

BLACK POLITICS

1989

NOVEMBER

Of victory, happiness and painful death

PERSPECTIVE



I PAID my second visit to Zimbabwe's Heroes Acre this week and again tears welled in my eyes as Douglas Mahlasela look us around the place

I was saddened by what man can do to himself I was saddened by memories of South Africa and its reluctance to learn I celebrated with the victors

The story of the Zimbabwe revolution is told in six giant murals done by seven Koreans and 10 Zimbabweans

Police dog

The first depicts a screaming woman carrying a baby with a police dog on a leash biting into her arm A black policeman is lashing out with a baton at a cowering man Other men are handcuffed and waiting to go to (police stations' detention camps?)

The second mural portrays a meeting It could be a secret meeting because it is in the woods one man is sitting on a tree stump and another on a stone and there are trees around The huts are in the distance The crowd is listening to a young man wearing shorts and holding a book in one hand

them against the 'enemy' (The irony hits me like a club)

We walk across the amphitheatre to the other side for the remaining three murals

The first this side shows two *nyabas* scouts The woman is carrying a basket of food and the man a box of ammunition

Mahlasela explains that the guerrillas used the *nyabas* to collect information and to carry things

Rifles

In this panel there are also men carrying AK47 rifles and a commander is shooting a pistol into the air and shouting to his troops

The second shows the shouts and tears of victory A woman soldier hugs a child

she probably left as a little baby One man is waving his rifle high and dancing

The final panel shows Robert Mugabe, who is now president of Zimbabwe on a podium The crowd around him is holding the Zimbabwean flag high and in the background are the Zimbabwe ruins

Mahlasela is only 31 Initially he had a stilled bearing, almost like a robot or a wind-up toy reciting a message but later he thawed and warmed to his subject

He went to school until Grade 7, possibly equivalent to our Standard 5, and then in 1971 at the age of 13, he went into the bush to fight the Shona regime He is still a soldier, but has been seconded to the Depar-

ment of Information

We climb the stairs to a marble platform that has the tomb of the unknown warrior On the tomb is a statue of three soldiers, two men and a woman in uniform The woman is holding a rifle one man a flag and a rifle and the other a bazooka and a pistol

A bunch of flowers that was brought by an earlier visitor to the tomb is drying at the base

Heroes

We climb to a higher platform where we find the graves of the heroes of the Zimbabwean revolution

Josiah Magama Tongogara, the commander of the Zanla forces during the *chimurenga* who died in a car crash in Mozambique just before leading his forces back to Zimbabwe, Herbert Chitepo, who was killed by a parcel bomb in Lusaka, Jason Moyo .13 graves in all

We climb starts, ■■■■■

Sweden 1/11/89

1115

1115

in our party, but Philip Dhlamini secretary general of the South African Black Municipal Workers Union is braver than me Graveyards have a strange effect on me he says It is when I am here that I feel that my ancestors are with me

PAC chief

We climb into the bus and we are taken to another cemetery just below Heroes Acre to the grave of John Nyanu Pokela who was president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress The tombstone has not been officially unveiled but it has a map of Africa John Nyanu Pokela/ 17-10-21 to 30-6-85 You fought gallantly for the nation

of Azania, may the struggle of Africa. We have admired your courage"

We are told that the words are an extract from the speech that Magabe delivered at Pokela's funeral

As we sing *Nkos Sikelel'afrika* in this amphitheatre of hills, my eyes wander to the grave that is beyond Pokela's

The tombstone is written in Afrikaans Yes, Afrikaans Ferreira *In tate hermeting aan my sekkelde egegenoor ons vader en oppa*

What pain man inflicts on himself but history has a way of making him move forward little victories here a little happiness there the crush of pain and death but man in general gets better because of the bumps

Libation

We move to the third men and women are taking guns from a table improvised out of logs At the corner is a pot of beer with a gourd for drinking Mahlasela, our guide, tells us that when the guerrillas completed their training, they would drink a libation to the ancestors, who were to carry them safely back into Rhodesia and protect

Asvat murder accused deny involvement

Staw 1/11/89
By Brendan Templeton

The two men accused in the Rand Supreme Court of the murder of Dr Abu Asvat yesterday denied evidence led against them by previous witnesses and stuck to their claims that they were beaten up by police and forced to make confessions.

Mr Zakhele Nhlekisana Cyril Mbatha (21) and Mr Thulani Shelela Johannes Nicholas Dlamini (20) pleaded not guilty to murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances and unlawful possession of a firearm and ammunition.

They allegedly gained access to Dr Asvat's consulting rooms after Mr Mbatha pretended to be ill. Once in, Dr Asvat was shot and they allegedly took R135 before fleeing.

Mr Mbatha said he gave an old address to Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Dr Asvat's nurse, because there were people living there who knew him.

Mr Mbatha said he left the rooms to go to a cafe after signing in. The doctor had been shot when he returned, he said.

Mr Dlamini said he was visiting relatives on the day of the shooting.

The hearing continues.

(11A) B. Day 1/11/89

Court told of SA's raid into Botswana

if the
timel
pes of
n ap-
Town

fail-
scue
d by
es in

ho is
ould
ter-
last
be
be
sec-

ake
a
led
ge,
ras

cil
as
be
rs,
q-
in
rs
sy

A SENIOR policeman, Gen Herman Stadler, described in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday as an expert on the ANC, testified that he had been the co-ordinator of the 1985 raid into Botswana by SA security forces.

The general, who is presently head of the SAP's Directorate of Public Relations, was called by the State to testify at the trial of ANC members Susan Westcott, Ian Robertson and Damien de Lange, who have been convicted on counts of terrorism.

Westcott, 24, was convicted of terrorism after pleading guilty on 10 counts.

Robertson, 36, and De Lange, 32, a former Rand Daily Mail reporter, pleaded guilty to 11 counts of terrorism.

Speculation

The three were part of a four-member ANC cell established on the Witwatersrand during 1987.

Since the trial began in June this year there has been speculation about the whereabouts of Hugh Lugg, the fourth member of the cell.

Stadler told the court the raid into Botswana had been a political decision after 19 sites in Botswana had been identified as those being used by the ANC.

He said he had been in the Security Branch of the SAP for 38 years.

He had been doing research into the ANC since the early 1960s.

SUSAN RUSSELL

Stadler also gave statistics for the number of acts of terror committed in SA over the past few years.

He told the court there had been a drastic increase in incidents since 1982.

However, he added, there had also been as drastic decrease in terror incidents during September/October this year as compared to the same period last year.

Yesterday the State called sociologist and Dean of Unisa's arts faculty Prof Frans Maritz to testify in rebuttal of the sociological evidence led by the defence in mitigation of sentence.

Maritz said all three had had the opportunity to improve conditions for black people after leaving southern Africa, but had taken an extremist decision in joining the ANC's military wing.

According to the evidence, he said, all three were intelligent people who one would have expected to have had balanced views.

They had made their choice when there were other options, he said.

Magistrate W van den Bergh adjourned the trial after a request by defence counsel D Soggot SC for time to prepare to cross-examine both witnesses.

The trial resumes today





Sisulu draws crowd at ANC trio's hearing

AGUS 2/11/89 (11) (3)

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Court Five of the Pretoria Regional Court was packed as four of the African National Congress long-term prisoners released recently attended yesterday's hearing in the trial of the Broederstroom trio.

For an hour before the arrival of Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Andrew Mlangeni the pavement outside the building was crowded with foreign and local media representatives

The four men were taken to the courtroom and seated in a front-row bench reserved by friends and members of the Broederstroom support committee

Shook hands

As they took their places, people filed past, shook their hands and wished them well

Their arrival coincided with a recess following an order, made at the State's request, that the accused, Damian de Lange, 31, Iain Robertson, 36, and Susan Donnelly, 25, remove ties and a scarf in the ANC colours

All three accused were found guilty in June on 10 counts of terrorism by magistrate Mr W J van den Bergh

De Lange and Robertson were convicted on a further charge of terrorism for an attack on a defence force bus in Benoni last year

Commander

The commander of the ANC cell, De Lange, was found guilty on two counts of arson and one of attempted arson

As the Broederstroom trio entered the dock their shouts of "Amandla" brought enthusiastic replies

"Comrade leaders," De Lange greeted the four men in the front bench before he and his co-accused shook their hands

When proceedings resumed, the four listened to the defence's cross-examination of Professor Frans Maritz, Dean of the School of Sociology at the University of South Africa

Professor Maritz said he did not regard the ANC and its military wing as one and the same. The ANC was the oldest liberation movement in the world, but the military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), was a terrorist group

Classified

After the Vietnam War, a United States government department had classified Umkhonto We Sizwe as a terrorist organisation, Professor Maritz said

He could not name one Western government that had made a distinction between the two, but said the ANC would enjoy more support in England if it were not for its military wing

If someone joined the ANC, it would not necessarily follow that he would join the military wing

Professor Maritz conceded that it would not be surprising for ANC members who entered the cultural community of ANC camps outside South Africa, underwent education, propaganda or brain washing and saw themselves as liberators, to join the military wing as well

As the four ANC leaders left the court, the accused trio thanked them for attending

The hearing resumes at 2 pm today with the defence arguing in mitigation of sentence

MDM to demand detainee

THE Standing for the Truth Committee and the MDM will march on the Klerksdorp SAP on Saturday demanding to see Boiki Tlhapi who was allegedly detained three years ago

A spokesman for the South African Council of Churches yesterday said that Tlhapi was arrested in March 1986 and hadn't been seen since.

"The police said they released Tlhapi on the same day, but nobody has seen him since," he said.

Lawyers for the organisation are busy preparing an application to the authorities for permission to march

The Klerksdorp police had no comment on either issue



Jubilant crowds pour into Soccer City, outside Johannesburg, for the ANC's first rally in almost three decades

South 2-8/11/89

last Sunday

PIC YUNUS MOHAMED

Police review Mbeki curbs

POLICE have confirmed that they are considering an application to revoke restrictions imposed on Rivonia trialist Govan Mbeki.

Mbeki was released on humanitarian grounds in 1987 after serving 23 years on Robben Island

He was slapped with restrictions which confined him to his New Brighton home after hours and prevented him from speaking to journal-



DAY OF GLORY!
Colour poster,
Special focus

● Pages 11 to 14

ists or addressing or attending gatherings.

His restrictions were relaxed last week to allow him to travel to Johannesburg for Sunday's ANC rally at Soccer City

However, although his fellow Rivonia trialists are unrestricted, police have not yet replied to his application to revoke his restrictions

He was greeted with a roar of delight at Soccer City when he stood up and greeted the crowd. His message was read by Cosatu's assistant general secretary, Sydney Mufamadi

Mbeki left Johannesburg on Wednesday to return to his Eastern Cape home

His lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, said she was not considering court action at this stage

From prison, 'Madiba' picks out those he wants in future talks

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is running a "reach out" programme from prison, identifying legitimate leaders and inviting them to be part of future talks.

Among those recently contacted by Mr Mandela and singled out for praise because of his commitment to non-racialism, is the rector of the Peninsula Technikon, Mr Franklin Sonn

Mr Mandela had earlier written to the principal of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, in similar vein.

Mr Sonn, president of both the Cape Teachers' Professional Association and the 26 000-member Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa, and Professor Gerwel may soon visit Mr Mandela at his Victor Verster Prison house.



FRANKLIN SONN
Singled out for praise

Mr Mandela has sent a handwritten letter to Mr Sonn which he signed Madiba, a pet name used only by those very close to him and a name he uses in his correspondence to those he holds in the highest personal regard

In his letter to Mr Sonn,

whom he has never met, Mr Mandela singled out the CTPA as a dynamic organisation making a formidable impact, far beyond the ranks of its members

Mr Sonn said he presumed this was because the organisation was helping to mould the outlook of leaders of thought from practically all walks of life

Mr Mandela indicated to Mr Sonn that nothing brought him more pride and satisfaction than to know that the ideas for which he and others had sacrificed so much, were finally coming to fruition

Mr Sonn said the letter was "totally unsolicited" and had come as a surprise "because I was not even aware Mr Mandela knew of my existence"

"Nevertheless, I regard the letter as an endorsement of all my efforts to help normalise society," he added

"It encourages me to work even harder towards bringing about the objects of a

nonracial, democratic South Africa at peace with itself and with society"

Mr Mandela has also sent a letter to Professor Gerwel in which he praised the UWC as a breeding ground for new ideas and strategies in higher education

Mr Mandela has also invited PAC leader Mr Jeff Masemola to visit him at Victor Verster for discussions.

On October 13, two days before he was released from prison where he was serving a life sentence with Walter Sisulu and six other ANC leaders, Mr Masemola spent several hours in discussions with Mr Mandela

The two men have a close relationship as a result of many years spent together on Robben Island

Mr Masemola's invitation to visit Mr Mandela could be followed up by invitations to others — including Professor Gerwel and Mr Sonn, according to sources

11A B. Day 2/11/89

No change in legal status of the ANC, says Coetsee

CAPE TOWN — There had been no change in the legal status of the ANC, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee confirmed yesterday.

He said that in spite of the 80 000-strong meeting in Johannesburg to welcome back seven former ANC leaders from prison, all regulations affecting the ANC and the SA Communist Party still applied.

Nothing had changed with Sunday's meeting, he said, replying to charges by CP leader Andries Treurnicht that government had lost control by allowing it to proceed.

He denied that government had "given in" to the ANC and accused the CP of a lack of insight and nerve.

"If Sunday's meeting is compared with the unrest situation of two or three years ago, which was accompanied by damage to property and the loss of life, then the fact that the government is in control speaks for itself," said Coetsee.

Govan Mbeki, who was released earlier but is under restriction, was

Political Staff

an example of government's control Mbeki had attended the rally but had deferred to his restriction order by not making a speech.

"It is indeed a strong government that is in control when it can make its authority felt in such a way that a meeting of 80 000 people can take place peacefully without it having to use force," Coetsee said.

Allegations that regulations had been broken before and during the meeting were being investigated.

Replying to Treurnicht's charge that the ANC was issuing ultimatums to government, Coetsee said government did not regard anything said at the rally as an ultimatum. There was therefore, nothing to give in to and Treurnicht's allegation was rejected.

"The government's position is very clear," said Coetsee. "Namely, that people who bind themselves to peaceful involvement and development, by word or deed, qualify themselves to participate."



COETSEE .. govt has not given in

CP lays charges against Soweto rally speakers

Argus 2/11/69 (114)
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Conservative Party has laid criminal charges against the organisers and speakers at the "Welcome Home" rally held for the seven released African National Congress leaders at the weekend

The move comes amid growing dissatisfaction with the government's handling of the rally and rumours of police dissent about the government's blind eye approach to anti-apartheid activities

Conservative Party deputy-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, acting on behalf of the CP, yesterday laid formal criminal charges at the Pretoria Central branch against the National Reception Committee (NRC), the organisers of Sunday's rally, Soccer City and the speakers, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Andres Mlangeni for allegedly contravening the Internal Security Act

FLAGS DISPLAYED

The ANC and the South African Communist Party, whose flags were openly displayed at the meeting, are banned, while some of the organisations' leaders who were quoted at the meeting are listed in terms of present legislation

And in another development, the Commissioner of the SA Police, General Hennie de Witt, emphatically denied rumours of widespread dissent in police ranks

In a statement General de Witt said rumours that members of the SAP were threatening to resign because of the way in which anti-apartheid gatherings were being permitted had not come to his notice or the notice of head office

He dismissed such rumours as malicious efforts to place the police in a bad light

In his statement, Dr Hartzenberg alleged that the organisers and speakers at Sunday's rally, for which government permission had been obtained, had contravened the Internal Security Act

Dr Hartzenberg said there was no doubt that the police would have been thoroughly informed about the rally and that they would have given the government a detailed account before the rally

"I therefore have to accept that the Minister of Justice (Mr Kobie Coetsee) knew beforehand that it would be an ANC gathering and that he tacitly allowed it to take place"

E
ON
E
R
MENT

Rally leaders face charges

PRETORIA — CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday laid formal charges at the Pretoria central police station against the speakers and organisers of Sunday's mass "ANC rally" in Soweto

He said in a statement afterwards the following document signed by him had been handed in with the charges.

"The Minister of Justice made it known in a statement that the ANC gathering on October 29 had taken place within the framework of the country's laws and with the permission of the authorities

"The facts are that on Friday, October 27, the organisers of the rally, the National Reception Committee, announced at a Press conference it would be an ANC rally. Placards advertising the rally which were also exhibited during the conference, proclaimed that it would be an ANC meeting"

He had to accept that the Justice Minister knew beforehand that it would be an ANC gathering and had "tacitly allowed it to take place".

"For that the minister also, according to

my way of thinking, possibly made himself guilty of a contravention of Article 1(a)(v) of the Act on Internal Security"

The Act provided for an organisation to be declared illegal if it endangered law and order. The ANC was such an organisation. It was inexplicable that the minister could consider the ANC an unlawful organisation and say it could hold a rally.

Dismissed

Hartzenberg said he had therefore laid a formal criminal charge against Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mlaba, Elias Mlangeni and the organisers of the National Reception Committee that arranged the meeting, for transgressing the provisions of the Law on Internal Security

Police Commissioner Gen H G "Hennie" de Wit yesterday dismissed reports that SAP members were "presently threatening to resign because of the way in which gatherings are permitted". — Sapa

● See page 11

11A
Boy 2/11/8

4 ANC leaders attend trial



SA Press Association

FOUR of the seven ANC leaders released on October 15 attended the Broederstroom trial in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

They were hugged and greeted by the trialists - Damian de Lange, Ian Robertson and Susan Westcott (also known as Donnelly) - and their families and friends in the courtroom

ANC political commissar Robertson shouted "Greetings, comrade leaders" when he saw Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Motsoaledi in the front row of the public gallery

The four arrived during a short adjournment while the three accused were removing garb containing gold, green and black colours, after being ordered to do so by Regional Magistrate, Mr W J van den Bergh

He said it was an "offence" for De Lange and Robertson to wear ties and Westcott a scarf with these

colours

He made the ruling after defence counsel David Soggott said, to sniggers from the packed public gallery, he understood the colours were also Inkatha's colours. He said female supporters in the gallery daily wear many items of clothing, beads and even sandals, with the three colours.

Expert witness

The four ANC leaders listened to an expert witness for the State, the dean of Unisa's arts faculty, Prof F A Maritz, being cross-examined on social factors that caused young people to join the ANC. They left at lunchtime to resounding cries of "viva" from the public gallery.

They were filmed by international television crews as they left the court building to board a waiting minibus in Schoeman Street.

The hearing continues

Sawelau 2/11/89

B-Day 2/11/89

11A

Sisulu embraces accused

SUSAN RUSSELL

FOUR of the seven ANC leaders released from jail last month walked into the "Broederstroom" trial in the Pretoria Regional Court to a standing ovation from the public gallery yesterday.

Minutes earlier the trial was adjourned by presiding magistrate W van den Bergh after he ordered ANC members Susan Westcott, Ian Robertson and Damien de Lange to remove items of clothing they were wearing in the green, gold and black colours of the ANC.

Westcott, 24, De Lange, 32, and Robertson, 36 — all members of an ANC cell established on the Witwatersrand in 1987 — have been convicted on various counts of terrorism.

Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mhlangeni were escorted to the front of the public gallery where they were introduced to the families of the three.

Westcott's mother Margaret, and De Lange's mother Grace, were embraced in turn by each of the four leaders.

Sisulu later also embraced Westcott.

After the arrival of the four leaders a row of policemen took up positions between the dock and the public gallery.

The trial was adjourned after

state counsel J Pretorius objected to the three wearing ANC colours. He told the magistrate this was contrary to an agreement made between the State and the defence before the trial that the three would not be supplied with ANC colours or uniforms.

Pretorius told the magistrate it was still an offence in SA to exhibit or possess anything that indicated one was a member of a banned organisation.

Westcott was wearing a green and gold neck-scarf. De Lange and Robertson both wore black ties with a single band each of gold and green.

The trial was adjourned briefly and the three returned to court still wearing the offending clothing.

Defence counsel D Soggot SC informed the magistrate that the attitude of the three was that no offence was intended before.

Asked by the magistrate whether the colours were those of the ANC, Soggot replied they were appropriate to the ANC but were also the colours of Inkatha.

The magistrate ordered the three to remove the scarf and ties and adjourned the trial for a second time.

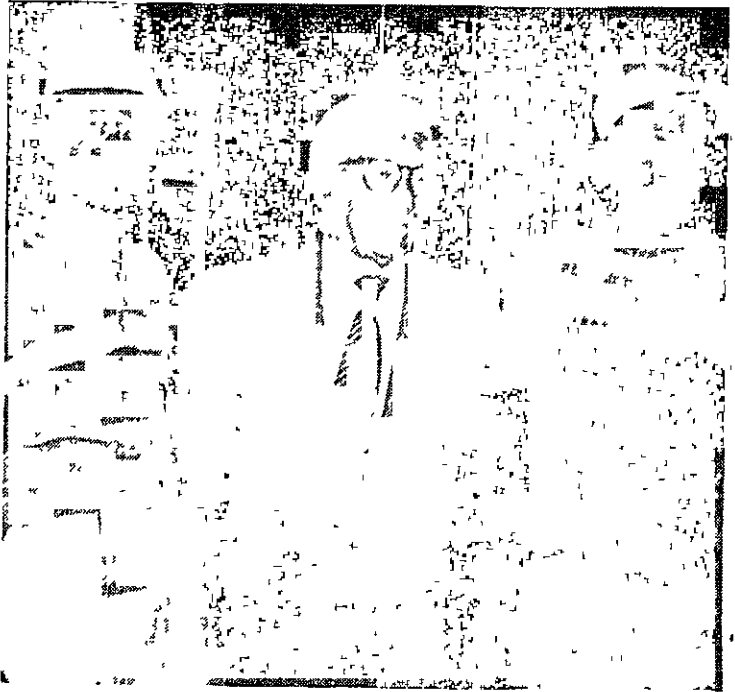
It was during the second ad-

journalment that Sisulu and the other leaders arrived. Shortly after their arrival the three re-entered the courtroom without the ANC colours.

Robertson came into court with one fist raised and shouting "Viva,

comrade leaders, Viva". A smiling Westcott was hugged and kissed by Sisulu.

The trial resumed with the defence cross-examination of sociologist and Unisa Arts faculty Dean, Prof Frans Maritz.



Walter Sisulu with his bodyguards

Picture REUTER

Rally leaders face charges

PRETORIA — CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzberg yesterday laid formal charges at the Pretoria central police station against the speakers and organisers of Sunday's mass "ANC rally" in Soweto.

He said in a statement afterwards the following document signed by him had been handed in with the charges.

The Minister of Justice made it known in a statement that the ANC gathering on October 29 had taken place within the framework of the country's laws and with the permission of the authorities.

"The facts are that on Friday, October 27, the organisers of the rally, the National Reception Committee, announced at a Press conference it would be an ANC rally. Placards advertising the rally which were also exhibited during the conference, proclaimed that it would be an ANC meeting."

He had to accept that the Justice Minister knew beforehand that it would be an ANC gathering and had "tacitly allowed it to take place."

"For that the minister also, according to

my way of thinking, possibly made himself guilty of a contravention of Article 1(a)(v) of the Act on Internal Security."

The Act provided for an organisation to be declared illegal if it endangered law and order. The ANC was such an organisation. It was inexplicable that the minister could consider the ANC an unlawful organisation and say it could hold a rally

Dismissed

Hartzberg said he had therefore laid a formal criminal charge against Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mlaba, Elias Mlangeni and the organisers of the National Reception Committee that arranged the meeting, for transgressing the provisions of the Law on Internal Security. Police Commissioner Gen H G "Hennie" de Wit yesterday dismissed reports that SAP members were "presently threatening to resign because of the way in which gatherings are permitted" — Sapa

● See page 11

From Rivonia to Broederstroom

From MONO BADELA

PRETORIA. — Even in the dock of the Broederstroom trial ANC veteran Walter Sisulu and three of the seven ANC leaders released on October 15 were greeted by the colours, black, green and gold.

But when they walked into the Pretoria Regional Court this week during an adjournment the three accused were removing clothing in the colours of the ANC after being ordered to do so by Regional Court magistrate Mr WJ van der Bergh

They were hugged and greeted by the trialists — Damian De Lange, Ian Robertson and Susan Westcott, also known as Donnelly — and their families and friends in the courtroom.

ANC Political Commissar Robertson shouted "Greetings, Comrade leaders" when he saw Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Motsoaledi in the front row of the public gallery

The Broederstroom ANC trio have been convicted on three charges of terrorism.

The four ANC leaders listened to an expert witness for the State, the Dean of Arts Faculty at the Universi-

ty of South Africa (Umsa) Prof FA Maritz, being cross-examined on social factors that caused young people to join the ANC before leaving at lunchtime to cries of "Viva" from members of the public in court

They were filmed by international television crews as they left the court building and boarded awaiting minibus in Schoeman Street

Earlier Major General Herman Stadler, head of the SAP Public Relations Division in Pretoria told the court that it appeared to him that Walter Sisulu said at Soccer City on Sunday the armed struggle should continue

Stadler was testifying as an expert for the State. He said although the ANC had apparently adopted a more pragmatic approach its policy was still that the current political setup in South Africa could not be reformed but should be destroyed

"The ANC's more pragmatic approach had caused the government to adopt a similar attitude."

General Stadler said the ANC had changed its strategy although its demands and goals remained the same because its morale was low as it had in reality lost the "people" war strategy.

11A Enail

11A

ANC RALLY

3/11/89

Taking the stage

With props on the political stage changing rapidly under FW de Klerk's dynamic new presidency the scene is being set for the next phase in the pre-negotiation game — bargaining for position

It's already discernible after Sunday's remarkably well-ordered and politically conciliatory ANC rally despite the message — not surprising — to intensify the struggle against apartheid and other ritual calls for more sanctions, for example The Soweto rally was a watershed event attended by about 80 000 people of all races

It was called to welcome back Walter Sisulu and six of his comrades recently released from prison.

The next major date on the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) calendar is its "conference for a democratic future" early next month

MDM spokesmen say, astutely, it's now up to De Klerk to take the next step in the process of creating the proper climate for talks The SA Council of Churches, for instance, has called on De Klerk "to seize the moment and to act so that the momentum for negotiations and peace in SA, that Sunday's rally initiated and confirmed, is not lost"

It adds "The ball is clearly in De Klerk's court Government has got its sign, once more, that the State of Emergency is not necessary.

"It has also got its sign that the unbanning of people's organisations will not lead to any of the problems that the prophets of doom use to scare this country away from taking action that will create a climate conducive to negotiations and peace"

Apart from welcoming the rally's peacefulness, government has yet to react substantially to what was said at it

While he agrees the ball is in De Klerk's court — to lift the emergency and meet other ANC demands — Stellenbosch's Prof Wilhe Breytenbach argues that this stance conceals uncertainty in the MDM/ANC camp — which he instinctively feels has to be the case since it is not monolithic

Breytenbach says government's initiatives are gaining it surprising tactical advantage, and scoring points internationally The sooner it unbans the ANC and releases remaining prisoners, he argues, the greater the element of surprise and confusion on the Left

Sunday's rally, he says, reflects a loosening-up of polarised politics and, the more

the ANC comes out into the open, in competition with above-ground organisations that participate in local government institutions, the more this may pose new challenges to the protest movement to reconsider traditional tactics and methods of organisation and mobilisation

MDM leaders have of course rejected any idea of participating in racial elections, whether at local level or, as mooted by Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen, to elect a team of black leaders to negotiate with government

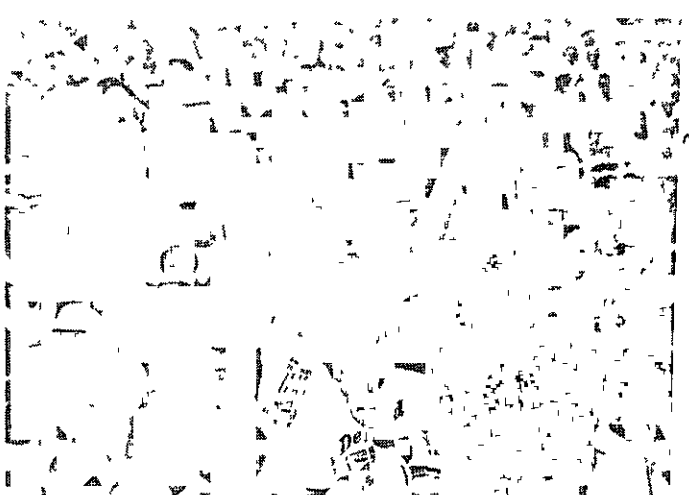
However, government could, plausibly, go ahead with such a poll in the hope of splitting away sections of the MDM This would be astute position bargaining whether or not it succeeded

KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, who attended the rally, describes it as "a resounding demonstration of the people's wish for a political solution to our constitutional problems That message came through loud and clear" He adds "There can be no question of the high level of support the ANC enjoys in this country"

Mabuza says he is "amazed by the non-recriminatory message" issued by both Sisulu and Oliver Tambo (whose speech was delivered by Murphy Morobe, but which, paradoxically, may not be quoted) Further, no bitterness was expressed by speakers though, at the same time, the ANC understanding of "the way forward" was very clear, adds Mabuza, who visited the ANC in Lusaka in 1986

"The ball is in the court of government and one should give government credit for edging forward, even though we don't accept its piecemeal approach to reform"

The ANC, Sisulu told the rally, would never unilaterally renounce violence This, says Mabuza, should be seen against its historic record in calling, in vain, for peace talks with government, as Raymond Mahlaba reminded the rally According to Mabuza the ANC is not bent on armed struggle, which is only one of its strategies. "One is hearing less about terrorism these days and one hopes the word will become part of



Historic rally ... welcoming back the ANC

11A Enail

an obsolete political lexicon"

Guidelines announced by Sisulu reveal the organisation is "not militant, but also not compromising on its principles"

On the question of the ANC's reiterated historic alliance with the SA Communist Party, whose red flag has become a feature at demos and rallies, Mabuza says "Let democracy deal with communism," echoing Allan Boesak's response to the question last week Mabuza adds "The majority of South Africans are in favour of a true democratic system Communism in general has not succeeded in democratic countries and, therefore, it should not make people afraid"

The phase of real negotiation about power is, of course, a long way off The priority as Mabuza sees it is for government to create the right climate

As for the ANC's preconditions for talks, he advises that "it would be good for government not to regard them as demands but necessary steps for all parties, on an equal basis, to participate in talks"

2/11/99

SA prison to host ANC-PAC unity talks

ITX
P
\$ca

PAC leader Jeff Masemola is to fly to Victor Verster Prison within days, following a special invitation from jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, in what is seen as the beginning of a "unity pact" between the two groups.

Confirming the invitation yesterday, Masemola said there was no firm agenda but said he would be seeing Mandela within the week and the International Red Cross has been asked to finance the trip. This would be Masemola's second visit to Mandela's prison house in less than a month.

On October 13, two days before he was released from life imprisonment with Walter Sisulu and six other ANC leaders, Masemola, escorted by a prison warden, flew out of Jan Smuts Airport to the Cape where he spent seven hours with Mandela.

as Motosolehi were released Masemola, who is known by former Robben Island prisoners to have a good relationship with Mandela, preferred to describe his forthcoming trip to the prison as a "friendly visit".

"The invitation has come as a result of the intense friendship which is a result of our having spent many years on Robben Island together. I have discussed the invitation with the PAC leadership and they do not see anything wrong with my visit to Mr Mandela. I do not know the agenda. But it might turn out to be just a social visit."

SIPHO NGCOBO

□ To Page 2

ANC-PAC talks

□ From Page 1

However, Masemola made it clear he was not ruling out discussions of a political nature taking place between him and Mandela. He said should any political discussion concerning the ANC and PAC occur, he would listen and then report back to the PAC leadership.

"My organisation has not given me the mandate to discuss political matters pertaining to the two organisations, but should that happen my response would be that of nothing down and then reporting back to my

organisation's leadership."

On the question of unity between the ANC and PAC, Masemola said he had always been convinced that the achievement of objectives could be greatly facilitated by unity between the two groups.

"By unity, the PAC means unity in action to achieve liberation for the oppressed people of our land. Unity as seen by the PAC means the fighting forces of the two movements joining ranks to face the common enemy."

THE MILITANTS OF THE FIFTIES AND EIGHTIES MEET AT A JOHANNESBURG SOCCER STADIUM...

A time warp
spirits the
guests into a
blunter, less
patient age

The rally brought together two styles in politics the sober, almost schoolmasterly discourse of the fifties, and the showbiz and sloganising of the eighties

By IVOR POWELL

IT was noticeable how much not only South Africa but the world had changed when the released prisoners came to speak at Sunday's rally at Soccer City.

"Long live the African National Congress," the movement's general secretary of 26 years ago, Walter Sisulu said. His tone was reserved and dignified, almost academic, as though he was putting forward a proposition rather than whipping up a crowd.

Well, it didn't matter too much how he said it, the mere fact that Sisulu was there in the flesh, released, actually there speaking under the banners of the long-banned ANC and South African Communist Party, was enough to raise a cheer to be heard for miles around.

Fellow Rivonia trialist Raymond Mhlaba, speaking before Sisulu, didn't fare so well, however.

Mhlaba, somewhat awed at the microphone, a little tongue tied, running through the history of the African National Congress year by year from somewhere last century, was a sight of some poignancy and sadness.

The man had no sense of the showbiz of politics in the 1980s, less of how much the struggle for which he had sacrificed nearly thirty years of his life had changed.

While Mhlaba painstakingly developed his argument, piling fact upon fact, stressing dignity above power, morality above victory, explaining like a schoolmaster the oppression of the people, you could hardly help feeling you were in some kind of time warp, that all of this had been dry-frozen nearly three decades ago.

The culture of South African democracy has become more than anything a culture of slogans — the short, sharp galvanising phrase has triumphed in the struggle over the patiently formulated thesis. Audiences are *toy-toying* emoted participants, no longer the politely attentive listeners.

In a similar vein progressives make demands these days, not requests. Oppression is a given, not something of which one's audience needs any more to be persuaded or informed.

The history of the struggle — or at least, as much as people needed to know or the media needed to be told — was to be read on the thousands of T-shirts and stickers.

Part of the phenomenon can of course be explained by the nature of South Africa's ANC-supporting constituency.

For some years — in recognition of the high rate of illiteracy in the working class — it has been strategy especially in the trade unions to educate through posters and slogans. In this way it was hoped that unity and organisation would be promoted within the working class. Along with "An injury to one is an injury to all" and "One country, one federation", "Organise! Mobilise!" was one of the earliest and most influential of Cosatu's slogan campaigns.

How successful this kind of approach has been was clearly to be



An excited youth *toy-toys* on the release of his leaders on Sunday

Picture: GIDEON MENDEL

London tears from the missing trialist

THE "missing" Rivonia trialist, Dennis Goldberg, burst into tears at his own party in London as he paid tribute to his former Robben Island colleagues.

Exiles and supporters, not to be outdone by the celebrations in South Africa, held their own welcome home "rally" in a London hall.

Lindiwe Guna, the exiled daughter of Walter Sisulu, read a message from her father, signed on behalf of the seven.

"It is a matter of great pride and honour for us to send to all of you — our cherished comrades in exile, dear friends and well-wishers, supporters and beloved ones — our fraternal and revolutionary greetings."

In the crowd, older generation exiles who had once worked with the Rivonia men rubbed shoulders with newly exiled youth.

Molra Levy

read on practically everybody's backs and chests at Sunday's rally. The T-shirt has become as much a point of group identification as it is a breathtakingly efficient way of communicating ideas. The hottest items on sale on Sunday were two different ANC-supporting T-shirts, one emblazoned "ANC Lives! ANC Leads!", the other with photographs of the recently released leaders.

According to an organiser of the event, one of the few misdemeanours to take place on Sunday involved the theft of a whole carton of these shirts — by youths whose desire to own one of these pieces of memorabilia overran their bank balances.

Another incident had an official stripping off the shirt off the back of

an over-desirous youth and holding it ransom until a lifted T-shirt was returned.

But the culture of the slogan has infiltrated verbal communication too.

Mzwakhe Mbuli, the people's poet, perhaps the most powerful cultural force ever to have emerged in this country — enjoying something close to Messianic status among the youth of the townships — writes nothing like poetry in the traditional sense of the word.

Relying heavily on repetitions and entrenchments, Mzwakhe is extraordinary and hypnotic in performance. But when you look at what he is actually saying, there's seldom more than catchphrases in it.

And apart from speeches by the former prisoners and the messages of support read out from the stage, there was nearly nothing said in the seven hours of the rally which could not have been said on the front or back of a T-shirt.

For the most part the format was a standard one "Viva the ANC! Viva!" and "Long live the ANC! Long live!"

Interminable lists of "Vivas" and "Long Lives", occasionally moving from the sublime to the not so sublime. "Long live the mothers!" "Long live!" "Long live the tried and tested mothers!" "Long live!"

But, interminable though the "vivas" may be, they also serve a very real purpose — to clarify through repetition and through listing in litany the genealogy and constituency of the struggle.

They repeat and consolidate as a collective and unified act the nature of the struggle, its components and its history.

As much of it as people in this young impatient world need to know, anyway.

The rally was ANC, but the day belonged to the red flag

IF the crowd at Sunday's rally was the South African electorate and their roars votes, then Joe Slovo, other leaders of the South African Communist Party and Fidel Castro would now be planning the decor for their offices at the Union Buildings.

The SACP's message that democracy would create the conditions for the working class to push for socialism is clearly the favoured position of the militant township youth.

The claim by African National Congress president Oliver Tambo that it was in FW de Klerk's hands to become one of the peacemakers in South Africa was met with silence, the SACP's call to turn De Klerk's "tactical retreat" into "headlong flight" was cheered with gusto.

The big red flag of the SACP shared pride of place behind the rostrum with the black, green and gold banner of the ANC, but in the stands the SACP flags outnumbered those with the ANC colours.

As the political climate becomes rapidly more open, the ANC is putting on more and more of a public face at marches, rallies and press conferences inside South Africa. Its alliance partner, the SACP, marches at its side, but the party remains shrouded in mystery.

We know from the public response that the SACP has won the support of a lot of the township youth, in spirit at least. We also know from its own reports of its seventh congress held earlier this year that the party's popularity has risen substantially among unionised workers, which is not surprising for an organisation that sees itself as "the vanguard workers' party."

The trade unions have themselves adopted a leading role as the most well-organised and powerful section of the Mass Democratic Movement, and this in turn gives further weight to the SACP's position.

It was clear from Sunday's rally that the SACP is growing increasingly important in its own right.

It is not hard to see why. The party has long had a reputation within the alliance of attracting the brightest and most disciplined young cadres to its ranks. Many of them have inevitably gone on to leadership positions within the broad MDM/ANC/SACP alliance.

More than that, the SACP retains a romantic mystique, an overwhelmingly powerful symbolic force to the young lions who are searching for a revolutionary alternative to the status quo. It has a vision and an ideological coherence.

Other sections of the movement are becoming gradually demythologised. Most of the ANC's legendary leaders are now out of prison. They are dignified and solid, but at the same time they are human beings capable of delivering boring speeches or of tripping over themselves in interviews.

Apart from general secretary Joe Slovo and chairman Dan Tloome, the names of the members of the SACP Politburo or even the figure for the total membership of the party remains unknown.

It is a party that is theoretically committed to the attainment of democracy, including parliamentary democracy, yet continues to operate on conspiracist principles.

Traditionally, the SACP has kept to

The overwhelming message of Saturday's rally was that the militant township youth show increasing enthusiasm for the banned Communist Party. And the very mystery which shrouds the party, enhances its appeal

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK



The red flag symbolised the day

Picture: PAUL VELASCO; Afropix

the shadows, because of fears for the safety of its members, the importance of the underground in developing its presence inside the country, and the fact that unlike the ANC the party has no need for diplomatic exposure.

But, if the current freeing up of political activity continues, will the SACP at some stage also join in the process of *glasnost*?

The SACP remains a loyal partner in the "revolutionary alliance" with the ANC, a fact strongly defended by Govan Mbeki in a paper read on his behalf at the rally by Sidney Mafumadi of Cosatu, and stressed by Slovo in his message. This alliance is going to continue, Mafumadi said, "until apartheid is eliminated".

Because it is the thing the South African state would most love to see happen, a split between the communists and the nationalists is the thing that is least likely to happen.

But important differences of emphasis appear to have arisen over the movement towards negotiations, if one takes seriously the SACP's new party programme drawn up at its recent congress. The SACP declares its belief in insurrection as a means of attaining power and believes in the likelihood of a protracted struggle.

On Sunday, Slovo called for an intensification of struggle and the ever-more active mobilisation and organisation of workers.

How does this square with Mandela's urgings to his released comrades to discipline and control the ANC's supporters, to calm the situation so that the government can proceed with further "normalisation" of the security situation to meet the preconditions for talks?

In its 1989 programme, the SACP warns its supporters to be on guard against "imperialist and local forces who see negotiations as a way of taking transformation beyond the reform limits of the government, but which at the same time frustrate the basic objectives of the people." It warns that they hope to achieve this by "pushing the liberation movement into negotiations before it is strong enough to back its basic demand with sufficient power on the ground."

KEYNOTE EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES AT SUNDAY'S HISTORIC RALLY ...

By
WALTER SISULU

Former general secretary,
African National Congress

ODAY we see the apartheid regime facing a deep and irreversible crisis.

All its political strategies of reforming apartheid have failed dismally. Corruption and scandals plague the ruling class. The bantustans are areas of instability. The tricameral system is in disgrace. Brutal apartheid repression under successive States of Emergency has failed to dent the spirit of resistance among our people.

The disastrous policies of successive National Party governments have resulted in economic chaos. Spiralling inflation is the order of the day. This crisis has been accelerated by the rejection by the international community of apartheid as a crime against humanity. Sanctions, boycotts and disinvestment have isolated apartheid South Africa as the pariah of the world.

The Labour Relations Act and other anti-worker measures have spurred the resistance of the working class. Great battles have been fought by the trade unions to defend the rights of workers. Let us not forget that there is more that unites workers than divides them. We call for the unity of all organised workers under the banner: one country, one federation.

Friends of the apartheid government argue that sanctions would result in black workers losing their jobs. We say that it is the abnormal situation in this country which produces such results. For us, the central issue is what is the most effective strategy to remove suffering? We are in no doubt that sanctions are to a very large extent responsible for making the government responsive to the demands of our people. We call on the world to intensify the sanctions campaign.

As the crisis against apartheid intensifies, the ruling class is becoming more and more fragmented. They no longer have any vision of the future. Today the ANC has captured the centre stage of political life in South Africa.

More and more people, black and white, are being inspired by the ideals of the ANC. The vision of a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa is shared by all sections of South African society. These ideas are permeating even through the very organs of repression.

More and more white youth are resisting military conscription. We embrace these objectors as true patriots.

In the police force, Lieutenant (Gregory) Rockman and others have begun to show the way. We call on policemen to resist anything that is against the people. They should become part of the people.

In recent months, millions of our people have united in mass action under the banner of the Mass Democratic Movement. We call on our people to join the mass organisations under Cosatu and the UDF.

The building of disciplined and accountable organisations of our people must remain one of our principle tasks.

While we have made many strides, the carnage among our people in Natal is a blot on our noble struggle for liberation.

It is the evil hand of apartheid that is behind the violence in Natal. Reports of police collusion in the killings abound. We know that it is the general characteristic of the ruling class to divide our people.

All who are committed to peace among the people must act jointly against the perpetrators of violence. We call on Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha to continue their search for peace. All obstacles to the movement for peace should be removed.

The ANC has consistently, throughout its history, been committed



A supporter at Sunday's ANC rally wears his true colours

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER; Afrapix

In their own words

ted to the politics of peace and negotiations.

We stood for peace in 1912 when the organisation was formed, we stood for peace in our long struggle of resistance, we stand for peace today and we will stand for peace tomorrow.

In spite of countless bitter experiences, we will not allow the past to stop us from constantly searching for the shortest possible path to freedom. We are in agreement with the recently adopted Harare Declaration which says:

"We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exist which, if there is a demonstrable readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations."

"Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created."

"We call on the regime to release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally; lift all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons; remove all troops from the townships, end the State of Emergency and repeal all repressive legislation, (and) cease all political trials and political executions."

If such a climate is created, the ANC is prepared to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides. There can be no question of us unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle.

To date, we see no clear indication that the government is serious about negotiations. All their utterances are vague.

Now the government talks about ethnic elections to choose the leaders of the black people. This is unacceptable to us. We are looking forward to the election of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. This is where the true representatives of the people will discuss the future.

If the government is serious about a permanent and lasting solution, they will agree to this logical step.

In the meantime, our duty is to intensify the struggle until we are able to get the regime to discuss the issue of the normalisation of the situation in South Africa. At this stage, we cannot relax on the basis of mere statements.

We must concentrate on building mass organisation and working class

For 26 years, these men were deemed too dangerous for us to know what they looked like, how they thought, what they said. Last weekend, they spoke in public for the first time. Below, we present edited extracts from two of the speeches, for readers to judge for themselves do these views present so great a peril that we needed to be protected from them all these years?

leadership in our struggle for freedom.

We must unite in action with the broadest range of apartheid's opponents. We should not allow ideological and other differences to stand in the path of our unity against apartheid.

By

AHMED KATHRADA

Former executive member,
Transvaal Indian Congress

IN 1962 in my last public speech before being placed under house arrest, I showed a gathering of Wits University students a handful of bones I had brought from Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland.

These were the remains of human beings — innocent Jews who had been gassed to death for the mere fact that they were Jews.

I brought back these bones as a

constant reminder to myself and to my fellow South Africans of the evils of racialism which dominated every aspect of South African life.

Now, 27 years later, after the glorious Soweto uprising of 1976 and other massive anti-racist events, we have come back to South Africa where racialism is still firmly entrenched.

There have of course been changes — and many of these have been to the good. But the fundamental cornerstones of apartheid still remain firmly in place. What we have seen are changes in terminology, and in this respect the Nats are past masters.

Over the years we have come to hear new phrases and new terminology in efforts to make apartheid acceptable. The ruling class and its apologists have talked of participatory democracy, constellation of states, pluralism, training and development, high and low roads, the abomination of own affairs.

And now we are hearing more and more about what they call the broadening of democracy.

In the 1970s, the Prime Minister asked for six months to get rid of apartheid, while one of his ministers proclaimed that apartheid was dead. Now President FW de Klerk has introduced a five-year plan and his supporters in South Africa and in the Western world are appealing for him to be given a chance.

In this five-year plan, the rulers categorically refused to accede to the demand of the oppressed people for one person, one vote in a united South Africa.

Instead they are talking about some sort of mythical dispensation where there will supposedly be no domination by one so-called race group by another. In justifying their proposed system, they are claiming that South Africa is a country of "minorities" and they talk of the concept of group rights in order to protect the minorities against domination by the numerically superior blacks.

You don't have to be a political scientist to see what the rulers are in fact aiming at. Stripped of all the nice phrases they are simply once again changing their language and style to perpetuate white domination.

On the one hand, when describing the composition of the South African population they choose to divide 35-million people into so-called minority groups comprising of Zulus, Xhosas, Indians, Sothos, Pedis, colour-

reds and whites. By their devious logic, they opportunistically lump the Portuguese, Lebanese, Germans, Hollanders and Jews into one homogenous white group.

On the other hand, when resisting the people's demands for one person, one vote, they conveniently forget the various black minority groups and regard them as one solid black group which is supposed to pose a threat of black majority domination.

We the oppressed people of South Africa are still waiting for De Klerk and his party to explicitly repudiate apartheid as formulated by Dr DF Malan, Dr HF Verwoerd and the Broederbond. We are waiting for them to acknowledge their mistakes and show genuine remorse for 40 years of Nationalist misrule.

We are waiting for them to apologise for all the hardships, cruelty and suffering that they have inflicted on the oppressed people of South Africa.

It is very unfortunate that the Nationalists through their propaganda and promises have succeeded in some degree in also instilling fear of a black majority among small sections of the Indian and coloured communities. It is going to be one of our important tasks to eradicate these fears.

We have to persuade our white compatriots that the greatest dangers facing them, their children and their future, are not the black people, are not the ANC or the South African Communist Party, not Archbishop Desmond Tutu or Dr Allan Boesak. Their greatest enemy is apartheid, the Nationalist Party, the Conservative Party and all those who still propagate under different names the policy of white separateness and white supremacy.

One of the encouraging developments in recent years has been the fragmentation of white politics, and of particular significance has been the huge crack in the hitherto solid Afrikaner monolith.

I do not wish for a moment to give the impression that the mushrooming of white political groupings to the right and more especially to the left of the National Party has automatically gained us allies in the struggle. After we exclude the active but relatively small white groupings such as Jodac, the Cape Democrats, Nusas, the End Conscription Campaign and the Black Sash, not a single one of the white political parties comes anywhere near to accepting the type of society that we envisage in a free and non-racial democratic South Africa.

White South Africans must know that we are aware of fears that exist among them.

We want to assure them that it has never been in the past, it certainly is not at present, and will never be in the future the policy of the ANC to drive the whites into the sea. It never has been the policy of the organisation to do anything that will in any way harm the cultural heritage of all the people of South Africa.

What the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement will certainly ban and try to eliminate is each and every vestige of racism whenever and wherever it raises its ugly head.

From this stadium today, we want to send a message to our white compatriots. We are as keen and determined as you are to preserve and propagate the best in the rich cultural heritage of all our people. And we wish to convey to them our strong belief that this cannot be done by placing reliance on concepts such as the so-called group rights and group guarantees that are being peddled by the regime and its supporters.

We reject the concept of group rights because we believe that it is simply another way of perpetuating white domination.

We firmly believe that fundamental human rights, including the language, religion and cultural heritage of all our people will only be adequately guaranteed by firmly entrenching individual human rights.

I wish to reiterate that neither the ANC, the UDF or the MDM has ever called for black majority rule. Nowhere in our demands for one person, one vote is there any stipulation about the colour of the government.

POLITICS

ANC: from symbols to politicians

WINNING freedom is a tough task; using it may be even tougher. The Soccer City rally may have begun a process in which the African National Congress and its allies are winning the freedom to operate openly. Mass politics may have taken a giant step towards becoming normal politics.

But that does not mean that it and other movements who seek to represent the "masses" have won power — or even the organised mass support they need to press for it.

It means only that they may be winning the right to begin working both openly and legally.

It means also that it is now possible for the first time in decades to assess the support and strength of movements such as the ANC.

The rally showed what many commentators knew already — that, despite its exclusion from legal politics for nearly 30 years (partly because of it?), the ANC can rely on a substantial support base, probably a bigger one than any other movement.

It also showed that it and its allies who have been able to operate legally within the country can engage in mass politics in an organised and disciplined way.

Rallies of this size are, of course, unique by South African standards: the ANC veterans never addressed meetings this large during the movement's heyday as a legal organisation. It obviously needed organisation to ensure that the meeting happened without incident.

The organisers managed to show that a mass rally in support of the ANC can be an entirely normal event: it will now be harder for the white establishment to resist demands for the freeing of political activity.

But, if the 65 000 — 70 000 people who attended were more than any other group could have drawn, they were still not enough to fill a single football stadium. Like the recent Cosatu protest marches, attendances were lower than expected.

This does not necessarily mean that the ANC's support has been underestimated.

Few people attend political rallies spontaneously — particularly people who, like black South Africans, are not used to expressing their political allegiances openly.

Attendance has to be organised — any movement which simply calls a meeting and assumes that its potential supporters will arrive is likely to be disappointed.

People are also far more likely to attend if they are already members of an organised movement: most people in the stadium were there as members of organised worker, student or civic groups.

In other words, attendance at rallies may be a test of a movement's organisation rather than its support. The size of the crowd may show that, while the ANC camp's mass organisation has made strides in the past few years, it has some way to go.

If anti-apartheid movements want to demonstrate mass support, they will not be able to rely on mass meetings alone. Even the best-organised rally could draw only a tiny fraction of the population.

If mass politics do become normalised, mass movements will have to begin the hard work of recruiting and retaining members, most of whom may never attend a rally. Their ability to do this will obviously be as much a test of their support and potential power as attendances at rallies.

A freer political climate will, therefore, force mass movements to begin grassroots organising work on an unprecedented scale if they want to weld their potential followers into an organised power base.

Perhaps the greatest challenge of all for mass movements may be how to use their mass support base if they gain one.

Because most people are denied a vote, mass support doesn't automatically translate into power. Rallies and other shows of support will not guarantee that mass movements get any nearer their goal of winning the end of minority rule.

The political climate which is developing does not only offer the ANC and anti-apartheid movements an opportunity to show their support — it also offers them a chance to use it.

Apartheid policies have never been more vulnerable than they are now and organised mass campaigns against residential, health and education apartheid are more likely to win gains than in the past. So too are campaigns by township residents for more power over the decisions which affect them.

In the present climate, these campaigns may allow mass movements to build the power base they need. Far from being a substitute for their fight to win power in central government, they may be the only way of getting there.

Anti-apartheid movements have begun to use these opportunities — the "defiance campaign" against apartheid facilities is one example, the Soweto Peoples' Delegation's attempts to win a permanent say in the township's future is another.

The extent to which these campaigns are followed through — and their ability to win changes in laws and policies — might be as much of a test of anti-apartheid movements' strength as their ability to organise mass shows of support.

These points have a common theme. If the ANC and other outlawed movements are indeed winning the right to engage in relatively normal politics, they will increasingly be judged by new standards.

Until now, they have been symbols. Now there is a real chance that they may have the opportunity to become politicians.

That would offer them the prospect of wielding real power — but it would also mean that they would have to work for mass support and to win real gains for it in a way which symbols don't.



Worm's Eye
Steven Friedman

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



LETTERS

Grassroots democracy is the key to green politics

THE Ecology Party is light green, pallid and could well toss the environment on to the waste heap in a future South Africa. For the misinformed, politics is a veritable minefield of wrong directions.

By focussing on everyday life, what Schumacher calls the small things, and presenting the biosphere in social terms, environmentalism can enter an integrated new democratic politics. After all, it is humankind's relationship with the environment that gives rise to biospheric problems. The green consciousness extends far beyond tree and bunny hugging and well into how we conduct our everyday lives. In Europe the feminist and peace movements have been champions of green consciousness. A manifestation of this consciousness has been the formation of various political parties. Not that the establishment of such parties has been without due agony.

Grassroots democracy, of which white South Africans have minimal experience, must be a foundation of consolidating any force of social change. Without taking a lesson from Europe, any reasonable person must recognise that environmental organisations, political or not, must incorporate citizen intervention, related to participatory democracy or grassroots organisation. Thus environmentalist grassroots involves itself in social criticism and popular organising. It extends beyond liberal inklings towards mere concern for the environment. Green politics involves creating a new politics, mere tinkering with an ailing system is not enough. A new politics has care for the environment as a pre-condition, where people rise above redundant left/right politics and pragmatically, in their lives and on a political level, propose a life-giving alternative.

The substance of politics must be addressed and the basis for contemporary politics must be criticised. There is no doubt that the environmentalism has a potent set of issues that can mobilise entire communities and a broad cross section of the populace. In so doing, all people in the country must participate.

The South African Ecology Party is naive in its approach to entering a facile, morally repugnant parliamentary system in South Africa. Its claim to "multiracialism" is farcical. It makes democracy ludicrous. Were the disenfranchised to join the party (as Slater so encourages) how, pray, would they exercise their vote?

On a superficial level, the Ecological Party strikes us as another exclusive venture into a hype issue — in effect, an apolitical political party.

We shirk embarking on questions regarding nuclear power, parliamentary participation, militarisation, sexism or any of the plethora of issues that must be addressed by a party into a politics for humanity. — G Jacobs, C Esterhuizen, T Dirsuweit, L Croucamp, S Mallett, C Scholtz, R Gerson

I AM an emotional supporter of nuclear power. I support it because it is the safest and cleanest source of large scale generation yet discovered.

After being anti-nuclear, I was converted by studying the subject and feel angry about the distortions I read about in the mass media. Like Mr Walmsley, I now work in the nuclear industry; unlike him, I am not an official spokesman and can therefore tell some home truths that he cannot. To answer the points of your anti-nuclear correspondents:

Coal wastes are more dangerous than nuclear wastes and remain dangerous for much longer. Coal retains radioactive nuclides, and these are either spewed out into the air (some are "stored" in your lungs) or left lying on ash tips. After a few centuries the waste from the coal station becomes more radioactive than the waste from a nuclear station. Why no demands for coal tips to be enclosed in stainless steel and guarded for millions of years? In Britain coal stations dump 300kg of uranium into the environment every day — uranium emits the same radiation (alpha) as plutonium but has a half-life over 100 000 times as long. But this is the least problem of coal wastes. Far worse are the carcinogenic heavy metals such as cadmium and arsenic, which remain dangerous forever, and the carcinogenic and mutagenic organic compounds such as polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons. Then there are the nitrogen and sulphur gases, which cause acid rains, and the carbon dioxide.

We have been bathed in "natural" radiation since life began. Indeed, our planet is only habitable because the heat from radioactivity decay in the core keeps it warm enough for life. Your correspondent, D Lewis, gives the average exposure from natural radiation as 100 millirem a year. Koeberg Nuclear Station adds less than 0.1 millirem a year to the nearest inhabitants. In Johannesburg, the extra altitude adds 80 millirem a year — 800 times more than Koeberg.

