving the issues?"

He hoped that just as the union movement was grappling towards unity there would be greater leadership effort and member cohesion among business organisations.

"The talks about the Act could be an issue which galvanises employers and business leaders in an accommodative direction towards unity."

Mr Godsell was not convinced that business needed one voice to take part in what he saw as a process of ever-widening circles of negotiation as a way of avoiding conflict.

"Business has many interests and whether negotiations happen through one organisation or many is not important.

"What is important is that dialogue between

properly mandated bodies grows and develops.

"The agenda of matters that black and white people are going to be talking about will expand. That is what becoming an industrial democracy is all about and we will have to find the structures to accommodate this."

"It's a process of finding unity in diversity and collective bargaining has shown it is possible for people with various voices to reach agreements."

Mr Peter Mansfield, executive director of the Natal KwaZulu Indaba said what was emerging as demonstrated by the talks, was a very encouraging period of opportunity which everybody should grasp.

"A long period of polarisation is being replaced by an interactive convergence in which groups with widely divergent views and ideologies are starting to talk."

"No single side is going to win these arguments and, in the end you will have to negotiate. It is better to start sooner rather than later."

ESS complex situations are open to settlement by one 'big bang' negotiation, but a complex situation such as South Africa start, heading society in the direction of a solution," said Mr Mansfield.

He said one should also not be too critical of the government's role.

"The rhetoric of negotiation is part of the process, and although large-scale national discussions are not taking place, the government is at least dealing in the rhetoric of negotiation which is helping create an environment in which it can take place."

"In the same way, these two high-profile negotiations are also helping to set out the terrain and helping to create a climate for negotia-

Winnie Quashees reports of Mandela 'party' bid

200 (11A) 5/19/81

REPORTS of an application by jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to have a graduation party in his isolated prison bungalow were quashed yesterday by his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela.

"It is an infringement of the family's ideals and our respect for the man. There is no occasion for a man behind bars to celebrate," Mrs Mandela said.

Mr Mandela was recently awarded a further degree in law after completing his studies by correspondence.

But Mrs Mandela, who clashed with her husband and members of the mass democratic movement recently because of her relations with the "Mandela Football Club", said the family was not in the habit of throwing parties and such a function would be "out of context" considering her husband's incarceration.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, said "I know about it (the application for the party) but I certainly did not make the application".

Reuter news agency earlier quoted sources close to Mr Mandela as saying Mr Mandela had asked the SA Prisons Service a month ago for permission for the graduation party.

Mrs Mandela said today she had last seen her husband three weeks ago. She knew nothing about such an application by him, she said.

The Reuter article said that, according to the same sources, "Mr Mandela wanted to hold a party in prison for up to 50 people to celebrate gaining his law degree". The ageing leader has been in

prison for more than a quarter of a century. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1964 and is presently held at a prison bungalow, complete with swimming pool, in Paarl.

His sentence began after a trial for sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government by revolution.

Mrs Mandela said the only gathering which had been planned was a meeting for prayer on her husband's birthday, July 18. "We shall be with him on his birthday and we are hoping to bring the family members from Transkei, and his grandchildren," she said.

Mrs Mandela said that, if this could be arranged, it would be the first time in 20 years that the whole Mandela family would be together.

She said she would be delighted if jailed black leaders Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi and Ahmed Kathrada — mentioned in the Reuter report as among those who Mr Mandela wanted to invite to his "party" — were at her husband's birthday.

Part of family

"They are considered to be part of the family, anyway," she said. "And we have not seen them for 20 years."

Mrs Mandela, who married Nelson Mandela in 1957, said she did not know who the "sources close to the family" — who allegedly submitted the basis for the earlier report — could be.

"There is no such source close to the family," she added. "Such a party would not be in keeping with the family tradition."

But a spokesman for the SA Prisons Service commented "The matter of a graduation ceremony for Mr Mandela is being considered" — Sapa



PLAQUE FIGHTERS Three-year-old twins Georgia and Alexander Sandison use "The Mouth Trap", an oral health education programme which has won an international award for Professor Michael Rudolph, of Wits University's department of community dentistry. Designed for teachers to use with children aged five to 14 years, it consists of bright felt glove and finger puppets representing a family and the forces fighting for and against healthy teeth. A cassette of songs accompanies a series of five playscripts. Professor Rudolph, with colleagues Helen Lewis and Paddy Terry, would like the "Mouth Trap" to reach as wide an audience as possible. Afrikaans and Sotho kits will be available in July, and a Zulu translation is also in progress. The package costs R200.

Cuban hero sentenced to death

LIONEL MARTIN
highly-decorated general.

HAVANA — A Cuban military court sentenced revolutionary hero General Arnaldo Ochoa and three others to death yesterday for involvement in drug trafficking — the biggest scandal to hit Cuba since the 1959 revolution.

Ten other defendants, all army and state security officers, received prison terms ranging from 10 to 30 years, the state news agency AIN reported. All 14 defendants had pleaded guilty.

Ochoa, a hero of the Cuban revolution and former head of Cuban military forces in Angola and Ethiopia, was a

The others who will face the firing squad are Ochoa's aide, Captain Jorge Martinez, Colonel Antonio de la Guardia and Major Armando Padron, who was under Ochoa's command.

Eduardo Diaz, Antonio Sanchez and Alexis Lago, for whom the prosecution had requested death penalties, were sentenced to 30 years in prison — Sapa-Reuter.



'Mother' ^(11A) Sisulu arrives to a warm welcome

Mrs Albertina Sisulu yesterday returned to South Africa from her first trip out of the country

More than 200 people singing "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika", many raising their fists in the Black Power salute, welcomed her at Jan Smuts Airport

"I am so happy to be back with my people," Mrs Sisulu (71) told well-wishers later at her home in Dube, Soweto

Despite attempts by journalists at the airport to get a statement, Mrs Sisulu would not comment on her trip

She was granted a 31-day passport to allow her to take up an invitation from President George Bush to meet him in Washington

Mrs Sisulu, still under a dusk-to-dawn restriction order, had to rush home as she emerged from immigration and customs at 5 40 pm

At her home, Mrs Sisulu said she wished to consult the "people and the members of the United Democratic Front", of which she is president, before making a statement on her tour

ASSESSMENT

"This would enable a responsible assessment of the tour, its objectives and outcome"

During her tour Mrs Sisulu met Mr Bush, British Premier, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Mrs Daniella Mitterand (wife of the French President), Mrs Liv Palme (wife of assassinated Swedish Premier Mr Olof Palme) and other VIPs

Among Mrs Sisulu's entourage, which returned yesterday, was Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women's Association

Mrs Sisulu, whose husband, Walter, was one of the Rivonia accused imprisoned for life in 1963, has been active in grassroots politics most of her life.

Police maintained a low profile at the airport.

The crowds pressed around Mrs Sisulu, many kissing her and others desperately trying to reach out and touch her as they danced her towards her car.

"Mother Sisulu has returned, Mother Sisulu has returned to her people," they shouted as Mrs Sisulu left the airport. — Sapa.

Flowers and freedom songs welcomed Mrs Albertina Sisulu at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday afternoon. Mrs Sisulu flew in from Lusaka after discussions abroad with President George Bush and Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza

11K (circled) (circled) (circled) wait 28/7 - 3/8/89

WHAT WE TOLD THATCHER AND BUSH

DURING our recent trip to the USA and Britain three questions were asked at every meeting — what were our views on negotiations, sanctions, and FW de Klerk?

These questions were asked with such regularity that we wished we could have tape-recorded our answers for every encounter.

In our talks with Margaret Thatcher and George Bush, our bottom line on the question of negotiations was, as always, informed by the need for the Nationalist government to create an atmosphere of free political activity

To this end, the meeting of our pre-conditions for talks is very important. The unconditional release of all political prisoners, the unconditional return of all exiles, the unbanning of the African National Congress and all other organisations, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the repeal of repressive legislation and the withdrawal of troops from the townships

We argued, at every meeting, that the release of our leaders is a product of our struggle both inside the country and internationally and is therefore a victory for us. However it is folly to release our leaders into a repressive climate and expect them to initiate a process of genuine negotiations.

If Nelson Mandela is released he should have the right to consult freely with his people without fear of banishment, restrictions or re-arrest. He should be able to go from one corner of our land to the other without any impediment to his movements.

The release of political prisoners is linked to all other pre-conditions. A process towards genuine negotiations can be set in motion if the ANC and other banned organisations are able to organise openly and freely. The ANC does not want to negotiate over the heads of the people. It is therefore crucial that the State of Emergency is lifted, repressive legislation is repealed, and troops are withdrawn from the townships

The Americans were interested to know whether the democratic movement will be prepared to negotiate if some of the pre-conditions are met — if, for instance, the ANC is unbanned, the State of Emergency lifted and leaders

Titus Mafolo, one of the 'Sisulu delegation' which met Margaret Thatcher, George Bush and others, gives an insiders' account of the group's encounters with world leaders
By TITUS MAFOLO

conditions would not have been met, the Nationalists may still not be prepared to negotiate. They may meet some of the demands to placate the international community.

There is a view amongst some Americans that Britain should take the lead in the South African problem, given Britain's historical ties with South Africa. Whatever this means, we made it clear to both Americans and the British that South Africans should be the ones who solve their problems. This does not mean that the international community does not have a role to play in the eradication of apartheid. Their role, we urged them, is to put maximum pressure on the government to help speed the abolition of apartheid.

In our meeting with Margaret Thatcher, she said there cannot be talks whilst there is violence. This is what the Nationalist government says — they demand that the ANC renounce violence before talks. (We find this strange because they have started talking to Nelson Mandela.) We argued with Thatcher that apartheid is violent and if her pre-condition for talks is that violence should stop, then it should be directed to both protagonists, not just one. We pointed out that the Eminent Persons' Group's negotiation position is that both parties should suspend violence. She then said the EPG's position is their official position on negotiations.

The delegation argued in all the meetings with the Western leaders that the National Party will be amenable to change if there is maximum pressure — whether internally or internationally

that sanctions hurt blacks.

As far as the first question is concerned, the delegation pointed out that there are other sur-

veys which show that blacks are in favour of sanctions.

However, we stressed that if we indulge in comparing this and that survey we are missing the point: it is not possible to assess accurately what our people think through a survey. The reason is not hard to find. The repressive climate makes our people suspicious of any surveys. They don't know whether the people conducting the surveys are security cops or not, or whether the information is going to land in the hands of the police. So if you ask people whether they support sanctions, Mandela or the ANC, they will naturally say no, even if they support them.

The example of Zimbabwe during the Rhodesia time is very instructive. Before elections, opinion polls said Bishop Abel Muzorewa would win elections with ease. What happened is history.

We urged, therefore, that a climate of free political activity is necessary if we want to know what our people think about political issues.

The delegation explained that it does not pretend to speak for everyone in South Africa. We do speak for our constituency, which is the biggest anti-apartheid front in the country.

As far as the Chamber of Mines survey on sanctions is concerned, we told our hosts that it would be better if the mine bosses conducted a survey amongst their workers to find out what they think of the wages they get.

As far as sanctions hurting blacks is concerned, the delegation argued that the call for sanctions should be understood within the context of a struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Sanctions are one means in a totality of strategies against apartheid. We argued that this is a decision made by the biggest organised anti-apartheid groups, particularly the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and they should respect that decision. Albertina Sisulu put it succinctly when she said sanctions may hurt but apartheid kills.

The delegation asked the Western leaders that within the context of mandatory, comprehensive sanctions, serious attention should be paid to financial sanctions. This means no rescheduling of loans, no new loans to South Africa



Margaret Thatcher

FREQUENCY OF WAGE REVISION IN WAGE DETERMINATIONS

1 INTRODUCTION

released from jail.

The delegation's view was that this will clearly be to the advantage of the struggle of our people. This will help to galvanise people openly under the most popular organisation in the country and a process of intense consultations about the future of our country will be created.

We pointed out, however, that this may not necessarily mean that genuine negotiations can start. Apart from the fact that some of the important pre-

We also made it clear that we are calling for maximum pressure against the government not to bring about negotiations, but to end apartheid.

It is within this context that we called for comprehensive mandatory sanctions. All the people who are opposed to sanctions use two reasons for their rejection of sanctions. The first is that the majority of blacks in South Africa don't want sanctions and they use the recent Chamber of Mines survey to support their view. The second argument is

eroded is through and no trade credits to the regime.

Americans thought De Klerk might be the Mikhail Gorbachev of South Africa — a new man with new ideas. They were shocked when we told them De Klerk belongs to conservatives amongst the National Party.

The difference between De Klerk and PW Botha is a question of style, and not substance. Botha wags his finger against opponents. De Klerk will apply apartheid with a smile.

2 FREQUENCY OF REVISION FOR THE WAGE BOARD

There are two important features which have to be examined in connection with the data for frequency of revision viz. the number of revisions per year and also the various periods in which these revisions occurred.

The periods in which revisions occur have been partitioned into the following intervals:

- 6 months
- 7 - 9 months
- 10 - 14 months
- 15 - 20 months
- > 20 months

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27/7/89

27/7/89

Expert claims liberation movement cannot initiate true 'people's war'

Earlier this month the ANC ruled out a political settlement similar to that in Namibia and vowed to intensify "guerrilla warfare". According to a spokesman quoted in Arusha, Tanzania, peace initiatives had raised false hopes.

But prospects for the implementation of the "intensification of guerrilla warfare" seem slim as the shaft of the "Spear of the Nation", as the ANC's armed wing is called, seems to have been broken in recent months by internal problems and the general peace process in South Africa.

Now seemingly reduced to the lowest and least effective kind of insurgency, the organisation seems far from its stated goal, mentioned in articles published in its magazines (banned in South Africa), of waging genuine guerrilla warfare and igniting a popular township uprising — "people's war" — which would score it decisive military and political victories.

Limited action

Its township opportunities halted by the State of Emergency, its bases removed from neighbouring states by either military or diplomatic action and its lines of supply and communication stretched over immense distances, the organisation seems only capable of limited action, "armed propaganda" or random terrorism.

Even prominent ANC members such as former "Army Commissar" Johnny Kasrils, quoted once again in banned ANC publications, is said to have admitted the organisation has problems in this regard.

"The ANC has basically realised the popular overthrow of the Government won't come and it does not seem able to get much

ANC armed struggle seems to be in pieces

further than the 'armed propaganda' stage. The chances are not very great that it will ever do so," says Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Strategic Studies faculty.

He said Swapo, regarded as one of the most inept liberation movements in the world, had to some extent in legal terms succeeded in waging guerrilla war but the ANC was not able to do so.

"This is one of the reasons it has turned to terrorism. The ANC is still hitting civilian targets," said Professor Hough.

On another front, the ANC aim of gaining recognition of its members as legal combatants under the 1977 Geneva Protocols is still unrealised and is unlikely to be given lightly by South Africa, although a situation may develop where courts give *de facto* recognition. However, as decisions made by South African courts are not binding on the executive authority, this could be sidestepped.

Without safe and proper bases inside South Africa, "Umkhonto we Sizwe" (MK) cannot wage guerrilla war in the true sense of the word, its members cannot take the risk of wearing recognisable uniforms, a prerequisite of the Geneva Convention, and

The ANC recently promised to intensify its "armed struggle" and has dismissed prospects for negotiations in South Africa on the Namibia model. But its armed wing seems to be in no position to make the sought-after transition from random terrorism to genuine guerrilla and "people's war".

CRAIG KOTZE reports

can therefore not claim genuine Prisoner of War status if captured.

South Africa is not a signatory to the 1977 Geneva Protocols which make allowances for "forces of national liberation" to fight without uniforms and to produce weapons only immediately before striking. America is also not a signatory.

Ironically, being accorded legal status under the Geneva Convention will present the ANC with problems.

According to Professor Hough, if accorded legal status, those members who carried out attacks on civilian targets could be charged with war crimes. The ANC has unfortunately broadened its concept of legitimate "hard" targets to include facilities

such as courts and municipal offices, which are used by civilians, but which fall outside even the internationally accepted definitions.

Even training insurgents inside the country, seen as a major step towards "guerrilla and people's war", seems to have failed.

Over the past 18 months, more than 10 ANC members believed to have been "trained" inside South Africa have been blown up while trying to plant mines in public and strategic locations. Two were blown up in Cape Town at the weekend.

Either inadequate training — saboteurs receive only theoretical and no practical training inside South Africa — or faulty equipment is to blame, but the result is the same, a dramatic drop in morale which further affects operational capabilities.

"Most of those who have been trained inside South Africa have been caught. The ANC does not seem to even have the ability to train a nucleus of guerrilla fighters to use in a popular uprising, or 'people's war'," Professor Hough said.

Command and control problems are reportedly further compounded by internal dissension and apparent disaffection between fighters in South Africa and com-

manders outside the country. At least 14 members have, according to press reports, defected from the organisation overseas already and police say many others have joined the South African security forces.