Study after study has shown no posi-

tive correlation between high levels of natural radiation, far higher than you would get from any nuclear installation, and cancer. Indeed, many of the studies showed a negative correlation: that cancer rates dropped as radiation levels went up, the "hormesis" effect. This is a bit controversial. But what is certain is that, while very high levels of radiation above 5 000 millirem a year do cause cancer, this has never been shown for low levels.

Time is running out for our world. The greenhouse effect, acid rain and chemical pollution menace us. Nuclear power gleams with hope for our planet and our children. To reject nuclear power now is to betray the future. — AR Kenny, Johannesburg.

WE read with interest Barbara Ludman's excellent and objective reports on actors' salaries. (*Weekly Mail* September 28).

We were particularly thrilled to read Mr Pieter Toerien "says he now pays half-pay for rehearsal remuneration". We were disappointed to discover that, contrary to this promise, Mr Toerien's final offer in current negotiations is still one week's salary for the full rehearsal period. (Four weeks for a play — six weeks for a musical).

As Ludman pointed out, the average theatre actor earns around R300 — R350 per week — (That's around R250 after tax, deductions and agent's commission) divide that by four.

The South African Film and Theatre Union regards half-salary to be the absolute minimum wage for the rehearsal period, and will continue in its efforts to secure full salaries from day one.

— Lorraine Smith, SAFTU Council, Johannesburg.

IN your edition of October 27 you quote HSRC researchers Eddie Barendse and G Higgins as saying that "For the vast majority the informal sector is not an escape avenue from poverty but a survival strategy in the face of a large-scale unemployment".

Perhaps you should explain this to the taxi drivers, who now significantly outnumber workers in the goldmines.

Commenting on free market hardeners, these two complain that there is too much competition since licences have been issued "tactlessly".

Since when has competition been regarded as an economic "bad"? Their theory — no surprises here, I suppose — is just as bad as their empirical work.

The lesson, once again, is that those who qualify in Marxist "disciplines" should not be taken seriously on anything that requires rigorous analysis, particularly economic matters.

If you really must quote them, do it on the humour page with *Who's Left* and *Doonesbury* — A Smithers, Johannesburg.

Address letters to Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, Box 260425, Excom 2023. Shorter letters will be given preference. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for clarity or space.

WMA 11A 3-9/11/89

Inside the mind of the young Damian de Lange

A personal biography by convicted Umkhonto We Sizwe cell commander Damian de Lange explains the influences which turned him from a politically unaware, working class youth into a guerrilla
By SHAUN JOHNSON

WHILE working as an unskilled labourer at the state-owned Fosker phosphate mine in Phalaborwa in 1977, Damian de Lange got into a fight with another white employee. It was an important moment in his political development.

De Lange punched a man called "Dik Piet" because he had beaten up a black worker. He came close to losing his job but didn't, and has often thought about the incident since.

"I don't think I was rabidly anti-racist on the mines," he said. "I had no ideas or dreams of crusading for the blacks — it was merely that I tried to treat everyone the same, something I got from my father, mother, and the Catholic religion."

This was one of many recollections De Lange recorded while in prison awaiting the end of his trial for terrorism as one of the "Broederstroom Three".

In a lengthy statement, De Lange traces, in his own words, his life story from the time of his birth in Kitwe, Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia), on August 21 1958.

The *Weekly Mail* is able to reproduce extracts, which provide a fascinating, deeply personal insight into the mind of the young white man before he became an Umkhonto we Sizwe cell commander.

De Lange started his schooling at a convent in Kitwe and, when the family moved to Durban, was enrolled at another convent on the Bluff. He attended Catechism classes and served as an altar boy. His mother's staunch Catholicism played a big part in his early life.

He then attended Marist Brothers College in Durban, where "I spent two not-such-happy years, being made aware of my income group by others who were mostly from high income groups".

By 1972 the family moved to East London, where De Lange completed his schooling at De La Salle College. At this time he began to question his Catholic beliefs. "I began reading about other religions, beliefs, witchcraft, astrology etcetera — this was to be a very long process, covering a number of years."

De Lange recalls an awareness of contact with black people from an early age. The family servants, in particular, exerted "a very strong influence in our family, and on me."

"We (children) were told they were employed by my parents, not by us. This had an influence — we had to treat them as equals, or rather adults who could tell us what to do or not to do."

"Knowing or getting to know these servants helped me to like or not like people as they were. This sparked off arguments at school or among friends

on the question of 'kaffirs'. I felt that people could not be lumped together under one derogatory name — some people were good and some were bad."

Describing his home life, De Lange recalls "As a teenager I didn't think we were a liberal family, especially when it came to sex and drugs and rock and roll. But teenagers always see parents as exactly that and parents and restrictions are always restrictive — *C'est la vie!*"

In July 1976, a month after the Soweto uprisings, he was conscripted into the South African navy. De Lange notes that he was "totally unaware" of the developments in Soweto and the Cape townships. "My world consisted of

ing to the blacks and was Roman Catholic. I had vaguely heard that communists lived behind the iron curtain, but never thought it was something to do with talking to blacks, or religion.

"I got to know the blacks, some were old, some young, but all with very little education. They only spoke Afrikaans besides their own languages. Gradually I got to know that they spent most of their time in the compound except for off-weekends, when they would travel to homes not close to Phalaborwa."

"Visiting the compound was like a concentration camp to me. Unbelievable. At school I had (been interested in) the writings of people like Ayn Rand and Solzhenitsyn — they painted a picture of what I saw here in real life."

"High fences topped with barbed wire, massive gates with guards, men lining up with ration cards to get food. Loudspeakers blaring out something unintelligible."

"To me, the blacks were just normal people — some pleasant, others sullen, some extra hardworking and others skiving off whenever possible."

"Then I found out how much the blacks got paid. I thought it was a big waste of money, paying us whites so much for basically doing very little."

Back in Phalaborwa, De Lange became increasingly friendly with his black colleagues. "On off-weekends I would drive one or two home (normally to the Gazankulu area), spend a few hours having tea or being introduced to their relatives before being on my way."

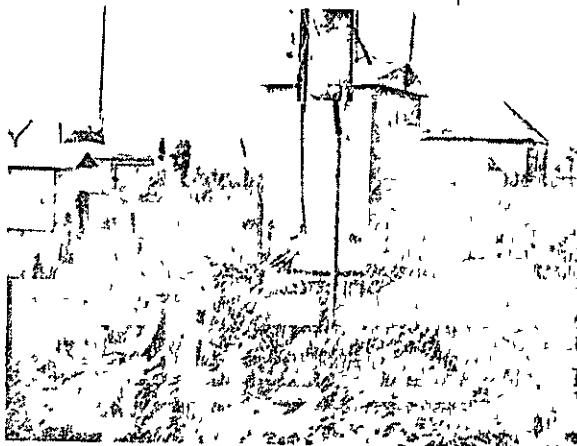
At the end of 1978, he was accepted for degree study at the Universities of Cape Town, Rhodes

and Wits, but eventually opted to join the then-South African Associated Newspapers group journalistic cadet course. While working on the *Cape Times* during the 1980 school boycotts, he began to attend community meetings.

"I built up contacts in the townships to some degree. I was accepted in these non-white areas. All in all it was very interesting and exciting." He met veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpeha at this time, and "formed a strong relationship with a young black journalist."

"With him I spent time in the shebeens and invariably the talk would be about current events, politics, the Boers, police and the ANC. I suppose I was also affected by the sense of a close community, of things shared and of being accepted — despite my initial apprehension of being a white in a township."

De Lange recalls being "surprised at the amount of discussion of politics at casual gatherings, compared to my white counterparts who generally only discussed the latest fashion, music, best beach of late and maybe some scandal."



A police picture of Damian de Lange, taken at an alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe target

those I had direct contact with, and life seemed to promise one big party."

De Lange's first job afterwards was as a trainee manager at an East London hotel, but he soon left for Phalaborwa and the phosphate mine. It was there that the incident with "Dik Piet" occurred and, more importantly, he developed friendships with black fellow-workers.

"Dick and Josias were the 'bossboys' on our shift, and I would never have got by without them. Though I found out later that what you were supposed to do was to tell the blacks what to do, and then sit in the air-conditioned office and be served tea."

"I had come to enjoy working on the pump floor, changing pumps, valves, opening blocked pipelines, working with massive wrenches and joking with the blacks."

"Once I was accused by the shiftboss, in a written report, of being a 'communist' because I spent time talk-

(11A)

(11B)

Wmail

November 9 1989

3-9/11/89⁵

Bop prevents 1 500 seeing Rivonia rally

By VUSI GUNENE
and IVOR POWELL

MORE than 1 500 people from the "homeland" of Bophuthatswana were prevented from attending last Sunday's rally at the Soccer City Stadium when Bop authorities withdrew permission for buses to leave the homeland for Johannesburg.

Seventeen buses had been hired by the National Reception Committee (NRC) for the purpose of ferrying Mass Democratic Movement supporters to the rally organised as a reception for the recently released African National Congress leaders

Although agreement had been reached in the previous week with the Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings (BTH) regarding the hire of the buses, organisers were informed only on Sunday morning of the cancellation—when it was too late to make alternative arrangements.

Police, patrolling at Eersterus and Hammanskraal, reportedly enforced the ban, dispersing crowds waiting to be collected for the rally and taking at least 10 people for questioning

Taxis headed for the rally were also stopped by uniformed police and turned back

But the Bophuthatswana government denied all knowledge of the incidents. President Lucas Mangope's private secretary Joseph Jack said "We don't know anything about all that", and referred the *Weekly Mail* to BTH for comment

BTH representative MP Nkomo claimed that BTH buses had in fact left the homeland for the rally. Permission, he said, had been withdrawn only in relation to four buses privately hired at reduced rate by two bus drivers in the employ of the company at the Bothaba depot. These drivers, Nkomo said were planning to let the buses out at greatly inflated prices "and because the situation was so irregular, we felt compelled to withdraw our permission"

See PAGES 9 and 11

Security police
look into ANC
newspaper ad

ABELE BALEFA
SECURITY police are investigating whether an advertisement placed in Vrye Weekblad last Friday, announcing the homecoming rally for recently released ANC leaders, constituted a criminal offence

The Afrikaans weekly newspaper was notified of the investigation this week. Vrye Weekblad editor Max du Preez said the ad, placed by the National Reception Committee, made no reference to the ANC.

As far as he was aware Vrye Weekblad was the only newspaper under investigation despite the fact that several other publications had run similar ads.

In a fax sent to Police Directorate of Public Relations' Gen Herman Stadler, Du Preez said he believed police were conducting a vendetta against the publication.

Stadler denied there was a campaign against the paper and said the action was in the course of duty.



Ranger Johannes van Graan with the bones of a rhino found under a tree.

Picture BRIAN HENDLER

B Day 3/11/89
Rhino slaughter accused in court

FORMER Kruger Park game warden Ludwig J Wagener, 44, appeared in the Hazyview court yesterday on charges related to the illegal slaughter of 25 white rhino.

He was released conditionally on R5 000 bail and trial was set for November 24. It will be held at Skukuza, his attorney André Doman said in a telephone interview.

Wagener, who was arrested on Wednesday, was told he had to report every Monday between 5pm and 7pm at the Brits police station and to hand in his passport.

He was warned not to interfere with any Kruger Park personnel or state witnesses.

MANDY JEAN WOODS

National Parks Board (NPB) officials uncovered a trail of white rhino slaughter in September during the annual aerial census of the park's animals. Pretoria University post-graduate student Danie Pienaar spotted rhino carcasses hidden under bushes and found bullet holes in the bones.

At least 25 carcasses were found. Ballistics tests showed bullets lodged in several of the carcasses and cartridges found near the scenes were all from a the same .375 Magnum rifle.

AK695 3/11/89

One man charged with murdering activist Stompie

The Argus Correspondent.

JOHANNESBURG.— Of the nine people arrested in connection with the death of activist Stompie Seipei earlier this year, only Mr Vusi Richardson, a former coach of the Mandela United Soccer Club, has been charged with the murder of the 14-year-old boy

Mr Richardson, 41, of Orlando West, was told in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday that his trial would start in the Rand Supreme Court on February 12

Seven other accused will stand trial in Protea Magistrate's Court on eight charges each, including kidnapping and assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm Their hearings were postponed to March 5

KIDNAPPING

The ninth accused, Mr Guybon Khubeka, 25, will stand trial on only one charge of assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm His trial will begin in Protea Magistrate's Court on April 29

Mr Richardson will be tried on four counts of kidnapping, five counts of assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm, one count of attempted murder and the count of murdering Stompie

According to the indictment, Mr Richardson went with other people to the house of a Methodist clergyman, the Rev Paul Verryn, where Stompie and three men lived

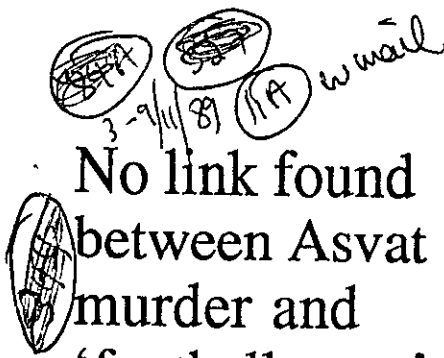
MANDELA HOUSE

Stompie and the men, Mr Kenneth Kgase, Mr Barend Mono and Mr Gabriel Mekgane, were allegedly kidnapped, taken to the house of Mrs Winnie Mandela and severely assaulted

Mr Richardson allegedly took Stompie away from the Mandela house on January 1 this year The boy was not seen alive again

His decomposed body was found in the veld near Noordgesicht on January 6

The eight people who are to stand trial in Protea Magistrate's Court were each granted bail of R500 Mr Richardson is in custody



No link found between Asvat murder and 'football team'

Police investigators found no connection between the murder of a Soweto doctor and the 'Mandela football team'.

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

FEARS of a possible connection between Dr Abu Baker Asvat's death, Winnie Mandela's "football team" and the killing of Stompie Moeketsi Seipei were addressed this week in the Rand Supreme Court.

Zakhele Mbatha and Thulani Nicholas Dlamini are appearing on seven charges including the murder of Asvat and last year's robbery of a store in Natal. They have pleaded not guilty.

Speculation about a connection with the "football team" began soon after Asvat, the Azanian People's Organisation health secretariat member, was gunned down in his Soweto surgery on January 27 this year.

Seipei's body was found in January this year — he went missing in December. Nine men allegedly belonging to the "football team" have been charged with Seipei's murder.

This week evidence was led in court that the Mandela "football team" coach, Jerry Richardson, was at the surgery on the day Asvat was killed.

Investigating officer Major H Helsinga told the court that Richardson's name had appeared on the list of patients on January 27.

He said: "The possibility of a connection between this murder and the Seipei murder and the Mandela Football Club was investigated. No connection was found."

Mbatha denied "having any dealings with a person called Jerry Richardson" and said he had "never heard of the Mandela Football Team".

Dlamini admitted there was "such a person (as Jerry Richardson) in the prison cell" but "he did not know him before that".

A *Weekly Mail* report earlier this year alleged that Richardson had been moved to solitary confinement in the Johannesburg Prison following his assault of a man charged with Asvat's murder.

Janne van der Merwe, for the state, said in his closing argument yesterday that Mbatha should be convicted on the basis of his direct participation in Asvat's murder.

Dlamini should be convicted on the basis of common purpose since the state had proved he was in the room at the time the shots were fired, Van der Merwe said.

Meanwhile judgement in the trial-within-a-trial, where defence counsel Wayne Hutchinson challenged the admissibility of Mbatha's statement claiming "it was given under duress", was passed this week.

Mr Justice Solomón ruled the statement admissible in evidence saying he did not accept Mbatha's allegations that police assaulted and electrocuted him.

In the statement made to Lieutenant FG Page on February 19 Mbatha said he and a friend, Johannes, went to rob Asvat's surgery. He said he shot Asvat twice and took R135.

Mbatha said that on the day of the killing he had gone to the doctor's rooms, given his particulars and then left to buy cigarettes. When he returned he was told the "doctor had been shot".

Mbatha admitted he had given Sisulu a false name and address.

Mbatha denied that "Johannes" was his co-accused, Dlamini. The name "Johannes" appears in Mbatha's statement to Page and is listed as Dlamini's first name on the indictment.

Dlamini said "the police assaulted me at Brixton police station and said I must say I was with Johannes".

Dlamini's statement has not been led before the court as evidence.

PAC denies unity talks with ANC

Argus 3/11/88 11A
The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Mr Jafta Masemola, a founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress, said he would be flying to Cape Town to see Nelson Mandela within the next two weeks.

He denied that the visit was aimed at discussing a merger between the PAC and the ANC.

"This is just a friendly visit and a follow-up to the one I paid Mandela a few days before my release on October 15"

Mr Masemola said he forged a friend-

ship with Mr Mandela on Robben Island.

"A few days before my release Mandela invited me to Victor Verster Prison, where we spent about seven hours together and when I left he said I should visit him again"

Mr Masemola said a few days after he was released two people were sent to his home to remind him of the proposed visit

He added that should political or organisational issues be raised during the visit he would note them down for discussion with PAC members

Soviets to offer West joint space deals

LONDON — The Soviet Union is planning to offer the West massive co-operation in space science and technology ventures at a conference in London next month.

Perestroika is giving the West a window on the Soviet space programme, said by experts to account for 70 percent of space activities worldwide. It begins with the launch in December of Earth Mission 2000 by the USSR's three leading scientific agencies with space expertise.

This is the Soviet Union's commercial blueprint for planet management — the idea that space science and exploration, and the use of satellites for observing Earth, should be used for the good of mankind. But the Soviets are also keen to increase scientific collaboration with the West, and to earn hard currency for space-based

products and services.

They plan to hire space on their rocket launchers, carry Western experiments to Mir, their space station, and to perform them if required. Soviet satellite pictures will be sold in the West for forecasting weather and for agriculture planning and geology, and joint space projects will be sought at industry, university and government level.

Mr Grogori Karasin, political counsellor at the Soviet embassy in London, says interaction in space programmes will "bring the sciences together and will make previously separate spheres of work which benefited the military do something for the civilian world".

But, he adds, by 2000, the market for space-related ventures will be hundreds of billions of dollars

The Soviet space programme is said by experts to account for 70 percent of space activities worldwide. **MARY FAGAN** reports on how perestroika is giving the West a window on Soviet ventures in space, and a chance for increasing collaboration.

In December, Glavkosmos, the Soviet space agency, Sojuzkarta, the mapping and remote-sensing agency, and Goscomgidromet, the Soviet State committee for atmospheric and earth science applications, will marshal their forces at a conference in London.

Mr David Baker of Sigma, a British technical consultancy, is helping to start the first joint ventures. He pre-

dicts that the Earth Mission 2000 conference "will be proof of the opening up and willingness of the Soviets to work with Western countries and companies".

But while he hopes to attract UK companies and scientists, there will be no British government representative present. The British government has no policy on space as far as is perceived in the space-user community," he says.

Mr Baker claims Soviet scientists are increasingly aware that space exploration and research should no longer be done just for its own sake. The name Earth Mission 2000 is chosen because of the debate raging over whether we should make this planet the next one we should fully explore and concentrate on."

Space, he says, can help examine and diagnose Earth's problems.

But while the Soviets are keen to exploit space for the good of mankind, Mr Karasin also revealed that perestroika is having an impact on the Soviet space-user community.

Pictures from space have for years been used by Soviet ministries involved in agriculture, fisheries and planning. Now it appears that the ministries and the users they serve have to pay for the privilege as part of the drive to make the Soviet space programme pay part of its way.

Mr Karasin believes that under perestroika, a lot of information which was formerly sent out free is now for sale — The Independent News Service



This young comrade, wearing his hat of black, green and gold, travelled 1 600km from Cape Town to hear Walter Sisulu speak at the first ANC rally to be held in South Africa since the organisation was banned in 1960

Picture: MIKE HURCHINGS, Afrapix

3-9/11/84
K

3-9/11/89.



1114

Winnon

DRAMA unfolded in the Pretoria Regional Court this week when four of the recently released ANC leaders showed up at the Broederstroum terrorism trial

As the three trialists went down to the cells, following a court ruling that they take off the ANC colours they were wearing, the four ANC leaders entered the court room to resounding cries of "Viva comrade leaders and Viva the ANC".

When Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Moseoleli and Andrew Mlangeni arrived on Wednesday for the trial the court had adjourned for the third time since the proceedings began in the morning

The state, represented by Advocate Pretorius, had objected to the trialists wearing ANC colours saying "It is still an offence in South Africa to publish or exhibit colours of a banned organisation"

"In this particular instance, your

'ANC colours' row at trial as Rivonia men arrive

By PHIL MOLEFFE

worship, an offence is being committed in court and outside court," said Pretorius.

The trialists, Damman de Lange and Iain Robertson, in navy blue suits and white shirts wore black ties sporting ANC colours, and Susan Westcott, wearing a green and black T-shirt, made a natural pattern of ANC colours with her blonde hair. Westcott also wore a green and gold scarf around her neck.

Defence counsel David Soggot said the colours wore by the three accused could be appropriate to the ANC as well as to Inkatha. Magistrate WJ van den Bergh ruled

after the defence's submission that the colours were illegal and he did not wish to continue with the trial until the accused had taken off the ANC colours.

The proceedings were halted for about 20 minutes during which there was a deadlock over the display of the movement's colours.

The trialists emerged after the lengthy hush-hush consultation with their legal advisers to find the ANC leaders already occupying the front bench in the public gallery.

Once again cries of "Viva comrade leaders" resounded through the packed courtroom as the Broederstroum three hugged and greeted the leaders.

"We are with you throughout," whispered the 77-year-old former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu, as he shook hands with the three.

The four released leaders listened attentively as Soggot cross-examined Professor FA Maritz, a sociologist and Unisa's dean of arts, who testified in aggravation of sentence

Professor Maritz had earlier told the court he disagreed with the testimony of two other sociologists, Betty Welz and Professor Brunilde Helm, who appeared for the defence.

Welz and Helm had told the court the trio had no choice but to join the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto to weSizwe, because of their objection to the policy of apartheid

Maritz said he did not agree with the two sociologists as the trio had other options open to them

See PAGE 13

PAC's Masemola to visit Mandela

Own Correspondent *CAPE TIMES 3/11/89*

JOHANNESBURG — Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) member Mr Japhta Masemola is to fly to Victor Verster Prison within days following a special invitation from jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in what is seen as the beginning of a "unity pact" between the two organisations

Confirming the invitation yesterday, Mr Masemola said there was no firm agenda but he would be seeing Mr Mandela within the

week. The International Red Cross had been asked to finance the trip, he said

It will be Mr Masemola's second visit to Mr Mandela's prison house in less than a month

On October 13, two days before he was released from life imprisonment with Mr Walter Sisulu and six other ANC leaders, Mr Masemola, escorted by a prison warden, flew from Jan Smuts Airport to the Cape to spend seven hours with Mr Mandela

The two leaders had breakfast,

lunch and dinner together before Mr Masemola was flown back to Diepkloof Prison

During the meeting, a warrant officer, acting on Mr Mandela's instructions, asked if Mr Masemola would have whisky. But since the two leaders do not take alcohol, they had grape juice

Mr Masemola said yesterday that he had always been convinced that the achievement of objectives could be greatly facilitated by unity between the ANC and PAC

CAF TALKS 3/11/89 (11A)

Onus on ANC, says FW

CAF TALKS 3/11/89 (11A)

Security blanket on ANC meeting

Own Correspondent

HARARE — The African National Congress is imposing a screen of security around a conference on planning for the future which it is holding here with 37 representatives of civic organisations in South Africa

Pressmen were turned away from the meeting, which opened on Wednesday at the state-owned Ambassador Hotel here

An ANC spokesman said he was unable to say who was representing the organisation's leadership in the discussions. Names of the South African participants were being withheld, at least till they returned to their homes on Sunday

Reports on SA

According to the programme the workshop is being held to facilitate understanding of local government and planning, with particular reference to the South African experience

PRETORIA — The onus was on the ANC to demonstrate by its actions that it was committed to a process of peace and that it could be trusted to sit down with all other parties to plan a new South Africa, President F W de Klerk said yesterday

Speaking at a defence force parade in his honour at Voortrekkerhoogte, Mr De Klerk said the government could not unban the ANC while it remained committed to violence

He announced that apparent contraventions of existing laws, by way of pronouncements and the display of flags and nomenclatures and the rally last Sunday to welcome released ANC leaders These would be investigated by the police, who would submit whatever evidence they had gathered to the attorney-general for a decision

"As soon as the occurrences of the past week have been studied and evaluated, and as soon as decisions based on these evaluations have been taken, they will be made known," Mr De Klerk said

However, most South Africans had shown that they could adapt to changes, which were necessary in any endeavour

January for Mandela?

JOHANNESBURG — The government has provisional plans to free ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela some time in January, government sources said yesterday.

The sources said the government was also looking at the possibility of reforms long demanded by black leaders and the world community, including unbanning the ANC and ending the state of emergency.

The sources said the timing of further reforms depended partly on the actions of Mr Walter Sisulu and his colleagues, who were freed on October 15.

"If they try to instigate the overthrow of the government through violence, then Nelson Mandela will not be given a chance to speak," one source said. — Sapa-Reuter

towards negotiated solutions

It was important that everybody, including the released political prisoners, should operate within the ambit of prevailing laws

Mr De Klerk called on everybody to refrain from doing anything that might des-

Regional reports from provinces in South Africa are to be presented to the meeting, and such issues as urban finance and planning are to be discussed

Zimbabwe's Secretary for Transport, Mr July Moyo, yesterday delivered a paper comparing local government structures in Zimbabwe before and after independence in 1980 and a lecturer from the University of Zimbabwe, Mr Kadmeil Wekwete, spoke on the planning of Harare's high- and low-density suburbs after the abolition of segregation

SACP drafts workers' charter

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The exiled SA Communist Party (SACP) and SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) have each drafted a proposed workers' charter to be incorporated in a post-apartheid constitution.

The documents, published in Work in Progress, appear to arise from calls by the ANC in its constitutional guidelines and by Cosatu at its national congress last July for such a charter to form part of a new constitution.

The preamble to the SACP document says its purpose is to ensure that "victory in the national liberation movement is not hijacked by a new exploiting class of whatever colour" and to facilitate the building of a socialist

society. The SACP charter proposes that the "commanding heights" of the economy be placed under the ownership and control of the state.

However, such control should not be exercised "in an over-centralised or commandist way" and must ensure active participation in the planning and running of the enterprises by workers and their trade unions.

The SACP seeks an economic policy aimed at generating the resources needed "to correct the racial imbalances imposed by race domination and bring about wealth distribution for the benefit of the people as a whole. Steps shall be taken to do away with white monopoly of ownership and

managerial control. The charter creates a "right and duty to work" and receive remuneration according to contribution, with social support for the unemployed. A national minimum wage would be enforced, as well as the right of workers to organise and strike.

The charter would outlaw race, sex and religious discrimination, and confer upon workers various social, pension, and health and safety rights.

The Sactu charter also encompasses a minimum wage, anti-discrimination and these rights to social welfare systems. It further provides for a maximum eight-hour working day, maternity leave and a minimum three and four weeks sick and annual leave.

11A 352A 4/11/89

Mercy plea for Broederstroom

'delinquents'

Stan
11A
H/10/89
NORMAN CHANDLER

AN impassioned appeal for lenient sentences for three convicted African National Congress members was made yesterday when the defence team in the Broederstroom Three trial in Pretoria described them as "ideological delinquents".

Attractive, red-haired Susan Westcott closed her eyes as she heard the words of defence counsel Mr David Soggot: "I appeal to the court not to hand down sentences of excessive severity".

Westcott and her two co-accused, former journalist and ANC terror unit commander Damian de Lange, and the unit's political commissar, Ian Robertson, have been found guilty on terrorism and arson charges.

De Lange and Robertson were in June found guilty on 11 counts of terrorism, and Westcott on 10. De Lange was also found guilty on two counts of arson and one of attempted arson.

Sentence is likely to be passed at the end of next week.

Mr Soggot, whose four-hour address to the court is to continue on Monday, told Mr van den Bergh: "There is no trial in which a judge needs greater sensitivity than in a trial of this kind. It is for the court to maintain a cool head and be above the passions of anger which rend society."

Mr Soggot said the accused — whom he described as a "guerilla trinity" and members of Unkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress — admitted "their mission (to South Africa) was to reconnoitre economic and military targets. They also admit that they received supplies of arms and ammunition from the ANC".

They also admitted the use of a home-made explosive device against a pylon at Alberton, another against a pylon on Linksfield Ridge (Johannesburg), and detonating "a device" in Benoni as a military bus carrying military personnel was passing by.

(Proceeding)

Blacks believe F W can save SA, says ^{CRUCIAL FINDINGS} HSRC report ^{4/11/89}

PRETORIA — A survey undertaken in the first week of October in the PWV area shows that a significant number of blacks believe that South Africa's State President, Mr F W de Klerk, will be able to save SA from conflict and isolation

The survey is published in a new communications news sheet, Barometer on Negotiation, produced by the Regional Research and Reporting Corporation headed by former Unisa academic Dr Hanneke du Preez

It was compiled by the Institute for Communication Research of the HSRC

According to the findings, the majority of those questioned said they were willing to accept Mr De Klerk's call to work together for a better society and believed the present government would be able to create a political settlement that would satisfy most of the people in SA — and the world

The report says "These findings could be significant as the survey was undertaken weeks before the release of the eight political prisoners"

In answer to a question "Can Mr De Klerk save SA?", 58% said yes, 19% said no, 21% were undecided, and there was no answer from 2%

When asked "Did Mr De Klerk's proposed political reform change your mind?" 86% said yes, 6% no, and 8% were undecided

The report said that when comparing the "negative" and "undecided" responses, it was "interesting to note that the latter are in the majority. It indicates some government success in modifying existing hardened attitudes, and indicates that government action, like the recent release of political prisoners, may have a further positive effect"

It concludes "When this survey is taken as a barometer of the aspirations of blacks, five very clear messages to President F W de Klerk and his new cabinet emerge

- "Listen and talks to us"
- "Abolish apartheid"
- "Negotiate"
- "Unite the nation"
- "We are prepared to help"

In a section on the survey's methodology, the researchers state that "an interesting finding was that socio-demographic variables, age and educational qualifications never correlated with any of the relevant issues" — Sapa

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

Welcome rally welcomed

LAST Sunday's meeting to honour seven released ANC leaders was a small step in the debate about the future, but could eventually be a big step on the road to democracy, *Beeld* said in an editorial

The demands about what should be done before serious negotiations about the future could begin had not changed, but more important was the event itself and the way the crowd behaved

For years the fear had existed that an ANC meeting like the one on Sunday would necessarily lead to disorder and bloodshed, the editorial said

This had not happened. The order at the meeting strengthened the hope that an era had dawned in which democratic political methods would have the upper hand among blacks

As with recent marches, the government had decided to run the risk of a massive meeting despite scepticism among whites. The government had been proved right and this deserved recognition

The demands of black people, like the lifting of restrictions on political organisations, the removal of soldiers from the townships, the lifting of the state of emergency, an end to "political" trials and the release of "political" prisoners were all possible if democracy took its course

It would mean that violent street committees, bombs, necklace murders and politically inspired strikes would be replaced by political methods such as participation in elections and negotiations about the future

In such a climate the violence practised by the ANC would become unnecessary. The government's demand for a suspension of violence would automatically fall away as would its ban

But the honorary place granted the SACP flag belied statements made at the meeting in favour of democracy, *Beeld* said

Vrye Weekblad said in an editorial the three words most often heard at the meeting were "discipline", "reconciliation" and "peace"

Dozens of meetings had been banned by the government previously in with the excuse that they could threaten public peace

The fact that there was not a single incident at a meeting attended by 80 000 people proved that the government's excuses centred purely on the suppression of political expression

South Africa could consider itself fortunate that it had the calibre of political leaders who after a quarter of a century in jail were striving for peace and placed national reconciliation and democracy high on their agenda

C. Press 5/11/89

PAC man to visit Mandela

114

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has invited recently released PAC leader Jeff Masemola and three key figures from the Black Lawyers' Association to visit him at Victor Verster Prison.

Arrangements for Masemola's visit are being made by the International Red Cross, and may be completed this week.

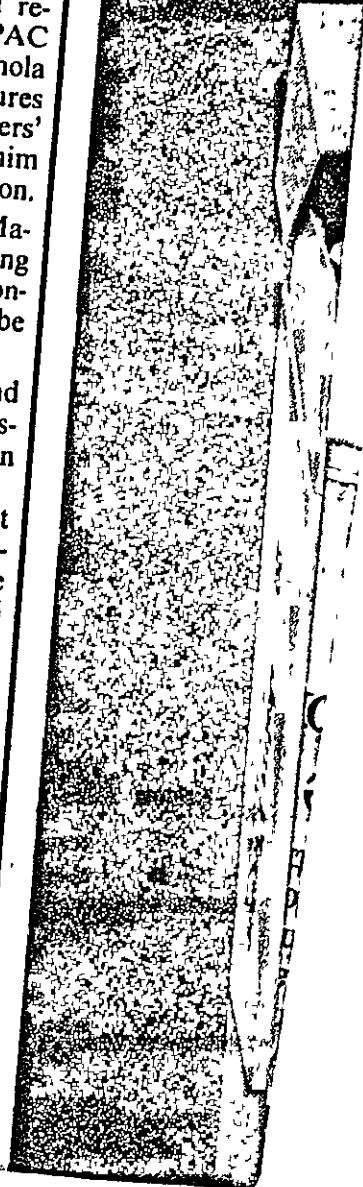
It will be the second time Masemola has visited Mandela within weeks.

Although they did not share political affiliations, they were close friends during the 25 years they spent in prison together, Masemola said.

Asked if he would discuss political issues related to the ANC and PAC, Masemola said: "I will not discuss these matters with him because I do not have a mandate to do so, but I will certainly take note of what he says."

BLA vice-president Keith Kunene, former president Godfrey Pitje and publicity secretary Dikgang Moseneke will see Mandela this week.

Rolle Blend



ti-
fo-
sch
our
ure
es-
are
der
cu-
nd

hit
by
eck
les-
est
BJ

un-
er-
In a
F by
the
ice
ake
an.
ten
e 3
WA
ter-
said
ided
nt's
oup

traditional ready for tour of East

Picture: HORACE POTTER

years of patient
generals Malan a
began on Wednesd
net meeting Mr N
tor-general of Fo

Mandela's book in print by Christmas

ANC LEADER Nelson Mandela's secret autobiography will be printed shortly before Christmas and will hit world bookshelves to coincide with his expected release from prison in January.

This was disclosed in London this weekend as giant American and British publishers stepped up their bidding to more than R7-million for the much sought-after manuscript.

The exact whereabouts of the original handwritten work, written in secret by Mr Mandela on Robben Island and later smuggled out of prison in manuscript form, are shrouded in secrecy.

Trace

But the Sunday Times has learnt that a firm of publishers, who believe they are about to clinch a deal, have already been to Fleet Street to sell world serial rights. They have been offered,

By JEREMY BROOKS and DAVID JACKSON

and have rejected, R630 000 by the London Sunday Times, which now says it is out of the running. No one has yet been shown the manuscript.

The R7-million fee on offer does not include the serial rights in newspapers.

One publishing source says the book is in the form of a diary written by Mr Mandela, giving rise to speculation that there may be two versions of the original manuscript.

But Mr Mandela's former Robben Island colleague, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, who added comments and suggestions to the manuscript at Mr Mandela's request while in prison, said in Johannesburg this week. "I know of no diary — if it's the same autobiography I saw, then it's definitely a manuscript."

"But I still haven't been able to trace where it is."

News of the manuscript's existence was revealed in last week's Sunday Times. The story was given prominent coverage this week by newspapers in both New York and London.

The main contenders for the rights have been narrowed down to Penguin Viking and Random Century. Both publishers this week refused to comment on the deal.

Horried

One London source said Random Century was horrified when news of the manuscript was leaked. The publishers felt the publicity might jeopardise Mr Mandela's release — now widely tipped to be in late January.

"However, all indications are that Mr Mandela's release is assured — he can decide the date himself," the source said.

"Printing will begin just before Christmas, with the book appearing at the time of his release."

The managing director of Ebury Press, Gail Rebeck, told a specialist magazine, the Bookseller, her company was "finalising negotiations". Mrs Rebeck said she was

□ To Page 2

Mandela book out soon

□ From Page 1

acting for Ebury's parent, Random Century, of which she was also a director. The rights, she said, would be bought for both Random Century and its New York-based holding company, Random House.

If she is successful the "memoirs" will be published jointly by Ebury and Hutchinson.

An assistant editor of the Sunday newspaper the Observer, Robert Low, said he had been approached by a publisher and was keen to serialise the book, but had to bow out.

"We would dearly have liked to have had it. But the money they were asking was spiralling."

Adding to the strong appeal of a first-ever Mandela autobiography are the "stranger-than-fiction" circumstances in which it was smuggled off the island.

Sources in contact with the publishers in both New York

and London said the "floor price" of \$1-million, first mooted at the Frankfurt Book Fair, had now risen to "at least \$3-million". At this week's exchange rates, that would amount to about R7.95-million.

Negotiations have been made more difficult, said the source, not only by the author's special circumstances, but also because he is represented by a lawyer, believed to be Mr Ismail Ayob, and not a literary agent.

As news of the manuscript spread, the ANC's London

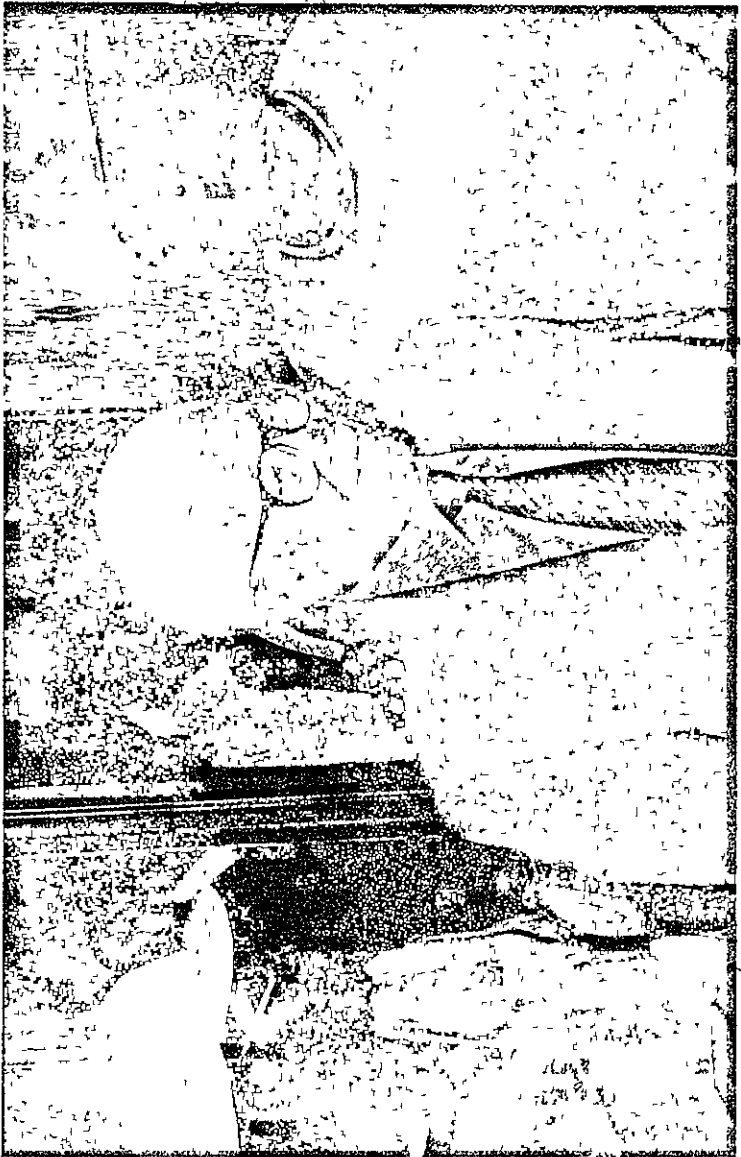
office struggled to contain the publicity.

Spokesman Nad Pillay first said the Sunday Times report was "without foundation whatsoever". He added "There is no manuscript."

Told of Mr Kathrada's comments, Mr Pillay asked for time to consult his superiors. He came back five minutes later with a different statement.

"There IS a manuscript. But it is totally untrue to suggest it is being hawked around London," he said.

11A 5 Times 5/11/89



IF THE CAP FITS Waiter Sisulu with two bodyguards

Mystery men who 'mind' the Seven

ANC LEADERS PROTECTED FROM THE CROWD BY A SHIELD OF 'COMRADES'

By DAVID JACKSON

NEVER far from the elbows of the seven released ANC leaders are the mysterious "minders" — the khaki-capped youths who shadow them wherever they go.

The youths, sometimes wearing ANC armbands or the black, yellow and gold ANC motif pinned to their jackets, are drawn from the ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement.

No one dares to disobey them. There is an unwritten authority. They are entrusted with the safety of the men they call "The Leaders".

Security surrounding Mr Walter Sisulu and his former prison inmates has been ultra-tight since their October 15 release. Wherever they go, they are accorded celebrity status. But the throngs pressing around them pose an ever-present security risk.

The minders, watchful and silent, do not

attended the hearing. But Mr Ahmed Kathrada, who spent 26 years in jail, met them on Robben Island. "I don't know who they are," he says, "but he regards the minders as 'friends' and not bodyguards."

"We've been very grateful for their presence. They drive us around, they look after us and they generally do a fine job."

Newsman who were "delegated" to interview the ANC 7 shortly after their release had a momentary meeting in the background during the meeting in the order of the minders who were in to

ANC. "I don't know who they are," he says, "but he regards the minders as 'friends' and not bodyguards."

ANC. "I don't know who they are," he says, "but he regards the minders as 'friends' and not bodyguards."

carry weapons. But strangers venturing too close to their charges are firmly warned to keep their distance.

With strict orders to maintain "internal discipline," the MDM youths have also been responsible for keeping the crowds in order at recent protest marches and rallies organized by the National Reception Committee.

Police publicly praised the crowd behaviour at last weekend's mass rally at Soccer City, south of Johannesburg.

In the Transvaal, at any rate, the marches and rallies have passed off without serious incident. Collectively known as "the comrades", the minders were in evidence again this week at the Broederström terrorism trial, when Mr Sisulu and three of the released political prisoners briefly

attended the hearing. But Mr Ahmed Kathrada, who spent 26 years in jail, met them on Robben Island. "I don't know who they are," he says, "but he regards the minders as 'friends' and not bodyguards."

Picture TOM EDLEY

F W's legal dilemma



THE welcome-home rally last weekend, at which Mr Walter Sisulu and other released prisoners stood under the banned ANC and Communist Party flags, has brought into sharper focus the growing debate on our law.

Quite simply, the State finds itself on the horns of its own dilemma. It wants to foster a climate of reconciliation, but it does not want, or is unable at this stage, to repeal restrictive laws which, if enforced, would stifle rather than stimulate communication of ideas.

In these sensitive days of transition politics, effectively relaxing restrictions by refusing to apply the letter of the law is not in itself

a bad thing. Look at the events of the last month.

It is a ploy that also works for the ANC which, for political reasons of its own, is unable to renounce violence, but has in effect stopped practising it.

While it is true that daily contraventions tend to make a mockery of the law, the Government should not be unduly pressured to deviate from its present policy of letting things happen.

But President De Klerk must also realise that it will eventually become impossible to evade the inevitable — and scrap or amend whatever laws impede political progress.

S. J. van der Merwe 5/11/89

Red Flag still

As the peoples of Eastern Europe move away from Marxism-Leninism, a leading British newspaper today examines the revival of the South African Communist Party. Report by STEPHEN ROBINSON of the Sunday Telegraph

AT THE recent funeral in the Transkei of a radical Xhosa paramount chief, SACP flags were more in evidence than banners of the ANC.

Last weekend, at the celebrations to mark the release of seven ANC political prisoners, the red Soviet flag was given equal prominence with the ANC's black, gold and green

Walter Sisulu, a close associate of Nelson Mandela and a man widely considered to be on the "African nationalist" rather than the Marxist wing of the ANC, closed his address to the crowd as follows

"Long live the ANC Long live our alliance with the SA Communist Party Long live the working class movement"

Most fashions, including shifts in political ideology, become apparent in SA about 10 years after they break in the rest of the world

Never mind that Moscow's European empire is falling to pieces, never mind either that the notionally communist governments of SA's neighbours, especially Mozambique and Angola, are ditching their Marxist baggage quicker than you could sing the Red Flag SA's anti-apartheid opposition is show-

flies high in SA

11A
S. Times
5/11/89



The ANC and SACP flags side by side at the Sisulu rally

ing no mellowing in its support for the SACP

The SACP's membership is a secret, but in numerical terms it is tiny, though growing fast. Yet it attracts considerable emotional support by appealing to black South Africans who see big business and the mining houses as just another arm of the "apartheid regime"

Ahmed Kathrada, one of the ANC prisoners released last month, was asked how he justified his continued support for the SACP when people living under communist systems appeared to disagree.

Problems

"The socialist countries have only been in existence for less than a century. They have overcome serious problems and will do so in the future," he explained

The ANC and the SACP have been formally allied in the "liberation struggle" since the '30s. A clear majority of the ANC's national executive committee are also members of the SACP

Govan Mbeki, released two years ago but then restricted, was part of the ANC revolutionary conspiracy and jailed in 1964 with Nelson Mandela and Ahmed Kathrada. Mbeki insists his enthusiasm for Marxism is undiminished, and his son Thabo, rated as a prominent nationalist among the ANC exiled leadership in Lusaka, is also an SACP

member

For 50 years the alliance has been maintained through overlapping and interlocking membership of the ANC's and SACP's highest decision-making bodies. In some respects, the ANC has gained considerably from the alliance. It has guaranteed it sustained financial and military assistance from Moscow and the Eastern bloc

But it has had several diplomatic disadvantages and allowed Western leaders, like Mrs Thatcher, a justification for not maintaining links with the ANC

Moreover, the SACP is one of the most unreconstructed, some would say Stalinist, communist parties in the world

The SACP's general secretary, Joe Slovo, has had frequent public arguments with members of the Soviet Politburo for refusing to respond to ideological shifts in Moscow and Eastern Europe.

As both the ANC and the SACP are banned in SA, it is extremely difficult to assess which is the more influential

The ANC has always been better at creating martyrs and political icons than clear policy statements. Those liberal white South Africans who join the regular trips up to Lusaka to meet the exiled ANC leadership often return astonished by the ANC's ignorance of events inside the country, and by the leaders' baleful lack of credible policies

Hendrickse and Klerk

Group Areas Act

WHILE President F W de Klerk hinders ahead with his reform initiatives and Nelson Mandela chooses "authentic" leaders from his Victor Verster Prison villa, the Government's coloured and Indian partners in the tricameral Parliament are ignored

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Dr Reddy and Mr Hendrickse learnt about this historic event from the media

Beyers Naudé and representatives of the ANC, PAC, Azapo, the UDF and Cosatu is working out the logistics of the congress, where a resolutional guidelines proposed by the ANC for a non-racial democratic South Africa

With the Labour Party's national conference scheduled for the end of next month in Kimberley, it will have the opportunity to take stock and re-evaluate not only its own relevance in the scheme of things, but that of further participation in tricameral ethnic politics.

Group Areas Act was repealed, now faces his second Eshowe

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives and leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has so far failed to secure an interview with Mr Mandela through official channels

Mr Mandela, by writing numerous letters to educationist Professor James Gerwel and Mr Franklin Sontu, has apparently sidestepped them out as the leaders of the "coloured" community he would prefer to have by his side at the negotiating table

Mr Hendrickse and his counterpart in the Indian chamber of Parliament, Dr J N Reddy, have so far missed out on a meeting with Mandela

No trilateralists will be permitted to attend the congress. The "Committee of Twelve" has already agreed on what is termed a "unifying perspective" for the congress

Mr Hendrickse must wonder sometimes about the wisdom of having opted for "conditional" participation at the congress in Eshowe in January 1983.

He can take the initiative and close down the tricameral Parliament or he can let President De Klerk do it for him in one way or another, leaving him a spent force.

Hours before the Pretoria talks with the trio of clergymen, Mr De Klerk stunned the nation and the world with his announcement that he was releasing eight political prisoners, colleagues of Mr Mandela

December that could dwarf in impact and significance the Congress of the People held on June 26 1985 where the Freedom Charter was drafted and adopted

A "Committee of Twelve", which includes Tutu, Boesak, Reddy and Mr Hendrickse

Main issues on the agenda are: ● Attitudes and perspectives of people's organisations on a negotiated settlement, ● The role of the international community in support of non-racism and the struggle against apartheid.

Members of the Labour Party will have the right to question at Kimberley what happened to the mandate Mr Hendrickse secured at last year's Bloemfontein congress to take the initiative and negotiate with extra-parliamentary bodies "to bring together our black brothers".

Not only did the congress empower its leadership to talk to extra-parliamentary bodies like the UDF and Cosatu, but also to the ANC in Lusaka

Mr Hendrickse and his counterpart in the Indian chamber of Parliament, Dr J N Reddy, have so far missed out on a meeting with Mandela

It is becoming increasingly clear that in the new unfolding political tapestry, events are being planned to overtake the relevance of the Hendrickses and Reddy's

Mr Hendrickse and Dr Reddy first felt the chill when Mr De Klerk, soon after his inauguration, invited the Rev Frank Chikane of the SACC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak to talks at the Union Buildings

● The role of the international community in support of non-racism and the struggle against apartheid.

The Hendrickse who held a joint sitting of Parliament spellbound with his damning indictment of the Group Areas Act on September 28 last year and his refusal to budge on the issue of postponed elections for whites unless the

But so far that initiative seems to have failed.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE Government and the African National Congress are edging closer to each other — opening up real prospects for the unbanning of the organisation and the release of its leader, Nelson Mandela.

These twin issues are acknowledged by the two parties, as well as the international community, as the central axis of a wider bid by the country's rulers to bring stability to South Africa

Cleaning out racially discriminatory legislation from the statutes is the main thrust of this wider bid — creating a political environment in which old adversaries can negotiate a new order

supported by most citizens

It is this double-tracked, overlapping strategy that the Government is busy with at present

The symbolic milestone in this strategy was reached a week ago with the ANC's historic Soccer City rally outside Johannesburg

Allowing the technically-banned organisation to conduct itself politically in the open was a turning point for

both the ANC and the Government

From it, the Government has extracted two valuable lessons

● The ANC can be dealt with as a conventional political entity. The violent face of the movement is one that can be turned away, yet leaving a satisfactorily functional

from the points of view of both the Government and the organisation itself

State, ANC close the

Mandela freedom

edges nearer as

Pretoria steps up

its quest for peace

● The size and relatively subdued spirit of the attendance — little more than others, such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have attracted at similar venues — showed once more that the ANC is by no means the only player on the non-government side of the court.

The inevitable outcome of the rally was that the formal unbanning of the ANC became a central point of the current debate

On Thursday, President F W de Klerk said the Government "could not consider this" until the ANC showed "by its words and actions" that it had forsworn violence — making the unbanning a conditional possibility

The most senior ANC man in the country, Mr Walker Sisulu, was swift to respond that this was not an impossible condition

● The ANC can be dealt with as a conventional political entity. The violent face of the movement is one that can be turned away, yet leaving a satisfactorily functional

from the points of view of both the Government and the organisation itself

gap

P 70

Guarantee

The ANC was showing precisely that, he said, by the manner in which Sunday's rally was conducted and the fact that violent acts had come to a halt.

Precisely at which point the Government will be satisfied that this condition has been fully met is not clear.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, has said that a written undertaking is not what the Government necessarily has in mind.

Senior Government sources have indicated, though, that if things continue along the present trend, Mr Mandela's release and the possible unbanning of the ANC are envisaged for January next year.

In the meanwhile the Government has other, equally real, problems.

Conservative whites opposed to the direction reform is taking, have forced the Government to investigate charges arising from the rally.

Grumbles

Among these, the extensive quotation of the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, would seem a certain legal transgression.

Lying at the heart of this — and similar manifestations, such as grumbling in the police force — is the fact that early moves towards a new society have already outstripped the spirit, if not the letter, of current legislation.

For example, the Government is going to have to decide to enforce, amend or scrap the legislation on listed persons. While newspapers, such as this one, are still prosecuted for quoting such persons, there are numerous other instances where the list is flouted.

Other legislation that is widely circumvented, or even defied, is the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act.

Defying

The latter is having some of the pressure taken off it by the creation of Free Settlement Areas, but the Government is still hamstrung by legal provisions that prevent it from enforcing contraventions outside of these areas.

In many towns where facilities are nominally reserved for whites, blacks are using them either in defiance or simply because there is no alternative.

All these issues will have to be tackled in the Parliamentary session starting in February.

In the interim the Government favours a strategy of working behind the scenes to encourage local authorities to open public amenities to all.

In this way it will gradually reduce the Separate Amenities Act to an empty shell while giving conservatives time to adjust to new circumstances.

• See Opinion, Page 22

11A

5/11/89

11A S. Simons

Antjie's 'lost' poem was ANC man's ray of hope

BY EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN
A YOUNG Afrikaans poet, whose poem Jammer was quoted to 70 000 people at the Freedom Rally in Soweto last week, said she wrote it 17 years ago when she was a Standard 9 schoolgirl.

And until it was read by freed Rivonia trialist Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Antjie Krog believed the poem had been "lost".

The poem expresses the hope that one day in South Africa "black and white" will "hand in hand" bring peace to this "beautiful land".

The poem was published in a school yearbook, says the poet, and has never been included in any of her eight published volumes of verse.

Mr Kathrada said he first read the poem over 10 years ago when he was imprisoned on Robben Island.

It was written in Afrikaans but had been translated into English for him by a fellow prisoner. He said he believed

ANTJIE KROG ... her poem at the mass freedom rally last week, 17 years after it was written

Look I am building myself a land where skin means nothing, just your understanding, where no goatface in parliament shouts to keep verkramp things permanently where black and white hand in hand will bring peace and love to my beautiful land

Among her achievements are the Rapport prize for Jerusalem Gangers, the Eugene Marais prize for Jan-vaars-Suite and the Rema Pruisen Geerhys Prys for Mamun and Berninde Antarc-tica.

University of the Western Cape Afrikaans lecturer Pieter Conradie, who is studying Miss Krog's poems for his doctorate, described her as a highly respected, politically active poet.

"Her poems are taught in schools and at universities because of their consistently high standard," he said. "She is particularly adept at blank verse but has written highly acclaimed poems in other forms."

He said she was seen as a rebel by some critics because she challenged Afrikaner values especially in the way in which she expressed her beliefs on the role of women and also for some of her sex-

ually explicit poetry. That was an area, he said, which had not often been explored in Afrikaans poetry as Afrikaans women were traditionally seen as "strong" and "unyielding" people who did not express inner emotions in public.

Vision

Mr Conradie said a later development had been her promotion of Afrikaans as the language of the "liberator" whereas in the past it was seen as the language of the "oppressor".

Miss Krog, who still lives in Kroonstad, writes under her maiden name. She is, according to Mrs Sarita Edwards, of publisher Human and Rousseau, among the best-selling Afrikaans poets.

"Her appeal is widespread," she said. Human and Rousseau have published

seven volumes of her poetry, all of which are still in print. Taurus published her most recent volume, titled Lady Anne.

Speaking from her home, Miss Krog said the poem was an expression of a wish and a vision.

She said she did not set out to write "political" poetry and it was a comment on the politics of South Africa that a poem written so long ago could still be relevant.

It showed, she said, how little things had changed. "A political poem should have a life of two years or less," she said. "By then things should have changed which would make it irrelevant."

She said she had been "moved" by her poem being singled out by Mr Kathrada.

"As a poet it means that the act of writing for me at the time was a valid one."

Prosecution sees red at ANC's court fashion show

11A
S. Times
5/11/89

BLACK, green and gold — the colours of the African National Congress — look set to become the hottest combination on the South African alternative fashion scene this summer

And leading the way in the leftwing fashion stakes this week — much to the consternation of the State — were Broederstroom trialists Susan Wescott, Damian de

By CHARIS PERKINS

Lange and Ian Robertson. The Pretoria Regional Court, where the trial of the all-white ANC military cell arrested in Broederstroom last year is being played out, has become the setting for a vivid display of support for the banned organisation.

On Wednesday, recently released ANC leaders Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Andrew Mlangeni were in court to show their support for the trio

To welcome their attendance, the trialists and many members of the public gallery wore colourful splashes of black, green and gold.

Striking

Damian de Lange and Ian Robertson sported black ties brightened by two broad bands — one green and one yellow

Susan Wescott wore a black blouse, and had a green and gold scarf knotted around her neck.

Members of the public gallery were imaginative in their display of alternative chic. One woman wore black trousers, green T-shirt top, yellow shoes and belt, and a black handbag

Wescott has worn striking combinations of the colours since the trial began in July. But on the day her co-trialists decided to follow her lead with their black, green and gold ties, the State prosecution team decided to object

Defence counsel David Soggot told the magistrate, Mr W J van den Bergh, that the trialists had not intended to offend

Strident

When asked whether the three were wearing ANC colours, Mr Soggot replied — to the amusement of the public gallery — "They are appropriate to the ANC and also to Inkatha."

The magistrate promptly ruled the colours a contravention of legislation concerning a banned organisation and ordered their removal

Cries of "Viva" and "Amandla" have become more strident as the trial progresses, and on the last day in court this week the only people who did not leap up from the crowded benches to shout enthusiastic responses were the police, the defence, the prosecution and the Press

Heroes

Wescott, De Lange and Robertson have been found guilty on various charges of terrorism. The men have also pleaded guilty to counts of arson

But testifying earlier in the proceedings, defence witness and chairman of the South African Council of Churches Bishop Manas Buthelezi said the trio would be "considered more than heroes" in the townships, where the ANC was considered the legitimate leader of the people

And in argument late this week, Mr Soggot said "The accused regard themselves as soldiers. They suffer no remorse and they are as unwavering in their commitment to their ideals and ideology as ever before."

Sentence is likely to be passed next week

No fancy cars for MK three

Their priority was morality

By **DESMOND BLOW**

THE Broederstroom trio - three young white ANC guerrillas - were idealists who did not take part in "terrorist" activities for personal gain

While other young whites their age were interested in fancy clothes and cars, the priority of the three was morality

This was argued by Advocate David Soggot SC this week in the Pretoria Regional Court, where Damian de Lange, 31, Iain Robertson, 36, and Susan Westcott, 25, have all been found guilty on

charges of terrorism

Soggot said two of the three had lost friends through security force action and considered it an honour when they were invited to join Umkhonto we Sizwe

The leader, De Lange, had been brought up in a Roman Catholic environment and had at one time considered joining the priesthood

He had worked on the mines and had engaged in fist fights over the treatment of blacks by white colleagues on the mines

As a journalist his experience of unrest in the townships had further

alienated him from SA government policy

He and two other white journalists had felt so strongly that when the PIP supported the government on cross-border raids by security forces, they fire-bombed PFP offices as a sign of protest

While in Botswana, close friend Jenny Curtis Schoon had been murdered by a letter bomb and another friend, Mike Hamblin, was killed

Soggot said De Lange loved South Africa. He joined the ANC in 1981 and Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1982.

Robertson had grown

up in a leftist family

His father had died when Robertson was 12 and his mother - who was against violence - had friends among prominent leftwingers such as Braam Fischer

Robertson became involved in student politics at Wits and went to London in 1974.

In 1978 he joined the ANC and worked with the International Defence and Aid Fund. In 1985 he was invited to join Umkhonto we Sizwe

Westcott was born and raised in Swaziland

Soggot said although she received military training she had been involved in Broederstroom only as the communications officer and this should be a mitigating factor

She had been brought up in a family that was non-racist and she had attended a non-racial school

The death of friends, including that of a child, due to South African security force action, had moved her deeply



Damian de Lange ... could have joined the priesthood.



Susan Westcott ... grew up in a non-racial environment.

Three are defiant in court

THE Broederstroom trio will know their fate this week as their "terrorism" trial draws to a close

Although they face many years behind bars, they have remained defiant and unrepentant.

They have entered the court with fists clenched and yelled "Amandla".

On Wednesday, shortly before released ANC leaders Walter Sisulu, Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni and Elias Motsoaledi appeared at the Pretoria Regional Court in support

of the trio, they were ordered by magistrate WJ van den Bergh to remove the ANC colours in their clothing.

Damian de Lange and Iain Robertson were wearing black ties with gold and green stripes, and Susan Westcott a green skirt, black blouse and gold and green scarf.

There were emotional scenes as the trio and their families greeted the leaders.

When the court was adjourned, the trio shouted "Visa our leaders!"

1

PAC leader buried in Transkei

UMTATA — The Pan African Congress is not against whites but against white domination, according to Pan Africanist Congress stalwart and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Clarence Makwethu. Mr Mlokothe, who served six years' imprisonment on Robben Island in the 1960s after the pass laws defiance campaign, died in Cape Town a week ago after a short illness.

Mr Makwethu made this distinction at the funeral of 63-year-old Mr Stembiso Christopher Mlokothe, a founder-member of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, in Tsomo, Transkei, yesterday.

Mr Makwethu told upward of 6 000 mourners, who came from as far as the Western Cape and the Reef, that he believed one could not win at the negotiating table if one did not win on the battlefield — Sapa

Tutu willing to act as 'facilitator' in talks

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has said he is willing to meet President de Klerk and be a "facilitator" towards negotiations — as a churchman, not a politician. He has indicated that it would be easier for him to urge people to be "slightly more patient" if Mr de Klerk took a step to clearly demonstrate his commitment to end apartheid.

The archbishop said he would prefer to meet the President as one of a delegation of church leaders including Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Archbishop Tutu said he was not a leader of the Mass Democratic Movement. He wished to see the church retain its autonomy and act as the conscience of society.

He said "I would have hoped that by now, as a man who has taken the trouble to go to Mozambique and Zambia, he would decide it was time he spoke to leaders within the country

"I would prefer that I did not go alone but rather that it was an ecumenical approach, and would be understood that we were not claiming to be negotiators, but people seeking to be facilitators in negotiations."

Archbishop Tutu said President de Klerk could dramatically alter the climate in South Africa — "almost by the stroke of a pen" — by lifting the state of emergency, releasing detainees, unbanning organisations and scrapping other laws.

"If he did that, how could anyone stand up in the international community and say 'We want more sanctions'?"

"And I think those engaged in the armed struggle would find it very difficult to continue to persuade people, even in the black community, that there was justification."

Mr de Klerk took a limited step, "that could buy him time by impressing people that he is serious" But if he "does nothing, or something that is almost inconsequential, it will be difficult to persuade — especially the more radical — that there was merit in giving him a chance"

THROUGH the chinks made in the iron curtain of apartheid by President de Klerk's *glasnost* it is already possible to discern South African realities that have been hidden for a generation, but some things remain ominously hidden.

The Soweto rally, despite the organisational support of trades unions that command hundreds of thousands of workers, and despite long-distance busing, and despite sustained use of publicity techniques perfected by the organisers of pop concerts, drew fewer people than a good soccer match in the same stadium.

It's too early to say the ANC is being cut down to size, but it shrinks by the day: a gaggle of exiles who have mastered the diplomatic skills of tapping into foreign funds and scholarship rackets, some violent cadres who depend on dwindling Soviet aid to make bangs, and an inchoate, unorganised, essentially middle-class mass of vaguely sympathetic folk in the townships.

With every passing day, the ANC members look more and more like the people who surrounded every white South African's childhood and made it safe. Most of them, when the ANC puts on a grand show, have the good sense to stay at home with the kids, or mend the garden gate.

There is, however, one remaining dark corner, filled with nastiness. The Soweto rally, says a clever head-line, was ANC "but the day belonged to the Red Flag", and that is true. The rally was organised not by the ANC itself, but by a shadowy amalgam of groups that resemble nothing so much as the old Congress movement, still dominated — as the Congress movement was in the Fifties — by its white and Indian members, working through black members of the SA Communist Party.

Quibbles apart, there is no longer the slightest doubt that the ANC is led, organised and controlled to a dominant degree by members of the

Behind the ANC's a fresh face lies a hidden agenda

KEN OWEN

South African Communist Party which is, by definition, a conspiracy whose stated aim is a two-stage revolution, first to overthrow apartheid, and afterwards to establish a communist state.

Don't take my word for it. Look at the SACP's programme of action adopted at the 7th congress earlier this year, and outlined in a document titled *Path to Power*. "The struggle for national liberation, the destruction of colonialism of a special type and the transition to socialism in South Africa require a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party capable of providing a highly disciplined organisation and the guiding light of the scientific socialist outlook grounded in South African realities."

Of course, it is a little difficult to take seriously a party which claims — in 1989 — that the main historical tendency of our epoch is "the transition from capitalism to socialism". The people of Poland and Hungary would die laughing if they overheard our true-blue Reds.

Path to Power also says, at a time of satisfying low inflation and high employment (rising even now in Britain), that "the working people of the advanced capitalist country are

now experiencing growing unemployment and a rising cost of living". In the Fifties, the SACP at least got its facts right, even if its interpretations were silly. Now it can't even master the facts.

In recent years, a lovely man living, I think, on a Transvaal smallholding, has been sending me furious letters insisting that the Soviet Union's steel production has outstripped America's, and that Soviet industry has overtaken German industry, and similar mad assertions. The SACP hierarchy, it seems to me, inhabits the same world of fantasy

Nevertheless, the SACP can be dangerous, especially if the communist tail manages to wag the ANC dog. For example, *Path to Power* brushes aside the idea of peacefully negotiated solutions in South Africa. "Seizure of power by the revolutionary masses is the fundamental task of the national democratic revolution. This will entail the destruction of existing state institutions."

The argument, in seems, comes back to the theory of un governabi-

stage of the two-stage revolution, the ANC and the SACP act as one, agreeing on "strategy and all key tactics."

According to *Path to Power*, the SACP also shelters these days within the Mass Democratic Movement. "Within this movement, South African communists strive for maximum unity in action around the day-to-day demands of the workers," it says, and then dwells at some length on the need to win over white workers, women, youth, and church groups.

The key paragraph, which really spells out the dimensions of the conspiracy, is this "All of these sectors, drawn together into the Mass Democratic Movement, are the organised mass contingent of our national liberation struggle. The Mass Democratic Movement, together with the vanguard liberation alliance, constitute the Front of Revolutionary Forces."

More and more forces, it claims, which do not share the aims of the MDM or the vanguard party, nevertheless identify with some of the aims of the Front, and should be drawn into the struggle behind the Front. That would explain the recent attempts by the left to woo liberals back into its embrace.

In a key paragraph *Path to Power* says, "Seizure of power will be the product of escalating and progressively merging mass political and military struggle with the likelihood of culminating in an insurrection."

Cynically, it adds, "We are not engaged in a struggle whose objective is merely to generate sufficient pressure to bring the other side to the negotiating table."

The government permits declared members of the Communist Party like Ahmed Kathrada and "scientific socialists" like Walter Sisulu to speak freely, from public platforms and in the Press, but they do not reveal this hidden agenda. They do not permit the light of *glasnost* to fall on their conspiracies.

They simply hoist the Red Flag for all the sheep to follow

LETTERS

Tuesday, November 7, 1989

ANC 7 invited to the French indaba on SA

ROBERT GENTLE

LONDON — Walter Sisulu and six other black activists are scheduled to make their first trip abroad since their release from prison when they arrive in Paris in three weeks time for the indaba on SA

Their participation, along with that of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was confirmed yesterday by the organisers, the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation.

A spokesman from the French Anti-Apartheid Movement welcomed the news, though he said it remained to be seen whether the former detainees would be allowed to leave SA so soon after their release.

The Foreign Ministry at the Quai d'Orsay said it had no knowledge of the list of invited delegates — thought to number up to 200 — and continued to refer all inquiries to the foundation.

Reliable sources in the French media said the Quai d'Orsay would soon emerge from the shadows and begin to play a more prominent role.

They said senior figures at the Quai d'Orsay had at first been very sceptical about the indaba, and resentful of the way the foundation was "undermining" the government's foreign stage role.

This view was debated in the latest edition of the weekly political magazine L'Express, which devoted its main story to what it called the enigma of Danielle Mitterrand.

"Does France today have two foreign ministers?" L'Express asked, and highlighted the conflicts of interest that have at times arisen between the foundation and the government on certain foreign policy issues.

However, L'Express said the upcoming Paris indaba would be the foundation's "biggest coup" if it could be successfully pulled off.

Rejecting claims of left-wing bias and often associating with religious leaders like Tutu, she said "They are very generous people who care about other people's misery. For me, that is enough."

□ SIPHO NGCOBO reports that the MDM yesterday said the movement had no knowledge of the ANC leaders' inclusion in the Paris talks.

The MDM spokesman could not say whether the leaders had applied for passports for an intended Lusaka trip.

11/11/89

State urges 325 years jail for ANC three

THE State yesterday asked the Pretoria Regional Court to sentence the three Broederstroom ANC terror trialists to a total of 325 years in jail.

State advocate Mr Frans Roets said the trio could have caused devastation and havoc in South Africa had they not been arrested.

Addressing magistrate Mr WJ van den Bergh on the subject of appropriate sentences Mr Roets said it was clear they wanted to intimidate the population with cowardly attacks.

Broederstroom ANC cell commander Damian de Lange, political commissar Ian Robertson, and communications officer Susan Westcott, also known as Donnelly were convicted in June this

year of 11, 11 and 10 counts of terrorism respectively and are expected to be sentenced this week.

De Lange was also convicted of two charges of arson and one of attempted arson arising from the petrol-bombing of PFP offices in 1981.

Roets asked that they respectively be sentenced to 125, 110 and 90 years.

De Lange wanted to carry the torch of liberation but used it to set fire to the PFP offices, said Roets.

He said as ANC cell commander De Lange had had the power to make decisions of life and death over thousands, even millions of his former countrymen when he re-entered South Africa on a mission of death and destruction.

Listing the arsenal of explosives that had been pointed out by De Lange, Mr Roets said the accused could have caused devastation and havoc in the Republic, and it is only, with respect, an act of God the accused were arrested, otherwise one shudders to think what could have happened.

De Lange's bomb attack on a SADF bus in Benoni last year had been a most dastardly deed.

Roets said the only logical inference that could be drawn from defence counsel Mr David Soggott's argument for mitigation was that his clients had merely wanted to frighten the passengers.

It had only been an act of God that the passengers - 16 members of Air Force - had not been killed, said Mr Roets. - Sapa.

17A
Sowetan
7/11/89

Buthelezi speaks on ANC prospects

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would be "overjoyed" if the ANC returned to take its place as one of the political parties with the right to go to the South African people and seek to become a government.

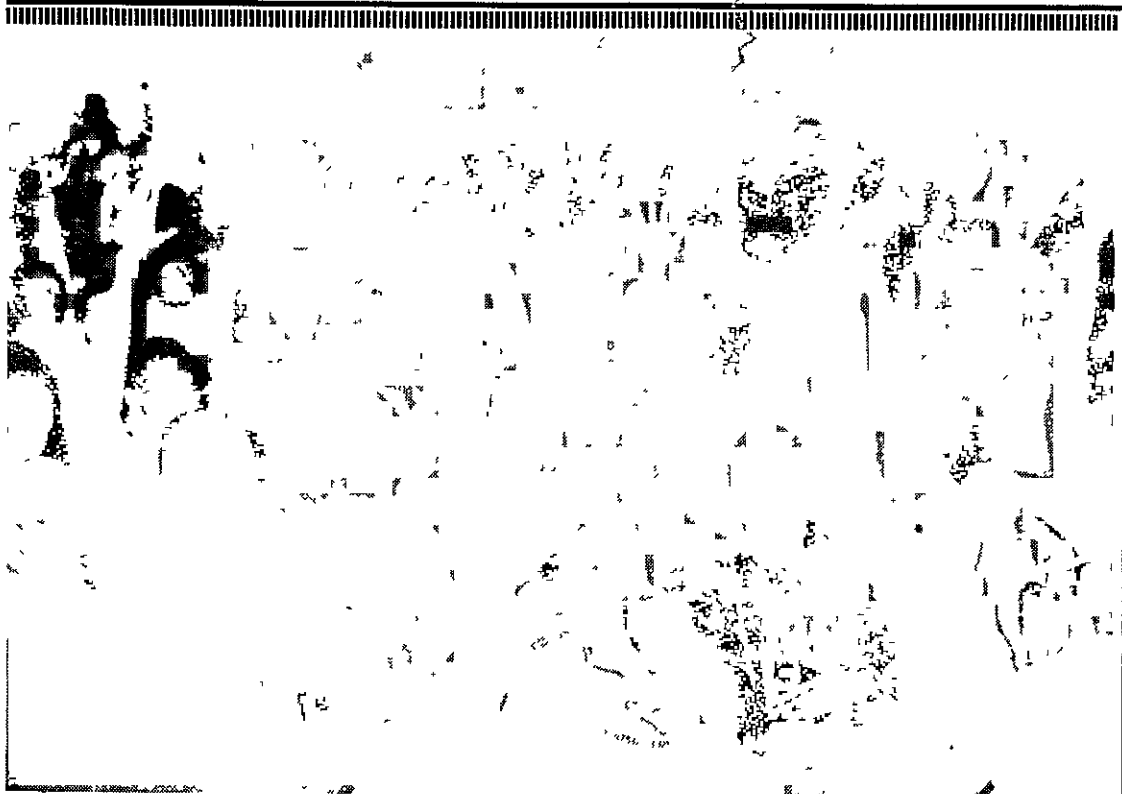
But this was unlikely, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president told eminent Belgian writer/historian Dr Steven Debroey.

Nowhere in the world did revolutionaries struggle to establish a multi-party democracy in which they were simply among the contenders for power, he said.

On the prospect of the ANC returning

to join other contenders for power, Buthelezi said, "I will certainly not be the one that makes this unlikely state of affairs impossible. However, I will also not be the one who lays himself down before the ANC's war machine to be left mangled and trampled upon in the ANC's forward march to supremacy over all."

Stirring events would be happening in the next unfolding of South African history and there was more fluidity than ever before, but the one certainty was that there was no prospect at all of a return to Verwoerdian apartheid. - Sapa.



Delegates voting at the congress

Sowetan

Call for unity at Mwasa rally

117

7/11/89

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THERE were good reasons for the existence of the PAC, Black Consciousness Movement and ANC and none of them can claim sole responsibility for the advances made in the struggle so far, president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, Mrs

Sandra Nagfaal, said at the weekend

Delivering her presidential address to the 10th annual congress of Mwasa held at Strandfontein in Cape Town, Nag-

faal said the oppressed and exploited masses needed to address the different political ideologies without allowing these to stall our race to freedom

"Let us respect all the ideologies and be grateful for the contribution of all," she added. She said the recent long overdue release of political prisoners, marches and rallies, were light at the end of a 300-year tunnel of oppression and exploitation

She committed Mwasa, which represents black media workers of all categories, to fight against media restrictions

8 black lawyers to meet with PAC in Lusaka

11A
Sowetan
7/11/89

EIGHT members of the Black Lawyers Association have been invited to a meeting with senior officials of the Pan Africanist Congress in Lusaka at the end of this month.

By **MONK NKOMO**

Mr Dikgang Mosenke, publicity secretary of the BLA, yesterday said they had accepted the invitation to hold talks with PAC leaders on November 28

Mosenke and two other members of the BLA Mr Keith Kunene, vice president, and Mr Godfrey Pitje, former president of the BLA, will meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison tomorrow. Mosenke said Mandela has not disclosed a specific agenda for the meeting.

The visit followed an invitation from Mandela who has also requested to meet Mr Japhta Masemola, founder-member of the PAC who was released from jail last month after serving 27 years in prison.

Mosenke yesterday said the BLA will consult with PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng and other political groupings within the country before they jet out to Lusaka

"The BLA also resolved at their annual gener-

al meeting to issue a manifesto as soon as possible in which we will set out our attitude on a wide variety of political and legal matters," Mosenke said

Masemola, who has been given the green-light by the PAC to visit Mandela, yesterday said he and the ANC leader had been friends at Robben Island for 25 years. He added that should Mandela raise any political issues during their meeting he will take note of the matters and report back to the PAC

State calls for maximum sentence

Broederstroom trio callous, court told

By Norman Chandler,
Pretoria Bureau

The State has asked that the Broederstroom Three ANC terror trial accused be collectively sentenced to more than 320 years in prison.

The trial in the Pretoria Regional Court, which started earlier this year, has been marked by a refusal of the accused — Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson and Susan Westcott (also known as Donnelly) — to give evidence. Instead, evidence in mitigation was called for from leading sociologists, experts on the ANC and the clergy.

De Lange and Robertson were each found guilty on 11 charges of terrorism and Westcott on 10 charges.

Each of the terrorism counts carries a maximum penalty in the Regional Court of 10 years. The maximum sentence for terrorism for De Lange and Robertson would be 110 years each, while that for Westcott would be 100 years.

In his summing up yesterday, deputy State prosecutor Mr

Johan Pretorius urged the court to dismiss evidence given in mitigation by expert witnesses.

He said that the evidence of Professor C Bundy, of the University of Cape Town, was "his interpretation of the South African situation" and was inadmissible as evidence.

The evidence offered by Ms Betty Welz, a sociologist at the University of South Africa (Unisa), was characterised by "many faults" while that of Professor Helm, professor emeritus at the University of Cape Town, was merely "a general opinion".

Attack

Bishop Manas Buthelezi, of the Lutheran Reformed Church, had used semantics in his evidence, and therefore what he had told the court for the defence was "indirect".

The court heard yesterday that De Lange, who was identified in court as the leader of the ANC terror unit arrested at Broederstroom in May last year, had entered South Africa "bent on death and destruction".

State prosecutor Mr Frans

Roets said De Lange had carried "a torch of liberation" which he was going to use for devastation and havoc.

Mr Roets described the unit's attack on a military bus at Benoni as "cowardly and callous".

"They were shamelessly attacking the weak and shamelessly fleeing from the strong."

Mr Roets said De Lange carried "the torch of liberty for the oppressed" but used the torch to set fire to the offices of the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Roets described the arrests of the three as an act of God because they had not been ordinary terrorists but highly motivated, extremely skilled, intelligent and well-trained terrorists.

The magistrate, Mr W J van den Bergh, announced at the end of the State's argument that he would give his verdict on Friday.

Mr D Soggot, SC, in his legal argument for the defence, said earlier yesterday the accused were committed to their ideals.

He spoke of their fundamental thirst for a democratic society

11A Star 7/11/89

MDM voices support for Swapo

11A

Sowdan 7/11/89

A VICTORY for Swapo in the Namibian elections would be a victory for the people of South Africa, the Namibian solidarity committee of the Mass Democratic Movement of South Africa said in Windhoek yesterday

the years opposed South African colonial domination and apartheid.

"The frontiers of apartheid retreat from the Caprivi to the Orange River in Swapo's march to freedom," the MDM said in a full-page advertisement

"Swapo will be the only liberation movement to unite the people of Namibia in building democracy and non-racialism," the MDM said.

"Our struggle is their struggle The MDM held high its banner in solidarity with Swapo at a critical time of Swapo's struggle for independence, freedom and peace in Namibia.

The MDM condemned attempts of South African government-sponsored parties to sabotage the liberation of Namibia by importing conservative white South African voters.

"Swapo, we believe, is the only organisation in Namibia which has consistently and genuinely over

"These parties' attempts are a recipe for continued oppression and exploitation," the MDM said.

"These attempts will fuel internal strife and will not bring about the reconciliation that is espoused and sought by Swapo." - Sapa.

Editors face subpoenas over rally

JOHANNESBURG — The editors of South Africa's two largest-circulation dailies face the threat of subpoenas under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act

The editors of The Star and Sowetan, Mr Harvey Tyson and Mr Aggrey Klaaste respectively, have been told to provide the police with information about the organisation of the "welcome home" rally two Sundays ago for Mr Walter Sisulu and six other released ANC prisoners — or face possible jail terms

Their cases follow — but are quite separate from — the Section 205 subpoena served on the editor of the South African Press Association (Sapa)

The editors have been asked through

their lawyers to name the persons who, or bodies which, placed and paid for the advertisements announcing the rally

Mr Tyson said he could not and would not provide private information about advertisers unless he was convinced a real crime had been committed

All legal advertisers and newspaper readers ought to be entitled to normal rights, he said

"The authorities need to make up their minds. Either the rally was legal, or it was not. If the meeting now turns out to be illegal then the first approach should be made to the government spokesmen who gave an assurance in advance that it could

be staged

"If they want other information about the rally, the police should follow the normal procedure and interview the organisers and organisations which publicly supported it

"The disturbing thing about these threats to the press of Section 205 is that the government seems to be acting in two contradictory ways — and within the same department

"We have the benign face which is winning approval for the government at home and abroad — and we have the mailed fist which continues to be used against the press for no apparent reason other than a political one," Mr Tyson said — Sapa

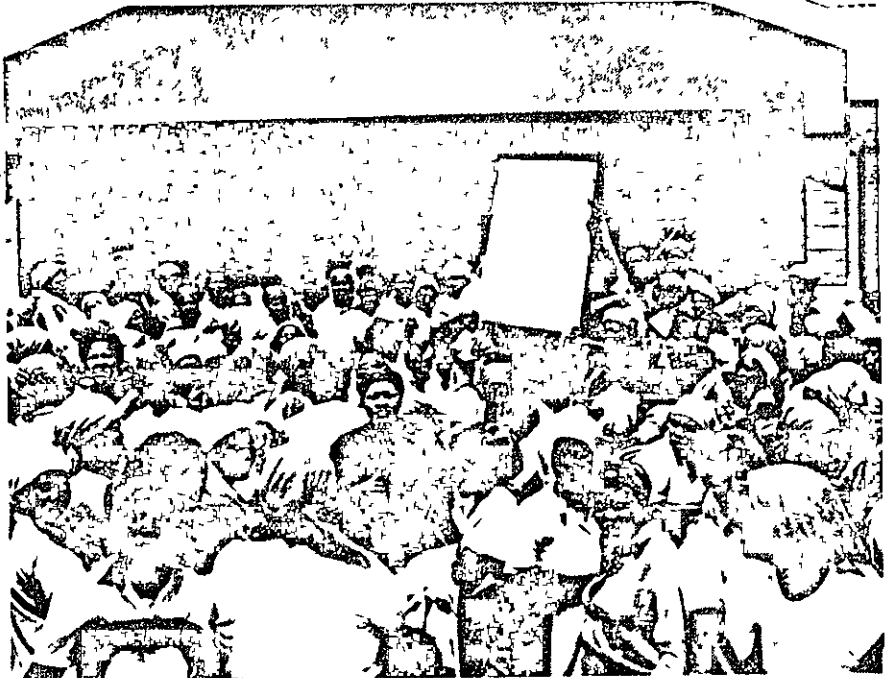
Women back mayor of Crossroads

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 250 women marched in support of Old Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana yesterday

They were protesting at recent allegations made by 14 break-away headmen who have accused Mr Ngxobongwana of misusing tithes he collected

The women gathered at Nyanga town hall, where they spoke to Brigadier Gillus van de Wall, deputy regional commissioner, Western Cape. He told the women to go home, and they then marched in a group to Noxolo school, where a statement was read out in support of Mr Ngxobongwana



ON THE MARCH . . . About 250 women march in support of Mr Ngxobongwana, who has been accused of misusing money collected from the community.

Picture ANNE LAING

'Reluctant' Sapa editor's statement on Cosatu release

JOHANNESBURG. — The editor of the South African Press Association (Sapa), Mr Edwin Linington, made a statement "most reluctantly" before a magistrate yesterday in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act

Mr Linington, who had been subpoenaed to make a statement about the receipt and transmission of a press release from Cosatu in July this year, told the magistrate, Mr J F Zeelie, that he was making the statement "most reluctantly" and as a last resort "after thoroughly exploring and considering all other alternatives".

After hearing the statement under oath, prosecutor Mr A van Wyk told the court Mr Linington had satisfied Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, and no further information was required from him.

Mr Linington told the magistrate he had been visited by two members of the security branch of the SA Police on August 15 this year, and had been shown a copy of a press release issued by Cosatu through Sapa.

The statement contained resolutions by the National Union of Mineworkers, the Transport and General Workers' Union and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, none of which were unlawful or restricted organisations. Cosatu was partly restricted in terms of the Security Emergency Regulations.

He said the press release had been transmitted to Sapa's subscribers and members in the ordinary way on July 14 this year.

He said Cosatu was a contributor to the Sapa PR wire service which enabled it to provide Sapa with press releases for transmission to the media. The service was available to any person who paid the prescribed fee.

He said the the press release was transmitted to all Sapa's members and subscribers on July 14 this year, the same day it had been received from Cosatu. — Sapa

Marathon session may signal pact

Mandela and PAC leader 11A in 6-day talks

SIPHO NGCOBO

PAC leader Jeff Masemola leaves tonight for six days of talks with imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela at his house at Victor Verster Prison, Paarl.

This is the longest visit yet by an individual to Mandela, and is being described in extra-parliamentary circles as the beginning of a "unity pact" between the ANC and PAC.

Masemola's special aide Benmie Alexander said the PAC leader would be flying to the Cape tonight, where he would stay until next week.

He declined to comment on a unity pact but said the PAC had given Masemola the green light for the visit.

He reiterated Masemola's statement last week that should any political discussion concerning the ANC and PAC occur, he would listen and report back to the PAC leadership.

Masemola, whom former Robben Island inmates regard as a good friend of Mandela's — the two served many years in the same section on the island — is adamant the visit might turn out to be a "social one".

This is his second visit in less than a month.

On October 13, two days before he was released from life imprisonment with Walter Sisulu and six other ANC leaders, Masemola, escorted by a prison warder, flew from Jan Smuts to the Cape, where he spent seven hours with Mandela.

This visit will be preceded by one at Victor Verster today between three leading figures in the Black Lawyers Association (BLA) and Mandela.

The three are attorney and former ANC Youth League president Godfrey Pitje, ad-

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela is communicating with people outside the prison by fax, it was established yesterday through interviews with prominent lawyers who are meeting Mandela for five hours today.

Former Robben Island prisoner and Pretoria-based advocate Dikgang Moseneke, attorney and former ANC Youth League president Godfrey Pitje and Black Lawyers Association deputy president Keith Kunene received faxed invitations from Mandela two weeks ago.

PAC leader Jeff Masemola, who had tried to speak to Mandela by telephone last month, was urged by a prison service warrant officer to use a fax machine to communicate with the ANC leader. The officer furnished Masemola with Mandela's fax number.

An SA Prisons Service spokesman declined to comment yesterday, saying it was the policy of the service not to discuss the privileges or facilities of individuals.

advocate and BLA publicity secretary Dikgang Moseneke (a former Robben Island prisoner) and the organisation's deputy president Keith Kunene.

Pitje, who was Youth League's president between 1950 and 1951, did his articles under Mandela from 1955 to 1958.

Moseneke, who served 10 years on the island for PAC activities, was convicted and sentenced at the age of 15, making him the island's youngest prisoner. He obtained his BA and LLB degrees in prison.

The three were to leave at 7am today for their five-hour meeting.

Two weeks ago an invitation to the meeting was faxed to them from Mandela's prison house.

ANC, Government must find common vocabulary

By JOYCE HARRIS
of The Black Star

Euphoria is in the air and it is a heady brew. Suddenly there are protest marches in the cities, long-standing political prisoners are released, a mass rally is attended by thousands of people, the ANC is heard and virtually unbans itself.

President de Klerk promises his version of change and negotiation. The ANC seeks its version of negotiation after certain qualifications have been met. These are exciting times, a watershed in the affairs of our country. But we are also on a tightrope and there is no safety net.

The Government talks reform but continues to exercise stringent control over the dissemination of information. It is releasing political prisoners but is it also creating new ones? It calls for negotiation but persists with ethnicity. It is unwilling to think beyond groups.

The ANC says it cannot consider the unilateral renunciation of violence, neither is negotiation on the basis of groups acceptable to it. Although there is some common ground the apparent gap between the National Party Government and the ANC is wide indeed.

Only a process of real communication can bridge it, but right now the two main protagonists appear to

be talking past each other, with potentially disastrous results. For this the National Party must be held largely responsible.

For the past 41 years it has consistently and wilfully misused words for its own propaganda and indoctrinal purposes. One has only to look back upon the linkage of such words as "communism", "liberalism" and "humanism" with each other and with "sickly" to realise how meanings have been adulterated.

It is very difficult now to unscramble the egg and for such concepts as liberalism and humanism to come in from the cold.

Words reflect ideas which are the very currency of the process of negotiation, and the abuse of language has polluted ideas. The end result is that it is well-nigh impossible to be sure what the words presently being

banded around such as negotiation, democracy, peace, change and reform really mean or what ideas they represent.

There is no way of being sure that when the Government and the ANC talk about negotiation or democracy or non-racialism they mean the same thing.

The present situation is very different from that of even a couple of months ago. President de Klerk has created an atmosphere of greater freedom. But this inevitably boosts expectations, and the danger is that they will rise well beyond the level at which Mr de Klerk and his Government are ready to fulfil them.

The ANC faces a similar danger. A song heard at the mass rally to the effect that when the ANC is in power everything will be all right will be exceedingly difficult to deliver should the ANC come to power.

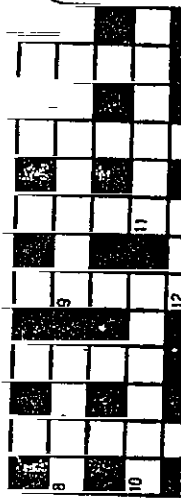
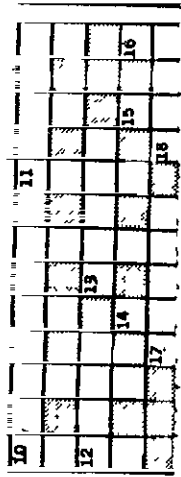
Both sides have their problems. Both profess to open doors. But the language they use must be unequivocal and understood by all, with the same words meaning the same concepts to all. Words must be clearly defined. This is an essential first step towards finding each other, comprehending the problems and coming to grips with them.

If this is not done, if a common language cannot be found, if rising expectations are not acknowledged, if compromises are not sought and achieved, then this hopeful watershed can lead to a calamitous flood and not to the peaceful, non-racial and democratic future that suddenly seems to be within the bounds of possibility.

That this should be the case is in itself an immense achievement, given the unencouraging environment that has for so long prevailed.

Our country cannot afford to miss this opportunity, and failure to take advantage of it by all the people will be both disastrous and unforgivable.

- 10 Young hare (7)
- 11 Progeny (5)
- 12 Spanish wine (4)
- 13 Permit (5)
- 17 Verity (5)
- 18 Lake (4)
- 22 Speedy (5)
- 23 Hide (7)
- 24 Italian city (6)



2 BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, November 8 1989

ANC hangs on to failed tenets

B. Day 8/11/89

11A

THE ANC believes the only way to eliminate poverty in SA is to pursue economic policies which communist parties in eastern Europe are rejecting and the Labour Party, which brought large scale nationalisation to Britain, has abandoned.

In a document targeted at white South Africans now being circulated in SA, the ANC commits itself to "bringing the commanding heights of the economy under democratic

MIKE ROBERTSON

control". Like much of the ANC's writings on economic issues the document is vague as to whether this means large scale nationalisation or state intervention in the economy through regulation.

However, whatever it envisages, ANC interventionism goes much further than that favoured by socialists in Western Europe who now believe the state's role in the economy should be restricted

to control of utilities and essential public services

In the document the ANC says that under its rule the commanding heights of the economy will be brought under democratic control of the people of SA

It lists as areas of the economy which will be brought under state control the banks, mines and large corporations

The ANC says that only by doing this will it be able to enforce the commitment in the Freedom Charter to provide all people with

rights to education, employment and land

In a document outlining its constitutional guidelines for a new SA published last year, the ANC said the state would have the right to determine the general context of economic life

It added that "The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to co-operate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being"

● Comment Page 10

TOPLESS MARCH FOR MEDICAL CARE

Wits to honour Sheena Duncan

By Sue Valentine,
Education Reporter

Black Sash national co-ordinator Sheena Duncan will receive the honorary degree of doctorate of laws from the University of the Witwatersrand next year for her fight against racial injustice.

Mrs Duncan is among four people to be awarded honorary Wits degrees in 1990.

The others are Wits lecturer and administrator, Professor Ellison Khan (doctor of laws), Eskom chief executive Mr Ian McRae (doctor of engineering) and Sir Mark Weinberg (doctor of economic science) for his endeavours in the insurance industry and charitable activities.

Wits said in a statement that Mrs Duncan, national co-ordinator of the Black Sash advice offices, would receive the honour for her outstanding work for the "elimination of racial injustice and for constructive change in South Africa"

OUTSTANDING

Professor Khan, who has been associated with the university for 50 years, will be rewarded for his achievements "as an outstanding scholar, teacher and administrator"

Sir Mark was described as one of Wits' most outstanding graduates and he will receive an honorary doctorate in economic science for his "outstanding scholarship, and innovative brilliance in the insurance industry and charitable activities"

An honorary doctorate in engineering will be conferred on Mr McRae for his efforts "towards the economic upliftment and improvement of the quality of life of southern Africa's people".

Treason accused 'took us to sites'

By Jovial Rantao

DELMAS — Three of the 12 alleged ANC members, on trial here on treason charges, pointed out places to the police in June and July 1988 where the alleged crimes occurred or arms were hidden, the Supreme Court sitting in Delmas heard yesterday

The 12 have pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, terrorism, murder and attempted murder. The charges followed a spate of bombings and shooting in Pretoria last year.

Captain Hendrik Kotze of the Murder and Robbery Squad in Pretoria told the court that on June 21 he was asked by a Captain Visser to accompany an awaiting-trial prisoner who wanted to show the police "some places".

"On June 22 I went to the Security Branch building and was introduced to Mr Francis Pitse. Mr Pitse told me he had some places to show the police. I noticed that Mr Pitse had a gunshot wound on his left arm. When I asked him what had happened, he told me that he was shot, but not by police," Captain Kotze said.

He said Mr Pitse directed them to houses in Mariana, Kudu and Manaka streets in Atteridgeville. The house in Mariana Street is where three

11A
Police were killed in April last year

From there, Mr Pitse directed them to a place at the corner of Malan and Plein streets in Rustenburg. He then took them to the SA/Botswana border between Magobastad and Ramatlabama.

Lieutenant Peter Senekal of the SAP Narcotics Division told the court he was also asked by the Security Police to accompany Mr Pitse, who had places to point out to the police, on July 8 1988.

"Mr Pitse directed us to house No 20 in Laka Street, Atteridgeville. On arrival at the house, Mr Pitse showed us a place in front of the house. He then dug in the garden and took out a plastic-wrapped object. We opened the object in Mr Pitse's presence and found an old rusty R1 rifle that had been buried in the garden," he said.

Captain P J Delport told the court Mr Ernest Ramadite showed him some places at Saulsville railway station. He then directed him to spots in Atteridgeville and a place at the corner of Vermeulen and Andries streets, Pretoria. The hearing continues.

● The accused are Mr Godfrey Mokube (41), Mr Pitsi (24), Mr Mathe (21), Mr Ramadite (24), Mr Johannes Maleka (25), Mr Peter Maluleka (34), Mr Phuti Mokgonyana (26), Mr Joseph Nkosi (39), Mr Reuben Khotsa (23), Mr Reginald Legodi (22), Mr Alfred Kgasi (25) and Mr Rodney Toka (25).

CAPE TOWN 8/11/89

Fax machine for Mandela

Own Correspondent (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is now communicating with people outside the prison by fax, it was established yesterday through interviews with prominent lawyers who are meeting Mr Mandela for five hours today.

Former Robben Island prisoner and Pretoria-based advocate Mr Dikgang Moseneke, attorney and former ANC Youth League president Mr Godfrey Pitje and Black Lawyers' Association (BLA) deputy president Mr Keith Kunene received faxed invitations

from Mr Mandela two weeks ago.

PAC leader Mr Japhta Masemola, who had tried to speak to Mr Mandela by telephone last month, was urged by a certain warrant-officer to use a fax machine to communicate with the most popular political prisoner in the world. The warrant-officer furnished Mr Masemola with the ANC leader's fax number.

A spokesperson for the Prison Service declined to comment, saying it was the policy of the Prisons Service not to discuss the privileges or facilities of individuals.

PAC man arrives tonight

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leader Mr. Japhta Masemola leaves tonight for six days of talks with imprisoned ANC chief Mr. Nelson Mandela at his house at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

This is the longest visit yet by an individual to Mr. Mandela, and is being described in extra-parliamentary political circles as the beginning of a "unity pact" between the ANC and PAC.

Mr. Masemola's special aide Mr. Bennie Alexander said the PAC leader would be flying to the Cape tonight and would stay in the province till next week.

Mr. Alexander declined to comment on a "unity pact".

He reiterated Mr. Masemola's statement last week that should any political discussion concerning the ANC and PAC occur, Mr. Masemola would listen and report back to the PAC leadership.

Mr. Masemola, who is known by many former Robben Island inmates as the ANC leader's good friend, says his visit might be a "social one".

income, the number of income tax brackets should be reduced and the re-

Next, he says, company dividends should be abolished "This would mea

ingly eroded by demands plac them by the Receiver

Mandela appeals to rival groups for unity

PAARL — Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed for unity among rival black organisations, according to lawyers who conferred with him

"His message is about unity, that people should forget about petty differences," said Keith Kunene, one of three officials of the Black Lawyers Association who met Mandela for more than three hours

The meeting came amidst speculation that Mandela is spearheading an effort to reconcile the ANC and the PAC, fuelled by PAC leader Jafta Masemola's lengthy visit to Mandela which was due to begin yesterday

The ANC and PAC have had bitter

differences over political philosophy. The ANC espouses non-racialism, while the PAC advocates black self-reliance in the struggle

One of the lawyers, Ernest Mosenke, was a fellow prisoner of Mandela for 10 years after being convicted at the age of 15 for illegal PAC activities

Another of the lawyers, Godfrey Pitje, who worked closely with Mandela in the ANC's Youth League, said of his first sight of Mandela since 1964 "It was very exciting I had a difficult task stopping the tears from flowing"

The lawyers said Mandela declined to discuss the prospects for his re-

lease, which is widely expected to take place in January

But they reported that he had tried unsuccessfully to arrange for the release of two other political prisoners last month, in addition to the eight who were freed

Kuene said Mandela did not view himself as a one-man force that could bring about negotiations

"He said no one single person can tackle the issue of negotiation

"It's a matter for all the organisations, not for individuals," he said

Mosenke said Mandela "is in excellent condition physically and has an amazingly retentive memory". — Spa-AP

1118
Schoy 9/11/89



PAC leader Japtha Masemola, recently released from prison, is carried shoulder high by supporters at DF Malan Airport before his planned meeting with Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster this week

PIC: BENNY GOOL

11A South 9-15/11/89

Mandela denies book deal

DURBAN. — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has denied reports that a multi-million rand deal is being negotiated to publish an autobiography written while on Robben Island.

In a faxed message to sociologist Professor Fatima Meer, his biographer, Mandela indicated that her book, *Higher Than Hope* — was the only biography on which he had collaborated

He denied that his attorney had offered the book to publishers at the Frankfurt Book Fair in West Germany

Addressing her by the nickname "Fatu", he confirmed that he had written an autobiography in prison in the 70s, but did not know the whereabouts of the manuscript

Meer, who also heads the Institute of Black Research, said re-

ports on the Mandela book were "absolutely untrue".

She said a revised edition of *Higher Than Hope* on which Mandela collaborated would be published shortly

"The first edition (based on letters to Winnie Mandela and family members) was done without any contact with him but for the second we had three interviews," she explained — *Durbanews*

THERE has been so much happening in South Africa recently that I have had the feeling often that I am not quite keeping pace with events.

And, when I went to Lusaka recently I somehow expected the excitement to have spilled over into the ranks of the exiled community of the African National Congress (ANC)

At the airport a friend whom I have not seen for a while, came to fetch me

Outside it was one of those hot, humid nights with the usual bustle of traffic

"How are people feeling," I asked my friend as he negotiated the dark Lusaka roads I could hardly wait to hear what was happening here in the headquarters of the ANC

"We feel good," he said tersely and for the rest of the week I got little else out of him, except a surprise observation one night when he said that the social democrats will have majority support in South Africa one day.

The day after I arrived in Lusaka was a public holiday, the 25th anniversary of Zambia's independence, and I could not find any of the ANC officials with whom to talk

In the afternoon, a group of young exiles drifted into the Pamodzi hotel and asked me to come to one of their homes for a discussion

I leaped at the chance to get some insights into what was happening

Rhetoric

But the talk at the house was frustratingly predictable There was some of the usual revolutionary rhetoric and nobody was willing to discuss the real implications of what was happening in South Africa

Zambia has become a very secret society and people hardly discuss politics freely

This attitude has rubbed off onto the exiled South Africans in a way Of course some of their secrecy is necessary because of the constant threat of attack and political assassination

The following day I met an ANC diplomat who had been living in New York for a long while He was brutally honest when I asked him about the low key attitudes of the people I had seen so far

"You have to understand that some of us have fallen asleep in exile In the past few years there has been a lot of activity, with all kinds of groups visiting Lusaka but before that it was very different

"It is hard for us to get a real emotional sense of what is happening inside the country," he said

Exiles

Everywhere I went people were asking what I was doing in Lusaka when such interesting events were unfolding back home

When I replied that I was trying to gauge the mood of the ANC leaders in exile, some people were faintly surprised

There were unstated suggestions that they were watching events in South Africa before responding to the range of political possibilities that have been opened up

For the rest of the week, the ANC's National Executive Committee held an emergency meeting that lasted two and a half days

Nobody I met would say what was being discussed at the meeting, except to admit that some of the discussions concerned the released ANC leaders in South Africa

Neither Oliver Tambo who is ill nor Thabo Mbeki, sometimes tipped for leadership of the ANC, were at the meeting

One of my main reasons for visiting Lusaka was because an interview with Mbeki, who acts mainly as the ANC's foreign affairs minister, had been arranged

He was expected back from the Commonwealth conference in Kuala

Cut off

11A South 9-15/11/89

from home

The excitement inside South Africa over recent political developments has not spilled over into the exiled community in Lusaka, where the headquarters of the African National Congress is based. And, while political activists inside South Africa had become more daring in recent months, those in Lusaka remained guarded, SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN found on a recent trip to Zambia's capital:



Lumpur at the beginning of the week

When he had still not arrived by the Friday, I gave up and went back home to prepare for the big ANC rally

Since the launch of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, anti-government movements in South Africa have become more and more open about their political activities

In a sense the constant guarding against the security police and covert actions have been replaced mostly with a defiant openness

I suppose it is a problem with exiled communities all over the world that they lose touch with events at home

When I telephone Lusaka from home, I often get the impression that people are a bit surprised at some of the things I am prepared to say on the telephone — things that are being discussed openly and easily at home

The one thing that was discussed very much in Lusaka was how long it would take before the exiles could return to South Africa

Someone commented that he could

no longer even remember what Johannesburg looked like when he left more than 20 years ago

One young journalist who skipped the country in 1976 at the age of 16 years, and who has lived in Moscow for most of her life, said she found it hard to visualise the kind of society to which she was returning

Of course the top people in the ANC get all the South African newspapers and generally keep in touch with events here

But most of the exiles hardly get to see these papers filed at headquarters, they cannot telephone home and they do not see much on the very dull Zambian television news Their main source of contact is people who have recently arrived from South Africa

I admire people who are prepared to leave the country and make major personal sacrifices but it is going to be a difficult process absorbing these thousands of exiles back into a society that probably differs somewhat from their expectations

(Sylvia Vollenhoven is Southern African correspondent for the Swedish daily newspaper, Expressen)

Jubilation at the recent ANC rally "Somehow I expected the excitement to have spilled over into the ranks of the exiled community of the ANC "

Pictures by YUNUS MOHAMED



MEMBERS of the Media Workers Association of South Africa were urged to develop a liberation ideology which would safeguard the interests of the oppressed and exploited majority against "an avalanche of disinformation by both the State and liberal media"

The call was made by Mr Dullar Omar president of the Western Cape region of the United Democratic Front

In a speech described by the journalists as significant and politically important Omar said mass struggles of the people had defeated the restrictions of the state of emergency

It did not matter now whether De Klerk lifted the state of emergency or not because it is now no longer an issue, he said

He said the past five years had shown the strength of the oppressed as well as the weaknesses inherent in the structures of the oppressed

One of these weaknesses had been political intolerance which manifested itself in inter-organisational fights, leaving many dead he said

Omar said the oppressed had to guard against being co-opted into the system which would render the years of struggle meaningless

He said the present Government initiative to negotiate with organisations of black people was precipitated by a crisis brought about by their struggles

The call for negotiations was a way of maintaining the present position and co-opting people where the tri-cameral arrangement had failed, he said

It was not sufficient



Mwasa members singing the national anthem at the end of their congress in Cape Town

Warning on negotiation

Demoralising and demobilising - lawyer

for the oppressed to have won victories because the struggle was in danger of being subverted

The present talk of negotiations was demoralising and demobilising people. This was the time to intensify the struggle because the oppressed are their own liberators

Omar said the leadership of the oppressed had to be answerable to the people



By MATHATHA TSEDU

He said it was dangerous to leave decisions of policy to the discretion of two or three people

"The Government Press and the liberal media now speak of De Klerk they tell of his style of leadership and try to portray him as some kind of benevolent dictator who was different from PW Botha

"They do not tell readers that they both belong to the National Party"

Danger

"The danger is that this tells us that decisions in white politics are taken by great men. All is left to them

They no longer talk of the National Party but of De Klerk. The problem is that the oppressed will follow this undemocratic practice. Democracy demands that those who

lead should be answerable to their followers," Omar said

So it was important that while the white establishment was busy building a dictatorship, trade unions such as Mwasa should build democracy by getting their members to question their leaders. He said the fight was for democracy

Omar said instead of the talk of negotiations, the oppressed should strive for the following unity of the oppressed, strong organisations of their own democracy and a liberation ideology

He said in an attempt to defuse the militancy of the oppressed the Government had embarked on a disinformation campaign

"South Africans are

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

The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic is forbidden and expressly reserved to The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978

• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000. Nom de plumes can be used but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published

now told that if trade is deregulated, everyone will open his own business and become rich and this is called free competition

"There was nothing like that. The big capitalists will get richer while the workers will get poorer," Omar said

In countering this it was not enough to march in thousands if these marches were not consolidated

Unity

He said while people cannot always agree, they should be able to work together and thereby build unity in action

He said a difference in opinion and policy should not be allowed to become a division. People should differ without being divided, he said

Omar said black journalists had to develop ways of cutting across the strategies of the regime in order to expose the inherent aim of the imperialists to keep SA a haven of capitalism

Omar, an advocate and Cape leader of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) was speaking at the 10th annual congress of Mwasa in Cape Town at the weekend

About 500 journalists, radio and television announcers, printers, drivers and other categories of workers in the media industry met to map out the future of the blacks-only union

The congress could not complete its business and will be reconvened within six months



Jeff Masemola to meet Mandela

9/11/89

11A

Sowetan

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela is to meet with recently-released Pan-Africanist Congress prisoner Mr Jeff Masemola at the Vic-

tor Verster Prison, near Paarl.

The two men are scheduled to hold six days of talks

The talks have been requested by Mandela, and are the first he is to hold with a PAC leader since Masemola and seven other former security prisoners were released last month

"We do not know why Mandela has requested the talks, nor why he has specifically asked for the discussions to take place over a six-day period," sources said yesterday.

But the ANC's former general secretary Walter Sisulu said he had it "direct" from Mandela



Mr Jeff Masemola. . . ex-prisoner

that Masemola had initiated the meeting and that the ANC also did not know the reasons for the move.

Sisulu said he refused to discuss or comment on possible PAC/ANC unity talks This was a matter for the ANC's exiled national executive and he could only comment once he had discussed the mat-

ter with the body The same applied to Mandela, Sisulu said

The PAC was not prepared to dissolve to join with the ANC, but was willing to discuss a programme of "unity in action" in which both parties would set aside political differences and work towards a common goal - the creation of a true democracy in South Africa, the PAC source said

Both the PAC and Mr Sisulu said the meeting might have been motivated for social reasons - Masemola and Mandela became friends while serving lengthy prison sentences together on Robben Island.

Sapa

Newspaper under probe

THE editor of The Argus Mr Andrew Drysdale, has been informed the police are investigating charges against the Cape Town-based newspaper under the media emergency regulations

A police sergeant called on Drysdale on Tuesday to advise him of investigations into two reports, one on August 23 about events at a beach protest, the other about detainees on hunger strike on September 2.

The editor was told the results of the investigation would be referred to the Attorney-General Sapa

WORLD

FIBREGLASS
POLYCARB

ns Rd, Selby
13-8492

COUNT S 2817

IN 1976 "Kill Afrikaans" was the slogan of pupils in black schools around the country

They were reacting to state policy forcing the "oppressor's language" into their curricula

Those events on the streets of townships throughout South Africa showed that language can never be separated from issues of social inequality, national oppression and democratic rights

But the 1980s ushered in a new tolerance and pragmatism to the language question. In a new South Africa, a widely shared vision of trilingualism would accommodate the "oppressor's language" as one of many forms of communication

Dr Neville Alexander, national co-ordinator of the National Language Project (NLP) in Cape Town, recommends a trilingual language policy for a post-apartheid South Africa

The policy, largely unopposed, advocates a system where English would be used as a linking language nationally, mother tongues would be developed as far as possible at school level and encouraged in vernacular literature, and a third regional language would be promoted for conversation

Domination

Language must be transformed, Alexander suggests from an instrument of domination and subjugation to an instrument of communication and unity

"With Afrikaans and English as South Africa's only official languages 75 percent of the population is disadvantaged," Alexander said

Language is a means of production, a means of earning a living. Language actually excludes people from employment

People should be able to switch from one language to another depending on the context and the audience, he said

If you can address any person in the language he or she knows best it's an act of nation building, he said

If you know Zulu or Afrikaans you get a better feel for their beliefs, a larger tolerance

Under the proposed scheme English would play a vital role in the initial stages of a post-apartheid South Africa

English will be promoted to be the linking language for the whole society including the working class, Alexander said

Parliament

But it is unlikely that it will remain the lingua franca if one looks at other parts of Africa such as Tanzania where Swahili has become the official language

Eventually people in the South African parliament will not speak English. They'll speak Nguni or Sotho (the standard African languages in South Africa of which Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana etc are dialects)

Initially however English will be promoted for completely pragmatic reasons, Alexander said. People are and will remain inclined to learn English to advance in school and compete on the job market

Also, school textbooks in English have yet to be translated into African languages and some of the technical vocabulary requires innovative translations — which the NLP is working on — and the creation of new words in the country's African languages

A 1980 census revealed that 44 percent of South Africans understood English (as opposed to 48 percent understanding Afrikaans) but that figure is certainly higher today, Alexander said

The danger of English remaining an elitist medium could be countered by massive literacy programmes, he said

"We just have to see to it that as many people as possible speak it. The standard will be determined solely by the international requirements

"The Pygmalion thing is out," he

The case for a 'language revolution'

'Uthetha isixhosa?'

South 9-15/11/89

Language, traditionally used as an instrument of division by the state, could play an important role in the quest for national unity in South Africa, argues Neville Alexander, national co-ordinator of the National Language Project.

But what will be the language of a post-apartheid South Africa and how would the multitude of languages be bypassed to achieve this?

Alexander has definite views on the subject and argues that it is high time the issue should be given serious consideration and placed on the agenda of community organisations inside South Africa. He spoke to WAGHIED MISBACH:



Neville Alexander "Language will make or break our future"

added "We're not learning or promoting English for the love of England or certainly not for love of the English"

Neither is English to be promoted exclusively, he said. The first four to five years of schooling would be in a pupil's mother tongue, the medium in which one learns best, with English introduced as a subject in the second year

Thereafter instruction would be in English with the mother tongue taught as a subject

People are to be encouraged to express themselves — in speech, the press, the arts and on the shopfloor — in their own language, he said

"You can't organise workers in English," he said

Motivating people to learn and use a third language widely spoken in their region would be the most difficult, Alexander suggested, but necessary if communication were to be fully democratised

People must speak what comes naturally to them, he said. The rise of alternative Afrikaans represents a new flexibility in language use, he said — a less strict adherence to Germanic forms embodying Afrikaner nationalism

We must depollute Afrikaans, go for the Malayan word or the Indian word or English, not just the Germanic, he said

"If people want to say 'kar' instead of motor, let them do so"

The NLP is developing models for teaching trilingualism, Alexander said. Ideally Nguni and Sotho will eventually be standardised, he said, to break down barriers imposed by dialects such as Xhosa and Zulu

Trilingualism is now being promoted within unions and the church

Schools, still under strict government controls, remain the ultimate target for this language revolution

"This is a long-term project that could take three to four generations to complete," Alexander said. People think it is so far in the future

that we don't have to worry about it, but we have to start now"

Afrikaans, ironically now a symbol of oppression, was taken through a 50 year struggle before it gained official recognition in 1925

Afrikaans speakers, feeling threatened, are among the strongest opponents of the trilingual vision

But Alexander reiterates that they, as well as those loyal to "the King's English," need not worry

"The language debate must not exclude anybody," he said. "Since 1976 the issue has become a mass phenomenon. We must look at the language problem not as a problem, but as a resource. Because language will make or break our future"

Question mark over Hargey's 'crusade'

11A

Sauw
9-15/11/89

By HENRY LUDSKI

CONTROVERSIAL Islamic scholar Taj Hargey has embarked on a nationwide anti-apartheid crusade in the United States, raising large sums of money to promote what he called a "new vision".

"I want to start a newspaper which will cater for a multiplicity of views," said Hargey in San Francisco recently.