Police say defectors questioned by them claim disillusionment, even outside the country, with commanders and the National Executive Committee. Fear of South African agents, who have penetrated the ANC at all levels, also seems pervasive, they say. Food is poor (the Soviets have cut supplies), allegations of nepotism have been made and health care is primitive.

Unlike genuine guerrilla armies with their own logistical and administrative apparatus, albeit primitive, no channels for airing grievances seem to exist for MK members either. This is in sharp contrast to South African security force members whose individual rights are protected by law and a Military Disciplinary Code. Parents have access to the highest level of command.

Mutiny

The end result is mounting dissatisfaction in ANC ranks which has already erupted into large-scale mutiny (the attempted hijacking by scores of ANC dissidents of a Soviet plane the most recent example) and criminal behaviour in host countries such as Zambia, where MK members are said to be hated and feared.

Coupled with severe organisational dislocation forced by the shifting of bases to faraway Tanzania from Angola and Mozambique, internal problems seem set to eat away at MK's resolve and capabilities, thus forcing the adoption of primitive strategies like "armed propaganda" and terrorism.

WOMEN are at the cutting edge of political change in South Africa, but you would never know it from everyday public debate.

Sexual discrimination spans racial and social divisions in the land of apartheid, a conservative society where politics is widely considered a male preserve.

Even in the field of National Party politics, from which the voiceless black majority is excluded, women appear rarely on radio and television talk

Quiet voice of politics

Women do not assert their presence in public debate

shows or on public platforms.

There has never been a woman Cabinet Minister. Women occupy just nine

of the 308 seats in the Tricameral Parliament, reserved for whites, coloureds and Indians, and five of the 60 seats in President P W Botha's advisory council.

But women are at the forefront of the struggle against race segregation and are especially active in thousands of extra-parliamentary community groups working at local level.

A prominent example is Albertina Sisulu, who this month met US President George Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, as leader of a delegation of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front touring Europe and the United States.

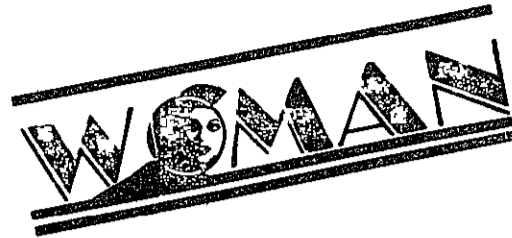
Nun's work

Like fellow delegates - Sister Bernard Ncube, a nun, and Jessie Duarte - she is more used to working away from the limelight leading grassroots organisations of a kind routinely hampered by Government restrictions.

South Africa's thousands of mainly black women activists form a central pillar of the anti-Government opposition, leading anti-Government figures said in telephone interviews.

They work as organisers, lawyers, union negotiators and teachers. They plan and manage

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BQ&P



One of the few women who has made her voice heard is Winnie Mandela. Years ago she used to be referred to as "Nelson's wife," but today she is a personality in her own right.

work stayaways and rent boycotts, write newsletters and train fellow activists.

Relatively little is heard of them because reports on the activities of their groups are often restricted by media curbs enforced under a three-year-old state of emergency. They also face male apathy and opposition.

"Women are the ones who are active at grassroots," said sociol-

ogy professor and veteran activist Fatima Meer.

"The fact that you don't see them up on platforms does not detract from the fact that there is a lot of women's strength."

She said women had advanced considerably in the anti-apartheid movement since the 1950s, when they spearheaded protests against the extension from men to women of pass laws restricting the movement of blacks

into "whites-only" areas.

Black women have also gained some influence in the informal business sector, running shops and lucrative illegal drinking parlours called shebeens.

"It's still very hard for a woman to get herself heard . . . but we're climbing up," said Sally Motlana, life president of the anti-apartheid South African Council of Churches and manager of a Soweto trading store.

"We know that men alone cannot reach the goal of liberation - men and women both are in the struggle, men and women are in exile, men and women are in prison."

Sheena Duncan, a white woman who has campaigned for black rights for a quarter of a century, said black women faced enormous obstacles in campaigning for equal rights.

"Their lives are such a daily grind that most of them haven't got the energy to make the challenge and make it a priority," Duncan said.

Abortion is illegal for all races in most circumstances. Under most marriage contracts women cannot get credit or sign documents without their husband's consent.

There is no statutory provision for equal pay for women or for maternity leave.

South Africa's best known anti-apartheid women, Winnie Mandela and Helen Suzman, have over the years overcome different forms of sexual prejudice.

Courtesy

Mandela, married to a jailed black leader, Nelson Mandela, once wrote: "In the earlier years . . . if I said something it was Nelson's wife who said so . . . I was no individual."

Anti-Government veteran Suzman, for seven years the only woman in Parliament, said she was treated with traditional male courtesy by male colleagues and "never gave a damn" about occasional comments about a woman's place being in the home.

"I was seen as a tough old boot . . . once a male MP told me I had man's brain. He meant it as a compliment. Little did he know his was the last brain I would care to have," she said.

Sheila Camerer, an MP of the ruling National Party, said there was a lot of chivalry towards women MPs in Parliament. "We're treated like China dolls."

Candidates

The NP is fielding 11 women candidates, the liberal opposition Democratic Party 10 and the far-right Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale Parties two each in the September elections.

Participation by women in local government has increased steadily in the past decade. One in every 10 of the country's 7 000 town councillors is now a woman.

But town councillors interviewed said women were still reluctant to put themselves forward for political office because they felt their traditional role was in the home.

Duncan commented, "The importance of the white women's vote is not recognised in the community - and it's women's fault. They haven't demanded their voice be heard" - Sapa-Reuter.

From Page 6

does not support far-reaching changes. It is considering initiating a new contact group. Such a contact group would have to consist of representatives of the big powers. When the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) initiative was established, the ANC argued that the regime was not ready for negotiations. Nevertheless, despite pressure, the EPG still came to South Africa. The question of what our response to this type of initiative could be, needs to be considered again in the light of current conditions.

2.5 FW'S PLAN

*A defiance campaign with a mass character needs to be waged to deepen our challenge to the regime. *The educational and Labour Relations Act campaigns could be linked. The possibility of widespread mass action and, in particular, a general strike (factory occupa-

The view from Lusaka

South African issue side-by-side with the West. The contact group being proposed by Thatcher could include some of our close friends. The state emergency will be lifted after the September elections. Comrade Man and other high political prisoners will be released (Comrade W. Sisulu is expected to be released very soon, before the election legislation to be passed allow blacks in Parliament and a black cabinet. There is a possibility of a person ready being mooted in their circles for this position. Together with this announcement will be made by De Klerk in all South Africa an open-ended "ind. conference to negotiate new dispensation South Africa.

position of strength". There have been indications of large amounts of aid that could be given to the Frontline States to re-build their economies should the South African "issue" be resolved. One factor preventing that at the moment is the constant destabilisation caused by South Africa. The presence of this places on the Frontline States to be sympathetic to any kind of political settlement is obvious. The role played by the Frontline States in ensuring that the Zimbabweans continued with the Lancaster House settlement needs to be remembered. Part of Thatcher's mission to southern Africa recently was to win support from the Frontline States for her planned initiatives.

2.7 OTHER ALLIES.

At a recent meeting between Zimbabwe and

3.1 BUILDING AND CONSOLIDATION.

*We need to restructure the Mass Democratic Movement organisations. *We must build unity with the Mass Democratic Movement and broader forces. *Discussion of the constitutional guidelines must be deepened. *The issue of negotiations must be discussed. *The efforts to build a Peace Movement in Natal must continue and be intensified.

3.2 CAMPAIGNS.

*The educational and Labour Relations Act campaigns could be linked. The possibility of widespread mass action and, in particular, a general strike (factory occupa-

tion) must be looked at. *Other campaigns that need to be focussed on include housing, Namibia and the September elections. In conclusion, we need to aim for the "Workers' Summit of Action" in August followed by our own action in September versus the action of the enemy.

3. THE WAY FORWARD.

Discussions on the way forward produced the following conclusions:

The OAU summit meets on 29-31 July and is therefore crucial in formulating an All-African position on the issue of a possible negotiated settlement in South Africa. If we are to pre-empt any other initiative, we would need to win support for our position, once it is worked out, by that date.

The final question that arises is: How urgent is this for our struggle? What seems clear is that there are a number of meetings taking place at high levels.

There are no definite answers to all these issues yet and they need to be discussed both inside and outside the country to reach a common approach.

Yet another issue is that of an "umpire". Do we need one for the purposes of a proposal?

An issue to be looked at by the ANC would be the demand for the suspension of armed struggle and how to respond to the call for this in the context of a negotiated settlement.

These are some of the questions to be addressed. There is another idea, going with the idea of the constituent assembly, that Parliament should be suspended and an interim government established. This would need detailed elaboration and could be part of a negotiation proposal.

The view from Lusaka

From Page 10

We have to find ways of using the issue of negotiation to further divide/disrupt the ruling class rather than have the issue divide us.

In arriving at an acceptable proposal we have to ensure that we do not give the false impression that the regime is prepared to hold genuine negotiations.

Also we have to ensure that we do not demobilise the masses and that there is widespread consultation among our people

2.10 TOWARDS A PROPOSAL.

We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political settlement

We need to ask whether the pre-conditions are a sufficient measure to deal with these initiatives. From the assessment of the likely scenario, the strategy of imperialism is to pressure the regime into meeting the pre-conditions. Therefore, it is felt that a detailed plan needs to be

worked out at the head of which is a list of pre-conditions.

An idea for dealing with this situation is to propose holding negotiations for the establishment of a constituent assembly which would be empowered to draw up a constitution.

*Who would run the country while such a constituent assembly met?

*How do we negotiate over the establishment of such an assembly?

*How would such an assembly be composed?

aiming to continue and direct the process

To Page 12

2.9 OUR PERSPECTIVES. Negotiations are again a matter for discussion.

that they would be prepared to work for a peaceful settlement on the

Sowetan 21/7/89

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tion because of the manoeuvres of imperialists which have some support from our long-established friends. The imperialists

X

The great Mandela family reunion

CP Correspondent

THE visit to Nelson Mandela in the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl has reunited the two branches of South Africa's own royal family.

They are Mandela's family with his first wife, Evelyn, who came mainly from the Transkei, and his family with Winnie

Mandela, jailed for the past 28 years, spent his 71st birthday on Tuesday with both his families - and the relationship between them could not have been better.

The first Mandela to arrive was young Mandla Mandela, the son of Makgaha Mandela, one of Mandela's three children from his first marriage.

Mandla, who resembles his grandfather, was followed later by his father, mother Zandi and brother Ndaba.

They flew from Transkei with Nandi Mandela and Ndleka Mandela, the two daughters of the late Thembakile Mandela, another son from the first marriage.

On the same flight was Maki Mandela, the third child from the first marriage, who came from the United States where she is studying. With her were her three children.

Later Winnie Mandela, her daughter Zintzi and her three grandchildren, Gadafi, Zoleka and Zondwa arrived.

Closely followed by members of the security police they spent the night at the home of Cape Town UDF leader, Advocate Dullah Omar.

When they arrived they were disappointed to hear that they had missed their Transkei relatives by five minutes. Winnie Mandela had left after facin a

Leader's birthday brings together the two branches of his family

son, but they had nothing to celebrate, she said.

Displaying a poster-size birthday card from the National Union of Mineworkers, she said members of the Mandela family would also hand over birthday cards from other organisations and a garland of flowers from the Western Cape branch of the UDF.

Five hours later, they were back from the visit, pushing their way through the barrage of television crews and Press crews hungry for a message from the world's most famous prisoner.

When order was restored Winnie Mandela said the recent meeting between Mandela and President PW Botha was not discussed at the family reunion.

"This was a family gathering and no occasion to discuss political issues."

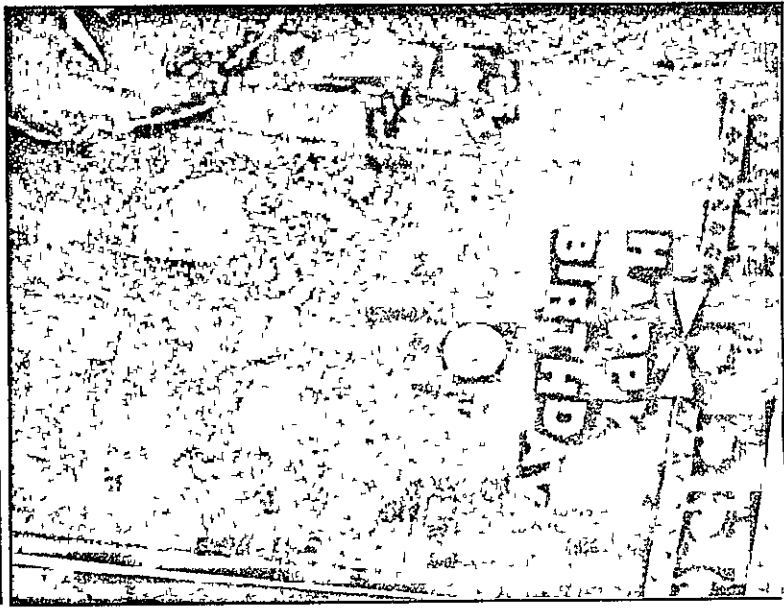
Later during the conference she said the visit to her husband had been a wonderful time, especially for the grandchildren "some of whom had not seen him before."

It had been "a wonderful reunion with the family from the Transkei".

Her eldest "daughter", Maki Mandela, has been studying in the United States and had not seen her father for four years.



The Mandelas pose for the camera at a Press conference after the birthday visit. ■ PETER FANTIE JASON



Queen

reunion

CP Correspondent

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Winnie Mandela, tired after facing a barrage of questions at the airport, went to bed

But she came face to face with her family at their Cape Town hotel the next day

Before her arrival a Mandela child spoke about the tension created in the family by Press reports which tended to ignore the ANC leader's children from his first marriage

Nervously waiting for Winnie, the child said newspapers had wrongly called them children from Mandela's traditional marriage

"We were upset that the Press did not report correctly that our mother Evelyn and Nelson had been legally married"

The apprehension was soon dispelled when Winnie Mandela arrived. She swept into the hotel foyer, hugging Maki Mandela, kissing Makgatho, talking animatedly to them and the other Mandelas

The moment was fraught with emotion

Before they set off for Victor Verster, Maki Mandela said "I'm excited. This is good for the family. I can't describe how I feel now. I don't think one of us will ever forget this day. However, we must remember that Nelson is still a prisoner and that we are not going to have a party"

Then they were off in a convoy of three luxury cars closely followed by the Press and the security police

Winnie Mandela held an impromptu Press conference at Victor Verster before she and the family boarded a Prisons Service vehicle which took them to Nelson Mandela

They were delighted to be with Nel-

Leader's birthday brings the two branches of the

The Mandelas pose for the camera at a Press

son, but they had nothing to celebrate, she said

Displaying a poster-size birthday card from the National Union of Mineworkers, she said members of the Mandela family would also hand over birthday cards from other organisations and a garland of flowers from the Western Cape branch of the UDF

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It had been "a wonderful reunion with the family from the Transkei"

Her eldest "daughter", Maki Mandela, has been studying in the United States and had not seen her father for four years

"It was a wonderful reunion for the children. He was very happy to be with the family for the first time"

Mandela was grateful for the support from the "comrades" waiting outside Victor Verster

"He sent you his love. All of you. He remembers you and pledges solidarity with you"

Makgatho Mandela, looking dashing in his grey suit and red tie, said it was pleasant to have seen his father again

Maki Mandela, a beautiful woman, said the reunion was "an exciting and emotional experience"

"I think he was excited," she added. Mandela was looking forward to another family reunion. "He hopes that someday soon he'll meet us as a free man. We saw him under prison restrictions and rules"

A free man

"The family wants to see it (the prison sentence) abolished. We want to see our father as a free man"

The lasting impression of the visit is that it had reunited the Mandela family

One could feel the harmony, warmth and love between them and it needed no better illustration than Winnie and Makgatho Mandela walking hand in hand and leading the Mandelas to meet the Press

But not before they, still holding hands, displayed clenched fists as Mandela supporters shouted "Viva Mandela"

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Tutu, DP attack FW over Mandela

JOHANNESBURG — Both Archbishop Desmond Tutu and DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall have accused Nationalist Party leader Mr F W de Klerk of trying to drive a wedge between Mr Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress.

The archbishop said in a statement that he was responding to a speech at the NP's Cape congress yesterday in which Mr De Klerk reportedly asked whether the ANC was "prepared to follow the lead given by Mr Mandela and commit itself to the pursuit of peaceful solutions".

Archbishop Tutu also challenged Mr De Klerk's assertion that, on the question of negotiation, "the ball is . . . in the ANC's court". The archbishop said: "Our liberation movements have sought change peacefully since before 1910 (the date of Union)."