In a proposal sent to "funders" in the United States, Hargey lists several office bearers of an organisation called "The Open House — Welfare and Cultural Society".

However, Dr A Mahate of Grassy Park — listed as treasurer of the or-

ganisation — denied he was involved

"Hargey told me in passing that he wanted to launch a newspaper and I simply wished him good luck

"If he had approached me properly to serve on the organisation, I would have turned him down," said Mahate

Another person named by Hargey has also denied involvement. He asked not to be identified

In the "Open Society" proposal to potential funders, Hargey appeals to funders to "help our self-supporting non-profit multiracial organisation to launch an independent and non-sectarian anti-apartheid newspaper in South Africa, The Forum"

Hargey says the organisation has raised R275 000 since its inception. It has already purchased property, and acquired office furniture for the "newspaper's editorial offices and printing facilities in central Cape Town"

Hargey raised the ire of the local Muslim community when he became involved in a dispute between the Muslim Judicial Council and the Ahmadi group

Several United States computer companies approached for support have initiated local inquiries about the project of which very little is known in media circles

Very few Muslim leaders in Cape Town are aware of the proposed newspaper

11A

Passport application still to be submitted

STON 9/11/89

Sisulu plans to visit Zambia

By Janet Heard

Released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu has confirmed that he intends visiting the organisation's offices in Lusaka. He has instructed his attorney to handle his passport application.

"I will apply for a passport to go to Zambia and will travel there as soon as arrangements are made," Mr Sisulu said from his home in Soweto.

His attorney, Ms Priscilla Jana, said yesterday that she would submit his application to the Department of Home Affairs by tomorrow.

Mr Sisulu said it was possible that the

other six released ANC leaders would travel with him, but confirmation would have to be obtained from the National Reception Committee (NRC).

NRC spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said no definite travel arrangements had been made yet for the released leaders, but travel documents were being organised.

He repeated an earlier statement by the NRC that consultation between the released leaders and the ANC was imperative.

A Cape Town attorney acting for ANC stalwart Mr Oscar Mpetha has confirmed that he has made a passport application

He said Mr Mpetha intended travelling abroad, but he would not disclose details at this stage.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Wilton Mkwayi said they had not yet applied for passports.

Mr Mlangeni said he was still waiting to receive his identity document.

The other released ANC leaders are Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Mokoaleli and Mr Raymond Mhlaba.

They were freed last month with PAC leader Mr Jeff Masemola, who left last night for talks with jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mandela meets top PAC leader Masemola

ARCOS
9/14/89
11A

By ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

SENIOR Pan-Africanist Congress member Mr Jafta Masemola was allowed through the Victor Verster Prison gates soon after 10am today and taken by car to ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's house

He had been granted a three-hour visit, according to PAC spokesman Miss Patricia de Lille.

Mr Masemola, accompanied by PAC supporters, had been waiting outside the prison gates from about 9am. Prison authorities were apparently unaware that he was arriving

"AN OLD FRIEND"

Mr Masemola said his visit was personal, as "an old friend" of Mr Mandela "We were together on Robben Island for 25 years"

There was "nothing political, nothing organisational" about the meeting, he said

He also said the PAC would not issue a statement until he had met leaders of the organisation, which would probably be only next week when he returned to Johannesburg.

Mr Masemola is one of the eight leaders who were released from prison recently

The meeting between top figures of rival movements takes place against the background of calls for more unity

Three officials of the Black Lawyers' Association who met Mr Mandela yesterday reported that he had appealed for unity among rival black organisations

"VERY EXCITING"

"His message is about unity that people should forget about petty differences," said Mr Keith Kunene, one of three officials of the Black Lawyers' Association who met Mr Mandela for more than three hours

The meeting came amid speculation



PAC VISIT: Veteran Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Jafta Masemola, right, is greeted by supporters on his arrival in Cape Town. Mr Masemola, one of the eight political prisoners released last month, met ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl today

that Mr Mandela is spearheading an effort to reconcile the ANC and a rival movement, the Pan Africanist Congress

"It was very exciting," said one of the lawyers, Mr Godfrey Pitje, of his first sight of Mr Mandela since 1964.

"I had a difficult task stopping the tears from flowing"

Mr Kunene said Mr Mandela does not view himself as a one-man force that will bring negotiations about

"He said no one single person can tackle the issue of negotiation. It's a matter for all the organisation, not for individuals," said Mr Kunene

Transkei's promise to Pik on ANC, PAC

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The chairman of the military council of Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, yesterday gave Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha the assurance that he would not allow Transkei to be used as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa.

General Holomisa was speaking in regard to the Transkei government's consideration to unban the ANC and PAC.

Both General Holomisa and Mr Botha addressed a gathering at the South African embassy here after the meeting between the military council, council of ministers and Mr Botha in the cabinet room in the Botha Sigcau building

Left crumbs

The main thrust of General Holomisa's speech dealt with the question of Transkei being left South Africa's economic crumbs at independence, and Transkei's efforts to provide for her people on meagre resources

Transkei was a victim of political circumstances and was denied access to international aid of any kind, he said.

No money-spinning book, says Mandela

NELSON MANDELA has denied newspaper reports that his attorney, Ismail Ayob, negotiated a multi-million dollar contract for his autobiography at the Frankfurt Book Fair.

On November 6 Mandela faxed from his home in Victor Verster Prison the following, handwritten letter to Professor Fatima Meer, sociology professor at the University of Natal.

"I wish to confirm that your biography *Higher than Hope* is the only biography with which I have collaborated and that I am unaware of any other unpublished biography relating to me.

"I further confirm that I wrote an autobiography in prison in the 70's, but I do not know the whereabouts of the manuscript."

Meer said this week that reports of any other Mandela book were "absolutely untrue" because "a revised edition of *Higher than Hope* was coming out on which he collaborated". — Durbanews

(17)

EW. MAIL 10-16/11/89

CyL Times 10/11/83 (11A) ~~11A~~

Disclosure threats on editors fade

JOHANNESBURG — The threat of Section 205 subpoenas to force the editors of The Star and The Sowetan to disclose information about advertisers in their newspapers, has been withdrawn.

During the court appearance of SA Press Association editor Mr Edwin Livingston who was forced to give evidence in camera this week about a normal press statement made to Sapa, newspaper lawyers were told informally that the authorities would not be taking any further their demand for information from Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste and Star editor-in-chief Mr Harvey Tyson.

The two had been asked to disclose the names

of organisations or people who had placed and paid for advertisements about the "welcome" rally for Mr Walter Sisulu and six other released ANC prisoners.

The editors declined to make statements on the grounds that the rally had been declared legal — that no crime had been committed — and that they were not prepared to inform on legitimate advertisers or news sources.

Section 205 allows the authorities to subpoena any potential witness to appear at a secret court session to answer questions about an alleged crime. Failure to comply can lead to a jail sentence of up to five years — Sapa.



EMPTY SPACE
ANC
leader Mr
Walter
Sisulu
stands
behind an
empty
chair
bearing
the name of
his son
Zwelakhe
editor of
New Nation,
unable to
attend the
confer-
ence
because
of a govern-
ment
gagging
order

ANC 5 pledge to back New Nation

JOHANNESBURG — The government's campaign against the press over recent weeks "amounted to an all-out war", five of seven recently released African National Congress leaders said here yesterday.

In a pledge of support to the New Nation newspaper — which has been threatened with closure within a week for promoting the aims of the ANC — the five leaders said in a joint statement that freedom of expression was essential to create a climate conducive to meaningful negotiations.

The statement was read by Mr Andrew Mtsheni, while Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Elias Motsoaledi listened, at a press conference called by New Nation.

"If South Africa is going to be launched into an orbit that will ensure peace and prosperity for all its people, debate and discussion among South Africans must not only be tolerated but must be encouraged," it said.

Freedom of expression was so essential that it could not be put at the mercy of an individual government minister who, without accounting to anyone, could curtail it as he pleased.

New Nation's acting editor Mr Gabu Tugwana said the government's action sharply contradicted recent political developments such as the meeting between former president Mr P W Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, protest marches, opening of facilities by some municipalities to all races, the release of the ANC leaders and the Soweto rally to welcome them.

A chair bearing the name of New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu was left empty to emphasise that he was a restricted person and not allowed to work on the newspaper, let alone address a press conference.

Sapa

Regime's 'security blanket'?

Political Correspondent PRESS harassment has raised serious doubts about Mr F W de Klerk's professed commitment to reform, Democratic Party media spokesperson Ms Dene Smuts said on Wednesday.

She said the public needed to be reassured that the government was "not intent on using the emergency regulations as a kind of security blanket".

"What purposes could conceivably be served by subjecting editors to Section 205 subpoenas on the welcome home rally advertisements when the rally itself took place with the government's blessing?"

"What purpose is served now by an investigation into possible charges against The Argus and the Cape Times for its pictures of the 'purpling' of the city centre when the right to peaceful protest has since been affirmed by the government?"

Mpetha granted passport to visit relatives in UK

Sowetan
10/11/89

(11A)

Sowetan reporter

MINISTER of Home Affairs Mr Gene Louw has announced that veteran trade unionist and ANC stalwart Mr Oscar Mpetha has been granted a passport.

Mpetha was released last month after spending four years in prison.

According to Louw's statement, issued in Pretoria today, the reason for Mpetha's visit abroad was to visit relatives in the United Kingdom.



Mr Mpetha

Mpetha was released on bail pending an appeal against the sentence which was turned down by the Appeal Court in 1985.

Before he started serving his jail sentence Mpetha lost a leg from gangrene.

He also received frequent treatment for diabetes at Cape Town's Groote Schuur Hospital during his imprisonment.

Oldest

Mpetha (80) was the oldest of the eight political prisoners freed in October after serving four years of a five-year prison term following his conviction in terms of the Terrorism Act.

He was sentenced in July 1983 following violence near the Crossroads squatter camp in 1980.

Africanists to form one body

●From PAGE 1
not reformed”

Yesterday Alexander said Pam had dismissed the preconditions for negotiations as prescribed by the Mass Democratic Movement as having “very little significance”

“We are prepared to negotiate if the following conditions exist one person, one vote in a unitary state without any constitutional checks and balances for any group, and the redistribution of resources, of which land is primary

“Once these two conditions are met, such things as unbannings and releases of political prisoners will fall into place”

Yesterday recently released PAC leader Masemola met Mandela at Victor Verster. One of the topics believed to be on the agenda was that of unity

The PAC commented on the meeting “The PAC has said many times before that it stands for principled unity with all organisations of the oppressed and we have no objection to the two discussing it

“Masemola has no specific mandate to do so but we have full confidence in him and, after the meeting, he will report to the PAC president and the issue will be democratically discussed”

Japhtha Masemola carried by supporters after meeting Mandela
Picture. REUTERS



Meeting with Mandela cut short

SCHEDULED six-day "unity" talks between Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) leader Jeff Masemola and jailed ANC chief Nelson Mandela were cut yesterday to one day by prison authorities.

Masemola's special aide, Bennie Alexander, said prison authorities at Victor Verster told Masemola they would not allow the two leaders to meet for six days because no proper arrangements had been made for such a lengthy meeting.

The two leaders were then allowed to hold talks for two hours. But the meeting dragged on for three hours — from 10am to 1pm.

"Prison authorities scuttled plans for the lengthy meeting. The leaders were only allowed two hours, but the meeting lasted three hours," Alexander said.

According to Alexander, Masemola

(17A) B Isay 10/11/89
SIPHO NGCOBO

would not be returning to Victor Verster but would remain in Cape Town for the next few days.

He said the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) would hold a Press conference as soon as Masemola arrived back.

Initial plans were such that Masemola would have stayed at the prison house for the duration of the talks with Mandela, making him the ANC leader's first visitor to sleep at the prison.

And had the six-day meeting materialised, Masemola would have been the first individual to hold such lengthy talks with Mandela.

Although the agenda of the meeting between Mandela and Masemola has not been disclosed, activists in parliamentary political circles are describing

the meeting as the beginning of unity talks between the PAC and ANC.

But Masemola described it as only a friendly visit.

Some supporters of the ANC and PAC dismissed Masemola's statement as a trick to play down the importance of the meeting.

Mandela, in his five-hour meeting with three lawyers on Wednesday, appealed for unity.

Asked to comment on the Mandela/Masemola meeting, a prison services spokesman said visits to individuals were regarded by the prisons' department as a private matter between the person concerned and the visitor.

"And it is the policy of the Prison Services not to furnish details about such arrangements," said the Prison Services spokesman.

Masemola spent two hours with Mandela

11A Sawelan 10/11/89

SENIOR Pan Africanist Congress member Mr Jafta Masemola yesterday emerged from Victor Verster prison after spending just three hours with the leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, but it was not revealed what the two men discussed.

Mr Masemola's aide, Mr Benny Alexander, said the PAC man, who spent 25 years imprisoned with Mr Mandela on Robben Island, entered Victor Verster at 10am and emerged about 1pm even though prison authorities had allowed only two hours for the meeting.

Details of the encounter would only be released at a press conference in Johannesburg

after Mr Masemola had returned and consulted PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, Mr Alexander said.

The time of the press conference had not been set as it was not known when Mr Masemola would return.

Invited

Mr Mandela had invited Mr Masemola for a six-day visit, but prison authorities scuttled plans for a lengthy meeting, saying the event had not been planned properly, Mr Alexander said.

Three lawyers who emerged from a meeting with Mr Mandela on Wednesday said he had appealed for unity among

rival black organisations, fueling speculation that the jailed leader's meeting with Mr Masemola concerned ANC/PAC unity proposals.

ANC office opened

THE African National Congress yesterday opened an office in Washington DC in order to normalize its ties with the U S administration.

Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen said recently that while the administration opposes harsher sanctions at this

time, it would be willing to consider them if no progress is made toward black-white negotiations in South Africa by next summer.

Sanctions were imposed in 1986 by Congress, after it overrode a veto by then-President Ronald Reagan.

Threat to muzzle press

ANC leaders condemn clampdown on media

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The recently-released African National Congress leaders said yesterday the latest Government clampdown on the media amounted to an all out war.

"Four of the ANC Seven", accompanied by Mrs Winnie Mandela, attended a *New Nation* press conference in Johannesburg where the newspaper's acting editor, Mr Gabu Tugwana, read out messages of support from across the world for the newspaper which could be closed down by next Thursday.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Eli Louw notified *New Nation* on November 2 that 32 news items in 11 editions between July and November were being examined in terms of the media regulations under the state of emergency. If found to be a threat to public safety and order or "causing a delay in the termination of the state of emergency", the newspaper could be suspended for three months.

The ANC leaders' statement was signed by Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada. The latter did not attend the press conference.

Read out by Mr Mlangeni, the statement said the ANC leaders were shocked to learn of another Government threat to muzzle *New Nation*.

Since their release, they had indicated in all their speeches and interviews that the Government's most important task was the creation of a climate for meaningful negotiations.

'Committed to peaceful change'

They had noted with regret the mounting campaign against the press, particularly against *New Nation*, the editor-in-chief of *The Star*, Mr Harvey Tyson, the editor of *The Argus*, Mr Andrew Drysdale, and Sapa editor Mr Edwin Lunington.

Freedom of expression was essential to ensure the participation of all South Africans in the debate on the country's future and could not be 'put at the tender mercy of an individual Government Minister who without accounting to anyone, can curtail as and when he wants'.

Mr Tugwana said the threat to close the paper came as a complete surprise and went against the political pattern that had been emerging in recent months. *New Nation* had always been committed to a peaceful resolution of the South African conflict and the paper's content was not fabricated in order to create a climate of violence and unrest.

"On the contrary, what we reflect in the newspaper is the stark reality of life in South Africa."

"The *New Nation* believes it is important that all who are interested in a negotiated settlement should get unsanitized information on the life and problems of the people with whom and on whose behalf they will be negotiating. Without this kind of vigorous journalism as typified by *New Nation*, the views of the oppressed and voiceless would not be known."

Mr Tugwana said recent events such as anti-apartheid protest marches and the release of ANC leaders had attracted wide publicity in all the media. By its very nature, all these reports could be seen as promoting the ANC. However, *New Nation* had to a large extent being singled out by the Government.

The *New Nation* sees its function as a news paper reflecting rather than promoting particular points of view. If we did not reflect this reality then we would have failed to perform honest, independent and objective journalism.

Mr Tugwana said he had requested an interview with Mr Louw after the Minister's refusal to extend the stipulated two-week period within which the newspaper could make representations.

Messages of support were read out from more than 40 organisations including the governments of Britain, Australia and France, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, various media organisations and scores of anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa.



The empty chair — ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu sits behind the chair left vacant for his son, restricted *New Nation* editor Sisulu, at a press conference yesterday on the threatened closure of the newspaper.

Picture by ...

Boyfriend follows girlfriend to grave

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The heart-broken boyfriend of the Oil of Ulay model who killed herself last month has carried out his pledge that he, too, would commit suicide.

Shaun Zablocki blamed himself for the death of beautiful Michelle Lomas, and at her graveside left a note saying "See you again some day."

The 22-year-old painter and decorator made one unsuccessful attempt to end his life. Then on Wednesday, police found his body in a car in wood land next to the River Orwell, near his home in Ipswich, Suffolk. A hose-pipe led from the exhaust inside the vehicle.

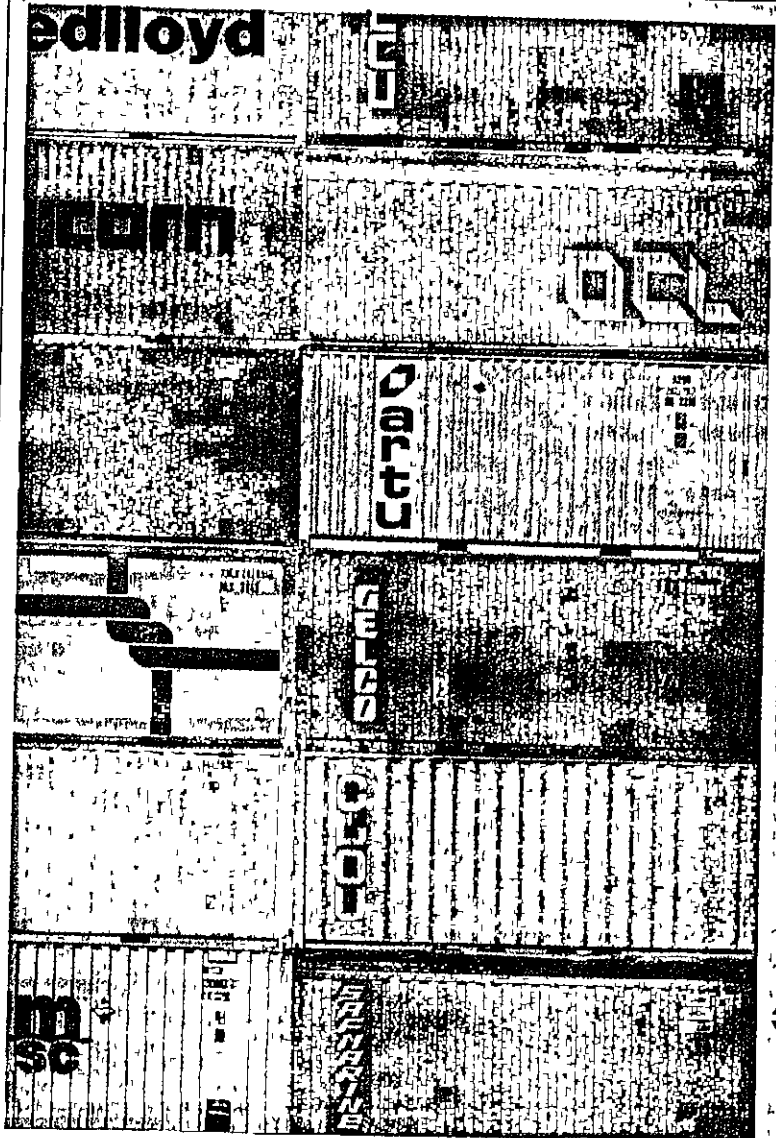
DEVASTATED

Shaun was devastated after 16-year old Michelle, who was chosen from thousands of hopefuls to star in the British Oil of Ulay TV adverts, killed herself with sleeping pills and painkillers.

Hours before her death they had had a blazing row.

Shaun told friends he held himself responsible for her death. Two days later he took an overdose of drugs, but survived.

At Michelle's funeral, Shaun placed a huge wreath of white chrysanthemums spelling out the words "I Love You" and left his prophetic message.



Prison talks cut to just three hours

JOHANNESBURG — Senior Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) member Mr Japhta Masemola yesterday emerged from Victor Verster Prison after spending three hours with the jailed leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Nelson Mandela, but what the two men discussed was not disclosed.

Mr Masemola's aide, Mr Benny Alexander, said the PAC man, who spent 25 years imprisoned with Mr Mandela on Robben Island, entered Victor Verster at 10am and emerged about 1pm even though prison authorities had allowed only two hours for the meeting.

Mr Mandela had invited Mr Masemola for a six-day visit, but prison authorities scuttled plans for a lengthy meeting, saying the event had not been planned properly, Mr Alex-

ander said.

Details of the encounter would be released only at a press conference in Johannesburg after Mr Masemola had returned and consulted PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, Mr Alexander said.

Three lawyers who emerged from a meeting with Mr Mandela on Wednesday said he had appealed for unity among rival black organisations, fuelling speculation that the jailed leader's meeting with Mr Masemola concerned ANC-PAC unity proposals.

Both the Department of Justice and the SA Prisons Service yesterday declined to answer questions regarding Mr Masemola's visit.

"Visits to Mr Mandela are considered as a private matter and therefore there is no further comment," Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said. — Sapa

US bishops reject condom as Aid

11A 10-16/10/89

Natal braces for rival Inkatha, ANC rallies

RIVAL rallies could be on the cards in Natal next weekend, as tension between Inkatha and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) grows

kwaZulu's chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has announced that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini has called a "convention" in Kings Parks Stadium for November 19

The same day there could be a rally called by Contralesa at Wadley Stadium in Pietermaritzburg as a "welcome" meeting for newly released African National Congress leaders

The Reception Committee, which plans the programme of ANC leaders, is meeting this weekend to final-

By CARMEL RICARD,
Durban

ise details

Contralesa president Mhlabuzima Maphumulo said the date was discussed with the reception committee before Buthelezi's announcement of the Kings Park "convention"

Buthelezi said the king "wishes to address not only all Zulus but also all those who live under his shadow as king of the Zulus"

The Inkatha owned newspaper *Ilanga*, this week reported the likelihood of the Contralesa rally taking place on the same day as the Kings Park "convention" and noted that the Pi-

etermaritzburg rally was organised by Maphumulo, described as having worked with the Bureau of State Security, the security police and the defunct Department of Information

Maphumulo said yesterday he challenged Inkatha and the editor of *Ilanga* to explain these allegations

He is taking legal advice on the claims and is also considering an appeal to the media council

Maphumulo said he assumed the slur was related to the formation in 1975 of the Inala party, named after the king's regiment.

He attended the third meeting of the party, which he believes was founded by the king. After this meeting,

Buthelezi forced the closure of Inala, suspended Maphumulo from chieftainship — a move reversed by the supreme court — and claimed the party was the work of the Department of Information and security police.

The row over the claims in *Ilanga* and the rival rallies are the latest round in growing hostilities between Contralesa and Inkatha

Maphumulo has been attacked by Buthelezi and the king over his role in Contralesa. They claimed the organisation was a spear in the heart of Zulu unity, and he was told to quit, something he has refused to do

Maphumulo says Contralesa is winning growing support among chiefs

3 years for man who wouldn't betray comrades



By GAYE DAVIS

19A

10/16/89

AFRICAN National Congress member Bongani Abednego Jonas was this week sentenced in the Cape Supreme Court to three years' for refusing to testify against 14 colleagues

Jonas was first brought to court in April as the prosecution's chief witness against Tony Yengeni and 13 others, who are charged with terrorism and other counts under the Internal Security Act

On his second day in the witness box, Jonas interrupted his testimony to ask for the court's protection and announced he was not willing to testify against his comrades.

He had waited until he was in court to say this because he feared "falling on a piece of soap or down a flight of stairs" He had persuaded police to believe he was a willing witness

Later, defending his decision, he described how, if he testified, he would be "like Judas", bringing shame on himself, his family and damaging the cause he believed in.

He described the trial as unique — a "microcosm of the nation" in which black and white stood side-by-side in the dock, men and women as equals. To betray them would be to betray the nation, he said

He told how he was arrested in September 1987, unlawfully shot after he had surrendered, and then subjected to brutal treatment at the hands of his interrogators

Mr Justice S Selikowitz noted that the police denied all allegations of assault, insisting that Jonas was "a willing, if not enthusiastic witness".

Jonas had no "easy way out". If he refused to testify he faced punishment. If he went answered questions, he also faced a "heavy price"

The judge said he would be failing in his duty if he did not attribute "some considerable weight" to the dilemma Jonas faced

Jonas believed that testifying would do violence to himself, his ideals, his family and society.

But the duty to testify transcended politics and the court could not abrogate its duty to the truth.

Significantly, Jonas himself had sought the protection of the court.

The trial continues

Tension led to deaths

By Brendan Templeton
10/11/89

Rising tension in last year's Afcol strike, which drove strikers to assault and kill scabbing workers, was described in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

An agreed statement summing up arguments of the State and defence on events leading up to the assaults and deaths was handed in as evidence.

The statement contained pleas of guilty for Mr Elias Phasha (40) — assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm (two counts) and murder, Mr David

Mosebala (25) — culpable homicide (three counts), Mr Bongani Mazibuko (34) — murder and culpable homicide (two counts), Mr Michael Thabiso Machepha (25) — culpable homicide (two counts) and murder (two counts), and Mr Jerry Rantekoa (44) — assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm (four counts) and murder.

The sixth accused, Mr Sydney Dlamini, will be tried at a separate hearing.

The statement described how tension rose when workers balled out for a strike in May last year, after the dismissal of four colleagues. Striking started on May 30 at all Afcol branches.

On June 2, about 500 workers, including Mr Phasha, Mr Machepha and Mr Rantekoa, went to Croesus railway station and confronted five men who were not taking part in the strike.

The five were beaten before they were taken to Mzimhlope station where they were again assaulted. Mr Ben Rampou died as a result of the beating.

On June 10, strikers, including Mr Phasha, Mr Mosebala, Mr Mazibuko and Mr Machepha, converged on Croesus and Booyens stations and assaulted non-striking workers. Four of them, Mr Uddhan Singh, Mr Fyzel Japie, Mr Johannes Abrahams and Mr July Mahaula died as a result of the assaults.

The hearing continues

ANC opens office in Washington

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress officially opened its Washington office last night with a reception for hundreds of guests in the marbled foyer of a US House of Representatives office building.

The function was hosted by congressman Mr Ron Dellums, chairman of the congressional black caucus. It was attended by the ambassadors of Cape Verde, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Kenya.

The director of the ANC's department of international relations, Mr Thabo Mbeki, was the main speaker. The ANC's first "ambassador" to Washington, Miss Lindiwe Mabuza, received a lengthy ovation.

The opening of the Washington office brought the total number of ANC missions to more than 40, a spokesman for the ANC said. — The Star Bureau

68/11/89

Star

(11A)

Oscar Mpetha gets a passport

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, announced in Pretoria yesterday that veteran trade unionist and ANC stalwart Mr Oscar Mpetha had been granted a passport.

Mr Mpetha (80) was released last month after spending four years in prison.

Mr Louw said Mr Mpetha had been granted a passport so he could visit relatives in the United Kingdom. — Pretoria, Bureau.

68/11/89
ston

Restrictions on Govan Mbeki lifted after 2 years

By Janet Heard

African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki (79) has regained freedom of movement after the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, lifted the severe restriction order imposed on him shortly after his release from Robben Island two years ago.

Attorney Ms Priscilla Jana said yesterday she had received a notice from Mr Vlok which stated that his order had been revoked.

Since December 1987 Mr Mbeki has been confined to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district and has been prevented from granting interviews to journalists or helping to compile material for publication.

TIGHTENED

In June last year his order was tightened to prohibit him from being in the company of more than 10 people at a time.

The change of heart came after a letter sent to Mr Vlok by Ms Jana before the "Welcome Home" rally for Mr Walter Sisulu and the other released ANC leaders few weeks ago.

"We argued that there was no basis for them to restrict Mr Mbeki when his colleagues (the released ANC leaders) were not restricted," she said.

The letter also stated Mr Mbeki's order should be lifted to prove that the Government was serious about working towards a negotiated settlement.

*68/11/01
Stor*

AWB boss hits out at freed Sisulu

11A

stay 11/11/89

MR EUGENE TerreBlanche has likened Mr Walter Sisulu, the African National Congress leader freed last month, to the devil.

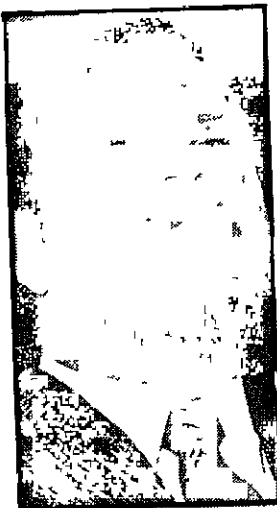
He said this week President F W de Klerk had "opened hell's gate to let the devil, Walter Sisulu, in."

Mr TerreBlanche was speaking in Boksburg

Outraged

He was addressing several hundred supporters after his 70-minute meeting with Mr de Klerk, whose reforms since replacing Mr P W Botha in August have outraged extreme right-wingers

Mr Sisulu was one of eight elderly nationalists freed in October in what Government sources say is a prelude to the release of Mr Nelson Mandela



EUGENE TERRE-BLANCHE: Met FW.

Mr TerreBlanche heads the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the largest far-right movement, which wants a whites-only nation for Afrikaners

In his address Mr TerreBlanche accused Mr de Klerk of being



WALTER SISULU: Freed last month.

willing to hand South Africa over to the communists

At Thursday's meeting, Mr de Klerk urged Mr TerreBlanche and other right-wingers to join the electoral process to show how much support they had

Mr TerreBlanche was a prospective candidate for the parliamentary elections on September 6, but he dropped out before nomination day

Analysts believe the AWB's influence was eroded by a well-publicised episode in which police discovered Mr TerreBlanche at an Afrikaner shrine in the company of *Sunday Times* journalist Jani Allan

Claimed

Later she claimed in newspaper reports that he had one evening come to her front door drunk, begged to be let in and then passed out after she refused to open the door.

Mr TerreBlanche was acquitted of charges of breaking down the gates of the Paardekraal Monument. He denied any involvement with Ms Allan. — Sapa-Reuter

ANC eight's plans for Lusaka visit

C/M T/L/F
11/11/89
11/11
11/11

PORT ELIZABETH — The eight ANC leaders who were recently released are planning to visit Lusaka soon for talks with the ANC's executive

Mr Govan Mbeki, speaking to the press yesterday for the first time since being restricted soon after his release from prison two years ago said he and the seven ANC leaders released last month had applied for passports

Their intention was to travel to the ANC's Lusaka headquarters to consult the national executive on the political situation in South Africa. Mr Mbeki, 79, told Sapa during a telephonic interview from his home

He said he was "naturally very happy" at the lifting of his restriction orders, which for two years prevented him from talking to the press, leaving the magisterial district of his home without permission and attending gatherings

A spokesman for Mr Walter Sisulu, one of the seven leaders released in October, confirmed yesterday that all seven were in the process of applying for their passports

Mr Mbeki's lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, said she had applied to have his restrictions lifted in view of the fact that the other seven leaders had not

been restricted on their release

A spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said Mr Mbeki's restrictions had been lifted "after careful consideration"

Mr Mbeki said he had no immediate plans for his new-found freedom, but it could be expected that he would resume political involvement, "especially with my former comrades of the Rivonia trial"

Unless it was necessary, he would not be travelling to Johannesburg in the near future

Mr Mbeki said he had submitted his application for a passport on Tuesday this week, before the news that his restriction orders were to be lifted had reached him

He had intended applying for the permission required in terms of the restriction orders to travel to Lusaka as soon as the passport had been issued, he said

Mr Mbeki was a schoolteacher and newspaper editor before his arrest in Johannesburg in 1963. He also published two books on black politics in South Africa

In Pretoria, a senior police spokesman yesterday confirmed that restriction orders had been lifted on Mr Mbeki — Sapa

ANC gives strong pointer to talks attitude

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress has given a strong indication at a press conference here of its attitude to important aspects of negotiations with the Government on South Africa's future

The director of the ANC's department of international relations, Mr Thabo Mbeki, set out the ANC view on taking a non-negotiable stance, and on other parties doing so.

Mr Mbeki explained what the ANC's attitude would be if the National Party were to come to

DAVID BRAUN

the negotiating table with its policy of a group-based constitution and set out the ANC view of what all parties (including the ANC) should do if there was no agreement on their policies.

Mr Mbeki defined the ANC attitude to a unified coalition of anti-apartheid forces confrontation with the Government at the negotiating table, in-

cluding the Democratic Party and the Pan Africanist Congress

He expressed a view on the ANC working together with the PAC.

Mr Mbeki commented on the recent announcement by Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa to the effect that the homeland would want to be part of a future South Africa and should take its place in any negotiations

He gave his opinion when asked whether

there were any differences between Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC external leadership on the issue of negotiations

Mr Mbeki referred to differences between the Reagan and Bush administrations in the United States, particularly with regard to sanctions against South Africa

X Report Restricted

Mr Mbeki's comments have been cut from this report, because he is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act and may not be quoted in South Africa

Britain's blunt message to ANC

DAVID BRAUN

WASHINGTON — The ANC was bluntly told not to show up at a reception hosted by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher at the United Nations headquarters in New York this week

According to a spokesman for the ANC, an official of the British mission to the UN specially telephoned the organisation's New York representative, Mr Tebogo Mafole, to say he must please not attend the reception at the UN's Manhattan complex.

Mrs Thatcher has adopted a policy of not having any contact with the ANC because of its links with terror and violence

The spokesman said the ANC had never had any intention of attending the British function. Mrs Thatcher is not exactly a favourite of the organisation, because of her attitude towards the ANC and because of her opposition to sanctions

ANC Three: shock at the long prison sentences

11/11/89
THE harsh sentences meted out on the "Broederstroom Three" yesterday were met with shock and disbelief by anti-apartheid organisations and human rights bodies. The three self-confessed African National Congress "soldiers" — Damian de Lange, Ian Robertson and Susan Westcott (also known as Donelly) — were sentenced to effective jail sentences of 25, 20 and 18 years respectively.

Mr Walter Sisulu, former general-secretary of the ANC, who was recently released from jail after 26 years, expressed his shock at the sentences.

Speaking from his Soweto home where, Saturday Star informed him of the sentences passed in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday, Mr Sisulu said "I am completely shocked by this type of sentence, particularly in a situation where the atmosphere is supposed to be relaxed".

He described the sentences as "a vindictive

ESMARE
van der MERWE,
Political Reporter

approach against whites", saying the judiciary had a tendency to "be harsher on whites because they are seen to have done something wrong".

The Human Rights Commission said that sentences such as those handed down yesterday would not have been passed if the Government had listened to the voice of the people during the 1950s.

"Instead, the voice was ignored and suppressed. Apartheid must take full responsibility for the conflict that inevitably ensued.

"It is apartheid that stands condemned".

Black Sash national president Ms Mary Burton said the "very heavy sentence condemning the Broederstroom Three to spend the major part of their productive lives in prison" was a severe blow to those who hoped

● TO PAGE 2.

2 Saturday Star November 11 1989

Prison

● FROM PAGE 1.

for a future in which reconciliation and peace would be predominant.

The three people regarded themselves as soldiers, fighting in a bitter civil war. Their actions had been prompted by a desperate desire to see a process of transformation in South Africa.

Ms Burton said the Black Sash was committed to achieving this transformation by peaceful means, but recognised that many others had given up hope that this was possible.

"We do not believe that locking the Three up for long years in prison will benefit the public, nor deter others

from involvement in Umkhonto we Sizwe."

The Democratic Party's spokesman on justice, Mr Dave Dalling, said the sentences appeared to be very harsh and would hopefully be re-assessed by the Appeal Court.

"However, it should not be forgotten that they were not playing children's games. The activities with which they were charged were certainly dangerous. What they initiated cannot be talked away."

Veteran politician and human rights activist Mrs Helen Suzman said "It is very severe indeed. One would have hoped that more leniency would have been shown."

Conservative Party spokesman Mr Chris de Jager said the sentences were "fair under the circumstances".

Does Mandela want to leave such a cosy court?

S. Thurg
11A
12/17/89

LEADERS of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa are said to be growing suspicious that Nelson Mandela is acting independently of them and even having disgracefully moderate discussions with the South African government.

This would account for the diabolically conciliatory behaviour of Mr F W de Klerk in releasing Walter Sisulu and other leaders of the ANC, malignantly praising their "reasonable and balanced" attitudes, and fiendishly permitting those huge demonstrations, previously banned, of thousands of people jumping up and down which can be seen by those with nothing else to do but watch news bulletins on British television screens.

Has the cunning Boer got something up his sleeve? Worse, has Mandela? The very thought must horrify the anti-apartheid people.

Historic

Supposing the ultimate nightmare came true and the "change" — which foreign politicians are always warning "must come" in South Africa — should come gradually and in a comparatively peaceful way, instead of instantly and with the promised "bloodbath"?

No wonder they are beginning to wonder about Mandela.

When is he coming out?

Since his historic tea party with Mr P W Botha in July he is reported to have had a steady stream of government visitors at the warder's villa assigned to him at Victor Verster prison in the Western Cape. There he "holds court in a comfortable

Peter Simple

Daily Telegraph columnist,
fantasises on why Nelson
Mandela is still in prison

residence with deferential warders attending upon dinner parties for distinguished guests"

Imagine the scene. The polished table, the silver and crystal, the soft candlelight, the white-gloved warders serving exquisite food and wine, the low but animated hum of conversation rising every now and then to general laughter as Mandela deftly lets fall one of his inimitable, finely wrought *bon mots*.

It is, above all, *civilised* at Victor Verster. There may be occasional disagreements among the guests, brilliant, distinguished men and fashionable women all, as they talk now of current gossip in their circle, now of Zulu poetry or quantum physics or vice versa, but the tone of high civilisation is never marred by vulgar shout or raucous laugh.

No wonder Mandela has politely but firmly declined to be released.

Who would not rather live in this civilised manner than have to face the shrill screaming of Archbishop Tutu, cope with the tasteless antics of Winnie Mandela and her football team, or worst of all be fêted at some gignatic pop concert organised by rich barbarians, deafened by the sub-musical howling of the most appalling people?

Claim your Red banners here!

CP Correspondent
12/11/89
Cape Town
UFA

CP Correspondent
THE owners of two SA Communist Party banners in Cradock are welcome to claim them at the local police station where they have been booked as lost property

Marchers in the town left two SACP banners, as well as a Cradock Residents' Association banner behind as they left the Lingelihle Stadium on Saturday

A police spokesman in Port Elizabeth confirmed the three banners were at the police station in Cradock and said their "lawful owners can come and claim them. They were taken as lost property and booked as such"

The Cradock station commander said the flags had not yet been collected even though the organisers of the march had been told they were at the police station

The march, for which permission had been granted by the chief magistrate, went ahead without any confrontation and marchers were addressed by Allan Boesak of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, local clergy and community leaders

A delegation, including Boesak and community leader Alex Goniwe handed a petition listing their demands to the SAP. Some of the demands were

- Tarring of roads and streets of Lingelihle and Michausdal townships,
- Affordable housing, rents, rates and service charges,
- Creation of jobs to curb the high rate of unemployment, and
- A living wage for all - ANA

Terror cell deserter tells of ANC death threats

FORWARD

The Broederstroom mystery man comes out of the shadows



HUGH LUGG ... freed

"I had no choice but to go to the authorities," he said. "My life was in danger and I could see no other way of escape."

Mr Lugg infiltrated South Africa in July 1987 and was later joined by the other members of the cell. "Our mission was to reconnoitre targets including military, police and state installations," he said.

"But it soon became apparent to us that the outside leadership was out of touch with the operating conditions on the ground. This led to tension and conflict."

"Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of intelligence, Ronnie Kasrils, often brought us pictures and maps of military targets which we were meant to attack, but it was clear he was living in a romantic dream world — the attacks he envisaged would have failed, or led to arrest and maybe death."

He said that serious disagreements arose between De Lange and Westcott, and the other members of the group.

condone in violence he could not. He portrays himself as a young idealist swept up in violence he could not condone.

Looking relaxed and confident, he was escorted by two private bodyguards and his lawyer. "I have decided to come clean," he explained.

And this weekend, the tanned blond man — a subject of endless speculation since the trial began — came out into the open to tell his story.

He was held in solitary confinement until June 23, Pretoria, in May 1988. He was then released into protective custody. That the Broederstroom trial is over, he has seen released.

As the military unit's communications and information officer, Mr Lugg was arrested along with Susan Westcott, Damian de Lange and Ian Robertson at a farmhouse in Broederstroom, south-west of Lusaka.

working for the ANC in Lusaka. It is believed he is now in a pine camp in Angola. It is believed he is now ended with execution but ended up in an ANC discipline camp in Angola.

Another cell member, Paul Amegarn, was threatened with execution but ended up in an ANC discipline camp in Angola. It is believed he is now working for the ANC in Lusaka.

ANC DESERTER Hugh Lugg, the fourth man in the Broederstroom hit squad, broke his silence yesterday to tell how he betrayed his comrades to save his own life.

In a bombshell disclosure the day after his sentences, Mr Lugg, 31, revealed that he had surrendered to the authorities because his ANC cell commander Damian de Lange had threatened to execute him.

He said he lost his enthusiasm for the ANC cause and decided to flee the group when it received orders to mount a mortar attack on crowds at the Durban Tattoo.

Mr Lugg said other members of the cell were also opposed to hitting soft targets and this, coupled with De Lange's arrogance, is what finally led to the cell's disintegration.

11A 5/19/89 Violence

Report by CHARIS PERKINS

"Paul Amegarn, Ian and myself were adamant that civilians must not be hurt. De Lange and Susan were less concerned about hitting soft targets. They accused Ian and myself of being ideologically unsound, and Damian became increasingly unreasonable without providing any constructive directions in leadership."

Mr Lugg said Amegarn was built by De Lange to the extent that he left the unit. He tried to leave the country but failed and later rejoined the group.

"What shocked me most was the message Susan Westcott brought from Kasrils in Zimbabwe that Amegarn and his girlfriend should be killed. At one point De Lange pistol-whipped Amegarn, in the process firing a shot that missed my head by a few centimetres."

Kasrils apparently changed his mind and Amegarn was "deported for punishment."

Then the cell received orders to bomb the popular Durban Tattoo. Mr Lugg

Bully

□ Turn to Page 3

P.T.O.

Why I fled for my life

□ From Page 1

said "We were ordered to attack with mortars I was horrified at the prospect of the slaughter of civilians I think even Damian balked at the job and would have left it to Iain and myself"

He and Iain Robertson finally decided to report their growing dissatisfaction and their problems to Umkhonto we Sizwe's high command But their actions backfired

The high command informed Damian members of his cell were being insubordinate and Damian disarmed the two men

Said Hugh Lugg. "He threatened us with execution He told us to write confessions praising him as commander and admitting that we had sabotaged the unit

"Then he gave us a choice — execution; a suicide mission or the ANC's punishment camp Quatro"

Hugh Lugg decided it was time to get out "I was waiting execution I was disillusioned with our commanders and with their unjustifiable emphasis on civilian targets.

"In the end, I could not stand it anymore. I decided to abandon the group and surrender to the authorities"

DAMIAN DE LANGE 25 years' jail

Under cover of his daily jog, Hugh reported the group to security guards at the nearby Pelindaba nuclear installation Soon after they were all arrested in a police swoop at their farmhouse hideout

This week, 31-year-old Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson, 36, and Susan Westcott were sentenced to 25, 20 and 18 years There was a scuffle in the dock when Robertson refused to leave and shouted ANC slogans

Hugh Lugg, on the other hand, is a free man "I have

no contract with the police I plan to put all this behind me now I want to take up art again, and I want to write my autobiography," he said

He feels no regrets for his past or for betraying the people he once lived so close to "Their sentences are harsh," he said "But they knew what they were letting themselves in for And they were part of a cause they were prepared to die for"

The families of the three ANC prisoners have slammed Hugh Lugg's version of what happened within the Broederstroom cell

"We believe that his statements yesterday are an attempt to justify — by means of sensationalist allegations — the excessively high sentences imposed on the three It can only be regarded as a smear campaign of the worst order," said a Press statement issued on the families' behalf

"The statement is a patchwork of personal opinion and unsubstantiated allegations against his former associates It is significant that Lugg released his statement only after the three began their period of incarceration. They are thus unable to respond to his allegations"

BBC report slated

CP Correspondent

(TR) 12/11/89

THE PAC this week slated a British Broadcasting Corporation reference to rivalry between the PAC and the ANC.

The movement also refuted a claim by the BBC that the PAC acknowledged no place for whites in the struggle in South Africa.

Reacting sharply to a report on Thursday night by what it called "the fanatically anti-PAC" BBC, PAC director of publicity and information Waters Toboti said in a statement from PAC headquarters in Dar Es Salaam: "As from today, the BBC must know that the PAC is not a rival of the ANC."

Toboti said the BBC, reporting on the meeting between the recently released PAC leader Jeff Mase-mola's and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, "for several days in Paarl" at the latter's home at Victor Verster Prison, referred to the PAC as a "rival organisation" to the ANC.

CP Correspondent

THE PAC is set to table its blueprint on negotiations at a three-day conference in Harare, starting November 24

PAC sources would not divulge whether the blueprint will oppose that of the ANC, which was recently tabled in Harare and endorsed by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU)

PAC may join ANC in anti-apartheid front

The ANC document accepted the idea of negotiations on condition the South African government release all political prisoners, urban all political organisations, lift the

state of emergency and wipe all discriminatory legislation from its statute book.

To date the PAC has rejected negotiations and any form of "integrationist" tendency

However, M K Nkula, PAC chief representative

at the headquarters in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania, would not comment on what impact its document could have locally and internationally.

Nor would he give details of talks between Nelson Mandela and recently-released PAC leader

Chief Masemola at the Vice-Chancellor Verster Prison, near Paarl.

It is speculated the talks signal that the rival liberation movements are on the threshold of forming a united front against apartheid

The PAC is also set to meet the Black Lawyers Association (BLA) in Lusaka, Zambia, on November 28.

PAC sources said this week the Harare conference would be attended by prominent community personalities drawn from various race groups in South Africa, as well as trade union and church leaders, the legal fraternity and the Press

PAC top brass attending include the movement's chairman, Johnson Mlambo, foreign affairs secretary Ahmed Gora, Ebrahim, chief administrator Joe Mkhwanazi, and defence secretary Sabelo Gqwetha

At the OAU summit early last year in Harare, and Addis Ababa, several African countries raised the question of the ANC and PAC "co-ordinating activities"

Flowers for the ANC three

Long jail terms for all

By DESMOND BLOW

YELLOW flowers rained down on the heads of the Broederstroom Trio minutes after they were sentenced to long jail terms by a Pretoria Regional Court on Friday.

With the flowers in their hair they turned to the public gallery with fists raised and shouted "Amandla".

The chorus came back from dozens of throats. "Awelehu" "Viva ANC" shouted the trio and spectators surged towards them.

The large police contingent forced their way to the dock and tried to hurry the trio out. They resisted, and policemen manhandled them out.

"Aren't they being punished enough," shouted Damian de Lange's mother Carol, who a few minutes before had choked back tears as her eldest son was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment as commander of the ANC unit.

Iain Robertson, the political commissar, was given 20 years and Susan Westcott, the communications officer, 18 years.

The scuffle ended only when defence attorney Peter Harris appealed. "Take it easy!" Scores of people, most of them black, were prevented from entering the crowded court by police.

Harris complained that a police captain that the large number of policemen in court deprived too many members of the public of seats.



Margaret Westcott is greeted by well-wishers outside the Pretoria Regional Court after her daughter Susan was sentenced to 18 years in jail under the Terrorism Act. ■ Pic: BONGANI MNGUNI

(against blacks)

He said the Supreme Court had rejected this as a mitigating factor and given Stydom the extreme penalty.

The magistrate said he was not convinced the trio's "historical legacy" (against apartheid) had forced them to join the ANC.

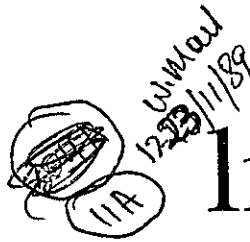
He said as whites they had legitimate means to oppose the government and they were being jailed for their actions and not for their beliefs.

Press 12/11/89

MR

MR

Too much hope, too little reality



"NEGOTIATIONS" is the buzz-word in town. But the hard question is: What is the National Party up to? Why allow the releases of political prisoners and the Soccer City rally in their support?

My opinion is that the optimism about negotiations is dangerous, premature, and unfounded. Indeed, it is remarkably similar to the belief in late 1985 that Pretoria would crumble in six months. Those inflated ecstasies were painfully pricked by the State of Emergency, and a more sober evaluation of the situation gradually descended on the democratic movement. This unfounded over-optimism cannot be afforded again.

Soccer City does not mean the effective unbanning of the African National Congress and other restricted organisations. The Broederstroom and Delmas trials and the arrests of people wearing T-shirts and stickers with the ANC logo are too much of a reminder of the old style to believe it. Nor does it indicate the beginning of negotiations or the imminent release of Nelson Mandela.

Why, then, are seven members of the first National High Command of Umkhonto weSizwe, responsible for the decision in 1961 to start the armed struggle, today free to address mass meetings and walk in the streets of Soweto?

One of the obvious reasons is the government had to play an important card to ward off stiff Commonwealth action as well as to secure the rescheduling of the foreign debt. But a second, and maybe more important explanation, has to do with a change in the State Security Council thinking revealed by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok in a TV interview recently.

His explanation was that the permission given for the protest marches as part of the defiance campaign and also the Soccer City rally was based on the belief that it "will allow the masses to become discharged (*ontlaai*) of political tensions and emotions".

This is reminiscent of the era of counter-insurgency (COIN) strategy under ex-security police chief Johann Coetzee in which the key elements were avoiding conflict and defusing "explosive situations".

What this means is that the apparent easing of the Emergency is not an indication of the demise of the securocrats but a reformulation of their role in step with the dictum of counter-insurgency — that the solution to the problem is 80 percent political and 20 military.

The new thinking may be characterised as containment, isolating "revolutionaries" to a controlled and confined space and allowing them to spend all their overheated energies.

An alternative to the previous, unsuccessful WHAM (winning hearts and

The optimism about negotiations is premature, unfounded, and remarkably similar to the inflated hopes of late 1985, when peace seemed round the corner.

By DIRK KOTZE
of the University of South Africa

minds) strategy of socio-economic upliftment is being put to the test right now. And this wolf in disguise is so far very effective — so much so that it even reached the corridors of the Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur.

The third possible explanation for the releases is probably the most relevant one for the negotiations issue.

Remember the disillusionment of former Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis when kwaZulu's



New constitutional 'guru' Gerrit Viljoen

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused to join him on the National Council if the imprisoned leaders were not released. Well, now they are released, except for the obvious one. Buthelezi and Mboyas are being polished up again and portrayed as the true fighters for the cause of the Africans in the country who deserve to be the bright stars of the future.

A telling illustration of this point is the special credit which State President FW de Klerk has given to the "important contributions" made by certain bantustan leaders in securing the release of the seven ANC leaders. Another is the way new constitutional guru Gerrit Viljoen has been praising the relentless efforts by bantustan leaders and "councillors as tested representatives" of their communities.

His suggestion of a "black election" as a precursor of "talks about talks" points clearly to a Muzorewa option.

Where does the ANC fit in this process? The PW-Mandela party in Tuynhuis signalled the end of the divide-and-

rule option of trying to create a "legalised" internal wing of the ANC. This was confirmed in the speeches at the Soccer City rally.

The issue which is now at the centre of delaying manoeuvres is the armed struggle. PW demanded the renunciation of violence. FW asks for a peaceful settlement.

And Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Education and of Development Aid, has added the qualification that the government will talk to anyone who will refrain from using violence because "you cannot talk to someone who has the option of using violence when the negotiation process is not going its way". What is the difference between this position and the old renunciation of violence?

Only one conclusion is possible: the government is reluctant to become involved in any negotiations for transformation and is only willing to become part of the window-dressing negotiations for reform. To achieve this it wants to isolate or side-track the ANC into irrelevance by staging a political or constitutional coup with a revamped National Council.

An almost unanimous assumption in the debate in South African politics about negotiations is that it will take the form of an internal settlement initiated and conducted mainly by the ANC and the NP without any external mediation or facilitation.

However, the ANC is beginning to assume a different starting point which, explained in its Harare declaration of August, can be interpreted as the preference for an external settlement in South Africa.

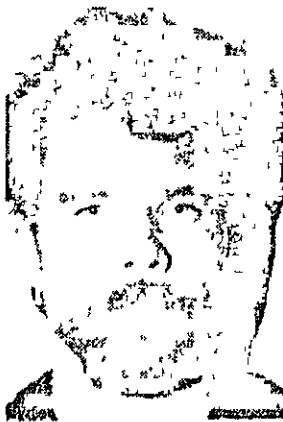
One of the guidelines included in this statement is that the "parties shall define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order".

It is clear that the Namibian Resolution 435 played an immense role in the minds of the ANC and the Organisation of African Unity committees when these guidelines were drafted.

The climate for these ideas was already created in the ANC's discussion paper on negotiations and in the working paper drafted by itself, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions in July.

The experiences of southern Africa have taught us that another sort of Cuito Cuanavale for South Africa is the only viable option. Pressure is the only force that will move Pretoria — not a self-induced change of heart. This will be a long, slow process. Negotiations are therefore not around the corner.

Dirk Kotze is a lecturer in the Department of Political Studies at the University of South Africa.



Hugh Lugg

Lugg tells of stark decision

THE fourth member of the Broederstroom ANC cell, Hugh Lugg, said yesterday he fled from his comrades after being faced with a choice of either a suicide mission or execution.

He told a media conference he fled from Damian de Lange, Susan Westcott and Iain Robertson after being charged with insubordination and sabotaging the ANC unit

He alleged he was disarmed by Westcott and De Lange and threatened with death, so decided to hand himself over to the police

He said he had clashed with his fellow members over planned attacks on soft targets

Lugg, 31, has been held by the police since his arrest with the other three

He said he was a free man and was ready to pursue his career in art. He had made no deals with the police although he had co-operated during interrogation

He said he thought the sentences handed down to De Lange (25 years), Robertson (20 years) and Westcott (18 years) were harsh - Sapa

See page 2

Press 12/11/89

pick-up
resig
6km
id
ved
bout
by
re
on

Lugg's info led to networks

By Craig Kotze

Information provided by the betrayer of the Broederstroom ANC cell, Mr Hugh Lugg, led to the uncovering of networks — involving British citizens — of the outlawed organisation in Botswana and Swaziland, security sources said yesterday.

Security police have now identified the British citizens and South African exiles and are on the alert to place them under surveillance should

they infiltrate South Africa.

But Mr Lugg and the SAP have denied he ever was, is or will be a member of the force.

Mr Lugg broke his silence on his role in the capture of the Broederstroom cell at a press conference on Saturday. He said he had informed police of their whereabouts because he feared execution by the leader, former journalist Damian de Lange.

'Struggle may be irrelevant'

By Craig Kotze

The ANC's armed struggle would become irrelevant if the political climate now being established continued, former ANC intelligence officer and member of the Broederstroom cell Mr Hugh Lugg said yesterday.

Speaking after going into hiding for fear of ANC reprisals, the man who handed over former journalist Damian de Lange and his cell to the police said he hoped negotiations would settle the future of SA.

"I am still totally opposed to apartheid and believe in a just and democratic society — equality in education, law, health and other areas — but where I part with the ANC is on violence.

"People like Damian de Lange and ANC chief-of-staff Chris Hani are quite prepared to inherit a wasteland," Mr Lugg told *The Star*.

He said he had been to Cuba and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, and they had

not provided a model on how SA should look.

"As the example of East Germany is showing, the social engineers of this century are dying off — the Maos, the Stalins and the Verwoerds — but the ANC is still based on social engineering under the South African Communist Party's influence.

"I'll always be a political animal," Mr Lugg said.

He criticised the ANC military leadership, especially intelligence chief Mr Ronnie Kasrils, for their "romantic view" from Lusaka of how attacks were to be carried out in South Africa.

"He gave us outdated pictures of a military base occupied by the Light Horse Regiment in Alexandra near Johannesburg and expected us to waltz up to the fence and lob in grenades — at a base containing two battalions of infantry.

"His staff work was inefficient and his orders meant certain capture or death. He was totally out of touch with what was happening in South Africa," Mr Lugg said.

De Lange, Ian Robertson and Susan Westcott were given severe jail sentences in Pretoria last week, but all charges have been dropped against Mr Lugg and he has been a free man since July. The fifth member of the cell, Mr Paul Annegarn, is outside the country.

A security firm has provided Mr Lugg with bodyguards as it is believed his name has been placed on a death list with those of prominent police spies Major Craig Williamson, Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth and other security branch officers.