Dr Worrall said Mr De Klerk, by speaking for the ANC leader instead of allowing Mr Mandela to freely state his own case, was taking advantage of his position as a prisoner.

"This is incredibly irresponsible and should be condemned" — Sapa and Political Staff

(News by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

MDM follow in Gandhi's path

The current generation of protesters are following in the footsteps of others who have before, writes PATRICK LAURENCE. It's a tried and tested method in the history of So.

PLANS by the Mass Democratic Movement for peaceful action to end apartheid strike resoundant note in the corridors of South African history

Echoing responses reverberate down the passages of time, providing encouragement to a new generation of resisters who are scheduled to launch their campaign on August 2 when sick black people will seek admission at segregated hospitals reserved for whites

They emanate from the passive resistance or *satyagraha* campaigns of Mahatma Gandhi of 1906 and 1912-14, the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952-53 by the Congress Alliance and the anti-pass law campaign of the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1960

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, charges that the MDM planned its campaign secretly with the outlawed African National Congress and that violent disruption of the pending general election on September 6 is an integral part of it

The organisers, however, repudiate his charges as an election manoeuvre, aimed at stampeding anxious white voters into the laager of the ruling National Party

As Mr Sydney Mufamadi, of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) declares on behalf of the MDM 'The Minister attempts to turn actions of protest and defiance which had been openly discussed into something sinister and conspiratorial insofar as the MDM have planned any actions, these have been openly canvassed and are non violent

Mrs Sheena Duncan, a past president of the Black Sash and a seasoned campaigner for civil rights, insists that the tradition of Gandhian *satyagraha* — "soul-force" rather than "body force" as Gandhi once defined it — has been a formative factor in the emergence of the latest campaign

The deeper roots of the MDM resistance campaign undoubtedly stretch back historically to the 1952-53 Defiance Campaign, some of the constituent parts of the MDM, notably Cosatu and the United Democratic Front, consciously see themselves as ideological heirs of the Congress Alliance which organised the Defiance Campaign

The inspirational roots of the Defiance Campaign however, go back to Gandhi's passive resistance campaigns in South Africa between 1906 and 1914, when, having forged *satyagraha* in the crucible of South African politics, he left for his native India

It is thus pertinent to pause for a moment and to set the scene for the MDM campaign against apartheid laws by recalling the earlier non violent campaigns against racial laws in South Africa

Gandhi's 1906 campaign was aimed at a law passed in the Transvaal, it required all Indians there to have their fingerprints taken, to register and to have their registration certificates on them at all time, on pain of fine, imprisonment or even death

Led by Gandhi, Indians re-



SOUL RATHER THAN BODY Gandhian *satyagraha* — soul-force rather than body-force — has been a formative factor in the Mass Democratic Movement's resistance campaign. It goes back to Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance campaigns in South Africa. Having forged *satyagraha* here he returned to India to become its independence leader. Here Gandhi is seen with Prime Minister Nehru in

fused to register. They were jailed. The jails began to fill up. The Transvaal administration was embarrassed. The former Boer general Jan Smuts, was in charge of Indian affairs.

He offered Gandhi a compromise, repeal of the law in return for an undertaking by Gandhi to encourage Indians to register voluntarily.

Gandhi agreed. Smuts, however, renege on his promise on the pretext that not all Indians had registered. Gandhi responded by publicly burning his registration certificate together with 2,000 of his followers. Gandhi was again jailed.

A stalemate ensued. The "Black Act" remained on the statute book but most Indians refused to register.

The formation of Union in

1910 provided an interlude. But the struggle between Gandhi and Smuts was renewed in earnest in 1912. It was precipitated by a Supreme Court ruling denying legal recognition to marriages under Hindu, Muslim and Parsi rites.

The new *satyagraha* campaign had three central objectives: recognition of marriages under Indian religion; abolition of a three pound sterling poll tax on freed Indian indentured labourers and their dependents; and repeal of the "Black Act".

There were two legs to Gandhi's campaign: protest strikes by Indian workers on Natal coalfields and sugar plantations; and a march by 5,000 to 6,000 passive resisters from Natal into the

Transvaal in defiance of immigration laws.

The arrest of the marchers and the publicity it generated led to renewed negotiations between Gandhi and Smuts. An other compromise was reached: Indian marriages were recognised and the poll tax abolished but the discriminatory Union Immigration Restriction Act and the "Black Act" remained on the statute book.

The next major campaign of civil disobedience came in June 1952, when the Congress Alliance, spearheaded by the then legal African National Congress and the SA Indian Congress launched the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign.

Its objective was to secure the repeal of the six unjust laws, including the pass laws

the Group Areas Act and the Suppression of Communism Act (precursor to the present Internal Security Act). Volunteers or resisters — Mr Nelson Mandela was volunteer in chief — courted arrest by deliberately breaking apartheid laws, usually by occupying premises reserved for another race. Their plan was to clog the judicial machinery and cause it to break down.

Nearly 8,500 volunteers were arrested before the campaign was called off in 1953. The decision to halt the campaign was prompted by two factors: the outbreak of violence in the Eastern Cape and the passing of the draconian Criminal Law Amendment Act.

The Act made it a criminal offence punishable by heavy

penalties, to of protest. Fine of R1,000 for three months, five years for three years, five years for three years, five years for three years.

With the brief but Congress pass laws Criminal I brought to a near 35, a long term prison served.

But direct his *satyagraha* — has agenda by its re-

DM following Gandhi's path

A generation of protesters are following in the footsteps of others who have gone before. Says PATRICK LAURENCE. It's a tried and tested method in the history of South Africa.



THAN BODY Gandhian satyagraha — soul-force rather than body-force — has been a formative factor in the emergence of the Movement's resistance campaign. It goes back to Mahatma Gandhi's passive resistance campaigns in South Africa between 1906 and 1914. Satyagraha here he returned to India to become its independence leader. Here Gandhi is seen with Prime Minister Nehru in Bombay in 1946.

mean that activists have more "legal space" than their predecessors from the 1950s.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act has been repeated but most of its clauses have been incorporated in the Internal Security Act. The flogging clause disappeared with the original law, but the heavy fines, raised to R3 000 and R5 000, and the long prison sentences remain as clauses of the Internal Security Act.

Indeed, in its new guise, it contains another draconian measure if volunteers choose to go to jail rather than pay fines in the belief that en masse jailing of protesters will embarrass the authorities or cause a breakdown in prison administration, the authorities can attach their property, sell it and use the money to pay the fines.

These legal weapons apart the State has the emergency regulations. They provide for indefinite detention without trial and for the imposition of restriction orders. They empower any security officer — defined very broadly — to order any person or persons to desist from any course of action and empower him to use force if they do not do so.

Professor Tony Mathews of the University of Natal, comments: "There is no legal space." Yet direct action is on the agenda people seem to feel that the time for action has come whatever the legal risks and impediments.

The anti apartheid swim in at the Hillbrow indoor swimming pool last month was but a harbinger of similar swims in the coming summer. The MDM has given notice that all segregated facilities are now targeted for direct action.

The agenda was not however, drawn up in secret in Lusaka. The idea of a racially open Johannesburg was mooted publicly on April 1 at a conference in Johannesburg hosted jointly by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa), the Five Freedoms Forum and Actstop, all of which have contact, if not formal, links with the MDM.

Discussions were so open that a follow-up meeting by the Five Freedoms Forum in May was halted by security police according to Ms Gael Neke of Five Freedoms, they told the organisers they had reason to believe civil disobedience was being planned.

Direct action has since moved one step further down the road to the moment of truth when volunteers go into action. It has been espoused by Cosatu and its allies in the MDM. A leading member of the MDM remarks: "Mr Vlok says apartheid is an albatross around South Africa's neck. We want to help him get rid of it by direct action."

Another MDM man points to a fatal contradiction in official thinking: apartheid is condemned in one breath while apartheid structures — segregated hospitals, recreational facilities and schools — are defended in the next.

We will dismantle apartheid for them," he says.

It may take longer than he thinks. The evidence of our history shows satyagraha works slowly and requires much patience as well as great fortitude from satyagrahis.

They were to fill up... The former Smuts, was in... a compromise in return by Gandhi to register Smuts, how- promise on all Indians respond- his regis- together with Gandh- ensued the on the most Indians of Union in

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penalties, to break a law by way of protest against another. Rank-and-file resisters faced a fine of R600 or imprisonment for three years and/or a whipping of 10 strokes. Organisers faced even heavier penalties: R1 000, five years and/or a flogging of 10 strokes. With the exception of the brief but intense Pan Africanist Congress campaign against the pass laws in March 1960, the Criminal Law Amendment Act brought non-violent civil disobedience to a virtual standstill for nearly 35 years. The prospect of a long term in jail and a whipping served as deterrent. But direct action — as Gandhi's satyagraha is called today — has been put back on the agenda by political activists. Its re-appearance does not

ANC, UDF, Cosatu plan to 'recapture initiative'

THE ANC, UDF and Cosatu concede in a study document drawn up at a meeting in Lusaka that there are clear signs that the South African government "will make positive steps towards negotiation and towards meeting the preconditions set (by the ANC) in 1987"

It outlines a plan to recapture the initiative. The document will be published in the next issue of the London-based publication Front File.

From **STANLEY UYS, London.**

THE ANC AND NEGOTIATION:

The text of the official report of a two-day meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, on June 6 between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) executive members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the full National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC)

It is the official record of the consultations and has been distributed on a confidential basis to those who attended. It is intended to serve as a study document for the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM)

- 1 Assessment
- 2 Negotiation (for a political settlement)
- 3 Way Forward (Campana)

game from all quarters and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again

There are clear signs that this time the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987

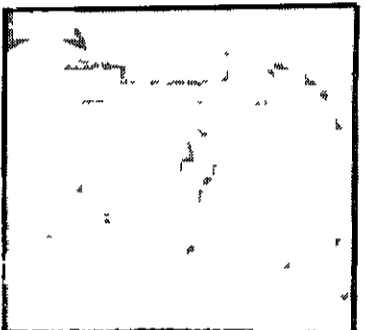
As a result it is necessary for us to collectively review our position on negotiations

Our perspective in doing so is to find the appropriate response that fends off this initiative in a manner that

● Does not create confusion or division in our ranks, ● Does not result in the demobilisation of the masses, ● Does not result in any lessening of pressure from the international area.

● Results in us maintaining the initiative against the regime

It is necessary also to maintain the perspective of continuing on all fronts with mass action and resistance in general, as the discussion around negotiations is not seen as an alternative approach to struggle



Mr P W BOTHA "Britain has been preparing for P W Botha's election departure"

South African "issue" be resolved

One factor preventing that at the moment is the constant destabilisation caused by South Africa. The pressure thus places on the Frontline states to be sympathetic to any kind of political settlement is obvious

The role played by the Frontline states in ensuring that the Zimbabweans continued with the Lancaster House settlement needs to be re-membered

Part of Thatcher's mission in Southern Africa recently was to win support from the Frontline states for her planned initiatives

27 OTHER ALLIES At a recent meeting between the Chinese and our comrades, the Chinese made a distinction between the ending of apartheid and the ending of white rule

Their view was that we should be prepared to move slowly and accept modification of the status quo as a starting point

There are indications from the Soviet Union that they would be prepared to work for a peaceful settlement of the South African issue side-by-side with the West

Alternatively, how do we respond or enter the process being planned?

We have to dictate the terms of change. Nothing should start that we are opposed to

Our struggle is to take control of the process and ensure that negotiations, should they come about, are genuine and serious

For this reason it is important that

● We should all have the same agreed positions both inside and outside South Africa, ● We have a strategy to remain in control so those who intervene have to deal with our position

● Our position should become an all-Africa position This is crucial to our ability to influence the rest of the world

The Frontline states have a crucial role in this We have to present proposals on this issue before the rest of the world comes up with something

The world must deal with our proposal rather than us having to deal with another initiative



MR DOS SANTOS "We may not have the time to develop that position of strength"

2.10 TOWARDS A PROPOSAL:

We need to formulate a concept which does not surrender our political strategy to take power and which does not reject any political settlement

We need to ask whether the preconditions are a sufficient measure to deal with these initiatives

From the assessment of the likely scenario, the strategy of imperialism is to pressure the regime into meeting the pre-conditions

Therefore, it is felt that a detailed plan needs to be worked out at the head of which is a list of pre-conditions

Some ideas for dealing with this situation are to propose holding negotiations for the establishment of a constituent assembly which would be empowered to draw up a constitution

● These are some of the questions to be addressed

There is another idea, going together with the idea of the constituent assembly, that the parliament(s) should be suspended and interim government established

This would need detailed elaboration and could be part of a negotiation proposal

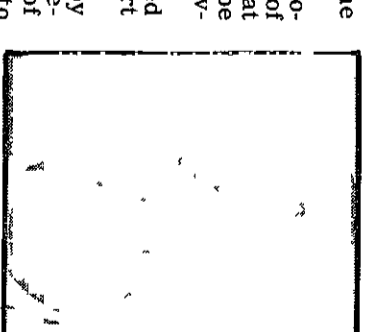
An issue to be looked at by the ANC would be the demand for the suspension of armed struggle and how to respond to the call for this in the context of a negotiated settlement

Yet another issue is that of an "umpire". Do we need one for the purposes of a proposal?

There are no definite answers to all these issues yet and they need to be discussed both inside and outside the country to reach a common approach

The final question that arises is how urgent is this for our struggle?

What seems clear is that there are a number of meetings taking place at high levels We therefore need to act swiftly, taking everything that has been said above



Mr PIK BOTHA "Told Mrs Thatcher the 'reformers' in the Cabinet have the upper hand"

● We must build unity with the Mass Democratic Movement and broader forces

● Discussion of the constitutional guidelines must be deepened

● The issue of negotiations must be discussed

● The efforts to build a Peace Movement in Natal must continue and be intensified

3.2 CAMPAIGNS: ● A defiance campaign with a mass character needs to be waged to deepen our campaigns to be a challenge to the regime

● The educational and Labour Relations Act campaigns could be linked

The possibility of widespread mass action and, in particular, a general strike (factory occupation) must be looked at

● Other campaigns that need to be focussed on include Housing, Namibia, the September elections

News by S Uys, 32-33 Hatton Garden, London

1 ASSESSMENT — A presentation from the Mass Democratic Movement (ANC, UDF, Cosatu etc) covered the question of the crisis facing the regime, its inability to find a direction to break out of the crisis and the growing unity and confidence of the Mass Democratic Movement. Several weaknesses of the Mass Democratic Movement were also raised, viz, our inability to effectively implement programmes of action, ineffective communication with the grassroots, our dependence on foreign funds, our failure to make use of favourable conditions, and our inability to effectively counter enemy propaganda.

In summary on this point we concluded that our strategic perspective remains one of offensive against the regime, and that the "volcanic material" of an upsurge is building up.

We need to ensure, therefore, that our programme of action is capable of firing up the imagination of the people and building up action to increasingly higher levels.

2 NEGOTIATIONS — Our discussions on this issue produced the following general perspective.

In 1987, when the issue of negotiations was receiving much attention internationally, the ANC made its stand clear, ie, that it could not consider negotiations unless certain preconditions were fulfilled.

For example, that political prisoners should be released, the state of emergency should be lifted, etc. The apartheid regime was not prepared to make any move and the whole issue of negotiations subsided.

Recently, however, as a result of the increasing pressure being placed on the re-

2.2 USA The Americans want to initiate a process of "contact, dialogue and negotiation".

They believe objectives for such a process of negotiation will develop in the course of meetings. They believe this is what happened in the negotiations over Angola and Namibia.

2.3 PIK BOTHA/THATCHER MEETING.

Pik Botha told Mrs Thatcher the reformers in the Cabinet have the upper hand.

FW de Klerk's Transvaal base is reduced and as a result he has to rely more heavily on the "reformers".

The reformers want Thatcher to influence Africans to enter the process of elections, etc.

2.4 CONTACT GROUP IDEA:

Britain does not support far-reaching changes. It is considering initiating a new contact group. Such a contact group would have to consist of representatives of the big powers.

When the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) initiative was established, the ANC argued that the regime was not ready for negotiations.

Nevertheless, despite pressure, the EPG still came to South Africa.

The question of what our response to this type of initiative could be needs to be considered again in the light of current conditions.

2.5 FW'S PLAN FOR A "REPRESENTATIVE FORUM"

FW is working on a proposal to have negotiations without the ANC. He is planning some kind of "representative forum" of all race groups which is likely to be set up quite soon.

At the point of the establishment of this forum, it is anticipated that Thatcher will move to give South Africa access to the world.

Her campaign against sanctions will take on a new intensity. Presently there is already some kind of anti-sanctions campaign.

2.6 FRONTLINE STATES:

Zambia has a predisposition towards negotiation and has already stated its desire, should South Africa establish its bona fides, to invite South Africa to a Frontline States meeting.

Mozambique and South Africa already have much contact and Comrade Eduardo Dos Santos has said — in response to the view that we must be in a position of strength before we enter negotiations — that "we may not have the time to develop that position of strength".

There have been indications of large amounts of aid that could be given to the Frontline states to rebuild their economies should the

The contact group being proposed by Thatcher could include some of our closest friends.

2.8 LIKELY SCENARIO:

The state of emergency will be lifted after the September elections, Comrade Mandela and other high-profile political prisoners will be released (Comrade Walter Sisulu is expected to be released very soon, well before the elections), legislation to be passed to allow blacks in parliament, and a black could even be brought into the Cabinet.

There is a person already being mooted in their circles for this position. Together with this, an announcement will be made by FW inviting all South Africans to an open-ended indaba conference to negotiate a new dispensation for South Africa.

At the Commonwealth summit in Malaysia in the second half of October, Thatcher expects to announce a process of political settlement and call for sanctions to stop.

This would put pressure on the ANC to become involved in this process and stop the armed struggle.

2.9 OUR PERSPECTIVES:

Negotiations are again a matter for discussion because of the manoeuvres of imperialists which have some support of our long-established friends.

The imperialists want a modified/reformed capitalist society to replace the current apartheid regime. This is quite different to what we have been fighting for.

Mr FW DE KLERK
"Transvaal base has been reduced and he has to rely more heavily on 'reformers'."

MRS THATCHER . . . "will move to give South Africa access to the world's

Quinn

The great Mandela family reunion

CP Correspondent

THE visit to Nelson Mandela in the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl has reunited the two branches of South Africa's own royal family.

They are Mandela's family with his first wife, Evelyn, who came mainly from the Transkei, and his family with Winnie

Mandela, jailed for the past 28 years, spent his 71st birthday on Tuesday with both his families - and the relationship between them could not have been better.

The first Mandela to arrive was young Mandela Mandela, the son of Makgatho Mandela, one of Mandela's three children from his first marriage.

Mandla, who resembles his grandfather, was followed later by his father, mother Zondi and brother Ndaba.

They flew from Transkei with Nandi Mandela and Ndleka Mandela, the two daughters of the late Themokile Mandela, another son from the first marriage.

On the same flight was Maki Mandela, the third child from the first marriage, who came from the United States where she is studying. With her were her three children.

Later Winnie Mandela, her daughter Zini, and her three grandchildren, Gadali, Zoleka and Zondwa arrived.

Closely followed by members of the security police they spent the night at the home of Cape Town UDF leader, Advocate Dullah Omar.

When they arrived they were disappointed to hear that they had missed their Transkei relatives by five minutes. Winnie Mandela, tired after facing a barrage of questions at the airport, went to bed.

Leader's birthday brings together the two branches of his family

son, but they had nothing to celebrate, she said.

Displaying a poster-size birthday card from the National Union of Mineworkers, she said members of the Mandela family would also hand over birthday cards from other organisations and a garland of flowers from the Western Cape branch of the UDF.

Five hours later, they were back from the visit, pushing their way through the barrage of television crews and Press crews hungry for a message from the world's most famous prisoner.

When order was restored Winnie Mandela said the recent meeting between Mandela and President PW Botha was not discussed at the family reunion.

"This was a family gathering and no occasion to discuss political issues."

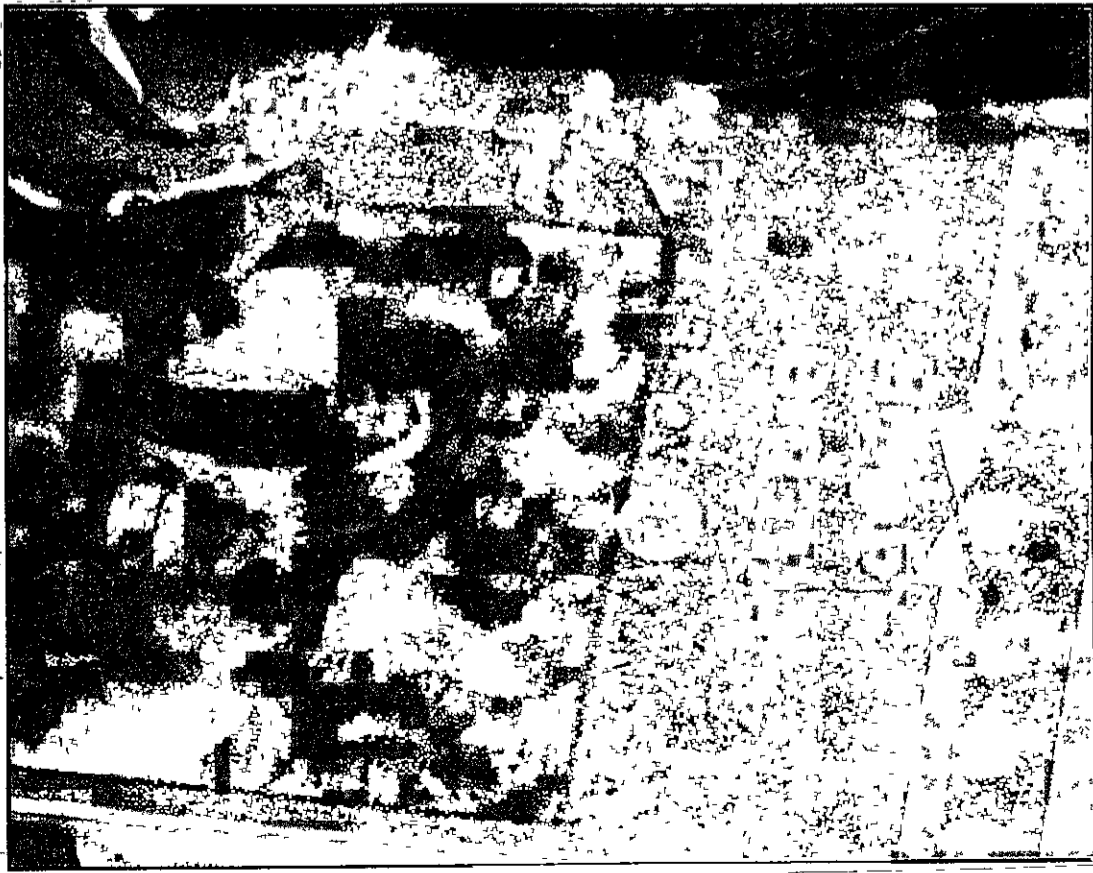
Later during the conference she said the visit to her husband had been a wonderful time, especially for the grandchildren "some of whom had not seen him before."

It had been "a wonderful reunion with the family from the Transkei". Her eldest "daughter", Maki Mandela, has been studying in the United States and had not seen her father for four years.

"It was a wonderful reunion for the children. He was very happy to be with



The Mandelas pose for the camera at a Press conference after the birthday visit. ■ Picas FANIE JASON



wd book

But she came face to face with her family at their Cape Town hotel the next day.

Before her arrival a Mandela child spoke about the tension created in the family by Press reports which tended to ignore the ANC leader's children from his first marriage.

Nervously waiting for Winnie, the child said newspapers had wrongly called them children from Mandela's traditional marriage.

"We were upset that the Press did not report correctly that our mother Evelyn and Nelson had been legally married."

The apprehension was soon dispelled when Winnie Mandela arrived. She swept into the hotel foyer, hugging Maki Mandela, kissing Makgatho, talking animatedly to them and the other Mandelas.

The moment was fraught with emotion.

Before they set off for Victor Verster, Maki Mandela said "I'm excited. This is good for the family. I can't describe how I feel now. I don't think one of us will ever forget this day. However, we must remember that Nelson is still a prisoner and that we are not going to have a party."

Then they were off in a convoy of three luxury cars closely followed by the Press and the security police.

Winnie Mandela held an impromptu Press conference at Victor Verster before she and the family boarded a Prison Service vehicle which took them to Nelson Mandela.

They were delighted to be with Nel-

son. The family for the first time saw Mandela was grateful for the support from the "comrades" waiting outside Victor Verster.

"He sent you his love. All of you. He remembers you and pledges solidarity with you."

Makgatho Mandela, looking dashing in his grey suit and red tie, said it was pleasant to have seen his father again.

Maki Mandela, a beautiful woman, said the reunion was "an exciting and emotional experience".

"I think he was excited," she added.

Mandela was looking forward to another family reunion. "He hopes that someday soon he'll meet us as a free man. We saw him under prison restrictions and rules."

A free man

"The family wants to see it (the prison sentence) abolished. We want to see our father as a free man."

The lasting impression of the visit is that it had reunited the Mandela family.

One could feel the harmony, warmth and love between them and it needed no better illustration than Winnie and Makgatho Mandela walking hand in hand and leading the Mandelas to meet the Press.

But not before they, still holding hands, displayed clenched fists as Mandela supporters shouted. "Viva Mandela."

The historic meeting

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE historic meeting between President Botha and Mr. Nelson Mandela last week took place after indications over the past few years that the government was searching for ways of releasing him.

In a speech to parliament some four years ago Mr. Botha indicated that he was concerned about the fact that Mr. Mandela, jailed for life in the Rivonia treason trial in 1964, had been incarcerated for so long.

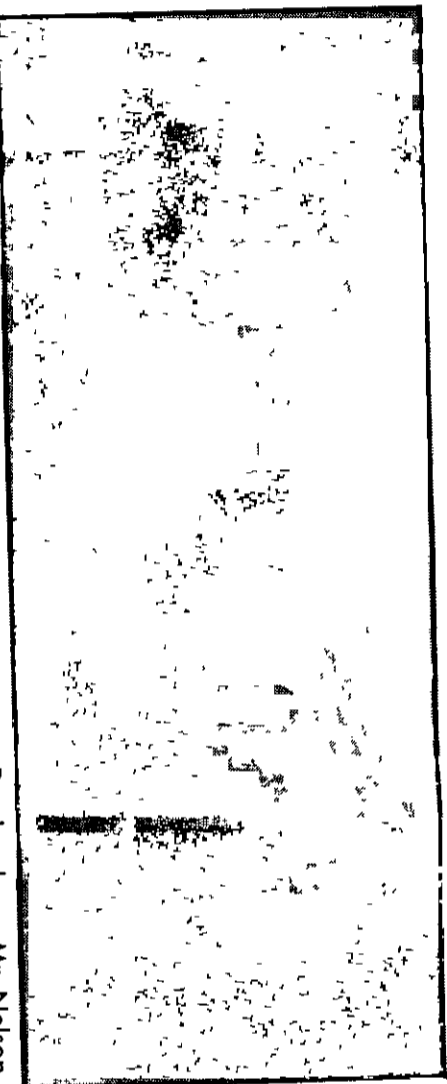
He also referred to Mr. Mandela's age. At the time Mr. Botha made an offer to political prisoners of release provided they undertook to abandon violence as a political approach.

A few prisoners were released after taking up this offer, among them a few years ago Mr. Govan Mbeki, who was shortly afterwards restricted because he stated that he still stood by his previous support for communism.

Last year a process that was seen as the release of Mr. Mandela in stages started.

He was at first treated for tuberculosis in a Cape Town clinic and was then not returned to prison.

Instead he was placed in a house on the grounds of the Victor Verster prison in Paarl where his family and later on some of those who had been with him in in Pollsmoor prison were allowed to visit him.



The house in the grounds of the Victor Verster Prison, Paarl, where Mr. Nelson Mandela is at present held

The last time Mr. Botha referred to the Mandela situation was when he spoke in parliament on April 17.

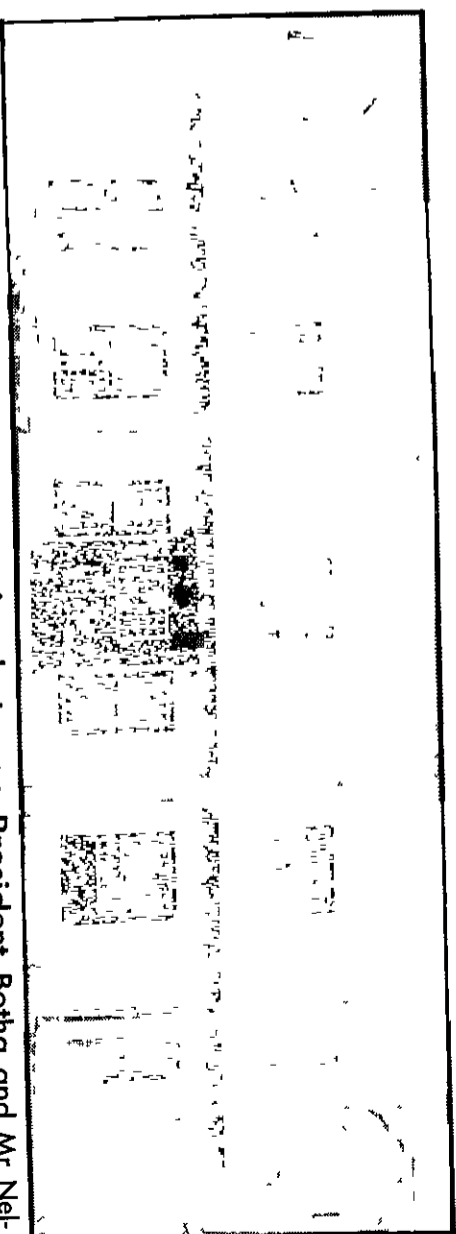
He then urged Mr. Mandela to play a role in creating an environment which could facilitate his release.

He noted that Mr. Mandela's case was being treated "with circumspection" by the government.

He said it ought to be clear to everyone that it would be futile if his release led to his rearrest and even to heighten conflict.

Mr. Botha said he hoped Mr. Mandela understood this and he had reason to believe that this issue was clear to the ANC leader.

On this occasion the government went out of its way to get a copy of Mr. Botha's speech to Mr. Mandela at Pollsmoor as the President was speaking in parliament and even before the first news of this was broadcast on



The Tuihuys, scene of the historic meeting between President Botha and Mr. Nelson Mandela on Wednesday

President P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela

the radio Mr. Mandela did not react at that time.

According to top government sources that speech indicated significant new nuances in Mr. Botha's approach to releasing Mr. Mandela.

While in the past Mr. Botha had referred to conditions under which Mr. Mandela could be released he now invited Mr. Mandela to become constructively involved himself.

The President pointed out that it would be futile if Mr. Mandela's release led to rearrest and a rise in conflict and said no responsible head of state could subject South Africa to conditions in which the principles of democracy, private initiative and free enterprise were threatened.

The government has all along been particularly con-

cerned about what the effect of Mr. Mandela's release would be on the internal political situation.

A consideration was whether this would lead to political unrest and Mr. Botha indicated that Mr. Mandela himself would have to play the major role in ensuring that this did not occur.

It was felt that the release of Mr. Mbeki was bungled because he was allowed to give a Press conference so soon after his release where he made controversial remarks which led to restrictions being imposed on him.

One formula for the release of Mr. Mandela could now be to "ease in" his release in further stages.

There has also been the fear in government circles of

a political eruption should Mr. Mandela, who turns 71 on July 18, die in prison.

People who have visited him in prison say that he is fit and alert but that he is lonely in his "gilded cage" imprisonment in Victor Verster.

There has been considerable international pressure on the government recently to release Mr. Mandela.

Mr. F. W. de Klerk again came across this on his recent European tour. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher in particular was adamant about this.

In political circles the feeling is that he will not be released before the September 6 election as this could create problems for Mr. de Klerk during the election campaign if something should go wrong.

The meeting last week has already been fiercely criti-

cised by the Conservative Party.

Mr. Botha can remain on as President for a few weeks after the election and he is expected to come with the gesture of his release then.

It is known that the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, who has on several occasions visited Mr. Mandela in jail, is one of the cabinet ministers who are keen to find some formula for his release. Mr. Coetsee was present at the meeting in Tuihuys.

Mr. P. W. Botha said at the weekend that the meeting would have wide, positive support which would benefit all the people of South Africa. So far only the government version of the meeting, as given by Mr. Coetsee, is known.

He described it as a court-

sey visit by Mr. Mandela to the State President and a conversation which had taken place in a pleasant atmosphere.

No policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted.

The two men had, however, availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa.

Mr. Helen Suzman, MP, who has visited Mr. Mandela in jail over the years, today gave her impressions of his attitude as it emerged again from the last meeting she had with him in August of last year.

She said he was keen to negotiate and he wanted to normalise the situation in South Africa.

She said that he was an "old style" African Nationalist. He belonged to those who wanted rights for blacks but he was not a communist.

A very positive step, says the British government

The Argus Foreign Service in London

BRTAIN has welcomed President P. W. Botha's meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela, describing it as "a very positive step."

A spokesman at both the Foreign Office and No. 10 Downing Street said that Britain had been informed of the meeting, but neither would speculate on what it might lead to. They recalled, however, that Mrs Thatcher had repeatedly called for the release of Mr Mandela and other prisoners.