DISTRUST

Mr Lugg said his family would help him until he found work. He has a degree in fine arts and would like to build a career.

On Saturday, Mr Lugg said distrust and jealousy had torn the Broederstroom cell apart and that he could not carry out orders — given by ANC intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils — that they mortar the stadium where the Durban Tattoo was being held.

"I think what I did was right. I think I saved a lot of people's lives. I don't regret it," he said.

No banners at rally.

Springs pilot dies

'Every aspect of black lives controlled by whites'

Fairness of judiciary queried

By Shirley Woodgate

The fact that 90 percent of the people executed in South Africa were black led to serious questioning of the judiciary being fair, free and colour blind, said Mr Ahmed Kathrada, recently released leader of the African National Congress

Delivering the keynote address at a National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) meeting held at Nasrec yesterday to protest against the death penalty, he said most of the country's lawmakers were white and every aspect of the life of black people was controlled by whites

Given the fact that apartheid maintained the underprivileged status of black people, it was hardly surprising that nearly all the people who were executed were black, he said

While the rest of the world was contemplating abolishing the death penalty, South Africa had added six more capital offences to the three already on the books in 1958, he said

Mr Kathrada rejected the theory that the death penalty was a deterrent to crime, a view which he claimed was backed by former judge Mr Ramon Leon and evidence from American research

'Kill apartheid'

"As long as black lives are cheap, the apartheid regime will continue with hangings. The root of all evil in this country is apartheid and we will only be able to live in peace, harmony and freedom when apartheid dies

"Let us go forward with the Mass Democratic Movement to kill apartheid that kills our people," said Mr Kathrada

Nadel spokesman Mr Amichand Soman said the aim of the organisation was to obtain prisoner-of-war status for all political prisoners

Speaking earlier, Bishop Peter Storey said his religion condemned capital punishment which he labelled as "having to do with something animal with-



Anti-death penalty campaigners placed a belt around a colleague's neck in a simulated hanging at yesterday's protest meeting at Nasrec.

● Picture by Sean Woods.

in us. It gives a nervous society a chance to say we can also destroy"

Hanging for political motives became a politically provocative act

"I say to the Government, thank your lucky stars you did not hang the Rivonia trialists now that you need to negotiate with them," he said

Calling for a stop to hangings

in South Africa he labelled capital punishment "deliberate, clinical murder of the people by the State"

It was unnecessary to debate what type of crime deserved death

"The real question is how uncivilised a society this must be to practise legal killing"

Bishop Storey said South Africa was a land of moral contra-

dictions which included apartheid. He was loudly cheered when he said "We hear it is wrong to kill but the Government puts people in jail when they refuse to kill by joining the army"

South Africa was a cruel society which needed to become kind. The only way was to close the execution chamber and pension off the hangman, he said

MDM sets out plan for CDF symposium

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Invitations to the Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF), to take place at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg on December 9 would be sent out this week, organisers said today.

Organisations which were not invited could then apply to the convenors, who would decide whether the applicants complied with the seven "unifying perspectives" identified earlier by the convenors. For this purpose advertisements would be placed in all major newspapers.

The seven principles were one vote in a united South Africa, the lifting of the state of emergency, the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of all political organisations, freedom of association and expression, press freedom and a living wage for all.

Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said the main aim of the CDF was to bring together a broad range of anti-apartheid forces in order to work out common areas and to obtain a unified perspective on ways to end apartheid.

More than 2 500 delegates from church and community organisations, trade unions and national anti-apartheid organisations were expected to attend the CDF.

A special CDF office had been established in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, to organise the mass meeting.

Discussions would centre on three key issues — a programme of action to end apartheid, negotiations and international solidarity for the freedom struggle.

Mr Morobe said it would not be necessary to apply for Government permission to hold the conference as it would be held indoors. However, they were aware of the possibility of state interference.

Asked whether the CDF would go ahead if banned by the Government, Mr Morobe said "We hope they won't interfere. The CDF takes place in the context of the defiance campaign. The issues are more important than anything else."

B Day 13/11/89 (11A)

Broederstroom 3 to appeal — lawyer

THE three white members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, who received sentences ranging from 18 to 25 years for terrorism in the Pretoria Regional Court on Friday are to appeal against their jail terms.

"It is our view the judgment contains multiple misdirections in law and in fact," defence attorney Peter Harris said after sentence was passed.

Minutes after Magistrate W J van den Bergh left the courtroom a scuffle broke out between trialist Ian Robertson and police.

Family members and supporters in the public gallery showered the three with yellow flowers.

Robertson was exchanging shouts of "Amandla", "Viva ANC" and "Viva ANC-SACP alliance" with the crowd when he was grabbed by police.

The scuffle was halted when Harris intervened.

Sentence

Westcott who pleaded guilty to 10 counts of terrorism was sentenced to an effective 18 years in jail.

De Lange was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment and Robertson received a 20 year sentence. Both pleaded guilty to 11 counts of terrorism.

De Lange also pleaded guilty to two counts of arson and one count of attempted arson for setting fire to PFP offices in Johannesburg with Marion Sparg in 1981.

The three were members of an ANC unit established on the Witwatersrand in 1987. They were arrested at a Broederstroom house in May last year.

De Lange, a former Rand Daily Mail reporter, was the commander of the unit, Robertson was its political commissar and Westcott was the communications officer.

Meanwhile, unit member Hugh Lugg came into the open at a Press conference on Saturday, giving his account of the events which led him to desert the group and betray his comrades to the police.

Lugg said tension and conflict in the unit had culminated in his being threatened with execution by De Lange — which had

SUSAN RUSSELL

left him no option but to surrender to the authorities.

Passing sentence, W J van den Bergh said the weapons found in the unit's possession had great potential to wreak devastation and posed a serious threat to society and law and order in the country.

He said it was common cause that the three showed no remorse and could not be rehabilitated in the present political climate in SA.

"The use of violence to obtain political ideals can never be condoned," he said.

The magistrate accepted there were people on both the left and right who were not satisfied with the present government.

"This is a common occurrence in any democratic country. On the other hand there are large numbers of blacks who do not support the ANC and wish to be governed by the government of the day," he said.

"To say that blacks have no political rights in this country is a misnomer," he said.

"They have unlimited democratic rights in the independent, self-governing black states and limited democratic rights in other black areas."

Laughter erupted among people in the public gallery at this point and the magistrate warned he would clear the court of anyone who interrupted him.

"Attempts to overthrow the government of the day by violent means is high treason and terrorism in this country and every other democratic country," he added.

He said the three were not on trial for their idealism, political convictions, moral support of the ANC or sympathy with black people in SA.

"They are entitled to their own views and idealism," he said. "It is their transgressions of the law which have to be punished."

"They infiltrated the country and commenced with their deadly mission with a reckless disregard of the consequences."

"The inference is inescapable that if they were released today they would again take up arms on the instructions of the ANC," he said.

'Why I fled from ANC comrades'

Cape Times 13/11/89

JOHANNESBURG — A member of the Broederstroom ANC cell, Mr Hugh Lugg, says he fled from his comrades after being faced with a choice of embarking on a suicide mission or execution.

Speaking at a weekend press conference, Mr Lugg described events which he said led to him fleeing the house in Broederstroom for Pelindaba where he told a security guard he was a member of the ANC. The army, then the police and finally the security police were called and he was arrested. The other three members of the cell were arrested hours later.

Mr Lugg said he had fled from Damian de Lange, Susan Westcott (Donnelly) and Iain Robertson after being charged with insubordination and sabotaging the ANC unit both of which were capital offences.

He had been disarmed by Westcott and De Lange and had been threatened with death before he decided to flee and hand himself over to the authorities.

At one point De Lange had held a silenced pistol to Mr Lugg's head and had told him his ANC superiors had given him carte blanche to carry out the execution, Mr Lugg claimed.

He had clashed with his fellow members over planned attacks on soft targets including the Durban Tattoo, which could have led to the slaughter of thousands of civilians, he said.

Mr Lugg said his decision to abandon the ANC cell which led to the arrest of the other three members had probably saved many lives.

He had also been willing to testify against the others at their trial but had not been asked to do so. He said he was a free man and was ready to pursue his career in art. He had made no deals with the police, although he had co-operated with them during interrogation.

He thought the sentences handed down to De Lange (25 years), Robertson (20 years) and Susan Westcott (also known as Donnelly 18 years) were harsh, but thought they might be reduced on appeal. A fifth member of the cell, Mr Paul Annegarne, was deported for punishment for insubordination and sent to a "fate unknown".

Mr Lugg said he and the other members of the cell had infiltrated the country in July 1987.

'De Lange's arrogance'

When in South Africa it had become apparent to all the members that the leadership of the ANC was out of touch with the operating conditions on the ground, he said.

"This led to tension and conflict in the unit mainly due to the arrogance and indecisiveness on the part of the commander De Lange, who systematically undermined Annegarne to the point where he left the group."

Mr Lugg said he and other members of the group had arrested Mr Annegarne and returned him to the house in Broederstroom.

He had been shocked to hear from Westcott who had been told by Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief intelligence officer that Mr Anne-

garne and his girlfriend should be killed. However, Mr Kasrils had later changed his mind and ordered that he be deported for punishment. Mr Lugg said Mr Annegarne could possibly have gone to Quatro (the ANC's alleged punishment camp in Angola).

Further dissension arose in the group when Mr Kasrils ordered via De Lange that reconnaissance should be done at the Durban Tattoo at which many civilians would be present. "I was horrified at the prospect of the possible slaughter of civilians."

He said De Lange became increasingly unreasonable and dictatorial without providing any direction of leadership and he and Robertson had reported to MK high command about the problems. A day or two later MK high command reported to De Lange that he had a subordination problem in his unit.

De Lange and Westcott had then disarmed him and Robertson and threatened them with execution. Mr Kasrils had given De Lange carte blanche to execute them, Mr Lugg said.

He added that De Lange had said Robertson and Lugg's only alternative to execution was to carry out a suicide mission on his orders or be sent to Quatro.

"This intolerable state of affairs awaiting an imminent execution and being disillusioned by the callousness of our commanders and their unjustifiable emphasis on civilian targets led me to surrender to the authorities," Mr Lugg said. — Sapa

LONDON. — No record of Mr Paul Annegarn, the fifth member of the Broederstroom guerilla cell allegedly detained by the ANC, could be confirmed at the London University yesterday.

His father, Johannesburg businessman Mr Joe Annegarn, said last week his son, whom he had not seen for over three years, was studying law and economics at London University while apparently on six months leave from the ANC.

A spokesman for the university's central registry said no trace of a student by the name of Paul Annegarn could be found on the computer records.

The computer records were, however, being up-

No trace of ANC cell's 5th man

*CAP 764
14/11/89
11A*

dated and there were still some gaps, she added.

Inquiries at various colleges of the university also drew blanks.

Spokesmen for law and economic studies departments either said they were not allowed to divulge names or details of students, or indicated they had no record of Mr Annegarn.

Mr Annegarn, 25, was allegedly detained by his fellow ANC cell members and "deported" to Angola, where he was said to be held in the organisation's Quatro camp.

His story was released to the media by security police after the arrest of the Broederstroom cell. The ANC subsequently denied Mr Annegarn was being detained, adding he was still working for the organisation.

Mr Annegarn's father said he spoke occasionally to his son by telephone.

He denied his son, who was still loosely affiliated to the ANC, had been detained in the Quatro camp. — Sapa

Cape Times 14/11/84
11A

New movement launched

JOHANNESBURG — A new hardline extra-parliamentary movement, apparently designed to regenerate opposition to present calls for negotiation with the government, will be launched at the beginning of December

A spokesman for the new organisation, Mr Benny Alexander, said those who were now willing to negotiate with President F W de Klerk had identified the government as the vehicle for change

"We have identified the masses as that vehicle. We must ignore the ideas of the government completely," he said at a news conference here

At least two preconditions — which the government had until now rejected even in principle — would have to be met before the Pan Africanist Movement, as the new body is provisionally called, would consider negotiations

"One man, one vote and the redistribution of resources. And in this regard land is primary," Mr Alexander

He said PAM would not have a military wing. The launch of the new movement will take place at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto on December 1, 2 and 3 — Sapa

Non-racial sports bodies talk to ANC

CPA 7015 14/11/87

1110 ~~SP~~

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — Representatives of the non-racial South African sports bodies met officials of the African National Congress and the International Campaign Against Apartheid Sport (ICAAS) here over the weekend

The chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc), Mr Sam Ramsammy, said the two day meeting achieved "a better understanding of problems confronted by non-racial sport in South Africa", but he was strangely silent on the subject of the controversial proposed English cricket tour of South Africa.

Sources here suggested that plans to hold protests against the proposed tour might have been discussed at the meeting, but Mr Ramsammy did not confirm this

Latest developments

The president of the Zimbabwe Cricket Union, government-nominated MP Mr Alwyn Pichanik, said he had not been informed of the meeting or of Mr Ramsammy's presence here and could not comment.

"The purpose of the consultative meeting was to brief those present on the latest developments and perceptions in the international sporting arena and to ascertain whether the sports movements in South Africa were keeping abreast and accurately reflecting the stage and pace of the broad liberation struggle," Mr Ramsammy said in a statement released through the editor of the Herald, Mr

Tommy Sithole, who is chairman of the Zimbabwe Olympic Committee

The SA Soccer Federation, the SA Rugby Union, the SA Cricket Board and the SA Tertiary Institute Sports Association were represented at the meeting, said the statement, without revealing the names of their representatives.

Technical assistance

"ICAAS emphasised that the sports struggle should profitably utilise the political gains made by the oppressed people in South Africa and resolved to offer such assistance as may be necessary in every facet of the sports struggle, to enhance the creation of a true mass-based non-racial sports movement for a post-apartheid and united South Africa," said Mr Ramsammy

"There were requests of technical and other assistance

"The participants also wanted more contact with African countries and African sports federations"

Sanroc and ICAAS would be "looking into those areas", Mr Ramsammy added.

"We took special note that many of the South African sports associations worked on shoe-string budgets," he added. "We will be looking into ways and means of getting international help."

All the issues raised would be addressed at the December 7-9 meeting in Mauritius of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa and the December 18-19 meeting in Rabat, Morocco, of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (Anoc), said Mr Ramsammy.

ed earlier yesterday for allegedly holding an illegal gathering on

lowed by shouts of "Amandla" and Rockman was carried shoulder-

member of t been suspend



Benny Alexander (right) makes a point during a Press conference to announce the formation of the Pan Africanist Movement. To his right is Walter Tshikile, a PAM executive member from the Eastern Cape. Picture ROBERT BOITHA

SE

New Pan Africanist Movement launched with socialistic ideals

CHARLENE SMITH

A NEW movement, the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) — sympathetic to the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) — will be launched at a national congress in Soweto on December 1, PAM publicity secretary Benny Alexander told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

PAM said it was not to be the internal wing of the PAC and said it would not seek to overtake the vanguard role of the PAC

The redistribution of wealth, and in particular land reform, are crucial aspects of any negotiations, Alexander said

The fledgling movement will issue its draft negotiation document next week. Two pillars of the document will be one person, one vote in a unitary state and redistribution of resources of which land will be a priority

It said government would have to "give up its rights over every inch of African soil"

PAM criticised the "theatricals of senior liberation movements" and said there

could be "no convergence of interest between thief and victim"

Nonetheless, the organisation's negotiation platform, to be released next week, sets no preconditions for negotiations

He said in nations such as Zimbabwe and Nicaragua, negotiations took place while people were in prison and wars waged

The basis for Pan Africanist unity, Alexander said, would be African nationalism, continental unity and socialism

"We will equip the masses in terms of ideas to reject cultural and ideological colonialism. The government invitation to negotiations is an invitation to be an official 'yes man' to them. They retain the veto. We are rejecting that invitation as it stands," Alexander said

Instead of reacting to government stances or looking toward them to change the system, Alexander said, PAM would politically re-educate "the masses to effect their own liberation"

Handwritten notes: (11A) Business Day 14/11/89

Albertina Sisulu wins top award

FREED ANC stalwart Walter Sisulu's wife Albertina was among three people who were honoured for their "frontline defence of African freedom" by the African-American Institute (AAI) in New York.

The other two were a Nigerian, General Olusegun Obasanjo, and former American president Mr Jimmy Carter.

The three were recipients of the sixth annual awards by the institute which promotes African development and US-African rela-

tions.

Mr Vivian Lowery Derryck, AAI president, said that in awarding its 1989 prizes, the institute chose to highlight the human rights struggle along with AAI's other priorities of development, responsive government, and the right of every person to vote.

He also pointed out that all three had played an active part in the crucial events that are shaping Africa today.

Derryck said Sisulu "has endured just about the 'worst any system can throw...'"

Sowetan
14/1/89

Launch of new group

(11A)

Sowetan 14/11/89

The newly-formed Pan Africanist Movement will be officially launched at a three-day national congress to be held at Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto early next month.

The congress is expected to attract more than 6 000 delegates from several labour, youth, religious, student and community-

By SY MAKARINGE

based organisations from all over the country, including the homelands, according to the publicity secretary of the movement, Mr Benny Alexander

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Alexander said PAM was not a front of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and neither did it seek to replace the outlawed organisa-

tion.

The congress will produce a document on negotiation, a draft of which has already been circulated among the participating organisations

Alexander said the document focused on the fundamental contradictions of the South African social formation and attached little significance to pre-conditions for negotiations and explained why.

Exiled ANC man asks to come home

SIPHO NGCOBO

EXILED ANC Youth League founder Anton "AP" Mda has made an application to President F W de Klerk to return to the country for a week to address the launching of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) in Soweto in early December

Mda — who has been in self-imposed exile in Lesotho for more than 25 years — is asking De Klerk to guarantee his safe passage to Soweto and return to Lesotho

Mda's application for a political visit to SA follows an invitation to him from the PAM leadership to address the movement's three-day inaugural congress on December 1, 2 and 3

In a statement, PAM's interim committee publicity secretary Bennie Alexander said Mda — who is now a Lesotho citizen and who is practising as an attorney in that country — made the application to return to his country of birth through PAM lawyers yesterday

However, Alexander made it clear that the application by Mda was still being processed by the

movement's lawyers and would be submitted to De Klerk today

"The Pan Africanist Movement interim committee has instructed lawyers to handle Comrade Mda's case. And we will be asking De Klerk to clear the way for Mda to return for a week to address the masses as he used to do in the 1940s and 1950s," Alexander said

Alexander said that a refusal by De Klerk to grant Mda permission to come to SA would be a clear curtailment of his statements on policy change

"The ball is now in his court. He must prove that he is genuine in his professions to change," said Alexander

Mda — with the late Anton Mzwakhe Lembede, the force behind the formation of the league and who became its first president — was instrumental in orchestrating the 1943 formation of the

league, which was formally launched a year later in Bloemfontein

Mda was the league's first general and helped in the drafting of the ANC's Programme of Action later in the decade. It was later dropped by the national organisation and overtaken by the controversial Freedom Charter

Mda, however, broke away with the Africanists in November 1958 to organise the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which was officially launched in April 6 1959

□ CHARLENE SMITH reports that recently released PAC founder member Jafta Masemola is hotly tipped to be elected leader of the newly formed PAM at its December 1 launching congress in Soweto

Alexander took issue with the rumours, however, saying that the PAM was a democratic movement and it could neither judge nor attempt to influence elections

"We don't even know if Masemola will attend the congress," he said

Change

Call backed by Mandela quote 11A

~~SECRET~~
EXTRACTS from Nelson Mandela's speech from the dock and from the Freedom Charter were read out yesterday in the President's Council (PC) debate on a new SA.

The motion under discussion, proposed by PC deputy chairman Klempies Heyns (NP), calls for the establishment of a democracy with participation by all, no domination, and in which individuals and groups would be protected.

Labour Party nominee C M Collis said SA belonged to all its people, but this idea was not a new one.

It appeared in the LP's constitution, he said, and he also quoted Mandela telling the judge who sentenced him to life imprisonment the enfranchisement of all would not result in racial domination.

Collis quoted Mandela as saying: "Political division based on colour is entirely artificial, and when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another."

Solidarity nominee Ismail Omar said there was a striking similarity between the motion under discussion and the Charter. — Sapa.

68/11/51

B/boy

Lugg not an SAP member, says Mellet

CHARLENE SMITH

HUGH Lugg, the ANC guerrilla who betrayed Damian de Lange, Susan Westcott and Ian Robertson, is not an SAP member and it was highly unlikely that he would be accepted as one, Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellett said yesterday. *blom 15/10/89*

At the weekend Lugg revealed his role as the man who betrayed the Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres who last week received sentences ranging from 18 to 25 years in jail.

Mellett said Lugg had helped police with highly valuable information, but they had no further contact with him and were not giving him protection. In return for his secret evidence, the Attorney General waived potential charges against him.

People close to the convicted three have scoffed at Lugg's allegations that the trio had planned to bomb the Durban Tattoo.

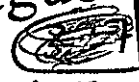
Lugg did not respond to requests this week for further interviews.

He has said he intends taking up a career as an artist. He has hired a private security firm to protect him.

Annegarn joins ANC trio in slamming ex-colleague

Day 15/11/89

IAN HOBBS (11A)



LONDON — Paul Annegarn, the ANC activist who escaped from SA before the Broederstroom guerrilla group was arrested, has joined the trio in condemning Hugh Lugg as a traitor and a liar.

Annegarn, who has married a doctor and now lives in London, is concerned that he could be a target of white extremists and avoids all publicity.

A spokesman for Annegarn, who remains faithful to the ANC, said on his behalf: "All he wants to say is that he endorses the statement that has been made in SA by the families of his friends who have been given harsh sentences, largely because of Hugh Lugg's fabrications for the state.

"Paul agrees with the families that Lugg has lied to try and justify the harsh sentences."

The spokesman said Lugg's claim that Annegarn had been threatened with execution and sent to an ANC punishment camp in Angola because he refused to attack soft targets was a "fabrication".

The ANC has refused to make any formal comment on the Broederstroom sentences or Lugg's claims that the group had been ordered to attack soft targets, including the Durban Tattoo.

Sources close to the ANC said they suspected Lugg was a double agent from the outset. If so, he succeeded brilliantly in beating all their security checks.

'Traitor' Lugg a liar, says Paul Annegarn

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Mr Paul Annegarn, the ANC activist who escaped from South Africa before the Broederstroem group was arrested, has joined in condemnation of Mr Hugh Lugg as a traitor and a liar

Mr Annegarn, who has married a doctor and now lives in London, avoids all publicity

A spokesman for Mr Annegarn, who remains faithful to the ANC, said on his behalf "All he wants to say is that he endorses the statement that has been made in South Africa by the families of his friends, who have been given harsh sentences largely because of Hugh Lugg's fabrications for

the state

"Paul agrees with the families that Lugg has lied to try and justify the harsh sentences"

The spokesman said Mr Lugg's claim that Mr Annegarn had been threatened with execution and sent to an ANC punishment camp in Angola because he refused to attack soft targets was "fabrication"

The ANC has refused to make any formal comment on the Broederstroem sentences or Mr Lugg's claims that the group had been ordered to attack soft targets.

Sources close to the ANC say they suspect Mr Lugg was a double-agent from the outset.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Exiled ANC Youth League founder Mr Anton "A P" Mda has made an application to President F W de Klerk to return for a week to address the launching of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) in Soweto in early December.

ANC man
CMI T15715 15/11/81
requests

SA return
11A 15/11/81

In what is seen in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary circles as the biggest test of Mr De Klerk's reform policies, Mr Mda — who has been in self-imposed exile for more than 25 years — is asking Mr De Klerk to guarantee his safe passage into Soweto and his return to Lesotho.

Mr Mda's application for a political visit to SA is a sequel to an invitation by the PAM's leadership to address the movement's three-day inuagural congress on December 1, 2 and 3.

In a statement, PAM's interim committee publicity secretary Mr Bennie Alexander said Mr Mda — who is now a Lesotho citizen — made the application yesterday to return to his country of birth through PAM's lawyers.

Journalist's restrictions lifted

PORT ELIZABETH — Local journalist Brian Sekutu had his restrictions lifted yesterday by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Bl Day 15/11/89

He later said he was relieved as the restrictions had hindered him as a journalist and in his socio-political life.

He was held in emergency detention for nearly three years and restricted, on his release on April 9.

He was banned from addressing gather-

ings where state policy was being criticised, restricted to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district and restricted to his home between 9pm and 6am.

"The lifting of the restrictions on myself and other MDM leaders comes at a time when government is faced with the greatest challenge from a mass defiance by our people who are disenfranchised, oppressed, exploited, and who will not tire in the struggle until true liberation comes," he said. — Sapa.

Soweto ^{12/6/5} tycoon ^{15/4/59} meeting ⁽¹⁷⁾ Mandela

JOHANNESBURG — Soweto tycoon, racehorse owner and director of businesses, Mr Richard Mponya and his wife, Marina were expected to visit Mr Nelson Mandela at the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl today

The couple left Jan Smuts Airport yesterday and hoped to spend the day with the African National Congress leader

Meanwhile, Mr Bruce S Gelb, director of the United States Information Agency, has had talks with freed African National Congress general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, in their Soweto home

He met Mr Sisulu yesterday after discussing developments in Southern Africa with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha

Mr Gelb, who was appointed in April, is on an orientation visit to South Africa — Staff Reporter and The Argus Correspondent

Rowland

...other political prisoners after serving more than 25 years.

Results welcomed

171A

VARIOUS political organisations last night welcomed the results of the Namibian elections won by Swapo.

In a statement released in Johannesburg the Mass Democratic Movement said the results were a triumph for the Namibian people under the leadership of Swapo in their struggle against apartheid and colonialism.

Activist Mr Azhar

Cachalia said: "I hope South Africa learns from the lesson of Namibia and takes necessary steps urgently which will set the country on the road to democracy."

He urged South Africa to respect the outcome of the poll and refrain from destabilising Namibia.

Mr Muntu Myeza of the Black Consciousness Movement said: "Hail Swapo. The victory was well deserved. The gallant struggle waged by the Namibians to free themselves has triumphed."

He said Swapo needed to regroup all Namibians and not allow the victories won on the battlefields to be their graveyard

The president of the Pan Africanist Congress Mr Zeph Mothopeng said:

"We congratulate Swapo most heartily for their performance. We are aware that they may not be able to bring about a new constitution for Namibia but, through their great diplomacy, they will certainly succeed

He also said that the results could have been better in favour of Swapo if it had not been because of the odds that faced the organisation.

Sowetan 15/11/89

Undertakers meeting

THE Transvaal Funeral Undertakers Association is to discuss alleged touting by white and Asian undertakers at hospitals in the PWV area at a meeting at the YWCA in Dube, Soweto at 10am today.

SATS refuses to meet with union

THE South African Transport Services yesterday ruled out the proposed meeting with representatives of their striking workers, saying that they did not see the purpose of a further meeting

ellers

836-0961/2/3

AC&R 8585/ORIENT

meeting Mandela

Argus
15/11/89

JOHANNESBURG — Soweto tycoon, racehorse owner and director of businesses, Mr Richard Maponya, and his wife, Marina, were expected to visit Mr Nelson Mandela at the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl today

The couple left Jan Smuts Airport yesterday and hoped to spend the day with the African National Congress leader

Meanwhile, Mr Bruce S Gelb, director of the United States Information Agency, has had talks with freed African National Congress general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, in their Soweto home

He met Mr Sisulu yesterday after discussing developments in Southern Africa with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha

Mr Gelb, who was appointed in April, is on an orientation visit to South Africa — Staff Reporter and The Argus Correspondent

Leaders vow to lift curbs

PORT ELIZABETH. — Eight local leaders who recently had their restrictions orders lifted have vowed that they "will not rest" until curbs on their colleagues are removed

The eight, released in May, include Edgar Ngoyi, Eastern Cape president of the United Democratic Front, Ivy Gcina, president of the Port Elizabeth's Women's Organisation, Michael Nzotoyi, secretary general of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), Mpumelelo Apleni and Michael Xhego, executive members of Pebco, and Mpumelelo Odolo, vice president of

the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco)

Addressing the first press conference since the lifting of their restrictions this week, Xhego slammed the continued restriction of Peyco leader Mkhusele Jack, UDF regional vice-president Henry Fazzie, UDF regional publicity secretary Stone Sizani and other leaders

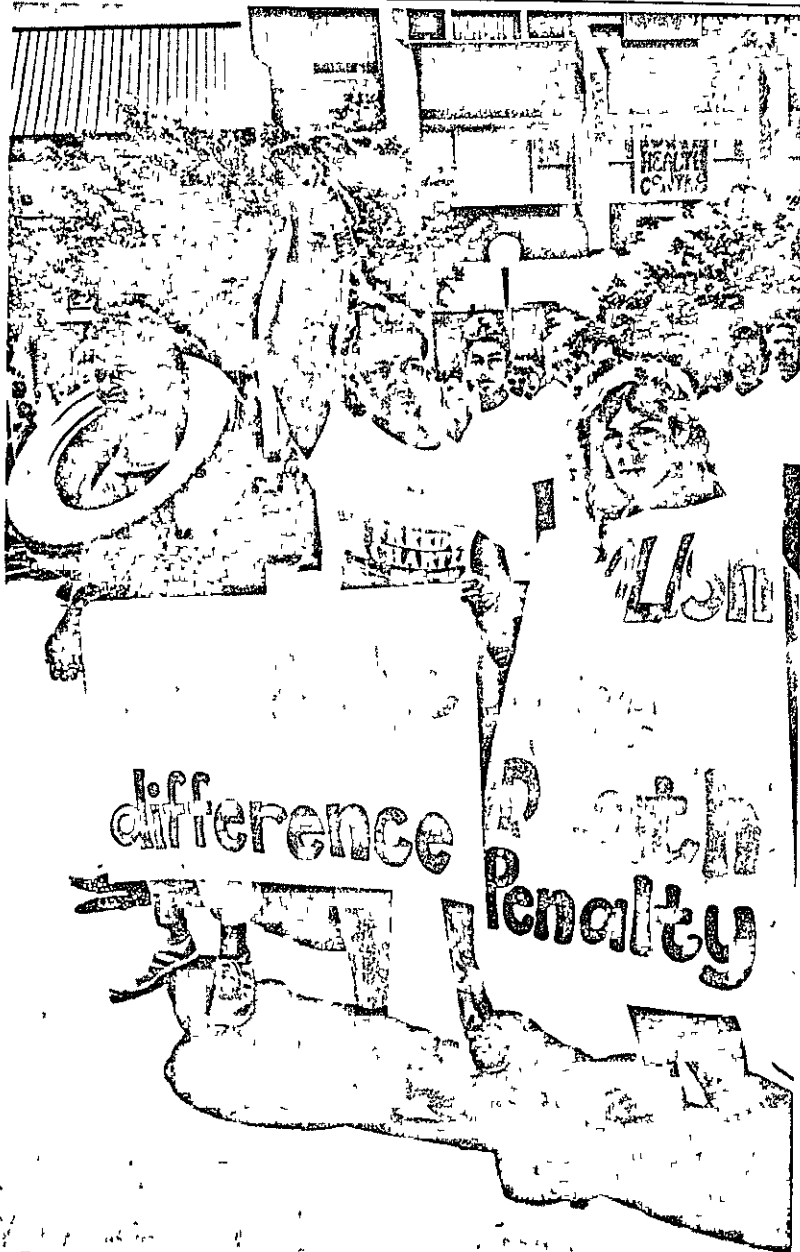
"At no stage can we enjoy our freedom without the giant leader, comrade president Jack," Xhego said

"We cannot climb Mount Everest without comrade Fazzie and comrade Sizani "

11A South 16-22/11/89

Protesters point to Geneva Protocols

Hangings in South Africa have become a major issue internationally, as indicated by the recent Anti-Death Penalty Campaign Awareness Week and the events to mark the 25th anniversary of the hanging of trade unionist and ANC activist Vuyisile Mini:



Protesters at Mitchells Plain Town Centre highlight opposition to hangings. The demonstration was one of several held throughout South Africa

PIC YUNUS MOHAMED

'Soldiers not criminals'

By NOEL BRUYNS

JOHANNESBURG — Opposition based on humanitarian grounds and the barbarism of hanging are partly what motivated the recent Anti-Death Penalty Campaign Awareness Week observed throughout the country

Lawyers both here and overseas have argued that captured ANC combatants on Death Row should not have to face the hangman but instead should be treated as prisoners of war

Prisoners on trial are appealing to international law, more specifically the International Law of Armed Conflicts and the Geneva Protocols, in claiming prisoner-of-war status

International law recognises the legitimacy in the use of force in the struggle for basic human rights and national liberation

The Geneva Convention of 1949 inter alia laid down conditions on the treatment of prisoners of war which precluded torture and maltreatment.

Legitimacy

Even South Africa ratified the conventions but they originally were meant only for conventional warfare between states

But with the rise in the 1970s of liberation wars against colonialism in Southern Africa the legitimacy of this type of warfare was widely recognised

In 1977, protocols to the 1949 Geneva Conventions were added

Protocol I condoned armed conflicts in which people are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination

The ANC formally signed the Protocols, vouching 'to protect and be guided by the general principles of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts'

The South African government has refused to acknowledge the Protocols and to treat captured ANC combat-

ants as prisoners of war

The Protocols have not been accepted as South African domestic law and even international legal experts are not in agreement about whether they are part of International Customary Law

But Johannesburg based lawyer Peter Harris refers to the Geneva Protocols to establish what he calls 'informal prisoner of war status which could be used to establish extension or mitigation of sentence'

In an address to the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in South Africa he referred to an argument in extenuation by saying that socio-political conditions caused people to follow a particular political course

"The fact that ANC combatants view themselves as being engaged in an international conflict and fighting a just cause in an army of national liberation should operate as an extenuating circumstance reducing their moral if not their legal guilt," Harris contends

He says the question as to how captured ANC combatants should be treated has raised a moral and political dilemma for the South African government

There is increasing pressure on Pretoria to view them as soldiers and prisoners of war rather than criminals to be hanged

This raises many problems for the South African government not the least of which is the fact that if the South African courts and the Executive are to hang ANC soldiers they must anticipate that neighbouring states will show little mercy to captured SADF soldiers," Harris says

This is all the more relevant because, as he points out, there has been a change in attitudes of the public and groupings such as the commercial press, churches, business and more recently in certain judgments in the Supreme Court to no longer view ANC combatants as terrorists but rather as soldiers involved in a conflict

Harris is not alone in his views. Campaigning for recognition of prisoner of war status and against apartheid executions are also among the aims of the London based Lawyers Against Apartheid

It was formed three years ago to mobilise the legal community in Britain to support the liberation struggle in Southern Africa

Mr Kader Asmal an exiled South African who teaches law at Trinity College in Dublin, contends that under international law ANC combatants should also avail themselves of the protection of the Geneva Protocol I of 1977

At a recent conference against the death penalty in South Africa, he said Pretoria's continuing "to torture detainees and to execute captured combatants" constituted "grave breaches of the laws of war"

Lawyer Harris concludes that all the legal arguments would be obsolete were it not for Pretoria's racist policies

"Let us not forget what is often behind the death penalty in this country," he says

"I am reminded of what Jabu Masina, the ANC commander, said to a packed Delmas court room after having been sentenced to death

He leaned forward and said in a clear voice that if it were not for apartheid we would not be sitting here, we would be with our brothers and sisters, both black and white"

ANC using Annegarn, says Lugg

By Craig Kotze

Former ANC intelligence officer Hugh Lugg says Paul Annegarn, the fifth member of the Broederstroom cell, was used by the ANC to condemn him as a "traitor and liar" — despite being in agreement with him

Mr Lugg also dismissed as "absurd" a suggestion that the ANC suspected he was a double agent from the start

Reacting to a report published yesterday which quoted a spokesman supposedly speaking on behalf of Mr Annegarn, Mr Lugg said it was clear his former comrade was being used and was not in a position to speak his own mind

The report quoted a spokesman as saying on Mr Annegarn's behalf that he supported the families of the jailed Broederstroom cell members in their

condemnation of Mr Lugg as a "traitor and liar"

It condemned as a "fabrication" Mr Lugg's statement that the group had been ordered to attack a crowded stadium during the Durban Tattoo

Mr Lugg at the weekend spoke about his role in handing over Damian de Lange, Susan Westcott and Iain Robertson to the police, saying he was forced to do so because he was under threat of execution

"Clearly Paul is being used by the ANC. They have still not produced him in London as they initially promised they would do and now someone is supposedly speaking on his behalf

"I know Paul agrees with what I have said about the ANC but he is not in a position to say so

"All the evidence on the orders to attack the stadium is also available. The police confiscated lots of documents in De Lange's handwriting and radio transcripts of the orders. These said 'deliver accurate fire to the centre of King's Park stadium'," Mr Lugg said.

He said it was obvious the truth had hurt the ANC

"If I was not under the ANC's sentence of death I would probably have sorted the matter out internally, but I was forced to do what I did

"The ANC is now just trying to polish its image," said Mr Lugg, who said he still believed in a just and democratic South Africa, but without violent ANC policy

Denial on civilian targets

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress yesterday strongly denied allegations by a former member of the "Broederstroom cell", Mr Hugh Lugg, that orders had been given to attack civilian targets.

In a statement issued here the ANC said Mr Lugg had volunteered for service as a soldier in Umkhonto we Sizwe and had willingly accepted deployment in his appointed unit.

"At no time were instructions ever issued to carry out operations against civilian targets," it said.

It said Mr Lugg was solely responsible for the capture of the other three members of his cell.

The statement said Mr Lugg was now acting as "a willing tool of the apartheid regime and the security police in disseminating lies about the ANC".

It described the other three members of the cell as "brave and loyal members of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (who) have won the love and respect of the oppressed people of South Africa".

No reference was made to a fifth member of the cell, Mr Paul Annegarn, who is alleged to have abandoned the group over differences.

He was reported to have been sent to an ANC prison camp, but is now said to be studying in London.

EXCLUSIVE REPORT by GOVAN MBEKI

THE life we spent on Robben Island falls into several phases.

When we first came there, the conditions were very, very bad. We were placed in cells in a section that was then known as the "Old Jail", which, I suppose went back to the colonial period.

After some time we were transferred to the new section of the jail, called "B-section".

It was there that we met what was called the "Neville Group" (led by Neville Alexander). There were also some common-law prisoners.

But we were kept more or less separate from them and the treatment we received differed from theirs.

We were given sandals which we wore with shorts whereas the rest of the prisoners in the other sections at the time — I think there were about 2 000 political prisoners — walked barefoot.

It was an exceptionally cold winter. I remember it being reported that there was more than a foot of snow in Johannesburg.

We were not allowed to talk to one another. We found time to talk in the evenings though when we spoke through the windows which opened into the passage.

There was a warden in charge, but we would put mirrors out to see whether he was coming along the passage.

We soon established contact with the Neville Group. I still refer to them that way because I have forgotten the name of their organisation. That is how our lives on Robben Island began.

There were problems with the food and clothing. All these were very bad indeed.

Africans only got bread around 1975. It was one slice, I think, three times a week. Then it gradually increased to a slice a day and ultimately into a "kalkop".

There were those on a D diet and those on an F-diet. The F diet, which was the lowest, was for Africans.

It consisted of pap in the morning, boiled mielies for lunch and pap in the evening.

For the morning pap they used one end of a spoon to dish out the sugar for those on an F diet and the other end to dish out the sugar for those on a D diet.

The D diet was for coloureds and Indians. They were given pap in the morning and sugar on a bigger spoon. They were also given coffee. We did not get any.

At lunch they got mielie rice with some fat in it and for supper they got bread with drippings.

We exercised twice a day — half an hour in the morning and half an hour in the afternoon. During exercises we had to walk single file so that we could not talk to one another.

When we came out into the yard for exercise the Neville Group, who wore shoes, were told to take off their shoes when they came into the passage.

The passages were polished by the common law prisoners. The warders felt the Neville Group would dirty the floor if they came back inside with their shoes on. But they did not do this to the Rivonia group.

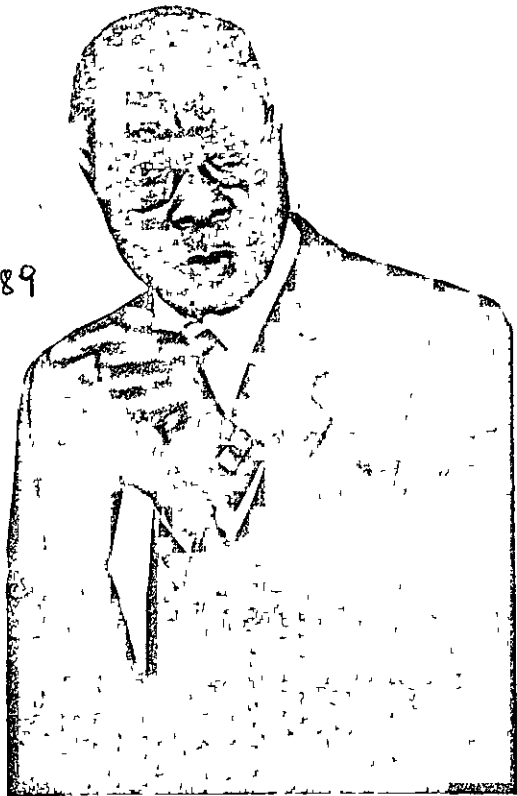
There was no segregation in terms of the colour of prisoners' skins, only in terms of food and clothing. Naturally comrades like Kathy (Ahmed

MBEKI

BY

MBEKI

(11A) South 16/22/11/89



In an exclusive for SOUTH, senior ANC leader Govan Mbeki for the first time speaks about his 24-year imprisonment on Robben Island, his views on the present political situation and hopes for the future.

His unconditional release in November 1987 was shortlived: soon afterwards the government restricted him from speaking to the press.

Last week the government lifted the restrictions, and Mbeki, 79, can now speak out:

Govan Mbeki Eager to visit Lusaka to consult with the ANC and see his sons Thabo and Moeletsi

Kathrada) were very unhappy about it.

The prisoners on the F diet the Africans, were given khaki shorts, old, stinking and badly washed. Each had a shirt, invariably tattered, and a canvas jacket during summer.

During winter we were issued with tom jerseys.

Others on the D diet wore long trousers and were given shorts in summer.

In the course of time especially when we worked in the quarry we exchanged mielie rice with those who were getting boiled mielies. We took turns to bot some.

After some time the bread they were given also went round so that we got it probably once a month as a result of the exchange.

Africans only got bread around 1975. It was one slice, I think three times a week. Then it gradually increased to a slice a day and ultimately into a "kalkop".

A change of clothing occurred in

1967 when we were issued with a pair of shoes, a pair of socks and new shorts, shirts, a jacket and a jersey. In winter, we were also issued with long trousers and a jersey.

It was a wonderful change. After my release I was listed and

I will welcome the chance now to go to Lusaka for consultation with the ANC, which will give me an opportunity to meet my sons.

the press could not report what I was saying. My restrictions also prevented me from travelling freely.

I spent my time engaged in some activities so that I did not go to pieces through boredom.

We first challenged my restrictions in Grahamstown. Ismail Mohamed SC appeared instructed by Priscilla Jans and Associates. We lost that case.

Thereafter we did not make any attempts to ask the state to lift the restrictions until my comrades were released.

I was overjoyed when my comrades were released.

We then felt there was a need to indicate to the state that there was differential treatment. They were released without restrictions and I was released with restrictions.

As a result of that they have now lifted the restrictions.

My role since my release and especially now, is to take part in extra-parliamentary politics to the best of my ability.

I belong to two organisations both of which are banned in the country. I have to find my way — it is sort of like steering the ship between Scylla and Charybdis.

I will welcome the chance now to go to Lusaka for consultation with the ANC which will give me an opportunity to meet my sons.

I am sure that Thabo and his

younger brother Moeletsi who is in Harare and their wives would feel very happy indeed. It will be a happy reunion.

I still believe that the ANC is the spearhead of the struggle for national liberation in South Africa.

It has an important role to play in ending apartheid and rallying the people of this country, not only to its own banner but to stand up and oppose apartheid and see that it is eliminated.

The ANC is involved in that struggle guided by certain guidelines, and the basic policy document is the Freedom Charter.

The role of the ANC after the elimination of apartheid therefore would be to seek to have the people of this country adopt the Freedom Charter and to build the future of this country on the Charter.

The role of the ANC after the elimination of apartheid would be to seek to have the people of this country adopt the Freedom Charter and to build the future of this country on the Charter.

Because as I see it, the Charter is the only basis on which South Africa can be turned into a democracy.

Because as I see it the Charter is the only basis on which South Africa can be turned into a democracy.

The SACP (South African Communist Party) is also involved to the same extent as the ANC in the struggle to rid this country of racism.

I would like to make clear what I mean by socialism. It will be something different from what is bandied about by certain organisations fighting for socialism at this stage.

What I have in mind is scientific socialism, not utopian socialism, which is what the people who talk loudest about it have in mind.



WELCOME HOME Govan Mbeki embraces Oscar Mpetha shortly after the recent release of Mpetha and Mbeki's Rivonia comrades

The Call ^{South} echoes ^{11-22/11/89} on

CALL of Islam. Moulana Farid Esack.

Since the organisation was founded in 1984, many considered the two synonymous.

Esack's recent resignation as the Call's national coordinator raised the issue of a power vacuum

But behind Esack — admittedly the organisation's public spokesperson, one of its four founders, a key strategist, and main theologian — an invisible leadership shaped the Call's ideology and activism

Esack resigned after nearly a year's struggle over his accountability to the organisation. But he remains positive about Call's future

"In commitment and intellectual clarity of the present leadership lies its strength," Esack said "It was a myth that Call had only one leader"

"Invisible" leaders

Ebrahim Rasool, Adli Jacobs and Shamil Manie, Call's other three founders, form the core of this "invisible" leadership. But they are quick to add that the Call's 50 active members all have a contribution to make

Rather than electing another national coordinator, the Call has formed a national secretariat, including four officebearers

Imam Hassan Solomons, active in the early days of the Call, will "play a key role acting very much like a PRO," members say — though they express caution about promoting another charismatic leader

Over the years Call has emerged as the organisation that has continuously introduced politics to the Muslim community

Their affiliation to the United Democratic Front and apparent support for the African National Congress drew sharp criticism from conservatives in the Muslim community. And many believed that Call was selling Islam short by adopting a Marxist strategy

"I have been guilty of shortchanging the public on the Marxist question in the past, but I think there is an important need for the Call leadership to seriously answer this question as well as the nature of Islamic struggle," Esack said

Call has tabled a new agenda, geared at increasing the role of the ordinary Muslim in political, social and ecological issues

It has scheduled a national conference of Muslims for May next year

Prominent anti-apartheid activist Moulana Farid Esack has left The Call of Islam, which he led since its formation in 1984. But, say those still in the organisation, the departure of one leader does not mean it will die. NAZIER HASSEN reports:

in Cape Town "so the Ummah (community) can speak with one voice"

"We plan to use the level of consciousness created by the defiance campaign to draw Muslims into Call," Rasool said

Aside from addressing Muslims' fear of communism, Call also intends to draw the Ulama — the Muslim clergy — closer into the political fold by speaking at Madressas and Mosques

"We need to get close to the formal structures in the community," Manie said

They aim to increase Muslim involvement in trade unions. The theological understanding of many Muslims differs on the feasibility of joining unions. It is in issues such as these that Call's leadership feel they can make a difference

"It should be seen as our task to give people the theological basis for entering these structures," Manie said

Rasool was more specific "Muslims are on shaky ground in this regard. Does the Qur'aan sanction a working class struggle? Is the distribution of wealth and free enterprise allowed in Islam? We need to develop a level of consciousness of these issues"

Esack felt strongly about upgrading the role of women in the struggle and society, which remains on the Call's agenda.

"Call has to return to what Islam says about women and how Shariah — Islamic Law — relates to the family," said Mastroera Sadan, who works on Call's women's project

"We must educate women around what their rights are, and give them options to their problems," Sadan said

This entails setting up an advice office for women where they can offer help to victims of abuse



Moulana Farid Esack

Muslims have a high divorce rate and more than 50 percent of battered wives are Muslims, according to Rape Crisis statistics

Pervasive drug abuse has swept across the Western Cape over the last five years

According to Rasool, Call has to "make drug clinics accessible" to the public and to "remove the shame attached" to drug-related problems

"It is no longer a naughty child-syndrome," he said

Call's ambitions extend to the sport arena as well. Recent trends toward rugby-related violence and sectarianism and Call's inability to stamp out such behaviour among Muslim sports people have caused concern

"We must influence them to rise above their petty religious differences and racial violence," Rasool said.

"Our plan must be a comprehensive grassroots one that may even entail addressing clubs at Annual General Meetings," Manie said "We need to communicate directly with the players"

Call also plans to strengthen its commitment to environmental issues

"The concept of ecology must be politicised — it is no longer a liberal

theme," Rasool said

"Toxic waste and the depletion of the Ozone layer will determine the quality of the new South Africa we are to inherit"

This concern for the environment, as well as most items on the agenda is intrinsic to basic Islamic principles that Esack himself espoused

Esack fears that some of the ideas he "pushed for" in Call may not bear fruit now that he is not there to oversee their implementation

"The country's present political climate and developments in SA might force these ideas into the background," he said

"With the loss of a major religious figure Call is going to suffer a loss in the public eye," Esack said

"But they have the infrastructural strength and Islamic commitment to pull themselves together and build an organisation that has strength at a grassroots level"

Moulana Ebrahim Moosa, a leading Cape Town theologian and vice-president of the Muslim Youth Movement, said "Moulana Esack was a very energetic leader in Call and he reflected their dynamism. But if one talented person leaves an organisation it does not mean the organisation should come to a standstill"

11A

BINESS DAY, Thursday, November 16 1989 3

FW HAS NOT YET GONE FAR ENOUGH — SISULU

SIPHO NGCOBO

11A

ANC leader Walter Sisulu yesterday rejected government's mooted lifting of the state of emergency and the repealing of the Separate Amenities Act as not being enough to start the process of genuine negotiation. *81 Dam 16/11/89*

Speaking at his Soweto home, Sisulu said people's demands, which included the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations like the ANC, the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the scrapping of all undemocratic laws would create a basis for discussions.

Sisulu also dismissed F W De Klerk's future constitutional dispensation based on group rights as a major stumbling block towards a democratic SA.

He described as ridiculous Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's plans to hold elections aimed at identifying black leaders to serve on government's proposed negotiating statutory body.

But he said he was confident about the future as he had never seen such determination in the people.

He described Swapo's victory as a great inspiration to all freedom-loving South Africans.

GOVERNMENT may opt for unbanning the political wings of the ANC and PAC, while keeping their respective military wings, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo, and the SA Communist Party banned, RAU political scientist Prof Deon Geldenhuys believes.

Political observers said government increasingly appeared unable to cope with the dichotomous situation it has placed itself in.

They said government was relying on its "old strategy of reform and repression", allowing scepticism towards government reform and steps to meaningful negotiations.

Denied

Unbanning the political wings, Geldenhuys said, might "place some ANC members in a quandary about what to do, should they come back from exile and negotiate — do they take half a loaf instead of the full loaf."

Partial ban on ANC and PAC mooted

CHARLENE SMITH

"But it would also create diplomatic problems for the two organisations (ANC and PAC) because Western diplomats may be sympathetic to the government refusing to speak to the men with guns and the communists."

Deputy Constitutional Development and National Education Minister Roelf Meyer denied there were contradictions in government policy.

He said government was earnestly pursuing wide-ranging pre-negotiation talks with people across the SA political spectrum.

"It is not true to say that the government is walking a dual road"

Institute of International Affairs researcher Tony van Niekerk said he thought government incorrectly believed it could create an internal ANC wing

undermined government's commitment to change.

"It makes people doubt that they are serious about general change and whether they are serious about negotiation.

"This is why we cannot accept at face value what the government says."

Geldenhuys said: "The government evidently does not have a clear programme as to how it is proceeding. There is a heck of a lot of confusion.

"It is falling back on the tried and tested NP track, favoured by P W Botha, of reform and repression.

Enemy

"There is not only a crisis of credibility on whether the government can deliver on the expectations of their own making, and of others, but they also have to deal with the profound differences in the police and security establishment who have existed on the notion of an internal and external threat."

with Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, with them sitting at the negotiating table without the external wing.

Sisulu, however, has said the organisation had made it clear there would be "no internal and external ANC, there is only one ANC".

Although government has had meetings with Mandela, released leading ANC and PAC leaders and allowed rallies to be addressed by ANC leaders, observers note a crackdown on the Press, the refusal of access for human rights lawyers to condemned prisoners they did not previously represent, and — although now at a low level — continuing detentions.

In the same week that Cape activist Cheryl Carolus was detained, restrictions on former ANC political prisoner Govan Mbeki were lifted. A mass democratic movement (MDM) executive member Cassim Saloojee said such contradictions

Mandela: Release within eight months

11A
17/11/89

Staff Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela, 71, expects to be released before July next year and is in superb physical and mental health, a top Johannesburg businessman who visited him this week said yesterday.

Speaking after spending four hours with his former lawyer and relative-by-marriage on Wednesday, Mr Richard Maponya said Mr Mandela told him that economic empowerment of black people was a top priority.

Mr Maponya's wife, Marina, a distant relative of the jailed ANC leader, accompanied him on the visit to the Victor Verster private home that serves as a luxurious prison cell.

Mr Maponya said he had received an excited welcome from the friend and lawyer he had not seen for 27 years.

Mr Mandela had told him that he felt prospects for his release were very strong, adding that he thought this

would be before July next year

"He said he had insisted that his eight fellow political prisoners be released first because of age considerations," Mr Maponya said. He was referring to last month's release of Mr Mandela's fellow Rivonia trialists, trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha and the PAC's Mr Japhta Masemola.

Mr Maponya said there was no evidence of Mr Mandela being a prisoner during his visit, except for an escort to the house and a very brief visit by the Victor Verster prison commander.

"I almost felt like requesting the authorities to let me drive back with him," Mr Maponya said.

He added that Mr Mandela was regularly visited by a doctor who had prescribed a fitness and diet regimen.

● Mr Maponya is a director of a Transvaal supermarket chain and of car and liquor companies.

Kaunda warns Nujoma on ANC

CM Tuls
17/11/87



LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia who is chairman of the frontline states, warned Swapo leader and Namibian president-in-waiting Mr Sam Nujoma to be cautious in consolidating the Namibian revolution

"As a freedom fighter, obviously you will be thinking of freedom fighters in South Africa. It will be less than realistic that you should accept ANC cadres (in Namibia) That would be asking you to commit suicide.

"You are not in a position to host ANC forces in Namibia. Your entire economy is tied up to South Africa. All those who have invested in Namibia are supporters of South Africa," Dr Kaunda said

"So they will not let you have ANC or PAC on your soil and we will not urge you to do that," Dr Kaunda told Mr Nujoma during the opening session

Leaders of the frontline states began their one-day meeting here yesterday by observing a minute's silence in honour of people who died in the Namibian conflict

Frontline leaders also called on Swapo to be cautious in consolidating independence, Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency, reported.

Mr Nujoma told the opening session that one of the major problems facing his country were the 35 000 Namibian youths who were members of the South-West Africa Police (SWAPOL) and 6 000 others who

To page 3

From page 1

Kaunda

CM Tuls 17/11/87

were members of the notorious Koevoet crack force who had to be rehabilitated

He said the "colonial regime" had not allowed them to do any other training "besides shooting".

"There is a problem at hand. We have to embark on an immediate programme to rehabilitate them through the setting up of agricultural projects and try and make them useful Namibians," he said

Mr Nujoma said although South Africa had spent billions of rands supporting "puppet parties" in the recent elections, Swapo had won without even being allowed to campaign in the commercial farming areas

The Swapo chief said with 41 seats out of the 72 in the constituent assembly, his party would have no problems in having bills passed

"On that one we have no problem"

He said there were technical problems which he would discuss privately with the heads of state

Mr Nujoma thanked the frontline states and the Organisation of African Unity for showing the world that Africans were prepared to fight and liberate themselves — Sapa

Mandela diaries to stay locked

COLOGNE — The ANC has quashed rumours that Nelson Mandela's prison diaries are about to be published.

According to recent reports, one of Mandela's lawyers had allegedly begun negotiations with Penguin for the rights.

An ANC representative said, however, that the diaries, locked away at ANC headquarters in Lusaka, "could not be made public by the ANC as they were Mandela's property. — ANO.

B/Day 17/11/89
17/11/89
17/11/89

(11A)

11A Envel 17/1

Envel 17/11/89

Continued from page 49

ences between ANC and PAC?

"They profess that their approach today should be no hindrance to unity Originally, they were Africanists, who believed in nationalism — based on their own interpretation of 'an African' We, on the other hand, believe in a nonracial democracy, as stated in the Freedom Charter They broke away after the charter was adopted We are still guided by the Freedom Charter I don't know their present policy I've met Zeph (Mothopeng) in jail and he said there's no reason why we shouldn't be together, because we no longer have fundamental differences"

The return of the land, as demanded by the PAC seems a powerful slogan, the FM suggested "Powerful in a peasant country," Sisulu responded "This is a more proletarian society, you don't really have a peasant population here," adding "But what does it mean? It means seizure of power by military means Are they in a position to achieve it? They have not started"

At any rate, the Africanists are due to launch a new organisation, the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM), on December 1 — a week before the charterist MDM holds its "conference for a democratic future", which is seen as a major event in internal ANC ranks

PAM interim executive member Cunningham Ngukana says that "PAM is not a replacement for the PAC, though we are

Sisulu then promptly produced a letter he'd received from Mandela It explains the course of events leading to his meeting with Masemola (who, incidentally, spent seven hours with Mandela two days before he was released on October 15)

Mandela wrote to Sisulu "The truth of the matter was that, six or seven days ago, an attorney telephoned and said he wanted to speak to Major Marais He said that Masemola wanted to speak to Nelson Mandela now The reply was that it was not possible right away Nelson Mandela said that if Masemola wanted to see him he should make the arrangements through Barkhuizen and that there would be no problem When Masemola does come and does raise the question, Mandela would refer him to the organisation outside (the ANC)"

"He asked me to convey this to Lusaka, which I did," Sisulu told the FM, adding "So there's no question of any pre-arranged meeting for peace talks"

Asked whether the ANC would try to get political groups like the PAC to unite behind the ANC, Sisulu said. "It has always been



ANC's Sisulu . . . no pre-arranged peace talks

the function of the ANC, as the major organisation, to organise groups, but there have been problems with that in the past Even though they broke away from the ANC, we have attempted on several occasions to bring about unity with them I think that the people in exile will be taking that into consideration in whatever they do"

What does Sisulu see as the main differ-

Continued on page 54

BLACK POLITICS (11A)

Relative terms

The gulf between the ANC and its chief rival, the PAC, evidently remains as wide as ever This is despite the November 9 meeting between Nelson Mandela and the recently released PAC figure, Jafta Masemola, at Mandela's Victor Verster prison bungalow

Though the meeting had been billed as "unity talks", reportedly set to last six days, it was ended after three hours by prison authorities They told Masemola that proper arrangements hadn't been made

But who asked for the meeting, Mandela or Masemola? The impression was that Mandela had and that it was to be about "unity talks" That is certainly the view in the Africanist camp

Not so, according to Walter Sisulu, who said "There's some mischief somewhere over this question Let me read you this message from Mandela"

In an interview with the FM last Friday,

11/89

ideological bedfellows who see things through the same political eye" He ridicules the ANC's preconditions for negotiations with government, reiterates the importance of the land question and says "We are not going to abide by the OAU document (on negotiations) As far as the Africanists are concerned, the struggle continues"

Suddenly, the ANC seems moderate ■

Violence slated

11A
17/11/89
Sowetan

THE Pan Africanist Students Organisation has called for unity among internal movements following kidnappings, petrol bombings and other violent attacks on its members and those of the Azanian National Youth Unity in the Eastern Cape.

Paso general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela said three Paso members in Uitenhage were fighting for their lives in hospital after the attacks which started on November 8.

He said Nkosinathi Modi (18) of Paso and Maku Mni (19) of Azanyu were hacked with pangas after being kidnapped from their homes on November 8. Their homes were also petrol-bombed.

On November 11 another Paso member, Miya Lucas, lost an eye after he was hacked with a panga and his home petrol-bombed. Luyanda Santi is in the Uitenhage Provincial Hospital after being attacked on November 12.

Talking about talks in massive conference

By GAVIN EVANS

UP to 3 000 delegates from 500 organisations are expected to attend next month's Conference for a Democratic Future

Among them will be representatives from groups aligned to the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and Black Consciousness Movement, as well as delegates from "homeland" parties, church groups, trade unions and a range of organisations based in the white community, said conference organisers

The event, which will focus on sanctions, negotiations and a "programme of united mass action to end apartheid", takes place at Wits University on December 9 and 10

All organisations who apply must accept the event's seven unifying principles: one person, one vote in a united democratic country, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of all political organisations, freedom of association and expression, press freedom and a living wage for all

Conference representative Murphy Morobe said yesterday that any group which accepted the "unifying perspective" would be considered.

The convening committee, which includes 12 representatives from the United Democratic Front, Azanian People's Organisation, National Council of Trade Unions, Congress of South African Trade Unions and



Murphy Morobe ... 'mass action'

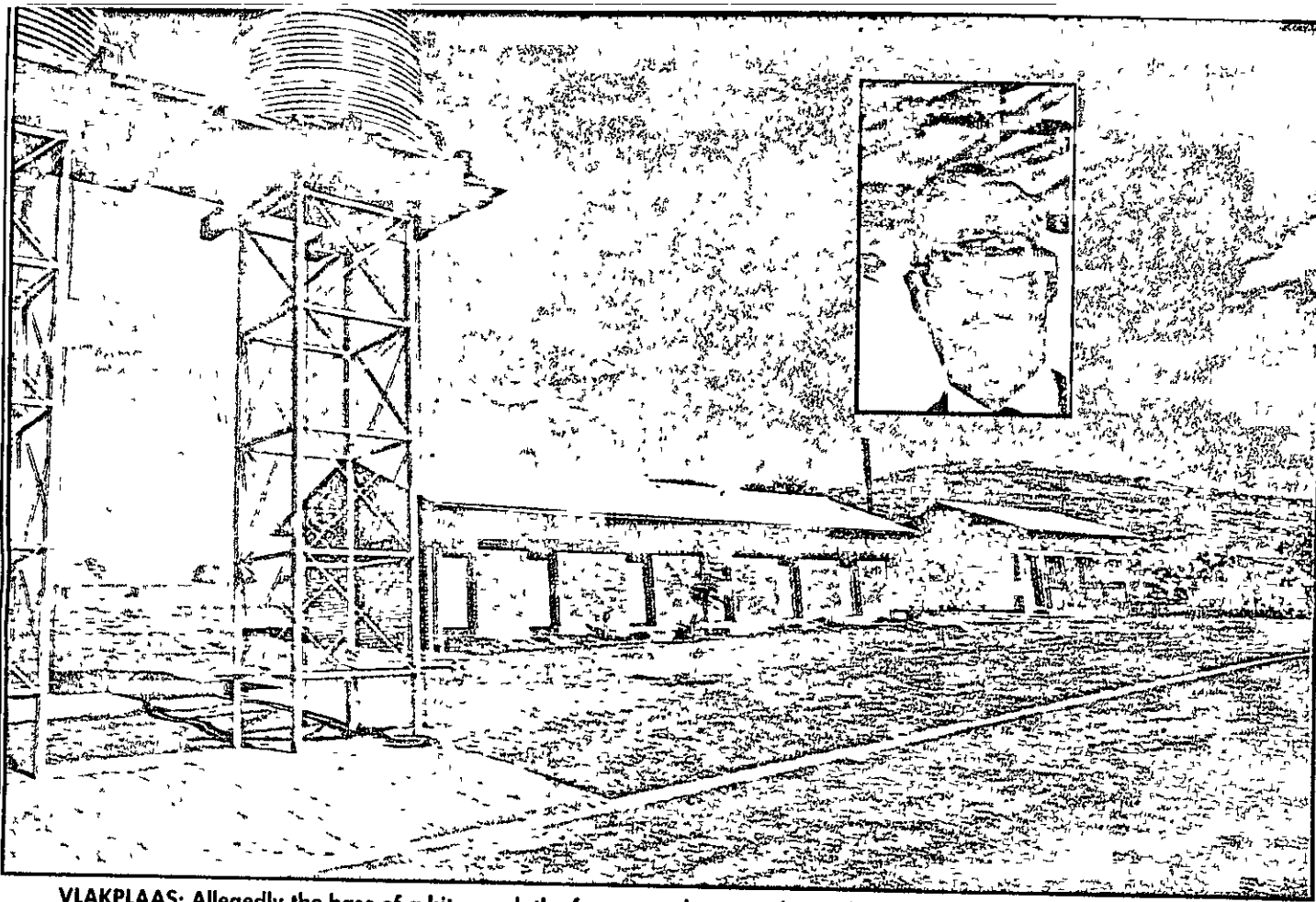
church leaders, has agreed that Chief Enos Mabuza's Inyandza movement from kaNgwane be accepted

"We also expect applications from certain bantustan opposition parties, and they won't be refused"

Morobe, who is also the UDF's acting publicity secretary, said white-based groups including the End Conscription Campaign, Black Sash, Five Freedoms Forum and the Women for Peace would be accepted

Applications from the Democratic Party and the Consultative Business Movement will be "subject to further discussion if they decided to apply"

Complete consensus on the negotiations and sanctions issues is not expected, although it is anticipated that the majority of delegates will support further international pressure on South Africa and something approaching the Organisation of African Unity's negotiations perspective.



VLAKPLAAS: Allegedly the base of a hit squad, the farm was shown to the media yesterday. **INSET:** Major-General Stadler.

Anti-terror base thrown open to the press

VLAKPLAAS — Members of the SAP's Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU) preferred to capture ANC fighters for their intelligence value but would act in self-defence in a life-threatening situation, a former ANC fighter himself captured by the unit told journalists at its headquarters here yesterday.

Members were definitely not ordered to kill ANC members, but to try to and capture them as he had been captured, said the ATU member, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Hit squad denials

He was one of about 30 former ANC and PAC members — all of whom denied they were hit squad members — now working for the SAP presented to the press after claims by former policeman Captain Dirk Coetzee that he had led ATU men in murder attacks on radicals.

CRAIG KOTZE

He described how he was tracked down and approached by a former ANC comrade and member of ATU.

"It was in the western Transvaal. He saw me and came to me — he was not even carrying a 'piece' (gun) — and we agreed that if I wanted to continue the discussion we would go to the police station.

"I went to fetch my weapons which I had cached and handed them in. I decided to work with the police to assist the Government to bring about a situation in which there would be no war.

"If I approach someone I have identified as an ANC terrorist it is a negotiation situation. I am not aware of any orders to eliminate ANC members — I've only read stories in the press about this.

"Obviously as a policeman if I meet someone in the street, try to arrest them and they produce a hand grenade, what must I do? I will defend myself but I will still shoot to wound if possible — we want information from this man," said the ATU member.

Ambit of the law

Other members also spoke of how they were policemen who worked within the ambit of the law. All were free to come and go on the 99 ha farm and many had families.

One was a PAC political commissar trained in Libya and Red China.

Several members of the unit had been killed by ANC revenge squads and it was ANC policy to kill the defectors wherever they were found, police said yesterday.

'Scrap Act' call by MDM

Press 19/11/89

THE Mass Democratic Movement has said the proposed scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act was recognised by all true democrats as a positive step, "particularly when ordinary people are the chief influence behind such a step".

In a statement the MDM said the State President, FW de Klerk, knew that apartheid domination was still in place.

Apartheid had to be scrapped altogether and not reformed, the MDM said.

It added that campaigns similar

to the MDM's defiance campaign had "exposed the shallowness of all the government's racial policies and laws."

"So when the president announced that blacks and whites can swim together he did so not from a position of moral strength, but as someone put on the defensive by historical imperatives.

"President de Klerk's announcement is the clearest vindication of the moral and political appropriateness of our defiance campaign," the statement said. - Sapa

Sisulu to meet the ANC in Lusaka

Sunday Times Reporters

THE seven ANC leaders recently freed from jail will visit the organisation's headquarters in Zambia as soon as they have received their passports.

Sources close to the ANC said yesterday they were confident the meeting would take place this week.

However family members of former ANC secretary-general, Mr Walter Sisulu, said yesterday the seven had not yet received the passports they applied for last Tuesday.

The talks will be the first meeting between the new generation of ANC leaders and the former top-structure of the movement sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963 at the Rivonia Trial.

On Friday Mr Sisulu confirmed he would not be attending an anti-apartheid conference in Paris as he regarded a visit to Lusaka as more important.

IDASA director Dr Alex Boraine said from Cape Town on Friday he conferred with Mr Sisulu last week and was told of the Lusaka priority. He therefore decided against inviting the former ANC secretary-general to the conference.

Theme

The conference is organised by the France-Liberte organisation and sponsored by the French premier's wife, Danielle Mitterand.

Among the South African businessmen who have been invited are Anglo American's Mr Gavin Relly and Mr Nicky Oppenheimer, and Mr Murray Hofmeyr, chairman of JCI.

Other South Africans expected to attend are UCT principal, Dr Stuart Saunders, Wits vice-chancellor, Professor Bobby Charlton, Mr Franklin Sonn, the president of the Union of Teachers' Associations of SA and the Rev Frank Chikane of the SA Council of Churches.

The 22-man ANC delegation will be led by information secretary Thabo Mbeki. According to Dr Boraine the theme of the conference is "Focus on South Africa in Transition".

W

Na



Louis Luyt Vermaak (E)

Rug

Sunday
THE SIX Test
South African
a meeting as so
the conditions
participation in
of a breakawa
After a spec
in Johannesburg
announced they
on the conditio
tion in the SA

19/11/89 S. Times

ANC inspired

New spirit after Swapo victory

CP Correspondent

THE ANC has pledged to draw inspiration from the Swapo victory in Namibia and to escalate the struggle in South Africa to achieve a "quick dismantling of apartheid"

This was said in a statement handed to Swapo leader Sam Nujoma during this week's summit with Frontline leaders in Lusaka

The six Frontline leaders established a special committee to assist Swapo with setting up a government next year

The leaders also agreed

to send a team to accompany OAU chairman President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, to the United Nations to present OAU proposals for a dialogue on South Africa to create conditions for a non-racial democracy

Zambia's President Kenneth Kuanda said the summit agreed to take the OAU document to the UN after observing the South African Government's good conduct during the Namibian election

He expressed hope that the South African Government would avoid the

dishonesty which marred its image after it failed to implement the Nkomati Accord signed with Mozambique in 1984

Addressing a Press conference in Lusaka, Nujoma said Swapo would set up its government without going into coalition with any other party, as it had an 11 seat majority

But he stressed his government would use the multi-party system to enhance national unity

Nujoma expressed hope the South African Government would hand over Walvis Bay - Anso



Dr Kenneth Kaunda

Top-level people

for talks, say PAC

THE PAC has said that a forthcoming conference in Harare would include activists, clerics, businessmen, youth leaders and people in other sectors of South African society

The PAC was responding to speculation that it wished to use the conference as a front for intense consultations with the soon-to-be-launched Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) in South Africa

The PAM is viewed in some quarters as the most open expression of PAC political sentiment.

Speaking from Harare, a PAC spokesman said the organisation's chief representative in Zimbabwe had denied organisers of the PAM were in charge of the guest list for the conference, which is scheduled for next weekend

"It is a clear he that the soon to be founded Pan-Africanist Movement will be the main topic on the agenda. Neither have they had anything to do with the guest list

"Everything is being organised from this end and we have invited scores of prominent people from all sectors of our society, including businessmen from various parts of the country," he said

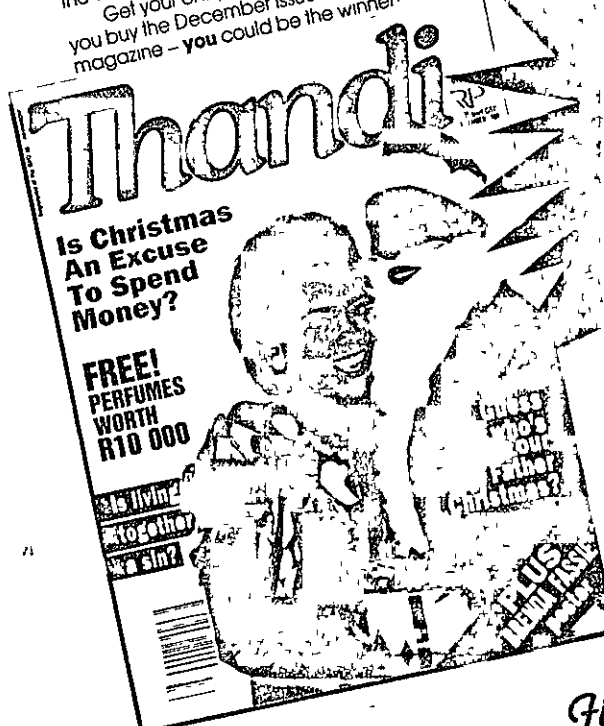
Some individuals would attend in their private capacities, while most would represent organisations and bodies

"This is going to be a high-powered conference dealing with technical issues such as the international legalities of future constitutional proposals. It is not a chance to canvass support

"We already have that," he added - Sapa

Win a fabulous holiday at the Molopo Sun with Thandi and CNA!

That's right! 4 nights and 5 days for two at Molopo Sun in Bophuthatswana can be won. Breakfast and dinner included! Enjoy the best of Sun International atmosphere and amenities at the wonderful Molopo. Get your entry form at the tillpoint when you buy the December issue of Thandi magazine - you could be the winner!



MOLOPO SUN

First with the goodies

Idem & Co 10061

Mandela
free
before
July,
says
tycoon

Cape overtakes Harare as black meeting place

IMPRISONED ANC leader Nelson Mandela, 71, expects to be released before July next year and is in superb physical and mental health, says a top Soweto businessman who visited him this week.

Speaking after spending four hours with his former lawyer and relative by marriage on Wednesday, Richard Maponya said Mandela told him economic empowerment of black people was a top priority.

Maponya's wife, Marianna, a distant relative of Mandela, accompanied him on the visit to the Victor Verster private home that serves as a luxurious prison cell.

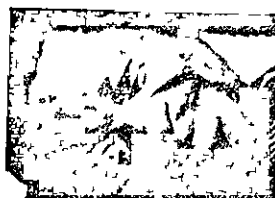
Excited

Maponya said he had received an excited welcome from the friend and lawyer he had not seen for 27 years.

Mandela had told him he felt prospects for his release were very strong, adding he thought this would be before July next year.



Japhtha Masemola



Richard Maponya

Mandela visitors' list grows daily

By CONNIE MOLISI

SINCE the recent release of the ANC seven South Africa has seen a marked change in the trend for people to (re) to Lusaka.

Instead more and more people, especially from the black community are travelling to Nelson Mandela's new home at Victor Verster Prison.

The past few months have seen Mandela inundated with consultations and visits from people of many political backgrounds.

Office facilities like telefax and fax have been installed in Mandela's prison home. This has resulted in wide speculation that he is the prime mover behind some of the changes taking place in the country today.

But Mandela has denied this. Reports say he has said that negotiations cannot be conducted by only one man.

Nevertheless, very few people doubt that some kind of power and

influence is emanating from behind the prison walls.

Two weeks ago released PAC chief Japhtha Masemola had a six day consultation with Mandela.

Although the meeting was said to be non political, there is little doubt the question of unity between the ANC and PAC was high on the agenda.

According to a lawyer who visited Mandela recently the question of unity among all black movements is of paramount importance.

"The central theme of our talks with Mandela focused on the issue of unity."

"He is keen to foster a spirit of harmony and co-operation between the two opposing camps," said the lawyer.

However, Mandela's concerns about the situation in South Africa are believed to go beyond politics. He has stated that he is keen to promote the recognition of non-political forces and their role in the country.

This was reflected in his invitations to multi-millionaire black business couple Richard and Marianna Maponya, who also visited him this week for consultations.

It is not yet clear what the agenda for that meeting was, but according to the lawyer who met him recently, Mandela wants to foster co-operation with non-political sectors.

"This was evident in his raising the issue of co-operation between the National Association of Democratic Lawyers and the Black Lawyers Association," said the lawyer.

These organisations are divided along ANC/PAC ideological lines. The many consultations take place against the background of the PAC's rejection of the ANC's Harare Declaration defining the minimum conditions for negotiations over the country's future.

"Mandela believes that the unity to be forged is unity in action rather than unity of forming one organisation," said a source.

"I almost felt like requesting the authorities to let me drive back with him," Maponya said.

He added Mandela was regularly visited by a doctor who had prescribed a fitness and diet regimen of a Transvaal supermarket chain and of car and liquor companies - Sapa

19/11/89
C Press



Nelson Mandela's many visitors have raised the question whether power and influence come from behind the prison walls.



Enos Mabuza . . . BCM want to exclude him.

114
C-Press

Collaborators not welcome, says BCM man

19/11/89
BY SANDILE MEMELA

THE Black Consciousness Movement has called for the exclusion of "collaborationist" bodies from the forthcoming Conference for a Democratic Future, spokesman Khehla Mthembu said this week

"People and organisations known to promote the government's ideas

can never be part of this conference," he told *City Press*

Applicants who wanted to take part needed a clear history of identification with the liberation struggle, he said

Some organisations and personalities who have mouthed the aspirations of the people within government structures take this to automatically mean they are with the people

"Allowing such political opportunists the right to participate poses serious dangers."

Invitations to the CDF, which takes place at the University of the Witwatersrand on December 9, have been sent out

More than 2 500 dele-

gates from church and community organisations, trade unions, and national anti-apartheid organisations are expected to attend

Efforts by the BCM to exclude organisations like Enos Mabuza's Inyanza and the Bophutatswana opposition party Seopasengwe, have placed a question mark over whether the conference will go ahead

However, Mthembu stressed the conference would certainly take place

"This conference is not the MDM's sole initiative, as suggested by the media. We are joint conveners of the gathering, thus a pullout is out of the question"

Zulus were 'snubbed by ANC 7' (11P)

DURBAN — The king of the Zulus yesterday accused seven veteran African National Congress leaders of snubbing him and his people after the ANC men's release from jail

The Zulu king called for a early meeting with the ANC men

King Goodwill Zwelethini told a rally of more than 70 000 Zulus that their leaders had done more than anyone else to win the release of the ANC leaders and had been offered no thanks

"I, as king of the Zulus . . . received not one single message from them," he said to roars of disapproval from the crowd

He said the turn-out at the rally emphasised the importance of an early meeting with former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu and the other ANC leaders freed with him last month

Reporters and officials estimated that about 75 000 people filled the King's Park Stadium in Durban for the second tribal imbizo (convention) of King Zwelethini's 20-year reign

King Zwelethini said the 6 million-strong Zulu nation had been insulted by the failure to invite either the king or his hereditary Prime Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to the Johannesburg rally organised to welcome the ANC leaders back from prison

"The Zulu people, as the Zulu people, should not have been excluded I was spurned, the Zulu nation was spurned"

Thousands of people attended the Johannesburg rally, which passed without incident despite the display of ANC flags and banners

Chief Buthelezi, King Zwelethini's uncle and a prince in his own right, endorsed the king's call for a meeting, saying he and Mr Sisulu should co-operate to bring peace to South Africa

"Let us now sit down and talk about how not to hurt each other," Chief Buthelezi said in an apparent reference to two years of violence between supporters of his Inkatha political movement and of organisations loyal to the ANC — Sapa-Reuter

68/11/89
Stew

Crumbs from the master's table

One step forward two steps back it happens in the lives of individuals and it happens in the history of nations and in the development of parties - Lenin

NEGOTIATIONS are not new. There have been negotiations in South Africa for decades, the last of which resulted in the tri-cameral Parliament and the best known examples are the homelands, president of the PAC, Mr Zephania Mothopeng told a weekend workshop on negotiations in Johannesburg.

While the State had no intention of relinquishing power but only seeking to perpetuate white hegemony. Mothopeng said there will be those who will accept the negotiations as meaningful progress and who will approach such a forum as if their lives depended on it.

The problem with the suggested negotiating forum is that it would create an elite which would effectively exclude the African worker.

The African worker is the vanguard of the liberation struggle and would continue to be so after liberation - because you (the African worker) will run the socialist order which will be run for the benefit of all," Mothopeng told a African

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

workerist crowd of about 300

The worker must understand the intentions of a negotiated settlement and should be left to decide independently lest it falls into a Fabian impasse

Under the existing conditions negotiations hold nothing for the African worker. The state apparatus is still in a position of power therefore the sought settlement cannot be fair

Beggar

Negotiation has two sides one of which is too strong and in the end dictates the outcome of negotiations, Mothopeng said

On the other he said, there is the weaker side who go there like a beggar - to plead for a pitance

You know all about negotiations as workers. And if you are an employee in a capitalist society you have no power. The employer is too strong," Mothopeng analogised. "If the employer says that he has given you too much already there is very little you can do"



Mothopeng - not impressed by negotiations.

This he said is how "those" are going to the negotiating table "The almighty - with all the weapons and all the money - negotiating with the poor slave"

Mothopeng finds the tidal wave of euphoria - with regard to a negotiated settlement - preposterous, as he believes the slave (in the negotiating process) has no bargaining power, no leverage

Question

There is little chance of getting anywhere close to liberation under these conditions. Our liberation, the liberation of the African worker cannot be negotiated, it will be attained," he said

"We must put our heads together, over this question of negotiations, because it is banded

around as the most important thing in the liberation struggle. You cannot go to a negotiating table for your liberation. When you go to the negotiating table you must already have won your liberation," he said

Mothopeng said, that throughout Africa, the indigenous peoples went to the negotiating table after they had won the liberation struggle

"After you have won the liberation struggle, you can go to the negotiating table as a man - not as someone who has been invited, he said"

Mothopeng believes that the Government is starting to feel the weight of the people. That weight has not reached the required level "that we should negotiate"

The rising hymn of adulation for President FW de Klerk and the talks

about talks. Mothopeng believes, is vacuous. "De Klerk stands for white supremacy, the rights of the minority and a Parliament which is dominated by whites or oppressors or colonialists"

Thus far De Klerk has said nothing to make the African worker believe in a negotiated settlement

Worker

Mothopeng believes that on the one hand he is entertaining a section of the Left, with the promise of equality and justice for all while on the other "Whenever he is faced with his electorate he assures them that their rights will not be sold. Whenever he is confronted by (Dr Andries) Treurnicht he swears that he is not selling out the white man's sovereignty"

The position of the Af-

Secretan 20/11/89

ANC snubbed Zulu people, says king

116
Cape Times 20/11/87

DURBAN — The king of the Zulus yesterday accused seven veteran African National Congress leaders of snubbing him and his people after their release from jail and called for an early meeting with them

King Goodwill Zwelethini told a rally of more than 70 000 Zulus in King's Park Stadium that their leaders had done more than anyone else to win the release of the ANC leaders and had been offered no thanks.

"I as king of the Zulus received not one single message from them," he said to roars of disapproval from the crowd.

King Zwelethini said there could be no major change in South Africa without the support of the Zulus "There can be no successful negotiations with the South African Government by any black group if they try to ride roughshod over us as a Zulu nation."

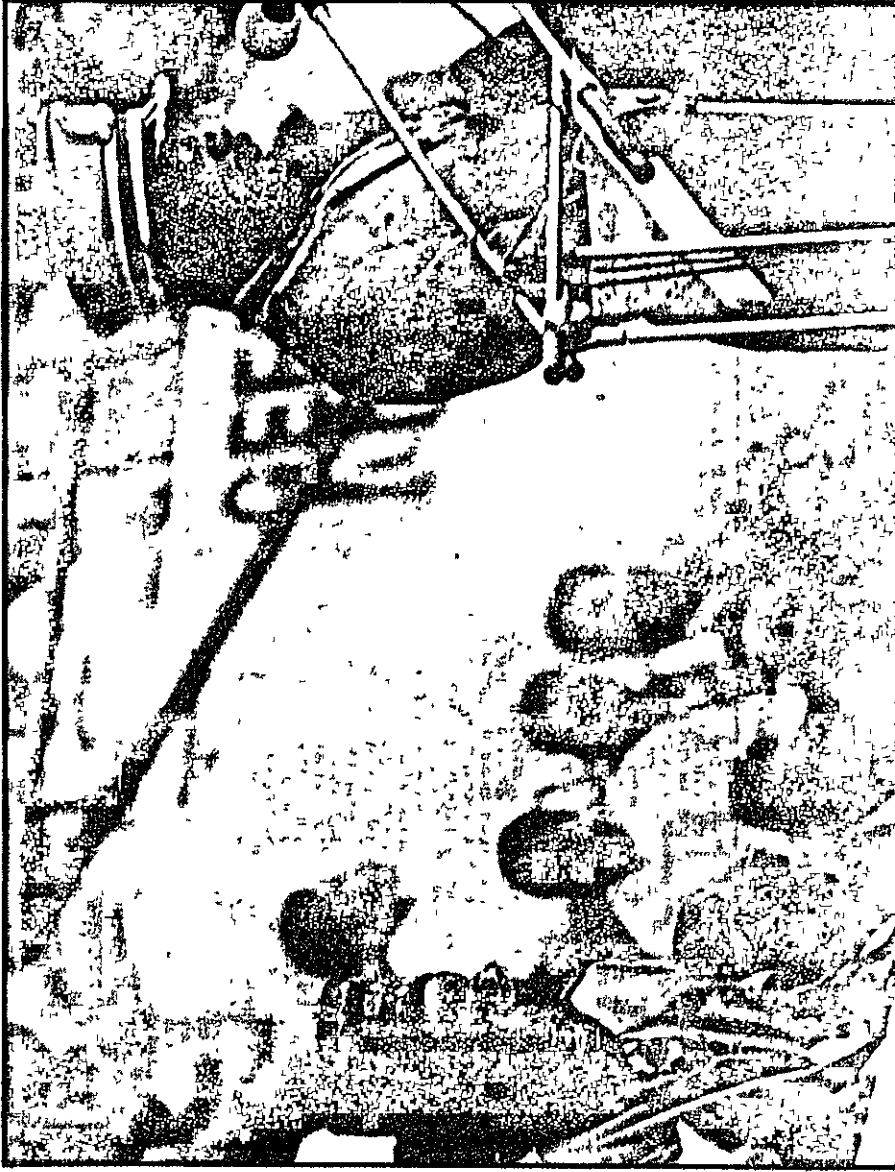
He said the turnout at the rally emphasised the importance of an early meeting with former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu and the other ANC leaders freed with him last month.

The rally was the second tribal imbizo (convention) of King Zwelethini's 20-year reign.



Spectrum

King calls for black unity



Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini tells a rally of more than 70 000 Zulus at Kings Park Stadium in Durban at the weekend that their leaders did more than anyone else to win the release of ANC leaders. At left is King Goodwill's uncle, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

KING Goodwill Zwelithini, King of the Zulus, yesterday appealed to about 75 000 people at King's Park Stadium, Durban, to put party political considerations aside and strive for black unity among the Zulu people.

King Zwelithini, and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, arrived at the event waving at the crowd from the back of an open tuk-tuk.

Although many people wore traditional dress or sported Inkatha colours and carried traditional fighting sticks and shields, the atmosphere was staid, with the crowd hardly singing.

King Zwelithini said there could be no major change in South Africa, without the support of the Zulus.

"There can be no successful negotiations with the South African government by any black group if they try to ride roughshod over us as a Zulu nation.

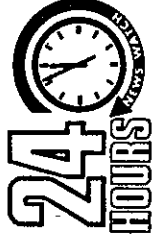
"In the great and important missions that history has allotted to the Zulu people, there has never been any party politics. When we act as a people, we act beyond party politics.

"Measure all political parties and all liberation movements against the criteria of whether they unite Zulus or divide Zulus from each other.

"You know that the UDF and Cosatu have come into your midst to turn you against Inkatha. Is it because Inkatha is led by a Zulu?"

"I say to the leadership of

Sapa reports from Durban



the ANC, Cosatu and the UDF leave my people alone and let them do their Zulu thing... So that we can have a multi-party democracy."

King Zwelithini criticised the ANC for not sending him a message about the welcoming of the eight recently released ANC leaders at a public meeting in the Transvaal.

"I know of no single person who has campaigned for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and all the Rivonia trialists more than the leader of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yet when his (Mr Mandela's) fellow prisoners are released not a word is uttered to acknowledge this

'Insulted'

"The Zulu nation was spurned in this rejection," he said.

The king accused seven veteran African National Congress (ANC) leaders of snubbing him and his people after their release from jail and called for a early meeting with them.

"I as king of the Zulus received not one single message from them," he said to roars of disapproval from the crowd.

He said the turnout at the rally emphasised the importance of an early meeting with former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu and the other ANC leaders freed with him last month.

The gathering was the second tribal imbizo (convention) of King Zwelithini's 20-year reign.

King Zwelithini said the six million-strong Zulu nation had been insulted last month by the failure to invite either the king or his hereditary prime minister, Dr Buthelezi, to a Johannesburg rally to welcome the ANC leaders back from prison.

"The Zulu people as the Zulu, people should not have been excluded. I was spurned, the Zulu nation was spurned."

About 75 000 people attended the day-long Johannesburg rally, which passed without incident despite the illegal display of ANC flags and banners.

Dr Buthelezi, Zwelithini's uncle and a prince in his own right, endorsed the king's call for a meeting, saying he and Sisulu should cooperate to bring peace to South Africa.

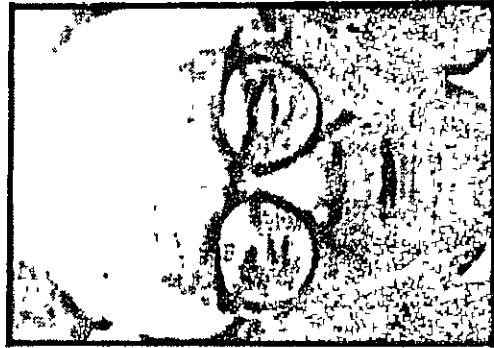
"Let us now sit down and talk about how not to hurt each other," Dr Buthelezi said in an apparent reference to two years of violence between supporters of his Inkatha political movement and of organisations loyal to the ANC.

More than 2 800 people have died in almost daily clashes around Durban and Maritzburg.

Top-level bid to end Natal violence could emerge from plea by King

ARGUS 30/11/89 11A

The Argus Correspondent in Durban reports



Mr Walter Sisulu

A top level bid to end the political violence in Natal and KwaZulu which has claimed 2 300 lives in the past three years could emerge from King Goodwill Zwelithini's address to 75 000 people in Durban yesterday and the response from released African National Congress leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

King Goodwill yesterday accused the freed African National Congress leaders of spurning the Zulu nation by not inviting him and the KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to the welcome-back rally in Johannesburg recently.

The Zulu monarch invited the ANC leaders to "sit down to talk .. about the issues I raise"

Speaking from his Soweto home today, Mr Sisulu said it was a "high-

ly welcome" sign that the Zulu king and Dr Buthelezi wanted to speak to the released leaders

Mr Sisulu said the first thing they would want to discuss were peace talks to end the Natal KwaZulu political violence, which he said had come to a standstill after a beginning which was full of promise

"If by talking we can inject new life into it, so much the better for everybody," Mr Sisulu said

Successful, honest discussions about peace "really would open up discussion in other, wider fields," Mr Sisulu said.

Mr Sisulu made an impassioned plea for peace in Natal and KwaZulu when he addressed the welcome home rally in Soweto recently

He said today that jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was "absolutely disturbed" by the continuing violence. He is vitally interested in this.

"He wrote to Dr Buthelezi and pointed out that he was very disturbed by that situation Mr Mandela certainly will be very keen for talks on this issue."

Mr Sisulu said he and the other seven released leaders had received a personal letter from Dr Buthelezi, which he would reply to this week

One of the central points in the peace talks was that Dr Buthelezi felt a meeting between the leaders of Inkatha, the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front had to be held

ANC snubbed Zulu people, says king

11/11
Capo Tuis 20/11/89
DURBAN — The king of the Zulus yesterday accused seven veteran African National Congress leaders of snubbing him and his people after their release from jail and called for an early meeting with them

King Goodwill Zwelethini told a rally of more than 70 000 Zulus in King's Park Stadium that their leaders had done more than anyone else to win the release of the ANC leaders and had been offered no thanks

"I as king of the Zulus received not one single message from them," he said to roars of disapproval from the crowd

King Zwelethini said there could be no major change in South Africa without the support of the Zulus. "There can be no successful negotiations with the South African Government by any black group if they try to ride roughshod over us as a Zulu nation"

He said the turnout at the rally emphasised the importance of an early meeting with former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu and the other ANC leaders freed with him last month

The rally was the second tribal Imbizo (convention) of King Zwelethini's 20-year reign

Mandela not yet leader of ANC, says Ramaphosa

CMT
10/15/89
2/11/89

11A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A LEADING member of the Mass Democratic Movement, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, has publicly denied that Mr Nelson Mandela has any special claim to the leadership of the African National Congress

"Mandela is a member of the ANC, and his status is no different from the status of any other member of the ANC," he said in the latest issue of Leadership

"However, his stature as a leader is such that his views have a lot of bearing on the leadership of the ANC

"Once he is released and the processes start unfolding, he is one of those people who may have to be considered for a leadership position in the ANC," he said

Mr Ramaphosa, the general secretary of one of South Africa's largest trade unions, the National Union of Mineworkers, is a key figure in the MDM and the National Reception Committee (NRC), which handled the recent release of the eight political prisoners

His statement on the status of Mr Mandela therefore has considerable significance, especially as it appears to be downplaying the dominant leadership role frequently given to Mr Mandela by the media as well as in government circles

In the interview, Mr Ramaphosa, who stressed that he was not part of

the ANC's leadership, said the ANC was "a collective leadership.

"The leadership of the ANC is vested in a national executive committee and Oliver Tambo is the president. But he acts within the collective and speaks on behalf of the ANC

"Decisions are arrived at collectively."

Mr Ramaphosa also said the ANC operated as "a single entity

"The leadership outside, the leadership that remains in prison, and the leadership in the country, all move in unison on virtually all issues, he said

Mr Ramaphosa also rejected government plans to hold an election for African leaders

"To prescribe that we elect black representatives is unacceptable, in that it is premised on racism

"We would not regard representatives elected in this way as authentic

"The ANC and MDM have a number of white members and supporters. We will refuse to hold an election for Africans only

"We would be negating the true non-racial character of the MDM, and indeed of the ANC, if we were to participate in elections according to government's formula.

"This is another indication that the De Klerk government is not genuine about negotiations

"It still wants to have representations at the negotiating table on a group basis, under white overlordship," Mr Ramaphosa said.

Van Eck warns FW of 'bloody' township conflict

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

"BLOODY" conflict could be imminent in Old Crossroads as tension mounts between opposing groups who have been locked in dispute for months, Democratic Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck has warned in an open letter to President F W de Klerk.

In an urgent appeal for presidential intervention, Mr Van Eck says he fears that "unless some immediate steps are taken, a bloody conflict with loss of life and property — similar to the massive conflict in Old Crossroads in 1986 — will erupt".

Mr Van Eck's letter was faxed to the President's office yesterday, and copies were sent to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, Prime Minister of the Transkei Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the Minister of Constitutional Planning, Mr Hernus Kriel, and MEC Mr J W Theron.

In the letter, Mr Van Eck describes tensions between the mayor of the community, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, and 14 of the 19 headmen, led by Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

One of the major reasons for the conflict between the two groups, Mr Van Eck believes, is allegedly fraudulent practices in the use of money collected from residents to purportedly improve their housing. Police are investigating a fraud charge.

Mr Van Eck says he reported the situation on several occasions to Mr Vlok, the Western Cape Commissioner of Police, General P Fourie and the riot police. "Nothing has improved".

He warns that a "crisis point" has been reached and that as an appointed rather than elected leader, Mr Ngxobongwana lacked legitimacy.

"This is worsened by the fact that he is openly allowed to control, influence and interfere in the daily lives of all residents . . ."

Mr Van Eck claims that supporters of Mr Ngxobongwana have resorted to "widespread intimidation" and violence against their opponents.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk confirmed that the letter had been received. "When, and if, Mr De Klerk responds, he will do so personally, not publicly."



Mr Van Eck

Talks between Buthelezi and ANC 7 on the cards

117

TALKS between KwaZulu leaders and newly-released African National Congress leaders would be "highly welcomed", former ANC secretary general Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Sisulu was reacting to a call by King Goodwill Zwelithini and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi -

made at a rally of more than 70 000 people in Durban on Sunday - for talks between themselves and the ANC leaders

King Goodwill told the rally he and the Zulu people had been spurned because the released leaders had not contacted him since they were freed from jail.

Addressing his second great convention since

taking power nearly 20 years ago, the King said the Zulu people had been excluded from "welcome home" celebrations

He went on, however, to invite the ANC leaders to talks on negotiations and reconciliation with himself and Buthelezi

The King said no one had done more to ensure the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his

fellow Rivonia trialists than Buthelezi.

In his speech, Buthelezi echoed the King's call for talks, saying it was important that Sisulu and the other ANC leaders should meet them.

Talks would be about peace between "black and black" and unity in putting South Africa first

In response, Sisulu said he would regard such talks as important and would discuss the call for talks with his colleagues

He said if such discussions took place they would be primarily about Natal violence

Sunday's speeches contained some sharp references to the ANC, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which drew roars of approval from the crowd.

2/1/89

Sowetan

OC
11
12
13

OM Times 21/11/89

Sisulu welcomes talks with Zulus

MARITZBURG — Talks between KwaZulu leaders and newly released African National Congress leaders would be "highly welcomed", former ANC secretary

general Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Mr Sisulu was reacting to a call by King Goodwill Zwelethini and KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — made at a rally of more than 70 000 people in Durban on Sunday — for talks between themselves and the ANC leaders

King Goodwill told the rally he and the Zulu people had been spurned because the released leaders had not contacted him since they were freed from jail

He went on, however, to invite the ANC leaders to talks on negotiations and reconciliation with himself and Chief Buthelezi

The king said no one had done more to ensure the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his fellow Rivonia trialists than Chief Buthelezi

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi echoed the king's call for talks

Talks would be about peace between "black and black", and unity in putting South Africa first, he said

In response, Mr Sisulu said he would regard such talks as important and would discuss the call for talks with his colleagues

He said if such discussions took place they would be primarily about Natal violence

Commenting on allegations by King Goodwill that the Zulu people had been snubbed because they were not invited to the welcome home rally in Johannesburg a fortnight ago, Mr Sisulu said he was sure no snub was intended He said as far as he was aware the rally had been open to all who wished to attend

In his speech on Sunday Chief Buthelezi said "You know that the UDF and Cosatu have come into your midst to turn you against Inkatha"

He said one of the reasons for calling the convention was to urge an end to a campaign of "vilification"

"The killing-talk, the hurling of insults, the singing of vile songs about the leader of the Zulu nation, all make up a recipe for killing." — Sapa



MR SISULU 'talks important'

LONDON — A powerful contingent of prominent South Africans, including Mr Chief Justice Corbett, the leader of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Professor Pieter de Lange, and Dr Wimpe de Klerk, brother of President F W de Klerk, are on a list to attend next week's Paris "Indaba" on South Africa

An apparently authentic list of some 50 names, some of which were crossed out, was revealed to Sapa here yesterday, breaking days of close secrecy on the identity of more than 100 South Africans expected to attend and debate the political future of the country with the exiled African National Congress.

Top businessmen who have accepted the invitations include Johannesburg Consolidated Investments head, Dr Murray Joubert, Mr Christo Nel, of the Free Market Foundation, and Mr Neil Chapman, the

Top SA names on Paris indaba guest list

executive director of Southern Life Assurance company Dr Johan Rupert, son of Dr Anton Rupert of the Rembrandt group, was also listed

One of the South African organisers of the Paris conference and Idasa executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, was not able to confirm

the attendance of Anglo American head Mr Gavin Relly while Anglo spokesmen were not immediately available

The guest list contained the names of many anti-apartheid activists, as expected, but included some of the prominent captains of the economic sector and leading academics

Prof Johan Heyns, moderator of the NGK is on the list, but the name of KwaZulu's leader, Chief Magosuthu Buthelezi, has been crossed off

Similarly crossed off are the names of Dr Chris Stals, governor of the Reserve Bank and Dr Conrad Strauss, head of the Standard Bank.

It is not clear from the undated list whether the scratchings indicate invitations turned down or a change of mind by organisers

No comment could be immediately obtained

To page 3

From page 1

from Frances-Liberte, the Paris human rights organisation founded by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of President Francois Mitterrand, which is hosting the conference

Although the South African government would not be directly represented, a number of prominent guests who would attend had easy access to the Union Buildings, it was indicated

Church leader Dr Allan Boesak tops the list of prominent anti-apartheid campaigners arriving from South Africa

Passport and other restrictions under the state of emergency were lifted yesterday for one of the delegates, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, of the UDF

Under present restrictions he is not allowed to attend gatherings, leave his magisterial district — Johannesburg — or give interviews to journalists

Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu will not be attending, due to other engagements

Neither ranking ANC and SACP member Mr Govan Mbeki nor the UWC's Professor Jakes Gerwell would be available to attend.

Recently-released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, will likewise be unable to attend due to pressures of appearances in the Southern Africa region.

Part of the "large aca-

ademic contingent" who have accepted include the vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor R Charlton, and the chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Professor Stuart Saunders

Mr Wynand Malan, a co-leader of the Democratic Party, is also named

Two of the South African delegates due to attend the talks, the UDF's Mr Mercy Ndo and the general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Rampaphosa, are currently in Lusaka for talks concerning the Paris meeting and are due to return to South Africa briefly before leaving for France

The 26-strong MDM delegation also includes the general-secretaries of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Jay Naidoo, and the United Democratic Front, Mr Murphy Morobe

France-Libertes is keeping the list of 110 South African guests a close secret until the start of the November 27 to December 2 meeting

Business Day editor Mr Ken Owen is to make a speech at the conference, while a number of representatives from South Africa's "alternative press", such as the Vrye Weekblad and the Weekly Mail, have also been invited to attend.

Sapa
● 25 ANC officials to join talks on SA — Page 9

Factions bury hatchet

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. — A giant new union for commercial and catering workers was launched here last weekend ending more than two years of in-fighting in the industry.

The inaugural congress of the 73 000-strong South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Saccawu) endorsed an agreement merging two splinter groups of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (Ccawusa), the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union and the Liquor and Catering Trades Employees' Union.

The merger follows the decision at Cosatu's third annual congress in July this year to give the two Ccawusa factions until November 12 to patch up their differences.

And the man who convened the all important congress, Bernie Faranoff of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, said he was pleased with the outcome of unity talks although there were still problems which would have to be overcome.

Reinforced

"Our feeling was that all the parties are very committed to unity. It was clear in the negotiations that the leaders of all the factions were prepared to make concessions and sacrifices to build unity," Faranoff said.

Faranoff was assisted by NUM's assistant general secretary Marcel Golding and Cosatu's assistant general secretary, Sydney Mufamadi, in uniting the warring groups.

Guest speaker at the congress, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, urged the 300 delegates to concentrate on unity.

"The paper unity of the merger agreement will have to be reinforced by unity in action," Naidoo warned.

In terms of the unity agreement, Ccawusa faction leaders Vivian Mtwa and Papi Kganare were appointed general secretary and assistant general secretary respectively and Duma Nkosi of the Kganare faction was elected president of the union.

The other office bearers are Amos Moutalo (treasurer), Miller Moela of the Mtwa group (first vice-president), and Chris Mohlatsi of Harwu (second vice-president).

Delegates agreed that living wage demands for next year would be centrally formulated and tabled at all organised companies and that the union would have separate commercial and catering sectors.

Mtwa said the congress steered clear of formulating political policy.

THE South African Municipal Workers' Union (Samwu) is to campaign alongside other unions and organisations against privatisation which it described as a "monster".

The decision was taken at Samwu's second national congress in Cape Town last weekend.

The congress delegates representing about 29 000 paid-up Samwu members also resolved to unite workers in municipalities throughout South Africa and to strive to become the



Delegates discuss unity at the Saccawu conference

Samwu to oppose privatisation

largest Cosatu affiliate Samwu currently has a paid-up membership of 35 000.

The theme of the congress was "Unite, Organise and Democratise" and a Samwu spokesperson said the delegates debated issues in a "constructive manner in keeping with this theme".

The congress also adopted resolutions dealing with strengthening the union's structures, building Cosatu and mass-based organisations and supporting the

preconditions for negotiations set out by the African National Congress.

Delegates noted the importance of organising women and resolved to assist in building women's structures in the union and the community through the revival of the Federation of South African Women.

John Ernzen (general secretary), Petrus Mashishi (president), Joseph Spambo (vice-president) and Sidney Adams (treasurer) were unanimously re-elected.

South
16-22/11/89

25 ANC officials to join talks on SA

LONDON. — The ANC is sending a powerful team to Paris for talks which are shaping up as a substantive testing ground on how to negotiate the political future of South Africa.

South African sources said 25 top officials of the exiled ANC would join some of the biggest names in South African business at the talks in a highly-guarded chateau outside Paris from November 27 to December 2.

Sources said the ANC was sending its leading external spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki and Professor Kadar Asmal, dean of law at Trinity College, Dublin, and a key member of the nationalist group's "constitutional team".

Other ANC leaders invited include Mr Zola Skweyiya, who heads the legal department at the ANC's exile headquarters in Zambia, and Mr Reg September, a member of the national executive.

● Weekly Mail editor Mr Anton Harber, Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez and New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu are due to attend a conference on South Africa's media in Paris on December 4-6.

Among the issues on the agenda are the structure of the SA media, the state of emergency, censorship, relations with the government and the SA press in a post-state of emergency environment.

Delegates from SA include representatives from the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), the SA Society of Journalists (SASJ), the film organisation FAWO and the Weekly Mail Film Festival. — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent.

ARGUS 22/11/89 (112)

Two ANC men arrive to call on Mandela

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

ANC veterans Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Raymond Mhlaba have flown to Cape Town where they are to meet Mr Nelson Mandela tomorrow

Mr Mbeki, 79, a former chairman of the ANC, and Mr Mhlaba, 69, a member of the Cape Executive of the ANC in the late 1950s, arrived in Cape Town today

The meeting was requested by Mr Mandela, Mr Mbeki said yesterday. It is understood permission has been granted for a two-hour meeting.

Speaking from Port Elizabeth, Mr Mbeki said he had "no idea" why Mr

Mandela wanted to see him and Mr Mhlaba

"What we talk about will be largely determined by Mr Mandela. With the situation in flux as it is, one would expect that a number of points will be raised."

Asked if one of the likely topics would be the plans raised earlier this month for him, Mr Mhlaba and the six other long-term ANC prisoners released recently to visit the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, Mr Mbeki said "There is no certainty about those plans yet."

● A Department of Home Affairs spokesman confirmed that Mr Mhlaba had applied for a passport



Mr Govan Mbeki

South 23-29/11/89 (11A)

Love child

By REHANA ROSSOUW

ANTON Fransch, the ANC cadre killed in a police shootout in Athlone last Friday, had a son he never knew.

Nathan Asher, 2, (pictured here with his mother Nicky Asher) is a love child conceived while his activist parents were on the run during the township turbulence of 1986

Nathan has been told the father he has never seen, is dead but he is too young to understand

Asher, 20, said her son was the "only reminder of Anton"

Asher and Fransch were high school sweethearts whose relationship developed through their shared political activity

At the height of the unrest and violence of 1986, when Bonteheuwel became the focal point of unrest in the Peninsula, Fransch and Asher joined the ranks of activists on the run

'Always at war' — Pages 8 and 17

Fransch was known as the driving force behind street action in the area

He and Asher spent their days organising youth in the township and their nights at safe houses

Her son was conceived during that period

In August 1986, Fransch's photograph appeared on Police File, with the announcement that he was being sought for jumping bail on two charges. Soon after that, he left the country

"I had no chance to say goodbye to him," Asher said. "I last saw him on August 29, 1986"

Nathan (which means 'gift') was born after his father had disappeared

That's what hurts me most about Anton's death — that he never met his

TO PAGE THREE



SPONSOR

Love child

FROM PAGE ONE

son," Asher said. She had promised her son he would meet his father

"I had this idea that he would come back one day and they would learn to know each other and play with each other and Nathan would see what it was like to have a Daddy

"I felt that in the end, we would be a family, we would just have to wait I told Nathan to be patient"

Asher, still stunned by Fransch's death, visited the scene of the shootout on Saturday

"One wall was half-destroyed and covered in blood," she said.

A large hole in the wall bore silent witness to the last projectile shot into the room

Fransch's funeral committee organised a series of events to mark his death. A vigil was held in Athlone on Wednesday as well as a candlelight vigil in the Bonteheuwel Town Centre

A church service was planned for Thursday night at the Bonteheuwel Civic Centre

Fransch's funeral service will be held at the Metropolitan Sportsfield in Bonteheuwel from 9.30am on Saturday

South 23-29/11/89 (11A)

MDM, ANC in talks

LUSAKA - A delegation of South African opposition activists began talks yesterday with exiled guerrilla leaders, members of the delegation said.

The 26-strong delegation from the Mass Democratic Movement were scheduled to return to South Africa from Lusaka later today.

Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of South Africa's National Union of Mineworkers, described the two days of talks as part of a programme of regular contact between the ANC and anti-apartheid leaders based in white-led South Africa.

He said the agenda included discussion on arrangements for ANC leaders released from prison in South Africa to visit the ANC's external headquarters in Lusaka once they receive passports.

Other members of the MDM delegation include Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and Murphy Morobe of the United Democratic Front.

11/11/77
Cyril Ramaphosa

Apartmente id protest

Sowetan

23/11/89

(11A)

TWO rallies to be addressed by recently released ANC leaders will be held this weekend.

Affiliates of the United Democratic Front on the East Rand and a number of religious, cultural, sporting and community organisations are to launch a campaign against the Separate Amenities and Group Areas Acts at a mass rally to be held at KwaThema stadium near Springs on Sunday.

The other rally to "welcome the ANC 7," is scheduled for Umtata in Transkei, where former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu will be the main speaker. It will also be held on Sunday.

ANC 3 speak at mass rally

BY ALI MPHAKI

Permission for the rally has been granted by the Chief Magistrate of Springs, and the expected crowd will hear three of the "ANC 7" who were recently released address them.

Mkwazi

The three are Mr Wilton Mkwazi, Mr Elias Mokoaleli and Mr Ahmed Kathrada. Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader

Nelson Mandela, will also address the KwaThema rally.

Preparations for the campaign were first initiated six weeks ago and will go as planned despite the recent announcement made by President F W de Klerk that the Separate Amenities Act would be scrapped soon.

"The people of the East Rand experience the naked racism of the Conservative Party more directly than elsewhere in the country given the fact

that most town councils in the area are controlled by the CP.

"We have decided enough is enough and must now unite in our thousands all across the East Rand to demonstrate our determination to improve our plight," one of the organisers said.

A special appeal has also been made to white people to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid by making every effort to become part of the campaign.

Top groups such as Bayete, Jennifer Ferguson and Mzwakhe Mbuli will perform before the speeches between 10am and 2pm. The rally will end at 5pm.

PAM's peasant farmer leader

15/12/63
By GURRAISH PATEL IIA
Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Clarence Mlamli Makwetu is a peasant who farms in Transkei. The 61-year-old former Robben Island prisoner is known to few whites and he is not among the "Who's Who" of recognised black leaders

But he has been unanimously elected by 2 000 people from all over the country to lead an organisation whose significance is likely to affect the political life of the country.

The people who elected Mr Makwetu did not consider it important that he lives in a remote, dusty Transkeian village called Cofimvaba, near Queenstown

It was enough for them that Mr Makwetu had walked with Robert Sobukwe during the height of the Pan Africanist Congress defiance against the pass laws in the early Sixties, that Mr Makwetu had been actively involved in organising PAC branches and that his involvement in the fight against apartheid began when he was a Youth League member of the ANC in 1953 and that to them he is their chosen leader

As a farmer, he loves the land and as leader of the Pan Africanist Movement, which shares the same political views of the banned PAC, Mr Makwetu will attempt to give prominence to the "return of the land to the people"

"The people" are previous generations of Africans driven off their land by Voortrekkers and British soldiers. "The people" had no knowledge of and were not part of the title deed system devised by whites to indicate legal ownership of the land occupied mostly through force by foreigners

PAM's declaration

According to the Declaration of the Pan Africanist Movement to the people of Azania, the "struggle by Africans" is against dispossession of land and oppression led by the African working class to ensure democracy and the redistribution of resources, particularly land. Among the guiding principles of the declaration are non-racialism, non-collaboration, the recognition of universal human rights, a planned economy in which "transport, electricity supply, mining and water supply shall be in the hands of the state".

Also in the declaration are the provision of housing as a state duty, free health care and facilities, free education and state backed plans to reduce illiteracy, independent trade unions as watchdogs of workers' interests, religious freedom and equality of sexes — and the right of all persons over 21 to vote and to stand for elections

Some of these principles are not unlike those of the ANC's or other anti-apartheid organisations. But between the Africanists and the Charterists (those who adhere to the ANC's Freedom Charter) lies a wide chasm.

The ANC's vision of a "mixed economy" conflicts sharply with the PAM's "planned economy". Benny Alexander, PAM's general secretary, said the vision of a future society was not based on a slavish imitation of Eastern European socialism

"We have no intention of a bastard importation of any Eastern model of socialism. Ours will evolve in the unique circumstances of Southern Africa. We do not believe authoritarianism is inherent in a system of a planned economy. Socialism properly practised is the highest form of democracy."

The ANC and the MDM's recent listing of pre-conditions to negotiations has drawn a sharp response from PAM which wants to negotiate only for the transfer of power to the majority. It also wants negotiations between "Progressive organisations" in an effort to end apartheid. It is not interested in talking about "Concessions"

PAM and the MDM differ even on the meaning of "Non racialism". Mr Alexander said: "Non racialism does not imply equality of the different race groups. We believe there is only one race, the human race. Africanists were the first to put non-racialism on the agenda when others were talking about multi-racialism."