The meeting was major news in radio and television bulletins yesterday and was given front page prominence in some newspapers, with commentators speculating that Mr Mandela's release might be imminent.

A commentator in the Observer, while seeing the meet-

ing as "an historic step," noted that the way it took place put the South African government at a minimum of political risk.

"The relationship between Botha and the new leader of the National Party, Mr F. W. de Klerk, is known to be tense and in the coming election campaign De Klerk can distance himself from Botha's meeting if it becomes a political liability," he writes.

He said that in recent weeks the government was believed to have requested Mandela to "use his influence to ensure that prisoners being released avoid calling for economic sanctions or campaigning to disrupt the September elections, as the price of continuing releases."

Andrew Hogg of the London Sunday Times said that

Release 'just matter of time' — Buthelezi

The Argus Correspondent in Durban

IN some South African circles Mr Botha's meeting with Mr Mandela was seen as an attempt to "steal De Klerk's thunder" over Mandela's release. In others, it was believed to be a carefully contrived attempt by the National Party to "demystify" Mandela in the eyes of many South African whites in an effort to make his future release acceptable.

Hogg added "Mandela himself is said to be pinning no great hopes on his imminent release. 'Leopards do not change their spots,' he recently told two anti-apartheid activists."

Hogg said Mr Mandela, while never bowing to Mr Botha's demand that he should renounce violence, has increasingly become the voice of moderation.

Significant, says US, 'depending on result'

The Argus Foreign Service in New York

JAILED African National Congress leader Dr Nelson Mandela might be released after the September 16 general election, according to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu made the observation in Ulundi, Zululand, in his farewell address to delegates to an Inkatha conference yesterday.

Dr Buthelezi said it was clear after Wednesday's meeting that it was just a matter of time before Dr Mandela was released.

However, the government had to tread carefully as it had to take into account the far-right wing.

He said Inkatha applauded the fact that President Botha and Dr Mandela had met at Tuyenhuys.

'Pleasure, excitement' — Koornhof

The Argus Foreign Service in Washington

THE South African Ambassador to the United States, Dr Piet Koornhof, personally conveyed the news of the historic meeting between President P. W. Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela to the State Department on Saturday.

He said the South African government had already informed the US government by way of a message from the Director General, Mr Neil van Heerden, to the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, on Friday evening.

The Ambassador said the American reaction to the meeting was one of great pleasure and excitement, because the US government had come out so strongly in favour of negotiated peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

visit to Eastern Europe, has not been informed of the meeting. A White House spokesman said, however, that President Bush had long called for Mr Mandela's release.

News of the State President's meeting was given extensive coverage in the US media with the New York Times, among other newspapers, publishing the event on the frontpage and devoting considerable space to the story in its inside pages.

In a fullpage account devoted entirely to the meeting, the Times described Mr Mandela, after 27 years of imprisonment, as "still the patriarch of black aspirations in South Africa and a powerful symbol of the multiracial struggle against apartheid."

The meeting was also covered widely on television and radio.

Mandela — 'there will be no release this year'

ARGUS 19/7/89

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela "definitely" does not expect to be released this year and he plans to meet trade union and community leaders soon, Mrs Winnie Mandela says.

She was speaking at an impromptu Press conference outside Victor Verster Prison yesterday

Mrs Mandela and 15 members of the Mandela clan, including her daughter Zindzi, grandchildren, two children from Mr Mandela's first marriage, a son Makgatho and daughter Maki, spent more than five hours with the African National Congress leader on his 71st birthday yesterday

Mrs Mandela said she was aware of moves to arrange a meeting between Mr Mandela and community and trade unions leaders

"He has persistently requested the government to allow him to communicate with the people, particularly with trade union leaders. I anticipate that this is what's being worked on at the moment because I think he intends to see those leaders within a short time"

Of Mr Mandela's expectations of a release, she said "His exact words were 'There will be no release, definitely not this year'

No consequence

Mr Mandela's freedom was of no particular consequence because "it is the freedom of the people he went to prison for and that of his political colleagues which is of consequence"

The recent meeting between Mr Mandela and President Botha was not discussed at the family reunion in Mr Mandela's prison house at Victor Verster

"This was a family gathering and no occasion to discuss political issues"

She had no message from Mr Mandela, who was in perfect health, she said

"He remains a prisoner and cannot use his family to convey any political message"

Wonderful time

Of yesterday's visit, the first time that both sides of the Mandela family had seen Mr Mandela together in 28 years, she said that it had been a wonderful time, especially for the grandchildren "some of whom had not seen him before"

Her eldest daughter, Miss Maki Mandela, had been studying in the United States and had not seen her father for four years

"It was a wonderful reunion for children He was very happy to be with family for the first time"

Mr Mandela was grateful for the support from the "comrades" waiting outside Victor Verster

"He sent you his love all of you He remembers you and pledges solidarity with you"

Mr Makgatho Mandela said it was pleasant to have seen his father again

Miss Maki Mandela said the reunion was "an exciting and emotional experience I think he was excited"

VIVA MANDELA: Walking hand in hand Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Makgatho Mandela, Mr Nelson Mandela's son from his first marriage, raise their clenched fists in response to chants of "viva Mandela" from a group of people waiting for them outside Victor Verster Prison, Paarl

Picture WILLIE de KLERK, the Argus

PW, Mandela meeting a key issue for CP

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE government is trying to play down President P W Botha's meeting with jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela as the Conservative Party threatens to turn it into the main issue of the September 6 election campaign.

The CP has dismissed the NP's assurances that the meeting was not a meeting with the ANC

Deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg issued a statement yesterday saying the NP's "new relationship with the ANC was fast becoming the dominating issue" of the election.

And CP general secretary Mr Andries Beyers said the CP was changing the thrust of its campaign to focus on the Mandela issue New posters and campaign material would be issued today

BLOW TO MILITANTS

Apart from a brief statement that there had been no change in the NP's insistence that the ANC renounce violence before the government would talk to it, the NP has been silent over the last few days

Privately it is presenting the meeting as a blow to the ANC's militants and hardliners who have been thrown off guard by it, NP sources say

Dr Hartzenberg said "The CP will see to it that the NP's new approach to the ANC will

Mandela family visit big news in UK

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — The unprecedented visit by family members to Nelson Mandela's Paarl prison house is a major news item here

But much of the emphasis has been on Mrs Winnie Mandela's statement that the ANC leader did not expect to be released this year

All the "quality" London newspapers today carry reports on the meeting

Last night both ITV and BBC news broadcasts showed footage of Mrs Mandela speaking to newsmen after the visit

SOURCES

The main emphasis in almost all coverage was Mrs Mandela's statement on her husband's prospects for release

The Times's Johannesburg correspondent Ray Kennedy added that "well-informed sources within the ruling National Party" said Mr F W de Klerk would issue a statement about the recent meeting between Mr Mandela and President P W Botha when he returns from his Mozambique visit

"The sources said President Botha's meeting with Mandela was being seen increasingly as the action of an embittered man designed primarily to embarrass Mr de Klerk," the Times's correspondent wrote

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg

be brought to the attention of every voter in the country before September 6"

"ANC SATISFACTION"

He said the Mandela/Botha meeting was not a breakthrough for South Africa as the NP claimed, but for Mr Mandela, the ANC and the Communists

Mr Mandela had said he still stood for everything he had stood for over the past 26 years — while the NP stood against almost everything it had fought for over the past 75 years

The English slogan on the CP's new posters would be "After NP action, ANC satisfaction"

The Afrikaans one would be "Wat konkel PW, FW and Mandela?" ("What are PW, FW and Mandela conniving at?")

(News by P Fabricius 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

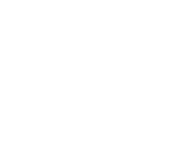
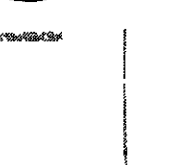
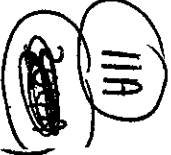
The government has said it is committed to negotiation on the country's political problems. Opposition groups are also talking about negotiation. Senior Assistant Editor **JOE LIAKOMO** examines the prospects of the Government and its black opposition getting together.



NEGOTIATION

Star 18/7/89
New climate and

air of confidence



Negotiation is firmly on the political agenda. At least, this seems to be the indication from both Government and its opposition on all fronts, not least of which is the African National Congress and the internal mass democratic movement.

Following the historic meeting between Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela, some observers even went to the extent of suggesting that negotiation was already under way. Last month, a high-powered team from Cosatu and the UDF held a meeting with the ANC delegates in Lusaka to discuss the possibility that Pretoria will submit to pressure from Western powers and launch a negotiating drive after the elections in September.

"As we are aware, the issue of negotiations has been placed on the agenda," said Cosatu's Jay Naidoo.

For years, the Government has insisted that it is "negotiating" with what they termed moderate black leaders, and added that they would not speak to anybody who does not forswear violence. This was a clear reference to the ANC, the PAC and internal organisations like the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation and the two major labour groupings in the country, Cosatu and Nactu.

'Secret' talks

The chief architect of the "negotiations" that the Government was referring to, Mr Chris Heunis, was adamant that he was speaking to, and consulting black leaders "even though some of them do not want to admit this much publicly". If true, the process was therefore largely secret.

But what the Government views as negotiation is not necessarily what the black majority accepted as such. Government created institutions were largely shunned by credible black leaders, right up to the government's latest, the National Forum. Even at local government level, the Community Councils were largely rejected because involvement was seen as being co-opted by "the system".

However, there seems to be a new climate, an air of confidence that negotiations can at last take place. But what are the prospects for the negotiation of a peaceful settlement of the South African conflict?

All the pointers, at the present time, indicate that negotiation will not even get off the

starting block. And this is all because of the different fundamental positions of the adversaries in the struggle.

The National Party has stated that group protection is the pillar of its new vision, and they believe that every group should participate as a component in the legislative and executive processes.

The ANC's position has been firm, too. Apartheid, they say, is incapable of being reformed and they will countenance no dispensation in which elements of compulsory segregation will be retained.

And yet, there seems to be a feeling that the ANC would be willing to compromise provided at least some of their minimum demands are met.

The Government has in turn, admitted that its policies do not work. In the Nat five year plan, they point out that the present basis in terms of which groups are defined for the purposes of political participation "creates many problems. It must therefore be revised in a process of negotiation to establish a greater freedom of choice."

The Nats have also shifted slightly from the position as to who they will negotiate with. "We are almost moving away from the meaningless requirement of the renunciation of violence," Dr Stoffel van der Merwe told a briefing on the Nat plan.

However, they still insist that the Group Areas Act will stay on the Statute Books "until an effective and generally acceptable measure can be substituted."

The ANC has set down conditions for negotiation, chief of which are the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners, the commencing of death sentences upon those convicted of political offences and withdrawal of troops and paramilitary police from the townships.

The ANC has stated that it would suspend violence if the Government met its precondi-

tions. "Far from being a block to entering negotiations, these (pre)conditions will allow the kind of free association that will make a negotiated settlement possible," an ANC spokesman has said.

The ANC welcomed negotiation "because we do not want to inherit a wasteland".

Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said that negotiation had to take place according to an open agenda, but the NP would approach negotiations with the principles of "group security and the preservation of Western civilised values."

Also, the Government has been firm on the question of the state of emergency. While there is at least some hope that Mr Mandela may be freed soon, it is unlikely that Government would free political prisoners in great numbers.

It seems, therefore, that negotiation at least in the near future, is simply not on. A new focus will be required, as would a united front against the Government.

Common front

Already, the UDF, Cosatu, the ANC and Inkatha, under Chief Buthelezi, are working towards creating a common front which would create the biggest force ever ranged against Government.

However, that still leaves other parties out in the open and peace and stability can only be possible if those — particularly the PAC are included. As another observer said recently, the agenda for negotiation is not important. Who is negotiating is critical.

In the final analysis, the nature of the society we are striving for will be determined by the way we get to that society, and it seems all actors in the South African political game at least realise this.

As Muntu Myeza warned before the last election there is a force that the whites cannot ignore, this force is black people.

Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo: "Issue of negotiations placed on the agenda."

Mr Chris Heunis... said to have consulted black leaders in secret.

MANDELA FAMILY: Zindzi Mandela and two of the grandchildren, left, Gadafi, 5, and Zoleka, 8, who will see Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

All in the family . . .



Mrs Winnie Mandela



Miss Maki Mandela — one of the children from Mr Mandela's first marriage.

Mandla Mandela who is said to resemble grandfather Nelson

Mandela's birthday: 'We have nothing to celebrate'

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela will have his family around him for the first time in 28 years on his 71st birthday in his prison house near Paarl.

However, tomorrow's reunion, in line with the Mandela family's practice of the past 28 years, will not be a party.

Mrs Winnie Mandela said her family had not celebrated her husband's birthday with a party for 28 years.

"We have nothing to celebrate," she said.

A family friend, advocate Mr Dullah Omar, agreed with her.

"From my own knowledge of the arrangements it will be a family reunion . . . hardly an occasion for celebration. It will be an occasion with a strong theme of sadness because after the reunion they will leave Mr Mandela to resume his lonely life," he said.

Due to arrive in Cape Town today are Mrs Mandela, daughter Zindzi and three grandchildren, Gadafi, Zoleka and Zondwa.

FROM SWAZILAND

Two children from his first marriage, his eldest son Makgatho and a daughter Maki, and their grandchildren are also expected in Cape Town from Transkei today.

From Swaziland will come Makgatho Mandela's son, Mandla Mandela, who visited his grandfather while he was recovering from tuberculosis at Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic last year and who is said to look like the jailed African National Congress leader.

Mr Mandela's first wife, Mrs Evelyn Mandela, is not expected to visit him.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said he would

not be at the reunion.

"It is an occasion for the immediate family," he said.

Mr Omar confirmed last night that other Rivonia treason trialists saw Mr Mandela for "a good few hours" at Victor Verster Prison last Friday.

Elias Motsoaledi, who is being held on Robben Island, was taken to the mainland, where he joined Pollsmoor Prison inmates Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba and Andrew Mahlangeni.

Wilton Mkwayi, another veteran ANC member who was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1965 and is being held at Pollsmoor, accompanied them on their visit to Paarl.

"It was the first time they had seen each other since Mr Mandela met Mr P W Botha. But I can't give you any details on the meeting."

● The rector of the University of South Africa, Professor Cas van Vuuren, has confirmed that he has received a request to hand over a law degree certificate to Mr Mandela.

But he said no final arrangements had been made.

Professor van Vuuren said he would not attend Mr Mandela's reunion and indicated that the issuing of the award could take place at a future date.

Mr Mandela's law degree had already been conferred on him — in absentia — in Cape Town on May 17, he said.

Professor van Vuuren said there was "nothing unusual" about him personally handing a certificate to a student such as Mr Mandela.

It was "normal procedure for students in difficult situations"

IN THE hypothetical event of a free and democratic election in SA, the ANC would receive the votes of at least 60% of the black population. On the other hand, according to survey data, only 2% of whites support the ANC's constitutional proposals for universal franchise in a unitary state. That, in a nutshell, is the South African problem.

Unless the ANC is brought in from the cold and induced to take part in a process of constitutional negotiation, the South African deadlock will continue — with horrifying long-term consequences.

It was with these premises in mind that I joined the most recent safari to Lusaka, under the leadership of the estimable Mike Olivier of the Five Freedoms Forum. The 115 of us were a mixed bunch, unified only by our common lack of real political leverage in white politics.

We were received graciously and hospitably by the ANC, whose members are genuinely pleased to receive first-hand news from "home", as they all unfailingly call SA. Homesickness and nostalgia are among the characteristics you notice first. Sophistication, intelligence and determination come a close second.

The temptation for some is to romanticise the ANC, and to be swept away in a tide of euphoria. We saw the diplomatic face of the ANC — the charm of Thabo Mbeki and Pallo Jordan and the benign wisdom of Oliver Tambo. They have finely honed skills and an ability to state the ANC's position with firmness and dignity.

The "other side" of the ANC, which we did not see, is best represented by the Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Chris Hani, reputedly a tough and uncompromising hardliner. The longer the armed struggle continues, the more likely it is that the hardliners will capture the key leadership positions.

A number of us were critical of the ANC's commitment to "armed struggle" and comprehensive mandatory sanctions. We were quite unable to shake them out of their implacability, and arguments that sanctions and violence are counter-productive were dismissed.

This is tragic, but no one could produce an effective reply to the ANC's claim that its taking up arms, after nearly 50 years of scrupulous

Despite violence and sanctions, ANC must be talked to

DAVID WELSH

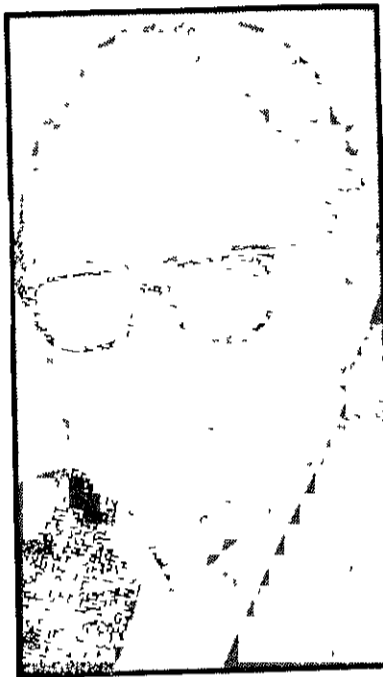
commitment to non-violence, was the inevitable response to the State's own violence.

We were told of the letter written by Chief Albert Luthuli to Prime Minister J G Strijdom in 1957 pleading for him to show statesmanship in stemming the spate of discriminatory legislation and urging him to talk to the ANC and other organisations.

The insulting reply — from a secretary — promised to find an opportunity to lay the letter before the Prime Minister. We were further told that presumably no such opportunity had arisen, since nothing further was heard.

While I remain unconvinced of the case for "armed struggle" — and fearful of the implications of civil war — I have to acquiesce in the ANC's claim that its capacity for violence and its ability to promote "mass action" represent its major bargaining chips in the conflict. Blacks, collectively, have acquired a veto-power in SA, and the sooner whites recognise this the less protracted the conflict will be.

Publicly, the ANC avers that the white oligarchy is not as strong as is commonly supposed, privately, many do recognise its strength and accept that armed struggle is merely one of several pressures to be exerted on government to force it to the bargaining table. It is also firmly of the belief that such reforms as



□ WELSH ... received graciously

government has made are actually strategic retreats caused by the domestic and international pressures exerted upon it.

A strongly held ANC view is that apartheid is incapable of being reformed; they will not countenance any proposed dispensations in which elements of compulsory segregation will be retained. Whites have to understand just how galling and intolerable an affront to black dignity any form of discrimination is.

I have no doubt that the ANC is keen to negotiate, although they will not do so unconditionally. They require the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the commuting of death sentences imposed upon those convicted of political offences and the withdrawal of troops and para-military police from the townships.

Moreover, they say that they will not take part in negotiating structures, like the National Forum, that have been generated by the apartheid system itself.

There is a pathological suspicion of government's *bona fides* — which is hardly surprising — and a general belief that F W de Klerk's recent declarations are merely restatements of "the same old thing" and "a rearguard action to preserve apartheid".

At the same time, many ANC people have a genuine fear of escalating hostility and SA's economic decline. Moreover, despite claims to the contrary, there are pressures from the Soviet Union for the ANC to seek a political rather than a military "solution".

The belief, assiduously promoted by South African propagandists, that the ANC dog is wagged by the Communist Party tail, is untrue. In fact, as several people told me, the reverse is more true: SACP people have been more-or-less completely assimilated into the ANC.

In any case, the communist bogey can hardly be exploited in the traditional way, given the virtual collapse of Marxism-Leninism as a credible system. I was amazed to hear well-known communists in Lusaka talking like born-again democrats. One such person, much demonised in SA, told me of his strong support for Gorbachev, and when I asked him if he saw any chance of the Soviet Union proceeding along the lines of Poland and Hungary, where multi-party systems are in the process of being established, he replied "I hope so".

He went on to denounce one-party systems as recipes for tyranny, saying "Once the bastards get in you can never get rid of them".

Coming from someone who has swallowed Stalmsism, the brutal repressions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland without a peep of (public, at any rate) protest, this was hopeful.

I had long discussions with various ANC people who had drafted the 1988 Constitutional Guidelines, which are an amplification of the Freedom Charter. I was impressed with the modest and scholarly Zola Skweyiya, with whom I participated in a session on constitutional options.

The ANC's demand is for universal franchise in a non-racial unitary state, but in discussions I gained the impression that they accepted my argument that in the South African conflict no party or movement was likely to find itself in a position to impose its own constitution. They were entirely amenable to the proposition that divided societies must, at all costs, avoid "winner-takes-all" outcomes.

Our constitutional discussions were too lengthy to summarise, but suffice it to say that my impression is that the ANC is aware that minorities may have entirely reasonable (and not simply residually racist) fears under majority rule. Areas of possible compromise and agreement are there.

Finally, it needs to be said that the non-racial ethic is fundamental to the ANC's political culture. It has not always been easy for the ANC to defend this position, but, to their great credit, they have done so. As far as they are concerned, non-racialism is an unquestioned principle.

□ Professor Welsh is Professor of Southern African Studies at UCT.

Aubrey Beukes isn't like the old Dominee

Somebody down there doesn't love Dominee Aubrey Beukes, the Cape divinity graduate who came to minister to the coloured people of Upington in 1982

He isn't like the old Dominee. The old Dominee used to invite the grand white folks to his church once or twice a year, keep the front two rows of pews open for them.

The new Dominee invites blacks all the time — and they sit anywhere!

The new Dominee gets hate mail and has had a death threat. The barrage started when he became involved with the Upington trial. Some of the pamphlets and car stickers that have circulated about him are far too

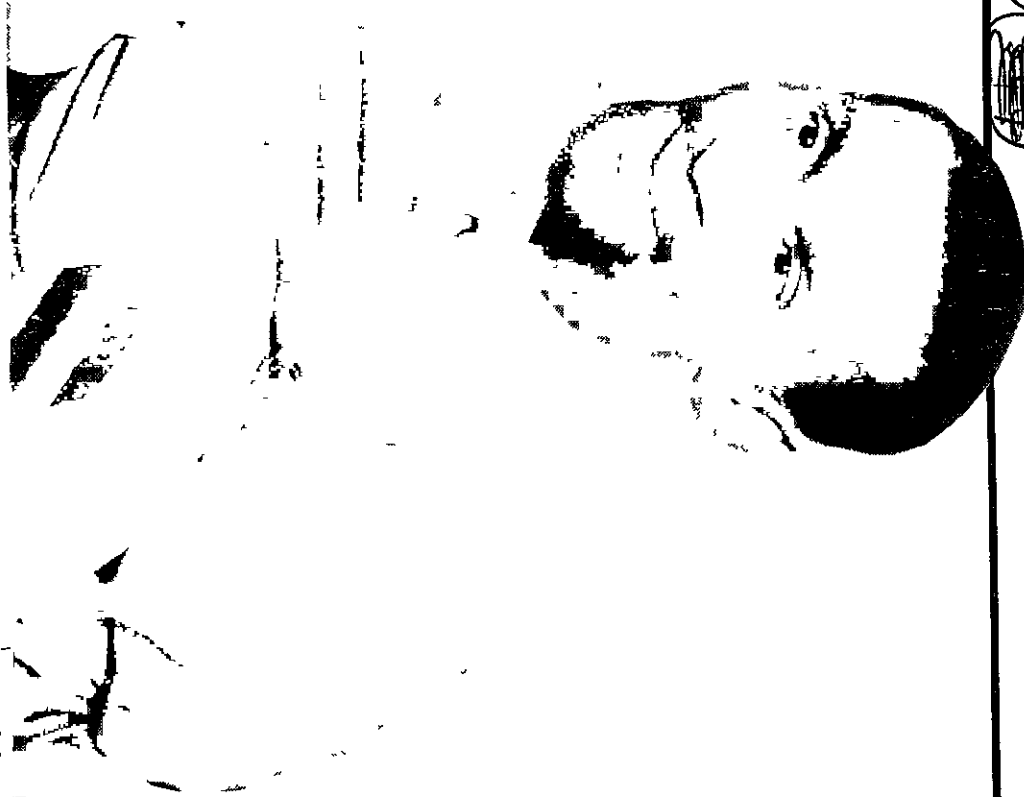
sophisticated, he believes, to come directly from his own community. "Forget about the wit wolve," he says darkly, "What about the blou wolve?" His reference is unmistakable. It's to the SA Police.

Aubrey Beukes is 32, married with two children. He is slight and intense, and wears a bokhaard. He is minister of the NG Sendingskerk. The diningroom of his modest home has been hijacked for a study, complete with copying machine, telephone and unruly bookcases. On the wall is a well-known prayer: "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to

know the difference."

Dr Beukes doesn't seem to know the difference. He refuses to practise religious apartheid, though some in his congregation want it, someone dabbed a message on the church path "Beukes, you neglect us — get right or get out."

He moves as easily in Paballelo and Upington as he does in his own area. He has worked tirelessly to rally support for the Upington accused. He was the only coloured member of the Upington community to be detained in the aftermath of the killing. "They took 82 days of my life. I won't easily forget that," he says.



His enemies depict him as the devil, and have desecrated the path to his church. He takes it all as a compliment.

PUSH FOR PEACE HOTS UP

Sunday Times Reporters (11A)

ANTI-GOVERNMENT movements are positioning themselves for possible peace talks with Mr F W de Klerk after the September elections.

The recent dramatic meeting between President Botha and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela has plunged the extra-parliamentary opposition into a ferment.

Now elements of the self-styled Mass Democratic Movement are anxiously trying to establish negotiating bottom-lines among their amorphous membership — just in case the Government does meet some of the key preconditions set by the MDM.

A first step will be the convening of a special conference this year by a coalition of extra-parliamentary opposition groups.

The aim of the conference, announced by the Congress of South African Trade Unions at its biennial conference yesterday, will be to resurrect the Anti-Apartheid Conference which was banned by the Government last year.

Top of the agenda will be agreement about constitutional options, the unbanning of the ANC, release of political prisoners, civil rights and tactics of opposition. *ST Times 16/7/89*

Lonely prisoner in a cocoon: Page 6
The Mandela Thunderbolt: Page 15

The conference will be held in a time of unprecedented tumult among anti-Government forces.

Among some of the recent developments

- Real possibilities of a breakthrough in the decade-long chill between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, and the exiled ANC leadership,

- A Cosatu call this week for the MDM to increase defiance campaigns so as to better prepare itself for negotiations,

- Indications that the ANC leadership is prepared to considerably soften its ideological positions in order to create a better climate for negotiations,

- Hints by government spokesmen that the Botha-Mandela meeting could be just the first step in a much broader initiative to "normalise" the political situation.

But the new mood is creating its own tensions within the extra-parliamentary opposition. Domestic opponents of apartheid — notably Mrs Winnie Mandela and the South African Council of Churches' secretary-general, the Rev Frank Chikane — have been more dismissive than the exiled ANC leadership about the importance of the Botha-Mandela meeting.

Again, serious differences of opinion between the domestic resistance groups and the exiled ANC could emerge about the negotiating preconditions.

The Sunday Times was told this week that a document setting out various policy options for the black resistance groupings is presently being circulated both in Lusaka and within the MDM inside South Africa.

This document calls for a re-evaluation of present strategies and urges a rethink on the possible use of negotiation as a strategy.

Coinciding with the Government's own new commitment to negotiated solutions as set out in the

□ To Page 6

Push for peace in SA is hotting up

ST Times 16/7/89

□ From Page 1 (11A) Meanwhile, it has been learnt that the meeting between President Botha and Mr Mandela was mooted within the Cabinet more than a year ago as part of an "atmosphere building" exercise. The actual meeting on Wednesday two weeks ago, however, was kept an absolute secret known only to four men: President Botha, Dr Neil Barnard, chief of the National Intelligence Service, Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, and Lt-Gen W H Willemse, the Commissioner of Prisons.

It is still unclear whether Mr De Klerk approved of the timing of the meeting — particularly before an election — or whether the intention of President Botha was to keep the meeting secret.

See Page 15

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□ See Page 15

MANDELA AS HE IS TODAY



THIS is the world's most celebrated prisoner, Nelson Mandela, by Alistair Findlay Artist and subject have never met, but people who have seen Mr Mandela recently say the likeness is "uncannily accurate" Mrs Helen Suzman, who spent three hours with Mr Mandela in the house he occupies at the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl this week, said the portrait was "extremely good, except I would make his hair greyer on the sides"

FILE 4

and correct date (12/88)

CLEMENT PERIOD

Top line - initial wages

W.D.	AMND	INCR	N D	INCR	AMND						
12/72	1/78	1/79	6/81	6/82	10/83	7/84	4/85	8/87	5/88		
Artisan											
44.00	66.47	70.15	111.32	118.22	135.70	148.12	161.00	169.28	173.88		
81.48	89.22	85.34	97.91	92.58	90.95	91.09	91.11	67.47	59.39		
46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46		
Ass Hostel Mng											
29.00	51.06	54.05	97.06	103.50	118.68	129.26	140.30	148.58	153.18		
53.70	68.54	65.75	85.36	81.05	79.54	79.50	79.40	59.22	52.32		
46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46		
Asst Foreman											
35.00	57.04	60.03	97.06	103.50	118.68	129.26	140.30	148.58	153.18		
64.81	76.56	73.03	85.36	81.05	79.54	79.50	79.40	59.22	52.32		
46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46		
Artisan's Aide											
0.00	0.00	0.00	46.92	50.14	57.50	63.48	69.46	77.74	82.34		
0.00	0.00	0.00	41.27	39.26	38.54	39.04	39.31	30.98	28.12		
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Hostel Mangr											
38.00	60.03	63.02	115.00	122.36	140.30	153.18	166.06	174.34	178.94		
70.37	80.58	76.67	101.14	95.82	94.03	94.21	93.98	69.49	61.11		
46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46		
Foreman											
45.00	69.46	73.14	115.00	122.36	140.30	153.18	166.06	174.34	178.94		
83.33	93.23	88.98	101.14	95.82	94.03	94.21	93.98	69.49	61.11		
46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46		
Traveller											
40.38	69.23	71.54	115.00	122.82	140.30	153.18	166.06	174.34	178.94		
74.78	92.93	87.03	101.14	96.18	94.03	94.21	93.98	69.49	61.11		
46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46		
Travel Asst											
13.00	26.68	29.67	44.62	47.38	54.28	60.72	67.16	75.44	80.04		
24.07	35.81	36.09	39.24	37.10	36.38	37.34	38.01	30.07	27.34		

The Mandela Thunderbolt

S/Times

16/7/89

11A

SUDDENLY, out of a clear blue sky, flashed a series of political thunderbolts that allow us, for the first time in decades, to think the unthinkable. For optimists, the prospects are dizzying.

Could it be that South Africa has at last taken a tentative — though muddled — step across that threshold which leads, ultimately, to a negotiated and more or less serene future?

Indubitably, the most startlingly significant occurrence was last week's meeting between President Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela.

It hardly matters what brought it about.

It could have been a careful, jointly planned ice-breaker by two septuagenarians who, each in his own way, is semi-detached from mainstream politics — Mr Botha because he is seeing out his last days as a head of state unencumbered by party attachments, Mr Mandela because age and long incarceration have elevated him to an almost mystical status above the daily grind of the power struggle.

On the other hand, it could simply have been a case of two ageing adversaries curious to meet each other before their personal circumstances are altered one way or another.

Fateful

Alternatively, Mr Botha, now sulky, isolated and anxious about his place in history, may simply have wanted to place a final, indelible stamp on his political reign.

The reasons matter less than the consequences of that fateful encounter in Tuynhuys, last Wednesday morning.

For one thing, others who talk to representatives of the ANC can no longer be accused of treason or naiveté.

After all, here we have a once venerated State President who was an energetic propagator of total onslaught theory taking tea and little cakes with the head ANC man himself — the occasion engineered by the Government's Minister of Justice and, so we are assured, in the full knowledge of the NP's leader.

And another point. Until quite recently the formal status of Mr Mandela has been that of a prisoner convicted of a criminal offence. But heads of government do not usually take tea with common prisoners, so we must assume that the eminence from Victor Verster

is now officially (and quite properly) regarded in another light.

Thus, almost stealthily, Mr Mandela's status has been altered in many important ways. His place, and that of the body of opinion he leads, must now surely be secure at the table when — and if — negotiations ever begin in this country.

Could one have imagined, barely a few months ago, that a statement from inside prison — by Mr Mandela, as the SABC now respectfully calls him — would be the main item on the evening news and read by the announcer with a gravitas that is usually reserved for very important people indeed?

Changes

Whether through circumstances or by design (in the event, probably a mixture of both), one thing is certain. Rarely before have captors been so captive of their own prisoner.

And consider the wider background against which the Tuynhuys tea-party took place

by
**TERTIUS
MYBURGH**

is being systematically wooed out of an Eastern orbit, and throughout the region economies are collapsing and leaders are belatedly recognising the folly of an ideology that is being abandoned even in the country from whence it was exported, the USSR.

And from Moscow itself comes a new message. Armed struggle is not the way to liberation south of the Limpopo, work, instead, for a negotiated political settlement so that South Africa's economy (mixed, not marxist) remains intact.