PAM's idea of non-racialism means that "Africans" include white, Indian and coloured people who are committed to the guiding principles of Africanism. Africanists strenuously oppose claims that "Whites will be driven into the sea" after the seizure of power. They say that's white propaganda aimed at driving away allies

Enjoying dominant public support and media attention, the ANC and the MDM are believed to be central players in the battle for anti-apartheid supporters. That view may be short sighted and superficial

Unlike the ANC, Africanists have barely had the chance to initiate their ideas and develop support among the people. Soon after the breakaway from the ANC in 1959, the PAC launched an anti pass laws campaign and managed, in a short time, to draw huge crowds into the streets. The banning of the organisation, the arrest and incarceration of leader Robert Sobukwe, and the bitter wrangles within the PAC abroad during the Sixties and Seventies have done little to stem the resurgence of militancy that has grown into PAM. Except for the question of violence, PAC and PAM have the same political views

Dismissing the Africanists, as many seem to be doing, from the political power game is premature. They are organising branches throughout the country, they insist on paying their own way to meetings and conferences, they say they are not concerned about foreign funding and they say they won't compromise their principles

Africanists' tentacles reach deeply into student, community, union and women's organisations. They have hunted at "mass action" on an unprecedented scale.

emba..

23/11/89 (1/11)

of George Street, Cape Town

Natal violence: Mandela to see activists

DURBAN — Nine South African activists are to visit Nelson Mandela next week in the latest talks between the jailed black leader and anti-apartheid campaigners

"Obviously I'm very excited about meeting this national leader, someone who we've never met but revere," said Mr Farouk Meer of the Natal Indian Congress

Mr Meer said in an interview

that he did not know what Mr Mandela wanted to discuss "But he's probably interested in national politics and in particular the Natal situation"

About 2 000 people have died two years of clashes between rival organisations around Maritzburg and Durban

Mr Meer said the nine would include Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Curnick Ndlovu of the Unit-

ed Democratic Front, whose supporters in Natal have clashed repeatedly with the Zulu Inkatha movement

● The three co-leaders of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, held talks yesterday with Mr Walter Sisulu and other released ANC leaders — Sapa-Reuter and The Argus Correspondent

March of hope

11A

South 23 29/11/89

PORT ELIZABETH. — A unique "march for hope" during which concerned whites will take a message of peace, goodwill and hope to the townships will take place here on Saturday

The march has been endorsed by the Mass Democratic Movement's leadership in the Eastern Cape and permission has been granted by the chief magistrate here

The five kilometre march starts outside the Livingstone hospital at 10am and will proceed to New Brighton where they will be met by a high-powered MDM delegation led by regional UDF president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi.

The "message of hope" which has been widely endorsed, reads "We, concerned white citizens of Port

Elizabeth, wish to share with the people of the township a message of peace, goodwill and hope.

"Apartheid separates and divides us and causes much suffering. Not all whites support apartheid

"We want to participate in building a new and non-racial South Africa, we state our commitment to working for a democratic and united Port Elizabeth, free of racism" — PEN

Q What is your general view of President De Klerk and his initiatives so far?

CR: A new man, having come to power, is trying to show the people of South Africa and the world that he is a new broom, that he is committed to reforming South Africa. But he still has the legacy of the past. He is still part and parcel of the National Party machinery which is still committed to apartheid, although the rhetoric appears to be against apartheid and for its abolition.

So you're not taking their word for it at this stage?

No. They have not yet crossed the necessary political threshold.

How do you define that threshold?

That the defining of South Africans in terms of groups should be abandoned. We would like to create a South African nationhood. The diversity of our cultures should unite and enrich, rather than divide, our nation.

You emphasise the group factor rather than, as one might have expected, the matter of power. I take it you believe that it is within the group concept that power relationships are defined.

Indeed. If you go by De Klerk's formula, the white sector will remain intact as a group, whether it be Afrikaner, Jew or Portuguese. But black people will be subdivided into neat little ethnic compartments, so that ultimately the whites will retain power, irrespective of our wishes.

Even so, you have got De Klerk, who quite obviously represents a very different style. You'd accept that?

Very different, but only in style, not in content.

Nevertheless, does that not give you something to work with?

The face we see of De Klerk is very different from that of PW, the finger-wagging man. But we have not yet seen his political strategy for South Africa. If De Klerk is trying to deal with these problems, he is not doing so in a way that will evoke the type of response he wants from our people.

He says his door is wide open, but behind that door are Group Areas, Separate Amenities, detentions, restrictions, and a lot more besides. He is still essentially tied to the apartheid system. If we go through that door now, we fear we will be caught in a quagmire.

He has released political prisoners, he has allowed marches to go on, he has said he wants to lift the state of emergency, to unban organisations — which we take to include the ANC, or else it would be meaningless. He has said these organisations must give some form of commitment that there will be no return to the violence of 1984-85 and its attendant evils like necklacing, etc.

He is throwing the ball into our court. We say you can't do that, that is an apartheid way of operating.

We perceive some signs on government's part that it wants to move forward, but the problem is, they talk with forked tongues. They are not coming out clearly.

It could be argued, if he has not indicated a direction, that he either has not had much time or regards the enunciation of one as inimical to a negotiation process where everything should be on the table.

Government is already saying they will negotiate with whoever is in favour of a peaceful solution. The ANC and the MDM have always been in favour of that. That is on record. They are again throwing the ball in our court. We say no, there cannot be talks about talks until the climate for negotiation has been made conducive.

Creating that climate means they have to unban organisations. We cannot talk to De Klerk about unbanning the ANC until he does it. We cannot talk to him about releasing political prisoners until he does it. He has to fulfill certain conditions before there can be any negotiation.

If the ANC were to go to talks about talks, it would be doing so without a mandate from the people. The ANC has to obtain a very clear mandate from our people before it can enter into any form of talks.

Do you intend to begin gathering that mandate at your Conference for

Threshold to negotiations



Cyril Ramaphosa with ANC leader Walter Sisulu

a Democratic Future planned for December?

No, it will not be a mandate gathering. It will be to explain the views of our people as a whole on the question of negotiation.

We have been developing a strategy on the question of negotiations and how the necessary climate should be created. We are all discussing the OAU document.

As far as the MDM is concerned, the approach is that negotiations should be seen by our people as another arena of struggle.

In proceeding to negotiations we have to take our people with us. We have to be accountable to all people, through various structures from grassroots level upwards.

We have to have representatives properly mandated to sit at the negotiating table. In other words, there must be mass approval, mass action, as we proceed to the negotiating table. Our people must understand fully what is being discussed.

At a mass level they must be able

way as authentic. The ANC and MDM have several white members and supporters. We will refuse to hold an election for Africans only.

It has been hinted that, under certain circumstances, the MDM might consider dropping the boycott strategy if it felt it had sufficient control over the relevant political ground. So, if government's premise is wrong, what would be the correct one in terms of putting together a negotiation structure and electing representatives to that structure?

I am sure that the ANC, when unbanned, will prove beyond doubt that it enjoys mass support. Support for the ANC, which already runs into millions, will immediately be seen to be overwhelming. Millions of people, including whites and people in the independent homelands, would immediately become card-carrying members.

The release of the political prisoners has highlighted the profile of the ANC, it has shown, even to government, that the ANC has to play cen-

cover all people in South Africa.

This is a definite shift. But they have not done it out of the kindness of their hearts. They have done it as a result of massive national and international pressure. But again and again, government wishes to prescribe how this constitution is to come about.

Discipline and non-violence are the two cornerstones of the MDM/ANC's new strategy. Can you make them stick?

They are sticking now.

The leadership of the ANC would always have preferred a struggle conducted with great discipline and without violence. They resorted to the armed struggle because other avenues were closed.

We are saying that our struggle should be conducted in a disciplined fashion. Non-violence fits in with our hopes of achieving a free and democratic South Africa and our commitment to peace. But the ANC resorted to violence because it was up against a brutal government.

The release of the Rivonia trialists last month raised questions about the future of the ANC leadership and the negotiations process. In an interview with Leadership's Paul Bell, NUM's general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa outlines the "necessary political threshold" that government must cross before negotiations can begin, and explains the dynamics of the ANC-MDM relationship. Excerpts follow:

to approve or disapprove the various proposals that may emanate from the negotiators they will have elected. Nor should anyone expect this process to be over quickly. Negotiations will be protracted.

Are people perhaps under a misapprehension that once talks begin, pressure will end?

To us negotiations is not an end in itself. It is a process which will lead to a strategic objective. So we do not see the massive upsurge of our people stopping when negotiations commence.

Gerrit Viljoen, government's negotiator-in-chief, indicated to Leadership Magazine last month that he foresaw, as a prelude to the negotiations, a process in which black people would elect leaders to represent them in negotiations. Under what conditions would the MDM and the ANC be prepared to contemplate participation in that?

I think the premise the government is working on is misguided. To prescribe that we elect black representatives is unacceptable, in that it is premised on racism. We would not regard representatives elected in this

stage at the negotiations.

Once that has been arrived at, the ANC will be the key negotiator representing the people.

The best way of getting the negotiation machinery off the ground is to put together a constituent assembly. Then you have elections on a national basis. De Klerk appears to dismiss this out of hand because he fears the ANC will win overwhelming support.

It is a long road. The interesting thing is that government has shifted position, I do not know how many times, on the question of the ANC and negotiations.

The ANC has remained consistent, and the OAU document crystallises discussions which have taken place over the years. The issues covered in the document do not deviate from the positions adopted and upheld by the ANC over the years.

Government, on the other hand, shows it is confused and lacks direction. It has shifted its position to the point where it now accepts the need for a new constitution which will

which uses violence to suppress the people of South Africa who are demanding their rights.

Anyone who was out at the Sisulu home in Soweto in the week following the release of the Rivonia trialists cannot fail to have seen the National Reception Committee, which appears to constitute the effective leadership of the MDM, involved in meeting after meeting, obviously to decide on strategy. Can you outline where you are going in the next few months, as we move further into this pre-negotiation period?

Our strategy is guided by the goal of a non-racial and democratic South Africa, to be achieved through disciplined struggle involving the masses of our people. This strategy includes the strengthening of the structures of the MDM to meet the challenges that are beginning to unfold.

The defiance campaign, which has been resoundingly successful, proved to government that it no longer has the initiative, this is in the hands of the people. We are now moving to the Conference for a Democratic Future where other strategies will be evolved.

Are these tactics that go beyond the defiance campaign?

They could go way beyond the defiance campaign. The release of our leaders means that our people are going to be propelled into mass activity through the structures that are being resuscitated, rejuvenated and rebuilt. These leaders are going to take their rightful place in our struggle.

Some of the new tactics will be in response to the state's strategies which, as we see them now, are aimed at demobilising our people. Negotiations are being dangled as a carrot which the regime hopes our people will latch onto and think that government is serious and genuine and wants to come to terms with our demands.

But we know that government wants to have a negotiated settlement on its own terms.

So, you intend to make it clear there is no way government can continue with the group approach. What kinds of strategies are you developing to that end?

Many of our organisations are already thinking about a post-apartheid South Africa — how it should look — and a lot of research and discussion is already under way.

We will draw extensively on the wisdom of our leaders, who are men of great stature. They have spent their years in prison analysing developments and projecting into the future. That is where they are going to play an invaluable role in the development of this country.

In terms of the overall leadership structure, what is the present relationship between those who have just been released, those who have led the struggle within the country, and those who remain abroad? Where is headquarters?

Headquarters are still in Lusaka. Sisulu has made that very clear. We are not going to have two ANCs.

When the leaders were released, several people, government included, thought, now would be the time to allow an above-ground, internal ANC.

That is not on. It would divide the movement. It would be seen as the bad fellows outside and the good and moderate fellows inside.

Who does one call the leader of the ANC today? Is there such a person, or is it a collective leadership?

It is collective leadership. The leadership of the ANC is vested in a National Executive Committee, and Oliver Tambo is the president, but he acts within the collective and speaks on behalf of the ANC. Decisions are arrived at collectively.

How do you interpret Mr Mandela's continued incarceration? Is it he or government that will determine his release date?

Mandela is not a prisoner of his own volition, he is imprisoned because the authorities put him there. Mandela would like to come out of prison and participate in ushering in a new South Africa. The main issue is, government does not at the present moment have the political will and courage to release him.

They have now released seven senior ANC leaders, and there hasn't been an outbreak of violence. Everything has been conducted in a very disciplined way. On the MDM's side, we can't wait to have Mandela among our leaders. We are ready to have him released into our hands.

When Mr Mandela is released, what will his status be within the struggle?

Once he is released and the processes start unfolding, he is one of those people who may have to be considered for a leadership position in the ANC.

Do you now, perhaps for the first time, have a real sense that your freedom is near?

I believe that the things we are doing are meaningful because our people are beginning to think and function in an effective political way.

They are listening to what De Klerk is saying and not dismissing it out of hand, but considering it, they are critically analysing and interpreting events as they unfold. I am convinced that freedom is within our reach.

ublishing an article
ected with an action
strike which was
med to be an
rmining statement as
ed by the
ations "



Broederstroom cell man 'being used by ANC'

Sowetan
16/11/89

TIA
~~SECRET~~

FORMER ANC intelligence officer Mr Hugh Lugg says Paul Annegarn, the fifth member of the Broederstroom cell, was used by the ANC to condemn him as a "traitor and liar" - despite being in agreement with him.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Lugg also dismissed as "absurd" a suggestion that the ANC suspected he was a double agent from the start

Reacting to a report published yesterday and which quoted a spokesman supposedly speaking on behalf of Paul, Lugg said it was clear his former comrade was being used and was not in a position to speak his own mind

The report quoted a spokesman as saying on Paul's behalf that he supported the families of the jailed Broederstroom cell members in their condemnation of Lugg as a "traitor and liar"

It condemned as a "fabrication" Lugg's statement that the group had been ordered to attack a crowded stadium during the Durban Tattoo

Lugg at the weekend spoke about his role in handing over Damian de Lange, Susan Westcott

and Ian Robertson to the police saying he was forced to do so because he was under threat of execution

"Clearly Paul is being used by the ANC They have still not produced him in London as they initially promised they would do and now someone is supposedly speaking on his behalf

"I know Paul agrees with what I have said about the ANC but is not in a position to say so

"All the evidence on the orders to attack the stadium is also available The police confiscated lots of documents in De Lange's handwriting and radio transcripts of the orders These said 'deliver accurate fire to the centre of King's Park stadium'," Lugg said yesterday

He said it was obvious the truth had hurt the ANC and that they would naturally seek to avoid the facts

"It is important to realise why I did what I did If I was not under the ANC's sentence of death I would probably have sorted the matter out internally but I was forced to do what I did

"The ANC is now just trying to polish its image," said Lugg who added he still believed in a just and democratic South Africa but without the violent policy advocated by the ANC

he
tions,
hance
d.

Call for negotiations

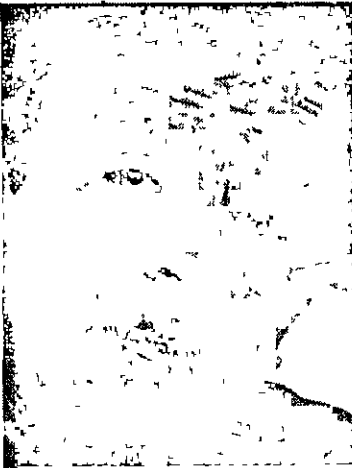
TIARET, Algeria - Algeria has urged direct talks between Morocco and independence-seeking Polisario guerrillas, saying recent fighting in the Western Sahara made them all the more imperative Sapa-Reuter

'Hit squad' memories

(S) (IIA) South 23-29/11/89



Nyameka Goniwe



Captain Dirk Coetzee

**From BRIAN SOKUTU
PORT ELIZABETH** — Disclosures of alleged South African Police (SAP) "death-squad" activities have revived bitter memories among the families of at least nine Eastern Cape activists killed or declared missing over the last few years

Relatives interviewed this week said they were planning to take legal action on the revelations of Captain Dirk Coetzee, which caused a major stir in police and government circles

The disclosures, which include allegations that a SAP "death-squad" had killed Durban civil rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, are the subject of an inquiry led by Free State Attorney-General T P McNally.

Mrs Elizabeth Hashe, wife of Siphon Hashe, an executive member of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association, hopes the inquiry will shed light on her husband's mysterious disappearance on May 8, 1985

Hashe went missing along with two other civic leaders, Champion Galela and Qaqawulu Godolozzi

Calling on the government to

"produce our husbands" Mrs Hashe said "We will never give up hope until we know what has happened to our husbands"

The widows of four slain Cradock leaders, whose burnt bodies were found at Bluewaters Bay near here in June 1985, said they were "encouraged" by the revelations which could lead to exposing the murderers of their husbands

In February this year an inquest magistrate here found that "a person or a group of people unknown" had been responsible for the deaths of Mathew Goniwe, Sicelo Mhlawuli, Nomonde Calata and Sparrow Mkonte

Mhlawuli's father, Mr David Vuyo Mhlawuli, 67, died this week without knowing whether his son's killers would ever be tried and punished

According to his family, his health had deteriorated since the deaths of the four. He will be buried in Cradock on Saturday

Mrs Nyameka Goniwe said Cradock community leaders would "very soon discuss with our lawyers the next action in the light of the disclosures by Captain Coetzee"

Mr Siphon Mtinkulu, father of Simphiwo Mtinkulu who disappeared from Livingstone Hospital in April 1982, said he was unable to forget his son

Simphiwo had gone to the hospital for treatment for thallium poisoning. Poisoning was diagnosed after he had complained of pain in his feet and stomach a day after his release from detention

Iopsy Madaka, who had accompanied him to hospital, also disappeared without a trace

MONO BADELA reports from Johannesburg that lawyers and activists believe that as many as 49 people have been eliminated by death squads over the past 12 years

Webster

A document released earlier this month by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) to commemorate the death of Dr David Webster six months ago, outlines 49 assassinations, 160 assassination attempts and 10 abductions and disappearances

Eleven of the 49 assassinations were reported this year

The HRC say that though the lists are incomplete, they indicate the nature and extent of attacks on anti-apartheid activists over the past few years

The HRC said the list underscored the failure of the police to apprehend the perpetrators of such attacks.

The police have denied the existence of death squads and dismissed Captain Coetzee's allegations as fabrications

On Wednesday more dramatic evidence of the existence of a police hit-squad in the country surfaced at a press conference held in Johannesburg

A high-powered legal delegation that flew to Bloemfontein on Thursday to present independent evidence that believes supports allegations that the police operated a "death squad" told the conference of reports it claimed substantiated some of the details in a statement by death row prisoner Butana Almond Nofomela.

The SACC's Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression said they were not leaving everything to the McNally Commission of Inquiry "We are determined to get to the bottom of the inquiry," said Mr Brian Curran

Campaign to save granny on death row

South 23-29/11/89

MESSAGE OF SUPPORT FOR EVELENA DE BRUIN

From WPCC, WOMEN'S DIVISION

1988-1989 marks the Churches' Ecumenical Decade in Solidarity with women. To celebrate this decade, women throughout South Africa are developing skills to empower us for the role which we will play in the transformation of both church and society.

But today, as women, we have gathered together for a specific purpose — to raise our voice in anger and condemnation at the death sentence imposed on Evelena de Bruin.

The Bible warns that the state has only the power to rule in so far as it does not work against justice. The death sentence is not only unjust but an evil which contaminates our society. It stands in direct contradiction to the christian message of love.

We are soon to celebrate Christmas — a time which symbolises peace, hope and freedom. In the spirit of this season, we demand the lifting of the death sentence imposed on Evelena de Bruin and her fellow accused.

Evelena de Bruin is a woman whose only crime has been to work for peace and freedom. We call for her immediate and unconditional release.

A NATIONAL campaign has been launched to draw attention to the plight of a 63-year-old Upington woman going through "hell" on death row.

Mother of 10, Mrs Evelena de Bruin has already had an application for bail turned down by the Northern Cape judge who six months ago sentenced her to death

But organisations and loved ones, concerned about De Bruin's deteriorating health, are continuing in their fight to get her out of Pretoria Central prison

De Bruin has been on death row since May, when she and 13 other residents from the small town of Paballelo outside Upington, including her 63-year-old husband Gideon Mandlongolo, were sentenced to death for the murder in 1985 of the municipal policeman Lucas "Jetta" Sethwala

Since then psychologists and people close to her have watched death row take its devastating toll

De Bruin is suffering from severe depression, habitual crying, insomnia and poor appetite Her biggest fear is for her children

"I feel scared and sad when I think of my children," said De Bruin in the bail application in which she pleaded with



Motuzeco and Johnny de Bruin who are unable to visit their mother on death row

Mr Justice Jan Basson to be allowed to see her family

He turned her down, saying that there was insufficient evidence to make her request for bail exceptional

De Bruin, held in custody since she was convicted for murder 25 months ago, is said to be heartbroken about not being able to see her two youngest children Tutu, 12, and Mbulelo, 14. They are not allowed to visit her at Pretoria Central because they are under 16

Said Northern Cape Council of Churches spokesperson Reverend Aubrey Beukes "We are deeply concerned about Evelena's deteriorating condition

"Her prolonged incarceration is an act of inhumanity, and we condemn the legal process that is punishing her in

thus way

"We call on all Christians not to sit by idly while she is dying," Beukes said

The campaign to get De Bruin off death row has the support of church and civil rights organisations, including the Black Sash, National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL), and the South African Council of Churches

Said the Western Province Council of Churches in a statement this week "We are soon to celebrate Christmas — a time which symbolises peace, hope and freedom In the spirit of this season, we demand the lifting of the death sentence imposed on Evelena de Bruin and her fellow accused "

De Bruin turns 64 on Christmas Day — her third birthday behind bars

Supreme Court protest

South 23-29/11/89

From NOEL BRUYNS JOHANNESBURG - The ongoing campaign against the death penalty received a boost when more than 120 attorneys and advocates protested against hangings on the steps of the Supreme Court here on Wednesday

The lawyers, many in court robes, held a 30 minute silent demonstration and displayed placards saying "Stop the Hangings", "Abolish the death penalty" and "Hangings are a crime against humanity"

One attorney said no judges or state prosecutors participated in the demonstration

There was no police presence at the protest, organised by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL)

"We urged all lawyers opposed to this inhuman practice of hangings to add their voices to those of the many groups campaigning for the abolition of the death penalty "



WEST COAST COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
WESKUS RAAD VAN KERKE
IQUMRU LEENKONZO ZONXWEME LENTSHONA

WE DEMAND A MORATORIUM ON ALL HANGINGS.

WE INSIST ON A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE WHOLE QUESTIONS OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

WE URGE FW de KLERK TO EXTEND CLEMENCY ESPECIALLY TO

EVELENA de BRUYN

AND ALL PRISONERS ON DEATH ROW!!

REPRESSION DOSSIER

Youth held

A GRASSY Park youth and his father were detained by security police last Thursday

Attorney Mr Ibbie Mohamed said security police would not confirm under which section Mark Henry, 19, of Elm Road, was being held

His father was released on Friday afternoon

There are no other detainees being held in the Western Cape at present

AT the New Nation offices in Johannesburg, the staff is waiting for the censor's axe to fall.

The newspaper is suffering through the tortuous procedure of accusations and warnings made by Minister of Home Affairs' Eugene Louw, who has the authority to close the paper for three months.

The next few weeks may signal the closure of the paper for the second time since it was founded in 1986 by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

New Nation, an outspoken critic of government policy, has been the victim of government repression throughout its existence

It was suspended for two months last year. Its editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, was detained for two years under the emergency regulations and is now heavily restricted. Its acting editor, Gabu Tugwana, is being prosecuted in court for several alleged contraventions of the emergency regulations

In his warning on November 2, Louw said he believed the newspaper had been publishing "subversive statements" and he was examining 11 issues of the paper from July 7 for contraventions of the emergency regulations

The minister is investigating 32 articles, including a supplement carrying interviews with the eight released ANC leaders and an advertisement for the "Welcome Home" rally at Soccer City

The "examination" of the newspaper begins with an article publishing extracts from an interrogation manual allegedly used by the security forces

Fourteen of the 32 articles identified by the minister for examination are, in his opinion, subversive or promoting the breakdown of public order, while 11 articles are being examined for promoting the image of the ANC

Articles allegedly promoting the image of the UDF and the South African Youth Congress and "encouraging feelings of hatred and hostility towards the security forces" are also being examined

Most of the articles under examination are reports on the Defiance Campaign, negotiations, the ANC's constitutional guidelines, the Harare Declaration, the consumer boycott and the election period

For example, a report headed

ABOUT 200 people face charges in almost 60 political trials in the Western Cape. The following is a list of some of the trials

November 23 Tony Yengeni and 13 others, terrorism, Cape Town Supreme Court.

November 23 Mangaliso Dolosi, public violence, Athlone Magistrate's Court.

November 23 Lutha Mlahleki, assault, disobeying orders, Robben Island Prison

November 23 Phumzile Simelela, terrorism, Cape Town Regional Court

November 23 Gcobani Xhegwana, attempted murder, setting off an explosive device, Strand Regional Court.

November 23 M Zide and two others, public violence, Athlone Magistrate's

200 charged in 60 political trials

Court

November 23 Phillip Ivy, malicious damage to property, defeating the ends of justice, assault, Cape Town Magistrate's Court.

November 24 SK Mathiso and others, murder, Athlone Magistrate's Court

November 24 Wilhe Hofmeyr, contravening restriction order, Cape Town Magistrate's Court

November 27 Christina Tyulu, assisting terrorists, Wynberg Regional

Court.

November 27 Archibald Mbetshu and two others, public violence, Athlone Magistrate's Court

November 27 12 Cape Town journalists, illegal gathering, Cape Town Magistrate's Court

November 27 Leslee Durr and 27 others, illegal gathering, Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court.

November 28 Zamile High, public violence, Athlone Magistrate's Court.

November 28 S Swarts, public violence, Paarl Magistrate's Court

November 28 Raymond Walker and two others, public violence, Vredenburg Magistrate's Court

November 29 Job Jacobs and John Dompas, public violence, Paarl Regional Court

November 30 W Bona, public violence, Athlone Magistrate's Court

November 30 G Johnson, public violence, Paarl Magistrate's Court

November 30 Gavin Thomas and 11 others, public violence, Paarl Magistrate's Court

December 1 Edwin Myo, attempted murder, Oudtshoorn Regional Court

December 1 Mzonke "Whitney" Jacobs, contravening restriction order, Athlone Magistrate's Court.

December 1 Edward Ningsi, public violence, George Magistrate's Court

December 3 Hilton McDillan, possession of banned literature, Oudtshoorn Magistrate's Court

December 5 H Willemse, public violence, Paarl Regional Court

December 8 Elliot Mthwa and 12 others, public violence, Wynberg Regional Court

December 8 Derrick Jackson, illegal publishing a photo of Nelson Mandela, Oudtshoorn Regional Court

December 11 Veliswa Mhlawuli and Linda Tsotsi, terrorism, Cape Town Regional Court

December 11 Johnny de Lange, contravening emergency regulations, Cape Town Magistrate's Court

December 12 Karel George and three others arson public violence, Touws River Magistrate's Court

December 12 D Williams, public violence, Paarl Regional Court

December 14 Five Saldanha youths, spraying graffiti on walls, Hopefield Magistrate's Court

December 14 A Warries and 17 others, public violence, Paarl Regional Court

December 14 CM Mzamone, public violence, Athlone Magistrate's Court

December 15 W Bitterhout, public violence, Paarl Regional Court

December 19 Buyiswa Jack and two others, terrorism, Wynberg Magistrate's Court

January 1 1990 Two Stellenbosch youths, public violence, Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court

January 1 Nduthando Msitshana and two others, public violence, Worcester Magistrate's Court

January 11 Franklyn Ables and five others, public violence, Stellenbosch Regional Court

January 12 Roderick Cupido, public violence, Stellenbosch Regional Court

January 15 Chns Daniels and two others, public violence, Stellenbosch Regional Court

January 18 Pedro Appolis and three others, public violence, Stellenbosch Regional Court

January 22 Bertram Valentine, public violence, Worcester Regional Court

January 25 Wilhelm Abrahams and 13 others, public violence, Stellenbosch Regional Court

January 26 Willie Fortuin and two others, public violence, Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court.

February 1990 Methodist Church in Africa and 21 KTC families, damages, Cape Town Supreme Court

February 5 Johnny Issel, furthering the aims of a banned organisation, Goodwood Magistrate's Court

Waiting for the axe to fall

South 23-29/11/89



Community leaders rally round the staff of the New Nation at a recent press conference.

"Workers Back Defiance" is described as "promoting and fomenting the breakdown of public order in the Republic by publishing statements which encourage people to act in defiance of the state of emergency and to challenge the separate amenities"

New Nation was given two weeks to make representations to Louw, after which he could suspend the paper for three months

Acting editor Tugwana requested an extension of the two-week deadline, which was denied. He requested a meeting with Louw, which was also denied

In its response to the minister, the newspaper said it was the "voice of the voiceless" in South Africa

"The content of our newspaper is not fabricated in order to create a climate of violence and unrest," the

response stated

"What we reflect in the newspaper is the stark reality of life in South Africa, particularly as lived by black people

"The New Nation believes it is important that all who are interested in a negotiated settlement should get unsanitised information on the life and problems of the people with whom and on whose behalf they will be negotiating

"Without this kind of vigorous journalism as typified by the New Nation, the views of the oppressed and voiceless would not be known"

Solidarity

Messages of support have been pouring into the New Nation's offices from governments and national and international organisations

The US ambassador to South

Africa, Mr William Swing, visited the newspaper last week to show his solidarity with the staff

The warning given to New Nation after months of inactivity by the government's media watchdogs has thrown the media in South Africa back towards the worst days of the state of emergency, the Anti-censorship Action Group (ACAG) said

"It has particularly given the alternative press a sharp reminder that the government still holds power over the information they may publish and indeed, their continued existence," ACAG said

"If the government proceeds with its action against New Nation, a storm of local and international criticism is likely to be brought down upon it, undermining the recent moves towards freedom of speech that have won it some praise"

SOUTH's Repression Dossier is a monthly focus on political trials, detentions, bannings and restrictions — measures used by the state against opponents in South Africa

This dossier has been compiled from information supplied by lawyers and relatives of detainees, and publications produced by the Repression Monitoring Group and the Human Rights Commission



This focus was made possible by the support of the **FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE**



The grenade explosion which killed Fransch after the seven-hour battle



Police vehicles outside the room where Fransch died



Mortuary staff remove Fransch's body at the end of the shoot-out

The death of Anton Fransch this week brings to two the number of Bonteheuwel ANC guerillas killed in action this year.

REHANA ROSSOUW spoke to Bonteheuwel activists to trace the development of the area and its activists. Who was Anton Fransch and what motivated this young man to take the step which added his name to the growing list of Bonteheuwel youths who have been killed, jailed and exiled in recent years?

"THROUGHOUT 1985 Anton Fransch was involved in a 'war', it didn't start last Friday"

Fransch's colleagues and friends, shocked by his premature death in an Athlone police shoot-out last week, pieced together the life of this student activist who was a respected community leader at the age of 16

Fransch left the country three years ago, when he was 17. But he has left his mark on his community

"Anton was very conscious of discipline, but when he was faced by the police he lost control," a Bonteheuwel activist recalled

"Whenever there was action on the streets the police would arrive a few minutes later

"On several occasions he was shot at. When they spotted us, they would not only chase us but shoot at us as well

"Anton had no fear of bullets, they seemed to inspire him. He would scream, 'Shoot more, shoot more' "

"The way he died, in that shoot-out, was the way we knew him. Anton wouldn't give up, he would fight to the last

"I read the report in the papers about the shoot-out and when I heard it was Anton who was involved I said it could only have been him "

Dubbed "The children of 1985", Bonteheuwel activists, many as young as 14 and 15, engaged the police in organised street battles in the uprising which ended in 1986

WHAT makes Bonteheuwel different from all the other working class townships in the Peninsula? Why, since 1976, has the area had a "roll of honour"— of activists killed, exiled and imprisoned — longer than any other township its size?

To both local activists and police attempting to control uprisings there, Bonteheuwel is special.

Even Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok singled out the township for special attention in 1986, claiming that radicals had made it "unmanageable".

The township is relatively small, compared to Mitchells Plain and nearby Manenberg and Heideveld

In many ways, according to local activist Desmond Grootboom, it is "a typical working class township with typical working class problems"

Yet, at the height of unrest, Bonteheuwel attracts more police attention than any other township and remains burning long after action in other townships has been quelled

"The answer may lie in the cohesiveness of the community and the fact that Bonteheuwel has a history of political activity, long before it began in other townships," Grootboom said

"Everyone who came here was a victim of the forced removals from District Six and was part of the desperate battle to stay there. So they came to Bonteheuwel with that determination"

During the 1970s, when political activity reached an all-time low in the Western Cape, Bonteheuwel was active

The Labour Party, then regarded as the "radicals in coloured politics", had wide and active support in the area

The area burst into action in 1976, spurred by the death of 15-year-old resident, Christopher Truter, the first police victim of unrest in the Western Cape in the wake of the June uprising in Soweto

"Everyone was militant then, not only the students but the old people as well. Christopher became our first martyr. We were angered and took our anger to the streets — the beginning of a Bonteheuwel tradition," Grootboom said

"Our militancy stemmed from our anger and our political awareness

"I don't think conditions here, such as low wages, unemployment and poor housing, are any worse than other townships in the Western Cape"

Another tradition encouraged widely but actually implemented in Bonteheuwel is the inter action between parents and youth

Parents support youth militancy on the streets while youth are supportive of parents' trade union and civic action to improve working and living conditions

"Our cohesiveness is evident not only in the political sphere but also in the social sphere. People know each other's names, who people's parents

TOWNSHIP OF TURMOIL

Bonteheuwel's political toll

KILLED

Christopher Truter — killed by police August 25 1976

Ashley Kriel — killed by police July 9 1987

Colne Williams — killed in a bomb blast July 30 1989

Norman Schippers — killed in a shooting accident October 10 1988, 10 days after his release from a two-year public violence sentence

JAILED

Quinton Michels — 12 years on Robben Island

Anwar Dramat — 12 years on Robben Island

Clement Baadjies — 10 years on Robben Island

Yusuf Abrahams — 16 years for murder (Lincoln Tavern incident)

Nazeem Abrahams — 12 years for murder (Lincoln Tavern incident)

John de Vos — five years for public violence

Colin de Souza — two years for public violence

Ebrahim Hercules — one year for public violence

EXILED

Rushdie Abrahams — escaped from police custody, now in exile

are and where they live

"This made it easy for the kids on the run to find safe houses in 1986. Residents knew them, had watched them grow up, and were willing to shelter them"

Bonteheuwel has often been accused by activists in other areas as having a "bantustan mentality" — as being clannish and inward-looking

There is a high rate of intermarriage between Bonteheuwel families, and young people, once married, prefer living in the area with their parents, rather than move to another area

Residents often boast of being "the

best" — of having the "best soccer team or strongest church youth

"People even brag that our gangsters are the most terrible, the fiercest, or that they kill the most people," Grootboom said

Bonteheuwel also has well-developed social structures. The church, youth, women's and sports bodies are well-organised, making it easier for activists to draw support for political activity

Most of the activists in jail, in exile or facing charges are well-known to the entire community, because they had either been involved in church or

"Freedom Square" in Bonteheuwel

sports structures and represented one of the ordinary youth in the area. Grootboom said

"We never make political decisions without consulting each other. Before our organisations were restricted by repression made it difficult to organise openly, our area committee, which was made up of all the structures, would decide jointly on organisational activity," Grootboom said

"Parents would be informed of student activity at the schools and youth would decide jointly with parents on civic campaigns"

Bonteheuwel was one of the first ar

'Always at war'

11A

South 23-29/11/89

Their experiences on the streets and in prison cells developed a breed of activists, of youths like Ashley Kriel, Coline Williams and Anton Fransch

Bonteheuwel activists' clearest recollection of Fransch was his fearlessness, his willingness to learn political theory and the respect he earned from the community despite his youth

They recall that at 16, Fransch had no social life, but had committed his youth to the struggle

Fransch neglected his personal development for his political work, friends said. He had no ambition other than the realisation of a free South Africa. His motto, they recall, was "The road to success is still under construction"

Mandela

"The way things happened in 1985 and 1986, so much in a short time, we didn't talk about ideals, we lived by the day," an activist said

"He always wanted to know more. He used to say 'Comrades, can you imagine how it will be to sit with Mandela in a free South Africa? But we must not imagine, we must work towards that day'

"His heroes were people who died for the struggle, who were in exile and in prison"

Fransch's discipline impressed most who knew him. He was always prepared to work in the area, even if it meant going without sleep all night

"When we fetched him at 11pm and said there was a meeting, it was almost as though he was waiting for

A hole in the wall is evidence of the grenade blasts

that," a friend said

"He went to all the meetings he was expected to attend, even if it meant he had to attend four or five in one day"

Fransch was arrested for the first time in 1986 when he organised Bonteheuwel schools to stage a demonstration at DF Malan Airport when Lutheran priest Godfried Kraatz was deported

He was charged with participating in an illegal gathering and released on bail after a court appearance

"Anton put up a terrific fight with the police at the airport. It was there that his fighting spirit first became evident," said one of the youth members arrested with him

thing that would not happen in other areas unless the activists persuaded the sports bodies to do so

The township's three high schools have greatly influenced its politics

"This makes a big impact on the nature of the political activity in the township. It is always the students who respond to issues first," Grootboom said.

Even Bonteheuwel's high voter turnout in September's tricameral elections can be attributed to the extent of politicisation in the area, he said

He added that the majority of voters were elderly residents, who had decided to vote for the Labour Party because of the party's earlier radical nature in the township and because they made what they thought was an "informed" decision

Violence

"It's not unnatural for more people to have voted because people are more politicised and not as apathetic as in some areas," Grootboom said

What influenced the area most was the violence in 1985 and 1986

"The area went through traumatic political experiences. We had the most active and most organised street battles in the Peninsula," Grootboom said

"The police threw everything they had at us. On one day we had 50 activists detained in a swoop

"The community faced the full weight of repression from the police and they fought back with everything they had"

Fransch was detained twice under the state of emergency regulations and held for 14 days at Victor Verster prison

"My mother supported him throughout, joining up with other parents who had children in detention at the time," his brother Brian said

"The police started coming to our house almost every day, looking for Anton

"Sometimes they woke us up at 4am, searching the house and disturbing everybody

"It affected my mother badly, her nerves were shot. She used to faint when she heard bad news about Anton"

It was then that Fransch began his life on the run — never sleeping at home, visiting his family only occasionally

Although he was the only member of the family actively involved in politics, they supported him

At the time, there were at least 30 Bonteheuwel activists on the run, establishing safe houses in practically every street in the area, where residents would give them a plate of food and a bed for the night

"By 1986 we had reached the stage where it was no longer safe to stay in the area at night. There were door-to-door raids, searching for BISCO (Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress) activists, and we began to hold our meetings outside the area," said a teenager who was in hiding with Anton

"There were about 12 activists who were targeted. Ashley Kriel was one of them and Anton was another"

The activists, although in hiding from the police, remained in the area during the day, continuing to organise the students and street action

At night, in their safe houses, they would hold political discussions



Anton Fransch

"Anton always defined things clearly for us, he helped us understand the political importance of the work we were doing

"But most of all, throughout those months on the run, he spoke about his mother, how close he was to her and how he missed going home

"We were on the run, not because we were scared of detention — that had no effect on us — but because we feared being charged and appearing in court"

His fellow activists recalled Fransch's first public violence charge

Early in 1986, he was part of a group that attacked a police mobile unit with tomatoes and rotten cabbages

"The police were trapped inside and radioed for help. A few police vans came screaming into the area and chased them through the streets

"A few minutes later Anton came back with a policeman holding tightly onto him"

Fransch appeared in court and was granted bail. However, he jumped bail on both charges he was facing — for the demonstration at the airport and alleged public violence

In August 1986, his photo was televised on Police File

"That was the last time I saw him. We were sitting in someone's house, playing dominoes when a young girl came running in and said we must come see, Anton was on TV," a friend said

"He moved away immediately and I never saw him again. His last words to me were 'This land belongs to everyone who lives in it, but it is not like that now. Make it like that for everybody'"

Another friend took up the story. "That Police File incident really upset all of us"

Fransch's political development was not unlike that of many young people in Bonteheuwel. He became involved in SRC and student structures while a pupil at Modderdam High, the school where he was introduced to politics at age 15

His principal regarded him as a keen student, but Fransch's academic life was cut short when he was forced into hiding

Although it was impossible for him to go to classes throughout most of 1985 and 1986, he tried to attend when the heat was off

A fellow student said while they were on the run, Fransch would collect notebooks from his friends and photocopy the day's notes for students in hiding

Uprooted

Like most of the youth in Bonteheuwel, Fransch was not born there. His family was uprooted from Bo-Kaap by the Group Areas Act 12 years ago, when he was eight-years-old

Fransch was one of six children, with four brothers and a sister

"We struggled a lot as a family, our mother raised us alone," his brother, Brian, said

"It didn't really have the effect of politicising us, but we all remembered our life in Bo-Kaap where we had a much bigger house"

Brian said their family life was "normal", and there were no political influences on the children which might have affected Anton's later activities

Fransch's death has stunned Bonteheuwel activists, particularly because it follows so closely after the death of another activist, Coline Williams, killed in a bomb blast in July

"It seems as though we've spent a lot of time organising funerals and commemoration services this year," a young activist said

"At the rate things are going, we'll have days of commemoration every month in the years to come

"It's tragic, we're all so young and yet so busy organising funerals of people we know and people we love"



Mrs Eugenia Clarke, grieving at the news of her son's death

Bonteheuwel, plastered with graffiti

areas in which African National Congress symbols were displayed openly during the revival of the ANC tradition in the early 1980's

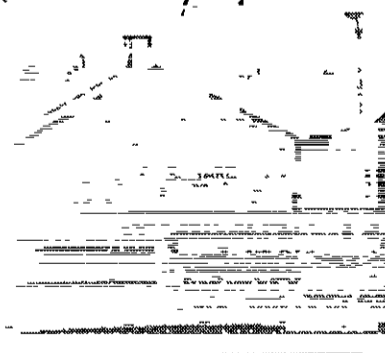
Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing, was loudly praised by all generations there

"A lot of our cohesiveness stems from the community spirit in the area. Whether it was a meeting to discuss taxi fees, church socials or school boycotts, everyone would attend, not only those directly affected," Grootboom said

"Last year, for instance, our soccer club organised the Truter Cup, some-



South 23-29/11/89 11A





MBEKI SEES MANDELA: Recently unrestricted Rivonia trialist Govan Mbeki shares a chuckle with Cape Democrats chairperson and old friend Amy Thornton soon after his arrival in Cape Town on Wednesday. Mbeki visited Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster and addressed a memorial service for slain ANC guerilla Anton Fransch. PIC YUNUS MOHAMED

26 meet ANC

LUSAKA. — A delegation of South African opposition activists began talks yesterday with ANC leaders in exile, sources said.

The 26-strong delegation from the Mass Democratic Movement is due to return today.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, said the talks were part of a programme of regular contact between the ANC and the MDM — Sapa-AP

T'kei ANC rally

UMTATA — Thousands of people from all over Southern Africa are expected at Independence Stadium here on Sunday for what has been described as the first ANC rally in Transkei.

The main speaker will be ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu. Another will be Mr Govan Mbeki.

Organisers said the Transkei government had "given a go-ahead" for the rally.

Mandela to meet Mbeki, Mhlaba

Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela is to meet ANC veterans Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Raymond Mhlaba at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl today

Mr Mbeki, 79, former chairman of the ANC, and Mr Mhlaba, 69, a former member of the ANC's Cape executive, are scheduled to meet Mr Mandela for two hours

The get-together was requested by Mr Mandela but it was not clear yesterday why the meeting had been called

It is possible the three ANC stalwarts will discuss the planned visit by seven recently-released ANC prisoners to the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka

The three co-leaders of the Democratic Party yesterday held talks in Soweto with Mr Walter Sisulu and some of the seven

A statement issued by Dr Zach De Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan last night said "The talks were open-ended, but fruitful, because they enabled the participants to exchange views about recent developments in South Africa"

Sapa-Reuter reports from Durban that nine South African activists will visit Mr Mandela next week

"Obviously I'm very excited about meeting this national leader, someone who we've never met but revere," said Mr Farouk Meer of the anti-apartheid Natal Indian Congress

He said the ANC leader had invited the nine, including blacks and Indians, to his luxury bungalow prison

Visits by Cabinet members discussed

CAPE TOWN — Released SA Communist Party stalwart Govan Mbeki and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela spent some of their three-hour meeting yesterday speaking about visits paid to Mandela by Cabinet ministers.

Mbeki, 79, arrived at Paarl's Victor Verster prison, where Mandela is being held in a house on the grounds, at 11am and left at 2.40pm. He held an impromptu Press conference at the prison entrance after the meeting.

Mbeki last saw Mandela in June when he was still under a restriction order. This was the first time he was able to give details of a visit to the Press.

He answered questions openly but diplomatically fielded questions on details of the visits to Mandela by government ministers. He said he and the jailed leader discussed a number of issues but the main topic was developments arising from discussions between Mandela and these Cabinet members.

Mbeki said he could not disclose what was said about the visits and added details would be disclosed at a time "most opportune to his (Mandela's) organisation". He said he would be reporting back to his colleagues at a rally in Umtata on Sunday, where he and Walter Sisulu, are to speak. — Sapa. (1A) (S)

Buses to ER rally

BUSES have been organised to transport people who will be attending a rally to be held in Kwa-Thema on the East Rand on Sunday

No fares will be charged

The rally will be addressed by three of the "ANC 7", Mr Wilton Mkwazi, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, will also address the meeting

The buses will leave at 9am from Natalspruit hospital, Lesedi shopping centre, Vosloorus, Wattville stadium, Manzil supermarket in Actonville, Lionel Kent Centre in Daveyton, Esaŋgweni taxi rank in Tembisa, "First Stop" in Tsakane, Duduza bus rank and from community centres in Alra Park and Reiger Park

11/11/89

Sowetan 24/11/89

Opt
7/11/89
24/11/89

Shootout man's funeral service

Staff Reporter

(11)
~~(11)~~

A FUNERAL service for suspected ANC guerilla Mr Anton Fransch, who was killed in a shootout with police last week, will take place at the Metropolitan Football Field in Bonteheuwel at 9 30am tomorrow

Organisers said yesterday they expected thousands of people to attend the service for the 20-year-old Mr Fransch

Permission has been granted for the open-air service to go ahead from 9am to 1pm by the Chief Magistrate of Goodwood, an attorney acting for the funeral committee said last night.

Released ANC men to help end Natal violence

AFRICAN National Congress leaders in and out of jail are likely to help mediate an end to the violence in Natal which has resulted in the death of more than 2 000 people.

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to hold talks with at least nine Natal community leaders this week, in a move seen as linked to finding a way of getting peace talks back on course.

And at a rally last weekend Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged the newly released ANC leaders to accept an invitation for talks around reconciliation.

Former ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu responded immediately, saying he would regard such talks as "very important" and that he

Hopes are high that the released ANC leaders can help end the Natal peace-talks stalemate, reports CARMEL RICKARD

would discuss the call for talks with his colleagues.

"I will certainly see that we exchange views among ourselves about such a call, because I attach importance to it," he said.

The new initiatives follow the breakdown of peace talks between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. In the wake of the failure of the talks, the death rate soared.

Members of the group have first-hand experi-

ence of the causes of the breakdown — one was a member of the five person UDF/Cosatu delegation to the peace talks and others were involved in an advisory role.

Commenting on the reasons for the meeting, members of the group said they believed Mandela sensed an urgent need for communication in relation to Natal violence.

"The need for contact (on the issue) appears to be realised by him as well as by us."

One of the nine, Farouk Meer of the Natal Indian Congress, said they had heard some time ago an invitation was likely, but the firm invitation was received only last week. Four will see Mandela on Monday and five on Thursday. In each case the visit is likely to last up to five hours.

On Monday, Meer and Gerry Coovadia of the NIC, Dhliza Mji of the National Medical and Dental Association and UDF president Archie Gumede will visit Mandela.

On Thursday the delegation will consist of Billy Nair, Mewa Ramgobin and George Sewpersadh of the NIC, UDF national chairman Curmick Ndlovu and Louis Skweyiya of the Institute of Black Research.

Two other people were also invited by Mandela but they are not in the country.

Meer said there was an open agenda. He expected they would discuss national political issues, Natal and the prospects for peace.

"We anticipate talking about the peace initiative, why it has broken down and what can be done to re-start it."

Violence is the theme at 'spurned' king's rally

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

NATAL violence was also on the agenda at the weekend "convention" called by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, only the second such rally of his 10-year reign.

He told more than 70 000 people in Durban that he and the Zulu people had been "spurned" because the ANC leaders had not contacted him since the release, despite the fact that no one had done more to secure their release than kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He said he and "the Zulu people" were excluded from welcome home celebrations.

However he went on to invite the ANC leaders to talks on negotiations and reconciliation with himself and Buthelezi.

The chief minister's speech echoed the king's call for talks saying it was "really important" that former ANC Secretary General Sisulu and other ANC leaders meet him and the king.

Talks would be about "peace between black and black, and unity in putting South Africa first".

In his conciliatory response, Sisulu said he was sure no snub was intended, the rally had been open to anyone who wished to attend.

He also said he and his recently freed colleagues had received "personal letters" from Buthelezi. He expected each of them would reply personally to the letters, only pressure of work following his release had prevented him from answering.

But while the possibility of another peace initiative is on the cards, new battle lines have been drawn over the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

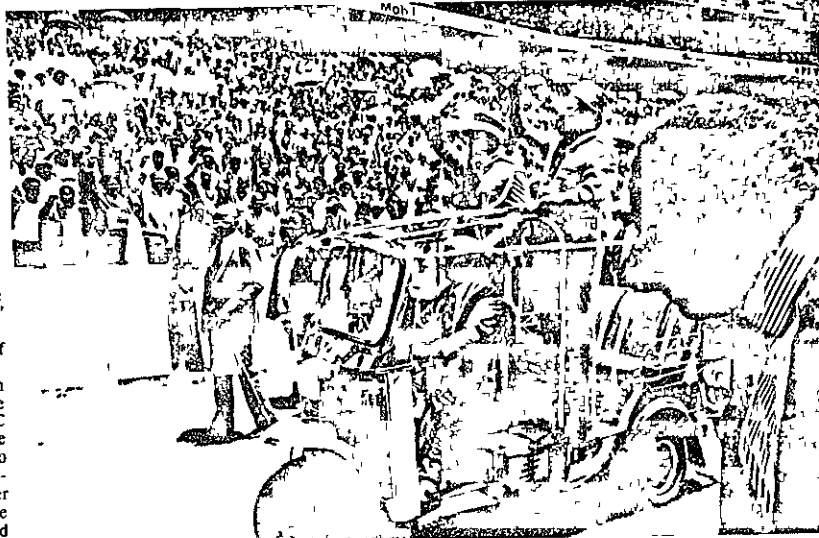
The organisation, aligned with the Mass Democratic Movement, came in for a severe tongue lashing from the king and Buthelezi.

This week, the king, with a delegation from kwaZulu, met a delegation from Ciskei. In a joint statement after the meeting they described Contralesa as "a divisive force, attempting to drag divisive party politics into the traditional authority structure where consensus is vital for stability and progress".

Contralesa was also described as "an unwelcome newcomer to black politics".

The king told the Ciskei delegation, "I see this thing called Contralesa as dangerous. It is no more than a divisive ploy to set black brother against black brother and certainly in kwaZulu to set the people against their (chiefs) and to set (chiefs) against each other".

Contralesa plans to hold a rally in Pietermaritzburg early next month, to be addressed by Sisulu and his colleagues. Already it has become a focus of tension, with threats attached to attending — or not attending. Sisulu will need all his reputed skills in diplomacy and negotiation to ensure



Lapping up the cheers King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ride around the rally stadium

the rally does not scuttle promising new moves towards reviving peace talks.

Since the "convention" a number of Natal areas have reported a marked increase in violence and tension.

Residents of Ntuzuma said people in Lindelani, stronghold of Inkatha heavyweight Thomas Mandla Shabalala, had warned them they would deal with them when they returned from the rally.

Many residents spent the day moving their furniture to homes further in Ntuzuma for safety. After the Lindelani people returned they grouped, apparently for attack, but were dispersed by security forces.

Similar reports have come from kwaMashu and Mpumalanga where there have been a number of deaths, injuries and damaged homes in the days since the rally.

Some residents have blamed the speeches made at the rallies, saying

they could be interpreted by local Inkatha supporters as encouraging hostility towards members of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The speeches of both the king and Buthelezi urged unity and condemned Natal's continued political violence.

However they also contained some sharp references to the ANC, the UDF and Cosatu which drew roars of approval from the huge crowd.

PAC leader at rally a 'political cockroach'

By CHRISTINA SCOTT,

THE Pan Africanist Congress has called the self-proclaimed exiled "PAC leader" who addressed King Goodwill Zwelithini's rally in Durban last Sunday a "political cockroach".

But tribal aristocrat and north London accountant Prince Velekhaya Shange has shrugged off the PAC's stance against negotiating a hand-over of state power.

The exiled leader, who entered the country legally last week on a Danish passport after 27 years of exile, envisages by February next year a sea of conference tents to shelter the negotiators, stretching from Blood River to Isandlwana battlefield in kwaZulu.

He denied the proposal fronted a manoeuvre by kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It was Buthelezi who invited Shange to make a surprise appearance at last Sunday's rally.

He and Benny Alexander, aide to PAC president Zeph Mothopeng and a leader of the new Pan Africanist Movement, have held a slanging match against each other since the rally.

Alexander denounced Shange as "nothing, a madman, a scum, a political cockroach" — Durbanews.

oh dear oh dear oh dear oh everything oh dear oh dear oh dear oh dear oh dear

caroline cullinan's calendar for 1990 picturing africa in a much brighter light

The Labour and Community Resources Project (Lacom) is a project of the Sached Trust. We assist trade unions and community organisations with workshops, writing and editing publications and research. Lacom in Johannesburg is looking for the following people:

1 Part-time Community field worker

The person will assist another member of Lacom with:

- preparing worksheets and materials for seminars and workshops
- maintaining contact with community organisations that the project works with
- assisting with follow up work
- assisting with training community activists to facilitate workshops

Requirements

- experience of working with community or organisations and conducting educational workshops
- be able to work flexible hours

2 Part-time resources and research worker

In consultation with women's forums in the labour movement this person will:

- produce educational packs and resources relating to women's issues
- help with research on the position of women in the economy

Requirements

- a commitment to the women's struggle
- experience in producing accessible educational materials
- research experience
- a commitment to working collectively

The possibility of combining the two jobs can be negotiated.

Please send written application, CV and two references to Lacom, P O Box 11350, Johannesburg 2000. Closing date: 8 December 1989.

N.Mail 24-30/11/89

11A

(131)

(131)



After a seven-hour gun battle with the police, ANC cadre Anton Fransch was killed in a grenade blast that severely damaged the Athlone house he was staying in

Picture: BENNY GOOL, Afrapix

Mandela is talking regularly with the state, says Mbeki

NELSON MANDELA is meeting South African government ministers on a more or less continuous basis, according to African National Congress veteran Govan Mbeki.

Mbeki spent more than three hours with Mandela at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl yesterday.

He would not reveal the nature of Mandela's discussions with the government representatives and told reporters that Mandela would reveal their content when it suited the banned organisation.

"He is meeting government ministers on a more or less continuous basis," Mbeki said.

He said Mandela — at whose request the meeting took place — wanted to brief him "on developments between him and the government" since their last meeting, in

Wmail
By GAYE DAVIS,
Cape Town 24-30/11

June last year.

They discussed a range of topics, including plans for Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and the other released ANC leaders to visit ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

Mandela — who was well and in good spirits — had not discussed his release, however.

"His release is not in his hands," said Mbeki.

Mbeki said he would report back on the meeting to his ANC colleagues at this weekend's rally in Umtata.

He did not know when he would meet Mandela again.

"When it's necessary," he said.

11A
mail

Inkatha evicts whites from Natal township

By CARMEL RICKARD

24-30/11/89

WHITE people living in Imbali in the hope that their presence will reduce violence in the strife-torn township were last night instructed to leave the area by a kwaZulu MP

David Ntombela, MP for Vulindlela, said the whites were biased towards the United Democratic Front (UDF) and had not announced themselves to the councillors in charge of the Pietermaritzburg township

"If I go to stay in Scotsville (a nearby white suburb), the local councillor must know," said Ntombela

If the police did not order the whites out "we know what steps we will take we will go to the Minister of Law and Order to ask that he take measures to stop the whites from taking sides"

"If white families were to stay with Inkatha, the UDF would complain too," he said "What is worrying me is that UDF people will attack Inkatha homes When these Inkatha homeowners chase them afterwards, the whites will say that Inkatha is chasing the UDF"

Democratic Party MP Pierre Cronje said he was disappointed with Ntombela's response "If people preach non-racialism, they should practice it"

Asked to comment, Inkatha secretary general Oscar Dhlomo said that although he did not know the full story, he feared that if the visitors were perceived to be comforting only UDF families, their presence would create new problems

Although Inkatha believed in non-racialism, there was suspicion amongst residents that the whites were biased towards the UDF.