Across this changing southern sky flashed that thunderbolt last week. Botha and Mandela had agreed — they confirmed their support for peaceful development. It was one of those symbolic events (undeniable even by those, to left and right, whose first reactions reflected lamentable confu-

Mr F W de Klerk to meet Mozambique's President Chissano before going to Washington and, possibly, the Oval office. Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet Mr Oliver Tambo. Mrs Albertina Sisulu at No 10 Downing Street (on her way back from the White House).

In white politics we have a ruling party that has committed itself to a bill of rights, no domination by one group of another and the achievement of all this — and more — through negotiation.

Leftish of centre, a new alliance of modernising politicians in the DP show encouraging signs of success in attracting significant support from across previously impenetrable tribal lines.

The Idasa ferry to Lusaka operates at full steam, exposing an extraordinary range of South Africans to the thinking of the exiled ANC leadership, and vice versa.

At the same time, the sub-continental landscape has undergone unimaginable changes. Both Namibia and Angola have been set on a new course, Mozambique

sion) that can change the course of history.

Mr Pik Botha was not exaggerating when he said it was one of the most important occurrences of our time.

Does this mean, as speculation has it, that Mr Mandela is about to be freed? It is irresistible to conclude that the authorities are edging towards such a step, but we should probably not expect the doors of Victor Verster to swing open before September 6.

A ruling party that faces its toughest election in 40 years is unlikely to inject a new issue that is so loaded with volatile and unpredictable consequences into the campaign.

It is, therefore, much, much too early to light the triumphal fires on Meintje's Kop.

For the moment, only three things are certain as we contemplate the different pieces that have been so unexpectedly put into play.

Utopians

First, the political landscape is being irreversibly transformed.

Second, it will require painstaking statecraft to pull all the threads together in a practical peace process. There will be many stops and starts, and progress is unlikely to meet the timetables of impatient and insensitive utopians both within South Africa and without.

Third, we must remember that this is Rubicon country and the consequences of failure must constantly be borne in mind. Expectations are being raised perilously high. To frustrate them would be to trigger consequences — in white as much as black communities — that could be terrible to behold.

Rather, we should remember Edmund Burke's dictum "All that wise men ever aim at is to keep things from coming to the worst."

Electorate told to 'join hands against apartheid'

w/e ARGUS 15/7/89 11A

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

JOINING hands against apartheid is the message the Labour Party will be taking into the election, with contests in all 80 House of Representatives seats and a field of candidates refreshed with a score of new young faces

The party enters the fray determined to increase pressure on the government to scrap the Population Registration, Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts and to attract wider support with a more colourful campaign that emphasises unity in the struggle against apartheid

Mr Allan Hendrickse fired the starter gun yesterday when he announced new candidates and set the tone of his party's campaign

The party has chosen 80 candidates from 160 nominees, of which 23 are new candidates. All 14 United Democratic Party, Freedom Party and independent candidates will be opposed

Three MPs have been dropped — Mr Adrian Adriaanse (Hawston), Mr Dennis de la Cruz (Ottery) and Mr Leslie Jenecke (Northern Cape). They are being replaced by Mr Glen Carelse, Mr Dawood Adams and Mr Desmond Lockey

Mr Fred Peters, former party secretary and MP for Silverton, is retiring. He is being replaced by Mr Rodney Rhoda

Appeal for unity

Of his party's campaign theme, Mr Hendrickse said "It is essential at this time in South Africa that we move with greater togetherness and this can only be manifest when laws that prevent us from being what we are — South Africans — are repealed

"We are going back to Parliament with the call that the base of apartheid must be destroyed."

In an appeal for ideological unity, apparently with organisations outside Parliament, Mr Hendrickse said "All of us, irrespective of differences in strategy or ideology, must move together in order to destroy the monster that is destroying South Africa. Apartheid must 'waa'!"

Complimenting President P W Botha on his talks with Mr Nelson Mandela, he said the move was "almost too late"

However, if there was to be real progress, Mr Mandela and others like him must be re-



Labour leader Mr Allan Hendrickse, third from right, with some of the new Cape candidates: from left, Mr Solly Levy, Mr Clarence Ratangee, Mr James Kuiler, Mr Stanley Simmonds, Mr Stanley Fisher, Mr Rodney Rhoda, Mr Anwar Ismail and Mr Abie Delpont.

Picture DANA le ROUX Weekend Argus

leased immediately. The two men had to face each other as free men, "eye to eye"

Mr Hendrickse said the number of younger candidates who had made themselves available was an indication of "the interest among our people"

The party would take its message to the community through public meetings

Greater participation

"We believe there will be greater participation and there has been no sign of a significant 'don't vote' movement," he said

Special votes and postal votes would make the difference in a working-class community where it was difficult for people to get to the polling stations

Mr Hendrickse said he was not so concerned about increasing percentage polls, but expected a much bigger turnout in terms of votes cast

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Hendrickse calls for new flag, anthem

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Reporter

SOUTH Africa must have a new national flag and national anthem to unify all its people, said Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse

The existing flag and anthem, were a reminder of "white domination and oppression. Die Stem was a "song of theft".

Launching Labour's campaign at a city hotel yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said "If we are to achieve togetherness, we must have a new national flag which unifies us — not one which reminds us of oppression, denial of citizenship and imperialism, but a flag that can unite South Africans with pride

"After 61 years of celebrat-

ing the Afrikaner and white domination, we believe a new flag can, and must, become a symbol of our togetherness"

He added "With respect to Langenhoven, circumstances in South Africa have meant that we have never been able to sing the national anthem with all our heart and mind because of what has been done to us

"We must seek new symbols which will bind us together

"If it is Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika, then we must sing that, or if it is necessary to write a new song, so be it

"However, whatever we choose, it must be a binding force, not a divisive one," he said

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Talks to ANC, Kaunda tells SA

11A

THE Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, has urged white South African politicians to meet with the ANC and reiterated his willingness to meet South African leaders. *2000*

DAWN BARKHUIZEN

His statements were made during talks with the Democratic Party in Lusaka yesterday in which the meeting between State President P W Botha and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela came under intensive discussion.

Dr Kaunda agreed on the need to promote talks among all leaders in the region and he expressed concern about the situation in South Africa, according to a statement issued by the DP last night. *SA 1577189*

Other subjects to come under the spotlight were the forthcoming elections in Namibia and the potential to develop the southern African region.

Dr Kaunda told the delegation that the Namibian elections had put "Africa on trial" and would test southern African leaders' ability to co-operate for the sake of peace. *2000*

He expressed the hope that the South African Government would not interfere with the election.

A previous statement issued by the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee, implying that the African states would back Swapo should they dispute the election results, had been built on years of mistrust of the South African Government, he said.

The DP delegation was led by DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan. Members were Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Janne Momberg and Mr Jannie Hofmeyr.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN AN unprecedented statement to the nation, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela last night announced his commitment to actively help bring peace to South Africa.

He stressed that dialogue with the mass democratic movement, particularly the ANC, "was the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to the country"

Mr Mandela, who has been in jail for almost 27 years, also noted in a rare statement released by his jailors, the SA Prison Services, that his release was "not an issue at this stage"

The Prisons Service said Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee confirmed that Mr Mandela, in reaction to comments on his widely publicised meeting with President P W Botha, had released the statement for media publication.

Mr Mandela said Mr Coetsee's statement on the meeting, that he and Mr Botha both supported the need for peaceful development in South Africa, was "an accurate reflection of what happened at the meeting"

"As implied in the original statement (Mr Coetsee's), I would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa."

Further statements unlikely

He said he had made the statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President. Future press statements were unlikely

"I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development"

Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday told a BBC correspondent, before the statement was released, that her husband was not given the opportunity to prepare for his meeting with the State President

She claimed Mr Mandela was told by Mr Coetsee on Tuesday night last week that he was to meet Mr Botha the following morning

ANC leader's statement in full

IN response to inquiries, the Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said Mr Nelson Mandela submitted the following comments in reaction to reports on his conversation with President P W Botha. This is the full statement that he authorised the Prisons Service to release

"The statement issued by the Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee on the meeting between the State President and myself is an accurate reflection of what happened at that meeting"

"The statement, however, constitutes no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement, and in particular with the ANC, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country"

"I make this statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President"

"I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the press as a means of conducting possible further discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development."

"I would also like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage as implied in the original statement"

"I would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa"

He therefore had no opportunity to consult with his people, Mrs Mandela said, and he decided to go ahead with the meeting

Mrs Mandela said her husband told her of the sequence of events when she visited him for one hour on Monday at his home at Victor Vester Prison, Paarl

Mrs Mandela yesterday declined to condemn the meeting, saying it was a start

"We do not condemn the meeting at all. The road

of the State President said it had no comment on Mr Mandela's statement

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the statement was "statesmanlike as one would have expected"

Referring to the two-day delay in the release of the statement, the archbishop questioned why the authorities "should have found it so difficult to release the statement in the first place"

"They are their own worst enemies," he said

Mr Wynand Malan, a co-leader of the Democratic Party, last night said it was of cardinal importance that Mr Mandela had "reiterated his commitment to a peaceful way of finding peace in South Africa — and secondly that the government did indeed release the statement"

"This vindicates the position of the DP"

OPINION

SA

Mandela's

ANC leader's commitment to peace

in SA

11/11

13/7/89
CME Taps



MANDELA POSTERS: Hundreds of posters bearing a current, accurate, colour drawing (above) of Nelson Mandela were distributed this week at the Congress of South African Trade Unions in apparent defiance of the law banning reproduction of prisoners' pictures. After Mr Mandela was imprisoned in 1962 for sabotage and plotting to overthrow the Government, no pictures of him were published in South Africa until a small headshot appeared in a Government handbook three years ago. Several newspapers subsequently published this picture, but it shows Mr Mandela at the age of 45. He will soon be 71. The colour drawing was described by those who have seen Mr Mandela as "a very good likeness".

A legend knocking at our door

15/7/89 Alan

LONDON — "He's very well, alert, tall and stands erect. He certainly doesn't look 71."

"He looks fit. He has an exercise room in the house. There's an exercise bicycle and he does weight lifting. He used to be a boxer, you know."

As time passes most statesmen become legends. Nelson Mandela is a legend becoming a reality. An old friend and comrade, one of an increasing number of people who have been allowed to see him recently, was struck by his physical and mental fitness.

Mr Mandela lives in a converted prison warden's bungalow in the compound of the Victor Verster prison near Paarl. A warden stays with him during the day, but after 10pm Mr Mandela is alone.

His wife, Winnie, can see him whenever she likes during the day but she refuses to stay with him because he is not yet free. It has been 26 years now. For 13 of them the South African Government has been trying to find a way of setting Mr Mandela free.

In 1976 Jimmy Kruger, the Justice Minister, offered to release him if he agreed to settle in the Transkei homeland. Then he offered exile. When Mr P W Botha took over as President, he said he would set Mr Mandela free if he promised to forswear violence. Then he suggested he would be freed if the Soviet Union freed the dissidents Anatoly Scharansky and Andrei Sakharov, and Angola released a captive South African army officer, Captain Wynand du Toit.

Mr Scharansky, Professor Sakharov and Captain Du Toit are now all free but Mr Mandela is still in prison.

Last year Mr Mandela was found to be suffering from tuberculosis. After treatment it was announced that he would be returning to prison. He would be restricted but not released. Recently Mr P W Botha, the Foreign Minister, said Mr Mandela would be released "soon".

Last week it was tea at Fynhuys when President Botha and Nelson Mandela fought to his official defence, it was almost an enactment of the release of the obsessive tyrant, setting his prison door open to the future.

No lives lost

Mr Mandela was convicted in 1964 of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the Government by revolution and by assisting an armed invasion.

Mr Mandela and his colleagues had carried out about 200 sabotage incidents in two years. Most were trivial, none caused loss of life. Many convicted of more serious offences in South Africa have served far shorter sentences.

It is not the sentence which concerns Pretoria, but the consequences of his release.

Everyone from the young African National Congress supporters in the townships, the Government, the ANC in exile, to President Bush and Mrs Margaret Thatcher recognises that Mr Mandela's release is the key to unlocking SA's future.

of political parties and the release of all detainees and all the political prisoners.

But there are now fears that Mr Mandela, symbol of all they have fought for, may pick up the ball himself and run with it.

No one is certain of how a free Mr Mandela would react, which is presumably one reason why Mr Botha invited him to tea.

Friends stress that Mr Mandela keeps well informed. He has a short-wave radio and the South African newspapers and overseas newspapers if he wants them.

Although Nelson Mandela has not said or done anything in the past 26 years to suggest he would deviate from his principles, he has made gestures that show he sees himself as a bridge-building national leader.

Recent impressions are that, once freed, he would side with the pragmatists rather than the hard-liners within the ANC, but his prime concern would be to maintain the unity of the movement and unite all the opponents of apartheid.

Although he has refused to repudiate armed force he probably would not call for its escalation. He is more likely to try to be the man who can talk to anybody, offer the whites a future, and deliver black liberation.

That may prove an impossible equation, but at the moment of his release, probably later this year, Mr Mandela will hold the future of southern Africa in his hands. — *The Independent, London*

RICHARD DOWDEN

He is Pretoria's last hostage. When they free him, they could lose — or gain — everything.

For the angry young black people of South Africa's townships, almost none of whom were born when Mr Mandela went to jail, he is a Messiah and his release represents the Second Coming.

But Pretoria makes much of the fear that someone would kill Mr Mandela if he were freed. It sounds like crocodile concern, but if it happened the world would blame the white Government.

The most the Government hopes for is that Mr Mandela will negotiate the future of the ANC and come to an agreement with the ruling National Party which falls short of the demand for a non-racial democratic unitary South Africa.

The next best Pretoria can hope for is that a free Nelson Mandela will act as a restraining influence on the militants among his followers. Perhaps, once the initial euphoria is over, a free Mr Mandela will be found not to possess super-human powers, or even overwhelming political support.

Britain regards the ANC as a key player, not the key player, and wants Chief Buthelezi, as well as the whites, to have a role in the future of South Africa.

The ANC sees Mandela's release as but one element in a package which includes the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning

The Pharaohs had Joseph and Moses brought before them. For a moment there was a doubt. Who was the true captive? It seemed as if the ailing king, whose moment is passing, wanted a glimpse of his captive, whose fame and importance, and determination, may never be known.

116 found dead on city streets monthly

Staff Reporter

Police have confirmed that an average of 116 unidentified black people are found dead on the streets of Johannesburg every month

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe, yesterday said it was most unfortunate that such an alarming rate of people died each month

He said police had a tremendous job trying to trace families of unidentified people.

"In most cases people don't come forward to claim the bodies and we have no alternative but to give them paupers' funerals"

This follows a report in the *Sowetan* quoting a spokesman for the Government mortuary saying most of the casualties who, with white victims last year totalled 3 391, were given paupers' burials because their families could not be traced. The figure did not include people found on the streets of Soweto.

According to figures released by the spokesman, during the first five months of 1989, 1 239 bodies were processed by the Johannesburg mortuary and the figure was expected to double by the end of winter

Ex-Koevoet man suspended

A police constable stationed in Belfast has been suspended after two allegations of rape were made against him

It is believed the man, in his late 20s and unmarried, is a former member of Koevoet.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman Lieutenant Wickus Brits said it was policy to investigate allegations against a policeman in the same way as any other alleged criminal.

— Staff Reporter

Azapo case is dismissed in Durban

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — An application by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which challenged its banning, was dismissed in the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday.

Azapo was banned in terms of the Security Emergency Regulations proclaimed on June 10 last year

Azapo claimed the regulations were invalid and of no force and effect in law.

It also claimed its banning in terms of the regulations was invalid and of no force and effect in law.

The State President and the Minister of Law and Order, cited as respondents, disputed the claims and submitted that the emergency regulations and the banning of Azapo were valid.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Booysen found the State President had acted within his powers in promulgating the regulations.

He found that the Minister of Law and Order had acted within his powers in banning Azapo. The judge ordered Azapo to pay the legal costs of the action.

Nelson Mandela shares his birthday with family



Pictures ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

HAPPY BIRTHDAY: Admiring a birthday card sent to Nelson Mandela by the National Union of Mineworkers are, from left, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Dullah Omar, Miss Zindzi Mandela and her daughter Zoleka

Birthday greetings — from NGK ministers

By **KAREN STANDER**, Religion Reporter
TWO Ned Geref Kerk dominees today sent a telegram with birthday greetings to Mr Nelson Mandela
 The gesture came from the Rev Herbert Brand, minister of St Stephen's con-

By **DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**
 Staff Reporter

MRS WINNIE MANDELA is happy the Mandela family would be with her husband on his 71st birthday today

Mrs Mandela, her daughter, Zindzi, and her three grandchildren Zoleka, Gadafi, and Zondwa, were the last of the Mandelas to arrive in Cape Town yesterday

They were met at D F Malan airport by advocate Dullah Omar, chairman of the restricted United Democratic Front in the Western Cape

BIRTHDAY CARD

Mrs Mandela, who wore a black leather jacket and a black beret on a cold night, showed Mr Omar a poster-size birthday card which the National Union of Mineworkers had sent her husband

Asked if there were any other presents destined for Victor Verster Prison where Mr Mandela lives in a prison home, Mrs Mandela said "yes", but declined to give more details

Mother and daughter laughed when one of the battery of photographers around them almost landed on a tender part of his anatomy when the luggage conveyer belt on which he was standing was switched on

"I knew that would happen," a laughing Mrs Mandela said

However, she said last night, the birthday celebrations were nothing to get excited about

"There is nothing to be happy about our leaders and other detainees are still in prison, the country is in a deepening crisis and the state of emergency is still with us"

POLICE SURVEILLANCE

Mrs Mandela, her children and three grandchildren spent the night at the home of Mr Omar, president of the National Association of democratic Lawyers (Western Cape region)

Police were keeping the Omar residence in Rylands under surveillance

Mr Omar said "I take strong exception to being followed to the airport and back home and my house being kept under police surveillance There is nothing subtle about it"

"I regard it as highly intimidating There's no reason for this, which reminds me I'm in a police state in spite of all the talk of reform"

The first of the Mandela's to arrive yesterday was young Mandla Mandela, son of Mr Makgatho Mandela, Nelson Mandela's son from his first

(Turn to page 3, col 5)

Mandela with family today

(Cont from page 1)

marriage, who flew in from Swaziland

He was followed later by his father, mother, and his aunt Miss Maki Mandela, who came from America for the Mandela reunion, and her three children

They booked into a city hotel

The two groups of Mandelas were to meet this morning before travelling together to Victor Verster Prison

● A request by The Argus to attend today's gathering of the Mandela family at the prison in Paarl, on the occasion of Mr Mandela's birthday has been turned down by the Prison Service

The Argus request read "A gathering at Victor Verster Prison, Paarl, of Mr Nelson Mandela and others has attracted national and world attention We hereby request permission to be allowed to attend the function and to take photographs Would you please convey this request to Mr Mandela .A prompt response to these requests would be appreciated"

In their reply, the prison service said "I regret to inform you that your requests were not favourably considered"

Only family to visit Mandela

By Helen Grange IIA

The only guests invited to Mr Nelson Mandela's 71st birthday today are his immediate relatives, family lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob said. Star 18/7/89

Mr Ayob said he was surprised by reports that 50 relatives and friends would attend.

About 15 members of the immediate family, including Mrs Winnie Mandela, daughter Zinzi and three grandchildren, will be there. The son from Mr Mandela's first marriage, Mr Makgatho Mandela, was expected with his wife and two sons.

Mr Ayob said friends had visited Mr Mandela last Friday, including Mr Walter Sisulu.

● See Page 3.

WE are all for real negotiations

The Tynhuys meeting between Mr P W Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela has raised the hopes of many people that greater things are about to happen in South Africa.

Some see the meeting as a signal of Mandela's imminent release, while others believe that a negotiated settlement is on the cards.

Nelson Mandela, I believe, is likely to be released soon. But I doubt if the Government is about to go to the conference table - at least, not with the ANC.

What the Government would be happy to do is to get individuals within the ANC to the conference table.

On the other hand, the international community has been pressuring the ANC to abandon the use of arms. Even strong supporters of the armed struggle, the Chinese and the Russians, who have been training cadres of the PAC and the ANC for years, seem to have

closed their files on violence as a lever for change for South Africa

This subject of negotiations is however discussed with some heat within the Black Consciousness and Africanist movements, who are not too keen to go to the negotiation table with the Government under the present circumstances.

But I was amused when I was told how the audience at the June 16 commemoration service in Soweto responded when two speakers expressed opposing views on the subject.

A white speaker was given a big round of ap-

plause when he said the time for negotiations had come. The next speaker, who condemned negotiations, was also applauded.

Opposed

One thing I know is that nobody is opposed to the principle of negotiating. Differences arise on issues to be discussed. Azapo and the PAC say they will go to the negotiation table only if it is to negotiate the dismantling of apartheid.

Although I am not very optimistic about prospects of a negotiated settlement at this stage, as an exercise I want to look at some of the points I

would want to see addressed before I endorse negotiations

Firstly, the Government will have to create a climate that will give everybody the confidence that it is serious about negotiations.

Since the negotiations will be aimed at, among other things, building one nation in South Africa, the bantustan policies used by the Government to forcefully remove people from certain parts of the country to small "reserves" will have to be suspended forthwith.

The laws restricting the freedom of expression and of association will


also have to go so that everybody could have his say on the future of the country and belong to the party of his choice.

We will also have to concede that there is conflict in South Africa and identify parties that are in conflict and the issues over which they are in conflict. Here, I see the question of land and the status of the so-called independent bantustans featuring high on the agenda.

There are various terms that need to be clearly defined too. The term apartheid, for example, does not seem to mean the same thing to

NOTEBOOK

BY SAM MABE



everybody.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi is reported as saying all political prisoners who have been in jail for longer than 15 years should be released. I believe all political prisoners must be released and political trials must be halted. All exiles should be allowed to return with no conditions attached to their return. The ban on some political organisations and the banning orders against individuals will also have to be lifted. One also wonders what the shape of the table is going to be. Will it be round or rectangular?

97c 7/19/84 11/14

6-hr reunion for Mandela family

By PETER DENNEHY

IMPRISONED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela spent nearly six hours on his 71st birthday yesterday with 16 members of his family who visited him at his house in Victor Verster Prison.

Some of his grandchildren had never seen him before. Mrs Winnie Mandela said afterwards that it had been "a wonderful reunion for the family", who had flown in from the United States, Johannesburg and East London.

"It was not a birthday party," she said at a crowded press conference afterwards just outside the gates of the prison. "We have no cause to celebrate."

Her husband did not anticipate that he would be released this year. The question of his own release had always been the last on his personal agenda with the government, she said.

She presumed her husband's reasons for believing his release was not imminent lay in "the political climate in the country... the realities of the situation".

She revealed that Mr P W de Klerk "was fully aware of the meeting between himself (Mr Mandela) and P W Botha".

Mr Mandela's own freedom was of no particular significance to him, as it was "the freedom of the people that he went to prison for, and the freedom of his ideas".

Mrs Mandela had no authority to confirm that her husband would have a meeting soon with trade union leaders, "but I am aware of moves in that direction".

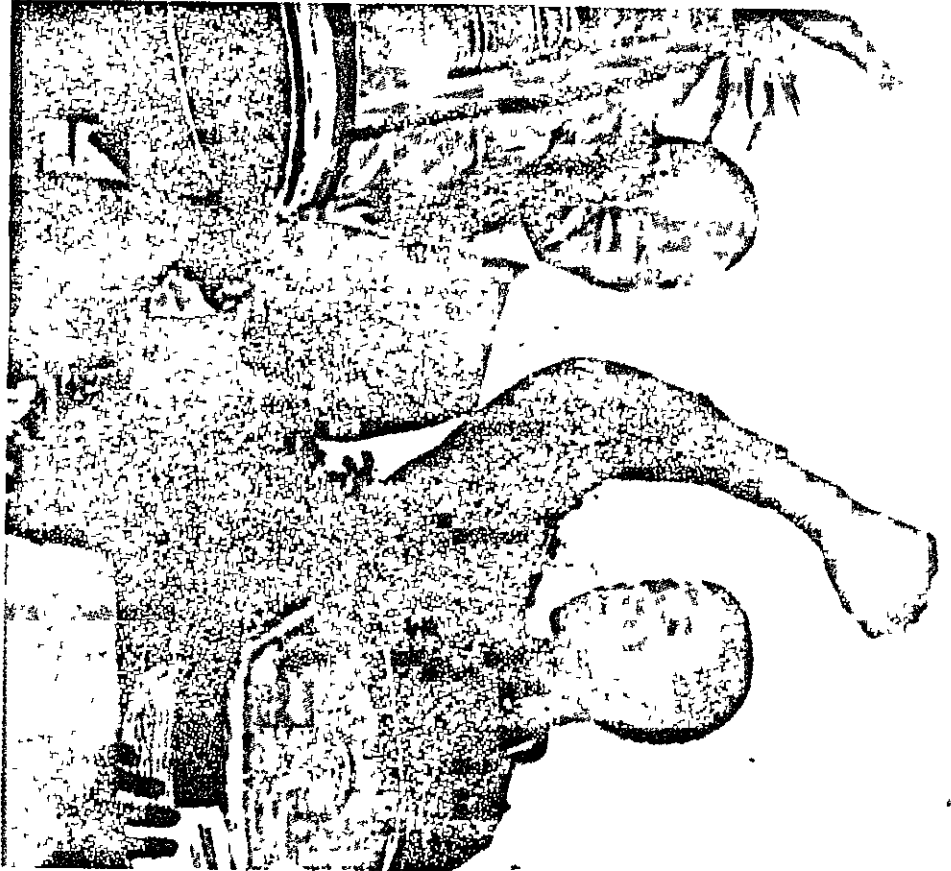
"He has personally asked the government to allow him to communicate with the people, particularly with the trade union leaders, including the National Union of Mineworkers."

"This is what is being worked on at the moment. He intends to see these people within a very short time."

Fifteen-year-old Mandla Mandela said his grandfather had been happy and well, and had talked to him about his school in Swaziland.

Ms Maki Mandela said her father had been "very excited" and happy that both sides of the family could be there and spend more than 45 minutes with him.

The family emerged from the prison shortly before 5pm, and were met by about 45 photographers, reporters and TV crew members and a delegation of singing supporters



VISIT TO GRANDFATHER... Mr Makatho Mandela and Mandla Mandela, the son and grandson of Mr Nelson Mandela arrive at Victor Verster Prison yesterday on his 71st birthday. Picture REUTERS

...that might emanate from the ANC and the democratic movement of our country."

Cape Times 19/7/89
Free the man (19)
calls Beeld

JOHANNESBURG — The Afrikaans daily newspaper Beeld has called for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela on his 71st birthday

In an editorial today, Beeld said Mr Mandela should be freed and negotiations should be started

The newspaper called for Mr Mandela's release last year, also on the occasion of his birthday

It seemed the only reason he had not yet been freed was concern for security in the forthcoming elections, Beeld said. — Sapa

Gang steals R2 000

SIX men held a Philippi man at gunpoint before robbing him of R2 000 on Monday morning. The men threatened Mr Ismail Adams, 37, with a gun

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The NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, is
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ANC to display a "similar softening
of its stance"
(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

By MIKE ROBERTSON

Thatcher a major factor for ANC

Cape Times 19/7/89

THE role being played by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Southern Africa emerges in an ANC discussion paper as a major factor in the organisation's decision to address the issue of negotiations seriously

The document expresses concern that British and other peace initiatives in Southern Africa are developing to a point where the ANC could be caught unprepared

The document says "The new US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, has stated publicly that he will pay daily attention to this question

"British Prime Minister Margaret

Thatcher is engaged in a series of discussions with apartheid cabinet ministers with the same objective in mind. Even the chairman of the Frontline States, President Kaunda, has called for negotiations now"

Mrs Thatcher had said that the principle of one man one vote should be applied so as to recognise the existence of groups and that Pretoria would have to negotiate with the leaders of all groups

"It is clear that the British government will seek to propagate these views throughout the world and seek their acceptance by the largest number of countries, to the exclusion of views that might emanate from the ANC and the democratic movement of our country"

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Cape Times 19/7/89



PW-Mandela: A sign of a 'truce'?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PW Botha-Nelson Mandela meeting could be likened to commanders-in-chief in a war situation "sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce", according to the National Party's chief information officer, Mr Con Botha

Mr Botha's remarks, made during an interview with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's TV news broadcast last night, are the first indication that the government might be considering a cease-fire with the banned organisation

In the most frank acknowledgement by the government of Mr Mandela's role in helping to decide the country's future, Mr Botha described the jailed ANC leader as "a key figure in any future negotiation about South Africa's constitutional future"

A statement issued after the Tuynhuys encounter by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, described the meeting as a "courtesy visit" during which no policy matters were debated and no negotiations were conducted

However, the Foreign Minister, Mr Prik Botha, attributed great significance to the meeting

The NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, is expected to make a statement about

the Mandela meeting at the Cape Nat Congress on Saturday

During the CBC interview, Mr Botha was asked whether the Tuynhuys meeting legitimised talking to the ANC

He responded "Let me explain it in war terms — one can really almost compare that to the commanders-in-chief sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce

"But similarly, as in such a situation, one would certainly not welcome the rank-and-file of the two armies fraternising"

Discussing Mr Mandela's role in negotiations about the country's future, Mr Botha said "The (National) party accepts that Mr Mandela is a key figure in any future discussion — any future negotiation about South Africa's constitutional future

"After all he is the acknowledged leader of the ANC and, even apart from his leadership position, he is regarded as a symbol of black aspirations and so it would be foolish to accept that he is not an important part of the whole process"

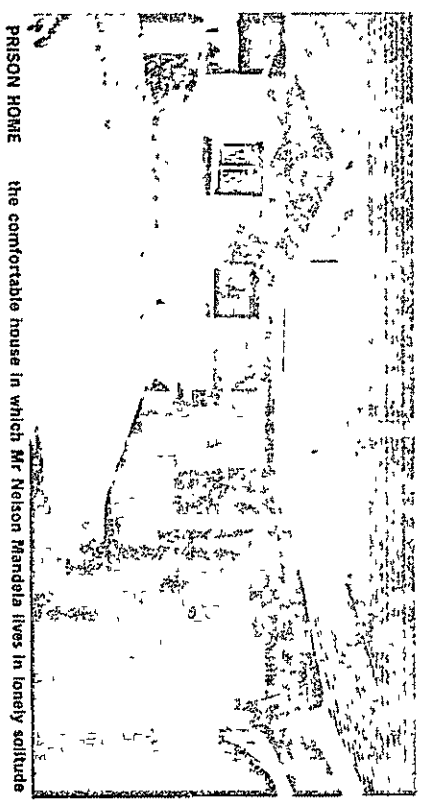
Asked whether the stage had been reached when "talks about talks" had started, Mr Botha said the National Party would wait for the ANC to display a "similar softening of its stance"

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

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THE PRISONER IN THE COMFORTABLE GOODGOOD



PRISON HOME the comfortable house in which Mr. Nelson Mandela lives in lonely solitude

N active but lonely life in a comfortable cocoon, this is how longtime friends of Nelson Mandela this week summed up the solitary existence of the 71 year old ANC leader in his Paarl prison home.

From exercising regularly, reading voraciously, putting his political thoughts to paper to receiving visitors, the world's most celebrated prisoner has busy days at Victor Verster Prison — but the sorry masses the company of his comrades Mr. Mandela is a VIP prisoner in unique and amazing circumstances — a prisoner

who is not in prison. On an ordinary day he largely follows his own schedule in the finely appointed six roomed house. Friends who have met him recently, however, and do not — is a prisoner turned diplomat who is waiting to take his place in history.

He will stop anything he is doing to listen to the news on the radio, says an associate. Television and a regular supply of newspapers also help him keep abreast of events at home and abroad. Nelson spends a lot of time writing, says Mrs

enrolling for further study courses. At the moment he is devoting most of his time to political writing. During our visit he read a few pages from a manuscript that he is delivering to the State working on said Mrs Cachalia.

By HANSHI MANDOLINI and MANDLA NYALA

He's a very lonely man

and muses the talks he had with friends in Pollsmoor Prison particularly with Walter Sisulu. Having recently completed a year in law degree, Mr. Mandela told the Cachalias on a three-hour visit last month that he would not be

the SABC and the BBC's World Service are tuned into at regular intervals through out the day. South African news papers including Business Day, Beeld and the Star are delivered and the Mail and Guardian are also sent to him. Describing the house as a "nice middle-class home" Mrs Cachalia said family photographs were displayed on a small bookcase in the hallway and prints of South African fauna and flora hung in the lounge.

It is understood that at 4m in the most jails, the prisoner has to be indoors. A doctor visits Mr. Mandela on virtually a daily basis. The atmosphere inside the bungalow is very relaxed, said Mrs Cachalia.

Mrs AMINA CACHALIA Regular visitor

Amna Cachalia who has known Mr. Mandela since 1969. "I don't know if he's keeping a prison diary but it's highly likely that he has written an account of his long life's a very lonely man

Mr. Mandela's prison home has its own television room with a couple of couches and several easy chairs. The energy night, according to Mrs Cachalia.

guards relate to him Chief among them is Gregory who has shadowed Mr. Mandela for 22 years now. He is in the room and never lets Mr. Mandela and Victor Verster prisons.

According to Mrs Cachalia it is basically used for making coffee. The prison food is good and when family and friends visit, he has a special menu drawn up for which he pays from his own pocket.

Comrades gather for birthday bash

By ALAN DUGGAN

Honour

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