The Mandela merry-go-round

(111)
68/11/74
59984

Political Correspondent

NELSON Mandela, jailed ANC leader, is continuing with regular contact with the world, including regular meetings with government ministers, as his release date draws nearer.

According to politicians and others who met him at the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl this week, a date for his release may be rapidly approaching.

But they did not think he will be released this month.

It appears that Mr Mandela is keen to be released soon — in contrast to the impression created in the past that he is biding his time until some conditions he has set have been met.

An indication of the meetings with ministers were given by Mr Govan Mbeki, who met him yesterday.

Regular meetings

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has been seeing Mr Mandela regularly in the past few years. They are also said to be in regular contact by telephone.

The last time Mr Coetsee — with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerit Viljoen — saw Mr Mandela was just before the recent release of seven ANC and one PAC political prisoners.

This was confirmed by government sources at the time. Today Mr Coetsee could not be contacted for comment.

Mr Mandela met former President Botha this year but it appears that he has not yet met President De Klerk. A spokesman for the president's office in Pretoria said that he did not know about plans to for the two to meet.

Harry Schwarz

Mr Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, met Mr Mandela yesterday. He said the meeting was at Mr Mandela's request.

Mr Schwarz has known Mr Mandela for many years. They were students together at the University of the Witwatersrand and Mr Schwarz was an advocate in the legal team that defended Mr Mandela and other ANC members at the Rivonia trial in 1963 and 1964.

The meeting was confirmed by Mr Schwarz, who would not give details of the wide-ranging discussions which covered personal and political aspects.

He said he found Mr Mandela fit and alert. He was highly intelligent, well-informed about what was going on in South Africa and well able to express his ideas about what should happen.

DP see Sisulu

The co-leaders of the DP met Mr Walter Sisulu at his house in Soweto yesterday for what Dr Zac de Beer described as fruitful discussions.

He said the talks, which formed part of the party's approach of interaction with other groups in parliament as well as outside, covered subjects such as negotiations and pre-conditions for this.

Speaking to reporters outside the prison after a 3½-hour meeting with Mr Mandela yesterday, Mr Govan Mbeki said Mr Mandela was "not sure himself" when he would be released and told him that the "question of his release is not in his hands, but in the government's".

"No indication has been given to him as to why they (the government) are keeping him here and when he will be released."

But, he said, Mr Mandela was in fine health.

"He is fine. He looks healthy and fit. His old sense of humour is still okay and virtually in every respect he is not much changed."

Mr Mbeki, who flew to Cape Town on Wednesday, returned to Port Elizabeth last night. He was to have been accompanied by Mr Raymond Mhlaba, but the plans were changed on Wednesday.

Court rejects confession

A DETAINEE made legal history this week when his confession was thrown out of court on the grounds that he had developed a form of psychosis first discovered among Vietnam war veterans.

A confession by trade unionist Mandla Cele, detained since 1986 under the Emergency, was thrown out in the marathon Newcastle trial, because he has developed Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

Cele, 28, fellow trade unionist Professor Sibankulu, 25, and 19-year-old student Tatal Kgati, are accused in a trial showcasing the total onslaught theory.

Advocate BR Morrison closed the case for the state this week, claiming "a direct link between ANC policies and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and the Newcastle Youth Organisation (Neyo)".

Defence lawyers Guido Penzhorn and Bheka Sheza start their argument on Wednesday December 6, having achieved one victory when Cele's confession was disallowed in a lengthy trial within a trial.

The 80-page confession, dictated to magistrate JAV Breedt over five days, was thrown out after evidence by Professor Michael Andrew Simpson, a member of the Royal College of Psychiatry. He said Cele's mental balance had been thrown off by possible police assault and the "cumulative effect of lengthy detention together with continuous interrogation". — Durbanews

W. M. M. 24-30/11/87.

CHC
76-113
25/11/89

Zimbabwe urges PAC to enter talks

11A

HARARE — Zimbabwe urged the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday to soften its stand opposing negotiations with Pretoria

Mr Didymus Mutasa, speaker of Zimbabwe's parliament, delivered the message when he opened a meeting between the PAC and about 25 supporters from inside South Africa

Without mentioning the ANC, which favours a negotiated settlement in South Africa under certain conditions, Mr Mutasa said disunity among those fighting apartheid would be a disaster

"I do not think you lose anything by talking," Mr Mutasa said "It is very important that the PAC be represented in any talks about the future of your country — that is what armed struggle is about"

The PAC received strong support yesterday from the government for its bid to be considered a "major player" in the current constitutional moves in SA

Mr Mutasa said his party had long-standing ties with the PAC rather than the ANC, which had links with Mr Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU

"One settler, one bullet" chanted some PAC supporters as they applauded the organisation's exiled chairman, former detainee Mr Johnson Mlambo, who cannot be quoted in SA — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

A PARTHEID has been a tragic waste; whatever remains of it must be scrapped if South Africa is to come to terms with Africa.

And black Africa is ready to accept a new apartheid-free South Africa restructured on democratic lines

This is a central message from members of a group of South African academics after talks with leaders in African states — including representatives of the African National Congress (ANC).

Their impressions, though alarming in some respects, offer fresh hope for a breakthrough in the bid for peace in southern Africa

The group included Mr Wilhelm Verwoerd, a grandson of the architect of apartheid, former Prime Minister Dr H F Verwoerd

AND this is how the new-generation Verwoerd perceived some of the effects of apartheid on neighbour states

"Too few white South Africans understand the emotional and moral effects of our domestic policies. Black Africans see these policies as an offence to their self-esteem and human dignity, and an intolerable reminder of their colonial past"

The journey into Africa clearly brought Mr Verwoerd, and others in the group, face to face with some of the stark realities of it all — more than three decades after the heyday of the National Party's failed and discredited apartheid dream

"I regard myself as an African," he writes after the journey which, he says, was often a painful experience for him but one "of great personal value"

He was impressed by the potential and the need for co-operation. But he found too forces which were "pulling the subcontinent apart". These were generated by a lack of outward-looking statesmanship and by national security considerations "fuelled by white South African pre-occupation with political and cultural differences and especially Afrikaner attempts to isolate themselves from black Africa"

"On the one hand I was excited by the previously unknown potential for mutual enrichment on many levels. On the other hand, I was grieved by the countless, unnecessary tears being shed in a beloved country and continent"

At present a post-graduate student of philosophy, politics and economics at Oxford University and a Rhodes Scholar, Mr Verwoerd has come out in favour of a non-racial "inclusive" democracy in South Africa

His impressions and those of others in the group are outlined in a new book *Into Africa. Afrikaners in Africa reflect on "coming home"*, published this week by Stellenbosch University's Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics

MEMBERS of the group visited Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe last year as part of an initiative by the Centre

Afrikaner explorers see a path to peace through Africa

Like modern-day explorers, the academics, mainly of the University of Stellenbosch, sought to penetrate the great divide between white South Africa and black Africa

They crossed the Limpopo to find out what people on the other side of the dividing line are thinking and how they view the future. What has brought about all the hostility towards the "white" south? Why the tensions, the feuds and the wars? What hopes are there for future peace?

QUOTE

Too few white South Africans understand the emotional and moral effects of our domestic policies. Black Africans see these policies as an offence to their self-esteem and human dignity, and an intolerable reminder of their colonial past...

One of the aims was to test African opinion on the option for an inclusive democracy in South Africa

The message they brought back underlines the importance of a political settlement and of new thinking in South Africa if this country is to play its potential role in the drive for peace and co-operation in southern Africa and in the continent of Africa

Views were exchanged with churchmen, politicians, farmers, diplomats, members of the Afrikaans community in Zimbabwe, and others

VARIOUS effects of apartheid are examined and analysed by those who contributed to the book. A central theme is the need they see for South Africa to become a part of Africa in every respect

Professor Bernard Lategan, one of the editors and head of the Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics, told Weekend Argus a key impression from the initiative was that South Africans would be welcomed "with open arms" in Africa if they abandoned apartheid altogether

However, some of the optimism about South Africa's future role should be tempered with realism. There were many problems and much work needed to be done

Prospects for South Africa's acceptance by Africa are examined by Stellenbosch theologian Dr Johann Kinghorn in a chapter on Afrikaners in Africa

"What is important is that whites in South Africa should come to realise and accept that 'black' Africa, by and large, is not opposing the presence of whites," he writes

"There is not a fight against people but against a policy. And this applies to the ANC as well"

Southern Africa is rich in resources, yet much of this is being squandered on a tiresome feud related to apartheid

HAD apartheid not existed in South Africa, the whole history of southern Africa for the past 40 years would have been different. The wars in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe would not have taken place. Sanctions, embargoes — hurting all of southern Africa — would not have been introduced

"It is time to stop the madness of apartheid once and for all," says Dr Kinghorn. A major factor which has be-

levilled relations in southern Africa, according to several of the authors, is South Africa's alleged destabilisation of some of its neighbour states

On this issue, political scientist Professor Hennie Kotze, of the University of Stellenbosch, says there is "substantial evidence" that South African security forces have indeed disrupted the infrastructures of neighbouring states in their attempts to combat the ANC

Since South African commando actions in 1986, the perception has grown that South Africa is the "bully boy" of the region

"The instability caused by South Africa's military involvement in neighbouring states is in nobody's interest"

PROFESSOR Kotze says the message South Africa should pass to other African countries is that it is interested in their economic prosperity, that it regards itself as part of Africa

However, long-term goals for cooperation will only be reached once internal politics stabilises and "white South Africa" reaches a peaceful compromise with their "non-white" compatriots. This implies that a political solution incorporating the principle of non-racialism be accepted

Professor Johann Groenewald, professor of sociology at the University of Pretoria, gained the impression that South Africa's destabilisation policies have had serious consequences. There has been a drain on scarce resources in southern Africa, and the loss of foreign investment for the region as a whole was ascribed at least partly to its instability

A root cause of conflict that needs to be addressed directly in South Africa is "the unequal access to power and its preservation by the white minority"

"No amount of doctoring of symbols will resolve the moral and material dilemma South Africa finds itself in today," says Professor Groenewald

w/c-Argus
25/11/89
11A

Events on labour front march on

W/C AB64 25/11/89

EVENTS on the labour front march briskly along. Some observers have suggested that the intensity of certain strikes, those at South African Breweries and South African Transport Services among them, has been influenced by developments in the wider political arena which, by heightening expectations, have led unions to raise the temperature of workplace struggles.

The significant relaxation of tensions since President F W de Klerk took office is among the factors which have helped raise expectations, because the union movement feels that many of these commonsense steps resulted from pressures mounted by the mass democratic movement in recent months.

The pressure in the wider arena is being maintained, not only through marches which continue in various centres, but also through the forthcoming Conference for a Democratic Future due to be held in Johannesburg early next month which aims to draw up a comprehensive programme for the demolition of apartheid.

And a most significant component of the MDM is the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and its affiliates, among them the Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu) and the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (Sarhwu).

Another of these affiliates, the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Sactwu), started a strike yesterday in the cotton textile industry as a dispute about the sick pay fund escalated. This is not to suggest that the strike is a "political" act directly linked to some or other "programme", but as the first significant action by Sactwu since its formation it will be interesting to watch.

The dispute is also threatening the agreement which was so laboriously put together last year by the Cape Province Textile Manufacturers' Association (CPTMA) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Actwusa), which has since merged with the garment workers to form Sactwu. The CPTMA, claiming that industrial action by Sactwu earlier this week breached the spirit and terms of the agreement, cancelled it.

LABOUR AFFAIRS



DICK USHER

Thousands at funeral of Anton Fransch

LIVE BY ANDREA WEISS
Weekend Argus Reporter
 SEVERAL thousand people gathered at the Bonteheuwel sports grounds today for the funeral of ANC activist Mr Anton Fransch, 20, who died during the Crawford siege last week.

Mr Fransch was killed by a grenade blast after he held police at bay for seven hours in the early hours of November 17.

He was a member of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing with Mr Robert Waterwich and Miss Coline Williams who were killed earlier this year in a jumpet mine blast in Athlone.

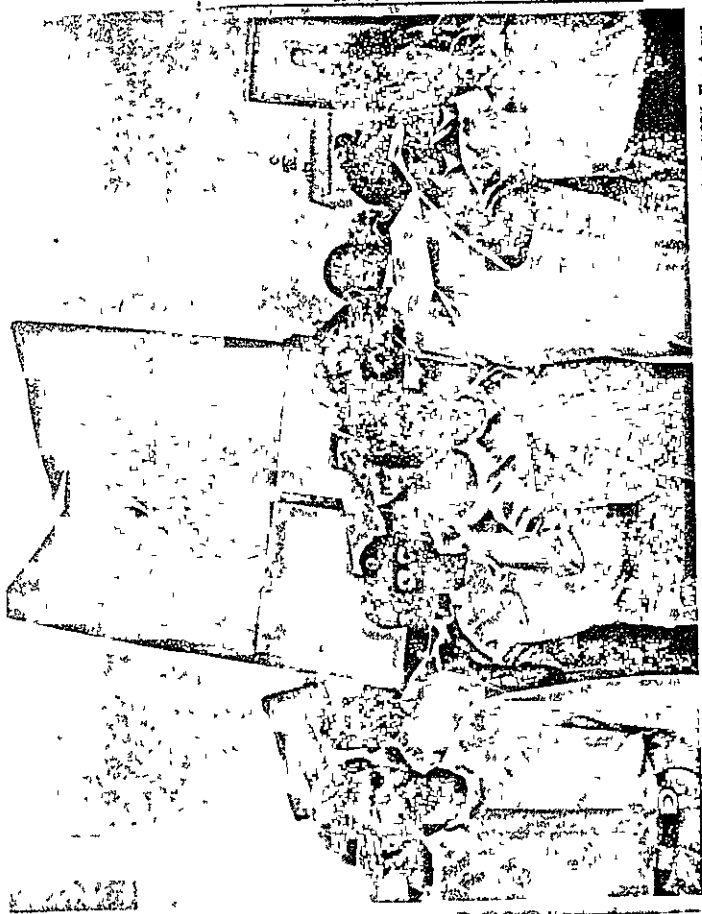
Guard of honour
 Mr Fransch's coffin, draped in an ANC flag and with chrysanthemums on top, was carried into the Metropolitan Sports Ground in Bonteheuwel about 9.30am after a short procession down Bonteheuwel Avenue.

A guard of honour of 20 "comrades" dressed in khaki shirts with black, green and gold epaulettes and black trousers lined the field as the coffin was slowly carried forward to the main platform.

Members of the crowd also dressed in khaki saluted as the coffin was carried past.

ANC colours were displayed everywhere on clothing, skirts, hats, in the dress of children and even fluttering from car radio aerials.

Pictures Page 3



Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

The coffin of Anton Fransch, draped in an ANC flag, is carried into the Bonteheuwel Stadium.



Clergy with clenched fists lead the way through the large crowd towards the platform where the funeral was held.

THOUSANDS AT FUNERAL OF ACTIVIST ANTON FRANSCH

From page 1
 as the service, led by clergy from both the Muslim and Christian community got under way.

Father Peter Pearson in his welcoming address said that Bonteheuwel had become a "valley of martyrs" and invited people to "tip the revolutionary

banner" in honour of Mr Fransch.

Referring to the deaths of Mr Ashley Kriel, Mr Waterwich and Miss Williams, he said "Their deaths will be the inspiration, power and source of a more committed struggle."

Recent allegations about "mass" death squads in the police force, exposed

quarantined in police uniforms who had had a "licence to kill over long periods of time".

"As these people, we are not going to be deterred. We are marching to freedom to uphold those things Anton died for," Mr Louw told the assembly.

Messages of support from local organisations and abroad were read out by a member of the United Women's Congress.

A message from the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe drew a cheer from the crowd as did one from ANC military commander, Mr Chris Ham.

It was expected that Mr Oscar Mpetha would later address the crowd but none of the

seven recently released leaders were in attendance.

After the funeral at Bonteheuwel, the coffin was to be taken to the Maitland cemetery where the remains of the young Bonteheuwel activists were to be laid to rest near those of Miss Williams and Mr Waterwich.

Turn to page 3

Free Mandela
immediately,
says Schwarz

Chk. Temp. 25/11/89 11A

Political Staff

THE "immediate and unconditional" release of Mr Nelson Mandela would be in the interest of the entire country, Mr Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party MP for Yeoville, said yesterday after a meeting this week with his old friend

They met for three hours in Mr Mandela's prison home — their first meeting since the Rivonia trial in which Mr Mandela and other ANC members were jailed

Mr Schwarz was one of the defence counsel in the trial — not for Mr Mandela — and earlier had been a law student with him at the University of the Witwatersrand

The meeting took place amid growing speculation about Mr Mandela's possible release

Mr Schwarz, however, said he did not want to breach the confidentiality of their meeting, to which he was invited by Mr Mandela after sending him birthday greetings earlier this year.

"However, I am prepared to say I think Mr Mandela should be released as soon as possible," he said

"It is in the interest of all South Africans — black and white — that this should happen as soon as possible

"It is not a question which should be delayed "

Asked if this should be "unconditional", Mr Schwarz said no apparent conditions had been attached to the release of others who had been jailed with Mr Mandela

"What should happen is that everybody concerned with it — be it the government or his own supporters — should facilitate his release," said Mr Schwarz

"It doesn't mean anything but that you let a man out "

11A
SAUNDERS SET
CAPT. TIME 25/11/89
for ANC talks

Political Staff

THE Principal of the University of Cape Town, Dr Stuart Saunders, one of the co-leaders of the DP, Mr Wynand Malan, and a number of MDM leaders will be part of the South African delegation to meet ANC members in Paris next week.

The 25-person, ANC delegation will be lead by its international secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki

There are no National Party or government officials among the list of delegates, which was released last night by the executive director of Idasa, Dr Alex Boraine.

ANC delays talks with SA govt

CP Correspondent

11A CP Press 26/11/89

THE ANC has given a temporary thumbs down to government suggestions about exploratory talks with the seven recently released ANC leaders to pave the way for a negotiated settlement in South Africa

This means the exiled movement has put the issue of negotiations in abeyance, pending the outcome of discussions between itself and the seven leaders

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka on Friday stressed that the organisation would only take a stand on the issue after in-depth consultations with the seven ANC leaders from inside South Africa

Following a statement by Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen in October this year, there has been much debate on whether negotiations would start between himself and the seven leaders on preconditions for such a process

Hard on the heels of the release of Walter Sisulu and other leading ANC members from prison, Viljoen stressed the urgency of getting negotiations going

Sisulu and his colleagues are expected to visit the ANC leadership in Lusaka as soon as they have been granted passports

The ANC spokesman also confirmed that a 30-member delegations of the Mass Democratic Movement in South Africa which met the ANC national executive early this week had left for home on Friday



Walter Sisulu . . . may be going to Lusaka soon.

ANC is getting ready for a new De Klerk initiative

26/11/89
S-11wds
FIA

DRIES VAN HEERDEN

sensing a new mood in Lusaka, believes cross-table discussions may not be far off

TALK of "negotiations" may still be premature, but in a very real sense the Government and the ANC are edging inexorably closer to the day when they will meet face to face across the table.

A week spent in the company of senior ANC officials in Lusaka brought home a sense of impending movement towards resolution of South Africa's political conundrum.

Indeed, at no time since the National Party took power in 1948 and eventually, through its actions and legislation, forced the ANC into exile and towards a strategy of armed struggle, has the divide been this narrow.

But, at the same time, seldom has the situation been so fragile, so fraught with dangers — and the consequences of failure so dire. Lusaka can be a long way from reality if you are a South African who has spent the better part of your life in exile.

You only learn about the marches, the rallies, the release of the leaders and the up-front waving of the ANC colours through the occasional newspaper from "home" that is passed from hand to hand by your colleagues in the exiled community.

It may be heady days in Johannesburg and Soweto, but in Zambia the movement often appears glacial.

De Klerk? Just another name in the long list of Nationalist leaders who have tried to ease international pressure by affecting cosmetic changes. However, there is also a flip-side. No organisation, particu-



larly the ANC, can be immune to what is happening in the rest of the world. In Lusaka they are faced daily with the consequences of mismanagement and failed political and economic experiments. Zambia is fast turning into yet another Third World basket-case and its people are facing imminent hardships.

The Eastern bloc, its doors and coffers always open to the ANC in the past, is today absorbed in extracting itself from its own ideological blind alley. The Soviet

Union, for so long the lodestar of liberation movements across the globe, is exploring different routes to the socialist heaven on earth.

In South Africa, President De Klerk, that unknown quantity in Lusaka, has moved with a rapidness that almost caught the ANC and its fellow-travellers with their pants down.

What a pity that the words of ANC leaders may still not be quoted in South Africa because of archaic laws and regula-

tions that have become both absurd and counter-productive.

There is no doubt the ANC is positioning itself to respond to major moves expected in the near future from the De Klerk Government. There is a caniness in the ANC's leadership which belies the stereotype of a mere "terrorist movement" whose responses are limited to force and violence.

Clear

This week alone, countless hours were spent huddled in consultations with the broadest cross-section of Mass Democratic Movement representatives yet to visit Lusaka.

The preconditions set by the ANC for negotiations are clear and well documented. They were underscored by the Harare Declaration of August 21 which may in the near future also be adopted by the United Nations.

These are

- The unconditional release of all political prisoners.
- The unbanning of all restricted organisations and persons.
- The removal of troops from the townships.
- The lifting of the state of emergency.
- The cessation of all political trials and executions.

ANC leaders are very serious that they are genuine in their willingness to come to the negotiating table once these conditions are met.

It is not beyond their expectations that the Government may do exactly that. They also know that such moves will place the ball firmly in their court. Foreign governments — especially the United States and Britain, but also the Soviet Union — will begin to lean heavily on the ANC to moderate its stance and change to a negotiating mode.

On a number of crucial issues, the ANC even appears to be bending over backwards to facilitate the process leading to talks.

Adamant

- It is not insisting on being regarded the "sole and authentic representative" of South Africans or on being the only party at the negotiating table.
- It has markedly softened its stance on the issue of negotiations being only about a "transfer of power" from the present government to an ANC one.
- It does not demand the scrapping of apartheid legislation like the Group Areas Act or the Population Registration Act before talks can commence. That can be a "result of negotiations" rather than a precondition.

On a number of other issues, however, it remains adamant.

The Government's continuing commitment to the "group concept", with racially defined groups being the only building blocks for a future South Africa is a complete anathema to the ANC.

It has no qualms about the NP presenting its group approach as an opening gambit to negotiations. In quiet moments, some ANC members would even agree that group rights may be part of a "transition phase" towards full democracy.

Unfortunately, the signals coming from the Government thus far have been decidedly mixed. Topping the "no-no list" is Dr Gerrit Viljoen's statement that any future dispensation will involve the "counting of groups and not heads."

If the Government wants to sit at the table with the "group concept" as an absolute non-negotiable it may never find the ANC occupying the chairs on the other side.

Another government attitude which could potentially scuttle negotiations is the constant kite-flying about holding "interim elections" to decide the "real leaders" of the black community to take part in talks.

Improve

There is no way the ANC can accept this. It sees in this an effort to entrench the position of homeland leaders and black local authorities.

Indications that the Government is considering "dropping the idea quietly" should greatly improve the chances for negotiation. The chasm between the ANC and the Government may still be wide, but the bridge is, in fact, being built — and new supports are being erected daily.

SOUTH African politics has entered a very interesting phase

Internally, various groups of different political persuasions are coming together with the purpose of finally destroying apartheid in order to usher in a new system that will be acceptable to all South Africans

A major step is the Conference for a Democratic Future which will be held in Johannesburg on December 9. This conference is expected to be the most representative to date, including as it will, even delegates from the homelands

In the past these institutions were seen as perpetuating the apartheid system

Now there seems to be a change of heart and strategy concerning those operating from government-created institutions

Unity in action, that most elusive goal in black politics, is what everybody seems to be striving for. The Conference for a Democratic Future will focus on this

Externally, several conferences have already been held by various South African political groups. Most of these were between the ANC and different political groups that included Afrikaner academics, church leaders, journalists and authors, businessmen and trade unionists

In Paris this week, about 100 South Africans, includ-

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

Unity in action takes big step



11A City Press 26/11/89

ing Prof Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, and DP MP Wynand Malan, are to attend a conference entitled "South Africa In Transition"

According to the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) the conference - organised by The Foundation Danielle Mitterand - will be held from tomorrow until December 2

A 25-member ANC delegation, led by external affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki, will also attend

All the speakers and contributors will be South Africans with the exception of two French government officials

The major focus will be on recent developments in southern Africa

A full day will be given

over to considering constitutional change. The focus will be on the Law Commission report and a speech by Judge Pierre Olivier will be read on his behalf

There will also be a presentation by Mbeki on the ANC constitutional guidelines as well as a presentation on the OAU peace proposals for southern Africa

Idasa said maximum opportunity would be given to discussion and debate from the floor and in smaller groups

Another full day will be devoted to the economic system in a post-apartheid South Africa, with a lead-in paper by Prof Pieter le Roux of the University of the Western Cape. There will be responses from business, trade union and academic speakers

The final session, entitled

"Security - The Future," will be addressed by a panel of South African delegates

Idasa was requested by Mrs Mitterand to act as a facilitator and to organise responses by South African delegates

"Unfortunately because of the lateness of the arrival of the invitations, a number of prominent South Africans were not able to accept, although many of them expressed deep interest and asked to be considered for further initiatives of this kind," Idasa said

Among those invited but who could not attend because of other commitments are recently released ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina

South Africans from inside South Africa who will be attending the conference are

Prof Laurie Ackerman, Fikile Bam, Prof Willie Breytenbach, Mary Burton, Cheryl Carolus, Janet Cherry, M Jack, Antjie Krog, Prof Pieter le Roux, Dr S Motsuenyane, Trevor Manuel, Mike Olivier, S Sezane, Prof Peter Vale, Hein Willemse, Dr Alex Boraine, Henne Serfontein, Mona Badcla, H van Deventer, Gerald Shaw, Ronel Scheffer, Judy Gathercole, Andrew Boraine, Rhoda Joemat, Dr Ron Bethlehem, Fuad Cassim, E Ngoyi, E Malgas, H Fazi, S Mkhathshwa

Chris Louw, Prof Andre Brink, Prof R Charlton, L George, Murray Hofmeyer, Alec Erwin, Pius Langa, G Negota, D Mkhwanazi, Murphy Morobe, Moses Mayekiso, Christo Nel, Jay Naidoo, Prof Stuart Saunders, M Valli, M Williams, Ken Owen, Max du Preez, Richard Steyn, Fink Haysom, Leon Cohen, Prof Marinus Wiechers, Wayne Munro, AJJ van der Zwan, Wynand Malan, Reuel Khoza, Nellie Jibiliza, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Franklin Sonn, AJJ van der Zwan, Dr John Kinghorn and Prof CVN Fourie

City Press editor Khulu Sibiya is also among the 100 South Africans attending the Paris conference

Watch out for the report on the conference in next week's City Press

Gwala doubts

FW's intention on race policy

'Advocate of apartheid'

CP Correspondent

ANC leader Harry Gwala who was released from prison in November last year has expressed serious doubts about the intentions of President FW de Klerk to change racial policies in South Africa.

Speaking at State House in Lusaka, Gwala noted that De Klerk was one of the hard core advocates of apartheid during his term as leader of the National Party in the Transvaal. Gwala was among a delegation of senior ANC leaders who had a working breakfast with President Kenneth Kaunda on Thursday.

Gwala said fellow freedom fighters should know that they were not nearer to the solution of the apartheid prob-

lems and they still had a "long way to go".

"South Africans are not fighting for one-man-one-vote only, but for the heart of power that should come to genuine people," Gwala said.

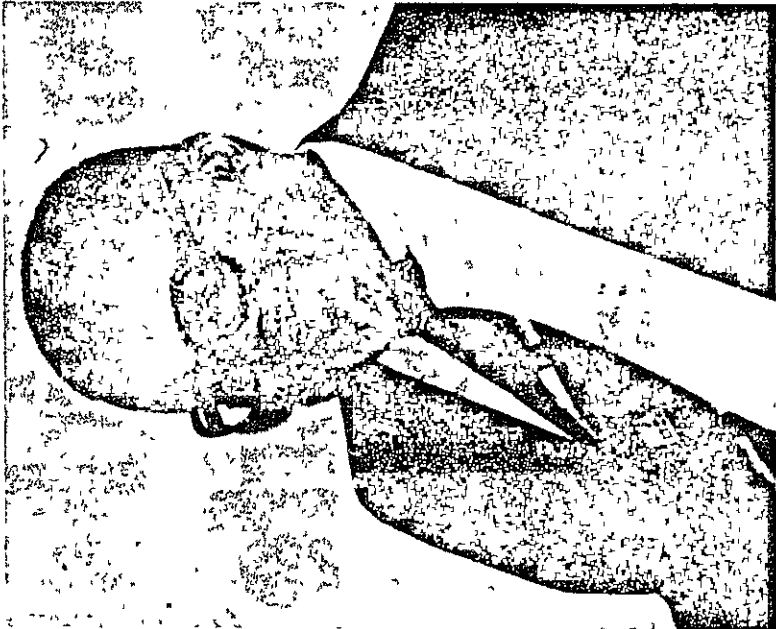
He also pledged that South Africans were determined to make sacrifices - even to the extent of losing their lives - in order to achieve victory.

Kaunda said if the ANC and other political parties inside South Africa came to terms with each other, the problem of apartheid would be eliminated.

He reiterated his call to De Klerk to end apartheid. He said De Klerk's recent initiatives to release political prisoners to allow mass rallies and open some institutions to all races were not enough until fundamental changes were made.

Gwala who arrived in Lusaka on Wednesday as part of a 26-member Mass Democratic Movement delegation to meet the ANC leadership expressed his gratitude to Kaunda and the people of Zambia for the sacrifices they were making in support of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

Among the issues discussed between the MDM and the ANC was the planned Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF) scheduled for December 9 in Johannesburg - ANO



Released ANC leader Harry Gwala held talks with Kaunda in Lusaka.

Natal activists to see Mandela

Violence likely to be discussed

By S'BU MNGADI

NINE Natal activists are to visit Nelson Mandela tomorrow and on Thursday. The group includes Archie Gumede and Cur-nick Ndlovu of the restricted UDF.

Others in the group are Natal Indian Congress Professor Jerry Coovadia, National Medical and Dental Association president Dr Diliza Mji UDF national executive chairman Billy Nair and Durban advocate Themble Skweyva.

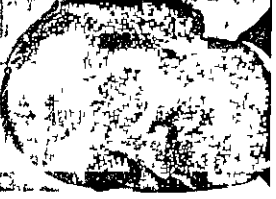
In an interview the Natal Indian Congress's Farouk Meer said he did not know what Mandela would discuss with the



Archie Gumede



Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Billy Nair

group "but he's probably interested in national politics and in particular the Natal situation". It is expected that Natal's violence particularly in the Manzizburg region, will feature prominently

in the talks. Meer added that he was pleased about the opportunity to exchange views with Mandela. However the MDM was mindful that the meeting with Mandela provided excellent surveillance for the State on the development in "our camp".

Meanwhile it was announced that ANC stalwart Walter Sisulu and seven colleagues recently released from prison will visit Natal early next month.

It was expected that Sisulu and his colleagues would address a mass open-air rally in Durban on December 16. But late last week the Natal MDM decided to postpone the rally to January.

Highlight of the ANC stalwarts' Natal tour will include a proposed meeting between them, King Zwelithini and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief

Mbeki to reveal names of Mandela's mystery SA visitors at Transkei rally

BY S'BU MNGADI and SAPA-AP

ANC national chairman Govan Mbeki today addresses a mass rally in the Trans-kei where he is expected to name ministers from the South African government who Nelson Mandela has been meeting regularly in prison.

Mbeki's intention to name the ministers who have consulted regularly with Mandela has become a hot talking point in township political circles and many residents were still speculating late this week.

The speculation centred on who the ministers were and what exactly they and Mandela were discussing.

Press reports in August said Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's "team" had talks with Mandela. According to the reports - based on reports in the London journal

Front File - the ministers in Coetsee's "team" included top names such as Pk Botha, Stoffel van der Merwe and Gerrit Viljoen.

This week, after a three-hour visit to Mandela, the 79-year-old Mbeki said "Mandela meets with government ministers more or less on a continuous basis". However, Mbeki de-

clined to name the ministers and the nature of their discussions. Speculation is that Mandela's contact with top government officials is an effort to lay the groundwork for his release, expected in the next few months.

Mbeki will address the rally at the Transkei National Stadium in the homeland's capital Umtata.

Last weekend the Zulu monarch, addressing the second Zulu Imbizo (convention) attended by more than 65 000 people in Durban, accused the stalwarts of snubbing him and the Zulu people.

This ANC cold-shoulder treatment included his uncle Prime Minister Buthelezi said King Zwelithini. The Zulu king was referring to last month's "welcome home" mass rally at Soccer City outside Soweto.

King Zwelithini then invited Sisulu and his colleagues to meet himself and Chief Buthelezi. The invitation was accepted by Sisulu this week. He said that violence in Natal would pre-empt all issues likely to be discussed with the king and Buthelezi.



Kenneth Kaunda repeated call to end apartheid.

ANC out to get me - cop

CROSS-examination of a security policeman in the Yengeni trial took an unexpected turn this week when he accused the ANC of initiating a campaign to intimidate him and besmirch his name

W/O Jeff Benzien told the Cape Town Supreme Court the ANC campaign was being waged because he had been responsible for the death of ANC guerrilla Ashley Kriel

But he vowed to remain with the Terrorist Detection Unit and continue arresting "terrorists" and bringing them before court

During cross-examination by DP de Villiers, QC, for the defence, about allegations that he had smothered suspects by pulling a wet bag over their heads, Benzien said serious allegations had been made and received wide publicity

Other allegations, which he denied, had been made on Thursday when his name appeared on a poster at a placard demonstration. In his opinion that was "absolute blackening" of his name

Told that the TDU commander, Capt William Liebenberg, had said in reply to a question by Judge that Benzien had the "shortest temper" in the unit, Benzien replied the captain was entitled to his opinion

Asked by De Villiers why people would give false evidence against him, Benzien said "It would appear the TDU has become an absolute threat to the ANC. The purpose of the ANC is to intimidate members of the unit and to have them declared unreliable witnesses" - Sapa

C. Press 26/11/89

PHOTOGRAPH BY ...
PI
CI
O
is
se
R
de
H
m
di
e

ibel

and neither Hall-Green, the SABC apologised to Maqabi for the incident.

The summons served on him last week, Maqabi claims her rights, dignity, good name and reputation were injured by the incident.

She is claiming R30 000 damages for defamation and R10 000 damages for injuria.



Mabel Maqabi

Azapo five not guilty

CP Correspondent

FIVE members of the Azapo members were acquitted in the Grahamstown Supreme Court this week on one count of murder, and two attempted murder charges.

Tembekile Nxakala, 21; Zola Derick Omelo, 19; Mbuyiseli Ringo Mancapa, 19; Lithabo Papie Qhogi, 19, and a 15-year-old youth were charged with the murder of UDF member Ngangelizwe Madlavu, 20, in April 1987.

They were also charged with the attempted murder of UDF members Mabaso Grootboom and Mzwandile Nkosana. The accused pleaded not guilty to all charges.

No burial yet for Gloria

By STAN MHLONGO

A BIG question mark still hangs over the cold-blooded shooting of two Soweto sisters a fortnight ago.

A last-minute court interdict issued on Thursday resulted in the indefinite postponement of the funeral of 35-year-old Soweto nursing sister, Gloria Masango.

Her sister Constance Nxumalo, 41, a supervisor at a leading Johannesburg hotel, was buried at the Avalon cemetery last week.

Gloria's son Nkanyezi Masango, 19, who witnessed the shootings, narrowly escaped death.

Her grieving brother, Khulu Dakile, earlier told *City Press* he found the body of Constance lying on top of Gloria's, as if to shield her from the gunman.

Soweto police public relations officer Capt Joseph Ngobeni said the court had barred Gloria's burial.

He confirmed a 47-year-old man had handed himself over to the Oli-

fantsfontein police station in connection with the shootings.

The man is believed to be related to the Masango family.

Asvat killers' appeal denied

By STAN MHLONGO



Dr Abu-Baker Asvat

THE two killers of the "people's doctor," Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, were this week refused leave to appeal against their death sentences.

The two men, Zakhele Mbatha, 21, and Thulani Dlamini, 20, were sentenced to death earlier this month in the Rand Supreme Court.

Their main submission for the appeal - that of youthful immaturity - was rejected by Judge RA Solomons.

He ruled that Dlamini was fully aware of what he was doing and he was well over the age of 18 -

26/11/89

Azanyu mag on streets

BY SHAFATH AHMED KHAN C. Press

THE Azanian National Youth Unity this week launched a magazine under the auspices of the Masemola Information and Publications Service (MIPS)

Called *The Rise of Azania*, the magazine comes on the eve of a planned open-air welcome reception in Atteridgeville for the released PAC leader Jeff Masemola

MIPS has been named in honour of the "Tiger of Azania" who was incarcerated by the South African authorities for 26 years. The magazine is in recognition of his "selfless dedication" to the liberation struggle.

The Rise of Azania also comes on the eve of the launch of the Pan-Africanist Movement in Soweto on December 3.

Described as "a serious political mission", *The Rise of Azania* will be published bi-monthly, according to Azanyu.

In the first edition, the publishers advance reasons for the adoption of Pan-Africanist ideology.

As well as a prominent biography of Masemola, there are four views on negotiations.

In addition to some liberation poetry, the publication offers Azanyu's view on the role of the arts in liberation struggle.

"It has been a long time that the Africanist liberation forces have operated without a voice of their own to disseminate the right ideas to the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed, and to counter the campaign of misinformation," say the publishers.

The Rise of Azania aims "to heighten political consciousness" and "to serve as a medium for the socialist aspirations of the workers and peasants in Africa."

ANC IN EARLY MOVES FOR TALKS

By DRIES van HEERDEN
Lusaka

THE ANC has begun positioning itself for negotiations with the Government once preconditions for such talks have been met.

What is more, several of its spokesmen are privately conceding that Pretoria has already gone a long way towards meeting those preconditions.

Senior members of the exiled organisation in Lusaka said this week that the ANC was serious about its commitment to a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

"Once our conditions have been met, there is no reason why we should not become involved in the process," a senior member of the ANC's national executive told the Sunday Times in Lusaka.

The ANC's preconditions were recently set out in the Harare Declaration adopted by the Organisation of African Unity and which is expected to be endorsed by the United Nations in the next few weeks. It is:

- The unconditional release of all political detainees,
- The unbanning of all restricted organisations, including the ANC;
- The lifting of the state of emergency.

Spectrum

- The removal of troops from the townships, and
- The cessation of political trials and executions.

The ANC leadership this week held extensive talks with representatives of the Mass Democratic Movement, who travelled from South Africa to Lusaka.

The talks focused chiefly on the Conference for a Democratic Future set for December 9 and which is expected to be attended by the broadest spectrum of anti-apartheid organisations yet assembled.

The ANC delegation was led by its Secretary General Mr Alfred Nzo — the most senior member of the organisation in the absence of its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is still being treated in a London clinic after he suffered a "brain spasm" last month.

The delegation also included the ANC secretary for external affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, the secretary for research and information, Mr Pallo

□ To Page 2

ANC 'serious' on talks

□ From Page 1

Jordan, and senior NEC members Steve Tshwete, Joe Slovo (the leader of the SA Communist Party), Jacob Zuma, Stanley Mabusela and Ronnie Kasrills.

Among those in the 30-man MDM delegation were veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Mr Harry Gwala, the head of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and MDM spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe.

ANC leaders said the next moves would, to a large degree, depend on future consultations with its recently released leaders, in particular the former secretary general of the organisation, Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Sisulu and his six comrades have already applied for passports to visit Lusaka and members of the exiled organisation expect them to arrive in the Zambian capital within the next three weeks.

The continuing talks between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and senior Cabinet Ministers — including Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr Kobie Coetsee — are also closely watched by the organisation.

ANC leaders made it clear that there was no possibility of Mr Mandela acting on his own or agreeing to government moves without the blessing of the movement's leadership.

"He is kept constantly updated on developments within the ANC through his contacts with his seven colleagues and representatives of the MDM who visit him regularly at the Victor Verster prison," a spokesman said.

"We are also kept abreast of developments through their reports back," he said.

On the question of the possible release of Mr Mandela, the spokesman said he expected it to happen "only

when the Government believes it is itself ready to start the negotiating process."

The present contact between Mr Mandela and government representatives could be described as "explanatory talks."

"There is no question of Mr Mandela 'negotiating' on behalf of the ANC. He is, however, explaining the preconditions set by the ANC," he said.

According to the ANC spokesman, one of the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of talks is the Government's continuing commitment to "group ideology."

Obstacles

"If they consider the retention of group rights as a 'non-negotiable' there is obviously no sense in us coming to the negotiating table," he said.

Senior government sources said recently there seemed to be very few obstacles left to agreeing to the ANC's conditions.

The release of Mr Mandela was now more a question of "when" rather than "if" and the release of the seven ANC leaders has already resulted in a "de facto unbanning" of the ANC, they said.

Mr Mandela's release would push this process even further, they added.

If the present political climate continues, the Government would seriously consider the lifting of the state of emergency in the near future, the sources said.

Mandela book bombshell

'Nothing held
at our HQ' IAA

THE ANC this week dropped a bombshell by denying that they hold Nelson Mandela's secret autobiography under lock and key at their headquarters

"Somebody is making a big mistake, it seems," a high-ranking ANC spokesman said in response to questions about the alleged whereabouts of the Mandela manuscript

There is no such manuscript - said to have been smuggled from Robben Island in the 1970s - locked away at the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, where recent widespread reports abroad and in South Africa stated it was

Nor has any publishing house vying for the alleged autobiography laid claim to having it on hand

The only official book on the world's best known political prisoner is the biography *Higher Than Hope* by Durban sociologist Professor Fatima Meer

Speaking from Lusaka, the ANC spokesman said he could not fathom how an ANC spokesman came to be quoted in the Press as saying Mandela's manuscript would remain hidden at the ANC's headquarters

"We have checked with our offices in London, Bonn and elsewhere to ascertain whether representatives there had in any way indicated this. The answer we've had was 'No'

"The answer is the same from here in Lusaka. You can't have people all over who don't know, can you?"

Does not exist

He said the ANC was aware of substantial offers being made for the alleged autobiography, but warned "Those making the offers are bidding for something that does not exist"

The spokesman refused to "speculate" about the



Nelson Mandela - ANC quashes book rumour.

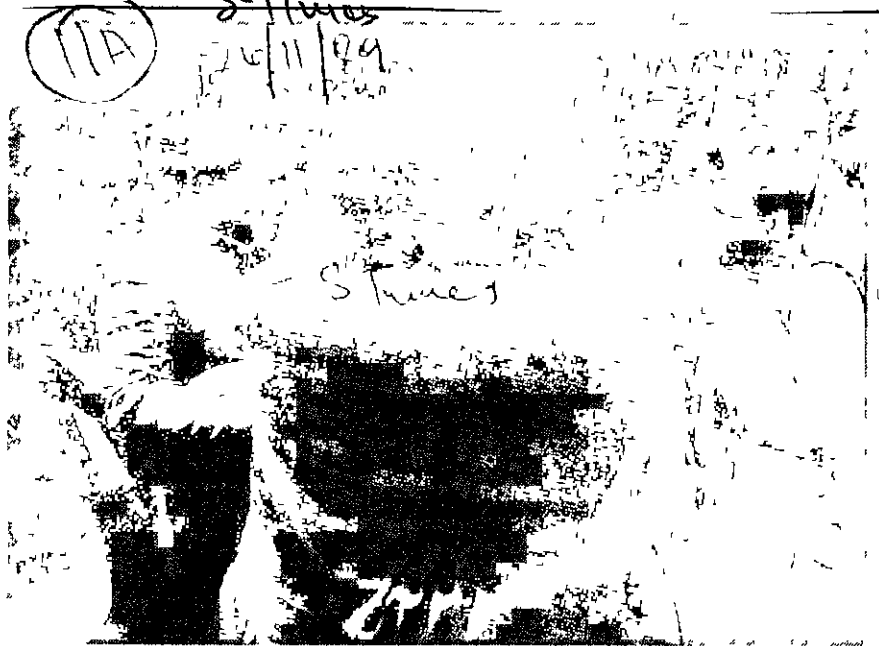
importance of a Mandela autobiography had there been one

Uncertainty now exists as to whether there is a Mandela manuscript

Up to now, no publishing house has openly stat-

ed that it has seen the first-ever Mandela autobiography

But offers of nearly R8 million - believed to exclude serial rights in newspapers - are known to have been made - ANO



WELCOME . . . Black and white embrace during yesterday's 'March for hope'

By BILL KRIGE

WHITES marched on a township — the first time this has happened in South Africa — and received an emotional welcome from tens of thousands of singing black residents yesterday.

As the 1 000-strong column of whites crested a rise leading into Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township, they were met by a phalanx of beaming blacks, 50-deep, and spread across the road shouting "Viva" and chanting "ANC".

Tears poured down the cheeks of white and black as they embraced and shook hands amid the swelling background noise. A police helicopter circled overhead.

"Welcome home our long

Tears, joy as black and white unite in big march

lost brothers and sisters. We welcome you from the bottom of our hearts," read one banner.

The March for Hope was the brainchild of three Afrikaner friends who met a month ago at the home of Mr Ronnie van Wyk, a University of Port Elizabeth academic.

Yesterday Mr Van Wyk said he was "overwhelmed . . . Just look at this . . . It's unbelievable."

The route to the Centenary Great Hall, about 2 km into the township, was lined by thousands of applauding and singing spectators.

Thirty metres ahead of the front row of marchers a police video unit filmed what little it could see of the proceedings.

The march began at the Livingstone Hospital, several thousand blacks forming a separate group behind the whites as they set off.

At the Centenary Hall, which can only accommodate about 1 000 people, most of the crowd dispersed.

PAC says no talks, vows to renew armed struggle

Apr 27/11/89 (11A)

HARARE — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has ruled out talks with the South African government and has vowed to intensify the armed struggle

Mr Gora Ebrahim, foreign affairs secretary of the PAC, told a news conference that a meeting in Harare between activists from South Africa and PAC leaders agreed no negotiations could be held at this stage

"While it was recognised that negotiations are another form of struggle, it was however emphasised that it would be extremely dangerous and counter-productive to enter into negotiations which will not enhance the legitimate demands of the oppressed and dispossessed majority," he said

The ANC favours a negotiated settlement under tough preconditions, including the release of its jailed leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the lifting of the four-year-old state of emergency

Mr Ebrahim said South Africa had been weakened politically, economically and militarily and any negotiations would allow Pretoria to regain its lost power

What was important was the intensification of the armed struggle because it was the only guarantee to frustrate the machinations of the regime, said Mr Ebrahim, referring to President F W De Klerk's peace overtures to black leaders in South Africa

with the help of lights until about 1 am the next morning and returned at about 6 am to continue the search along with a police helicopter”
Mr Coelen said the helicopter could not be used

At first he thought she had wandered off but when he could not find her, he reported the incident to the police.

PAC takes top churchmen to task

By Patrick Laurence,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress and delegates with Africanist sympathies from South Africa yesterday implicitly accused four top clergymen, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, of “sectarianism”.

The accusation came at the end of a three-day consultative conference between leaders of the PAC, including its chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, and “24 delegates from inside Azania”

Africanists of all hues pledged to “campaign vigorously to end sectarianism such as that practised by the Kagiso Trust”

ONE-WAY DIRECTION

Funded by European donors, the Kagiso Trust is one of the largest funds in South Africa. The money is donated to assist “oppressed people” in SA and organisations which represent them. The trustees are a quartet of anti-apartheid churchmen Archbishop Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Beyers Naude and Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa

They hold the metaphorical purse strings. But, the consultative conference concluded, the money flows in a one-way ideological direction into pro-Freedom Charter organisations to the exclusion of the pro-Africanist camp

The charter, drawn up by the Congress of the People in 1955 and later adopted by the ANC, is one of the main issues dividing the ANC and its allies from the PAC and its political kinsmen. The PAC opposes the Freedom Charter, which it sees as a dilution of African nationalism. It subscribes

to a 1949 Programme of Action.

The Kagiso Trust issue was first raised at the consultative conference by a priest who was invited to address the delegates, Father Jean-Pierre Lesour, of the Catholic Church

Father Lesour asked pointedly why he had been invited instead of one of the four higher-profile anti-apartheid signatories to the Kagiso Trust.

Identifying the Kagiso trustees by name, he observed that they represented one ideological tendency only: that of the Freedom Charter.

His comments drew knowing “aahs” from delegates

Father Lesour counselled the conference to use all its strength to get at least one representative on the board of trustees. “You have the right to ask who controls it,” he said.

IDEOLOGICAL BRETHERN

But, he advised, the PAC would have to devote more attention to public relations as it was not as well known as the rival ANC. It was as important for the PAC and its ideological brethren to show they had substantial backing

“If you can prove that you have meaningful support, things will change,” Father Lesour said.

His advice, like the conference itself, came on the eve of a major Africanist initiative the launching in Soweto of the Pan-Africanist Movement from December 1 to 3.

The conference devoted much attention to the negotiation question, deciding that “. . . as of now there exists no basis for genuine negotiations”.

It called for “one-person, one-vote election to a single non-racial chamber” in an undivided SA.

17A

Stow 29/11/89

le
18
1-
1-
17

Ji
P
m
te
al
cl
M
h
a
b
a
s

Teargassing: ^{CPE} ^{TMTS} ^{27/11/87} Holomisa sorry

UMTATA — Transkei's military leader yesterday apologised to the ANC leaders who were teargassed by a "renegade" group of policemen on Saturday

Two people were shot dead and four injured in the pandemonium that followed the teargas incident

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, who blamed "renegade" policemen for the incident, apologised twice to Mr Walter Sisulu and other visiting ANC leaders

The first apology came in a statement and the second in a message read to a crowd of 80 000 attending the ANC rally at the Independence Stadium

The incident occurred when police fired about 10 teargas canisters into Umtata's Unity Hall where more than 400 people had gathered to hear Mr Sisulu, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Andrew Malengeni speak

General Holomisa, who said he saw the attack while travelling past the hall in a car, apologised to the leaders, saying the police action appeared to be unprovoked

A commission of inquiry will be appointed today to investigate the incident and report not later than Friday

Gen Holomisa said he had ordered his police commander to apologise over Radio Transkei to the ANC leaders and all the people affected

The leadersemerged from the hall unharmed

Mr Sisulu said he had accepted General Holomisa's apology

General Holomisa's brother, Mr Patrick Holomisa, a member of the Transkei Reception Committee, established to welcome the ANC leaders, blamed "Pretoria's agents" in the police force for the incident.

During an address by the ANC's Mr Elias Motsoaledi yesterday, one of the official cheerers shouted out to the crowd: "General Holomisa is the man of the people General Holomisa is stronger than teargas."

The crowd roared its approval and the thousands stamped their feet.

Mr Sisulu, 77, in his first speech in Transkei since his recent release from prison, told the huge crowd at the stadium: "The homelands policy, once the cornerstone of grand apartheid, divide and rule, lies in tatters. Pioneering efforts in the Transkei are destroying the foundation of the Bantustan regime."

Speaking to General Holomisa, who was seated on the stage, Mr Sisulu said: "You are proudly carrying forward the struggle against tribalism as you fight to reunite our people into a single and undivided nation"

Mr Sisulu said the ANC welcomed the call by General Holomisa for a referendum among the Transkei people.

He rejected the South African government's proposed "black elections" for a negotiating forum.

Cvt 7/3/15 77/11/84
Kathrada addresses 10 000 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG — About 10 000 people yesterday packed the local stadium at KwaThema on the East Rand to hear recently-released ANC leader Mr Ahmed Kathrada

The air of festivity and revelry was marred by high winds and blinding rain that drove the crowds to shelter as Mr Kathrada and Mrs Winnie Mandela took the platform. After several false starts, Mrs Mandela said in a speech that Mr Mandela wished them to know he would be ready for release "as soon as he got a package from the government on the transition of power from the minority to the majority" — Sana

Thousands attend burial of ANC's Fransch

Staff Reporter

27/11/89
 CAPT
 Tim AS

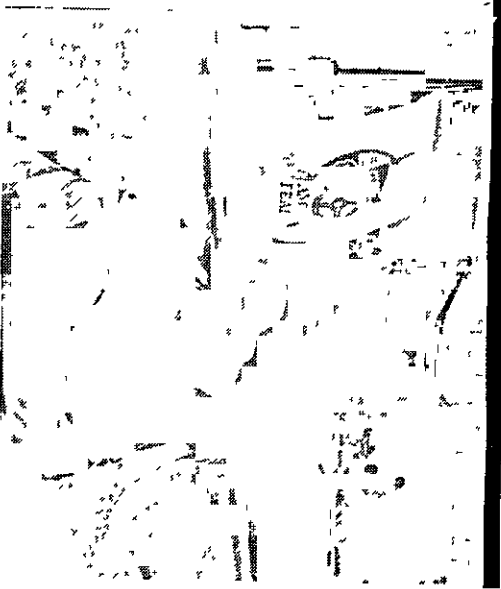
THOUSANDS attended ANC guerrilla Anton Fransch's funeral in Maitland on Saturday. Mr Fransch died after a 7½-hour gun battle with police in Crawford 10 days ago.

Mr Fransch was buried close to the joint grave of Robbie Waterwich and Coline Williams, who died in a lumpet mine explosion near the Athlone Magistrate's Court in September.

Mr Oscar Mpeitha spoke from his wheelchair under an ANC flag at the graveside.

The funeral service was held at the Bonteheuwel metropolitan sports ground. Recently-released ANC leaders described Mr Fransch as "the bravest of the brave, the hero of the heroes".

Messages of support and condolences were read out from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, West Berlin, the Greens Party, the released Rivonia trialists, the Cape Housing Action Committee (Cahac), Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Cape Democrats and the recently formed Police and Prison Civil Rights Union (Poporu).



FATHERLESS ... Mr Anton Fransch's young son Nathan with mother Ms Nicky Asher.

The only police action occurred later in the day when teargas was fired in Bonteheuwel.

Two policemen sustained slight injuries when their police vehicle was stoned by a group during an illegal gathering in the area, according to the police unrest report.

Mr Fransch's coffin, draped with the ANC flag, was carried into the sportsground at 9.45am by pallbearers dressed in khaki with epaulettes in the ANC colours of black, green and gold.

Family members among the 2 500 who attended the funeral included Mr Fransch's two-year-old son Nathan and his mother Ms Nicky Asher.

END OF A LIFE ... A young activist stands with clenched fist salute over the grave of slain ANC guerrilla Anton Fransch.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A "march for peace" attended by about 20 000 people organised by the KwaMashu Peace Committee was held in the township yesterday

The march was in condemnation of the violence which has plagued the township and led to mass funerals every week.

After the march, led by UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede, a memorandum addressed

20 000
CAF 7/11/87
condemn
violence

(11)
to KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in his capacity as Minister of Police for the region, was handed to the station commander by the Peace Committee

The petition called for the resignation of Brigadier Jac Buchner.

US told that six-month timetables 'unrealistic'

FW rejects 2 ANC conditions for reform

Mr de Klerk no to transitional rule.

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

Washington

President de Klerk has rejected international timetables of six or nine months to find a political solution to South Africa's conflict.

He said his Government will not be able to meet the timetables, and described them as unrealistic.

In an interview with the influential *Washington Post*, he also ruled out the possibility of the Government repealing the Population Registration Act. The law was tied to the constitution. Disposing of it would have to go hand in hand with the writing of a new constitution.

He made it clear that whatever new political order evolved from negotiations, power in South Africa would be shared on the basis of racially defined groups, not according to the principle of majority rule.

Mr de Klerk also rejected an ANC demand that the Government abdicate its authority to a multiracial transitional government as a condition for negotiations for a new political system.

Flurry of reforms

The report said the President repeatedly sought to lower what he said were unrealistic expectations generated overseas by the flurry of reform measures he has implemented.

Six or nine months was not enough time to find a political solution to South Africa's racial conflict, but he hoped to have made substantial progress within that period.

Expectations by some US officials and congressmen of an overhaul of the political system as early as next June were unrealistic. "We are involved in a process. I don't think you can put a timescale to it. If there is a conception that we will have a final solution in six months, I think that's an expectation we cannot deliver."

"But I think we can make such progress in six months that the realisation, which is already growing, that we mean business... will then be strengthened."

The important thing, he stressed, was to begin power-sharing talks on the basis of an open agenda in which any proposal could be put on the table.

Asked how he intended starting this process, he said, "The Government will have to take the initiative. We've just been elected two months ago. We do need a little bit of time to get organised." He would present a "more concrete strategy and plan" when he opened Parliament in February.

Ruled out

His speech would focus on constitutional change and the kind of economic restructuring that would be required if South Africa were to recover from the effects of three years of sanctions.

Among the ANC conditions ruled out by Mr de Klerk were the proposal that the Government be replaced by a multiracial transitional authority for the period of negotiations, and the ANC's insistence that the Government could not come to the negotiating table with any non-negotiable positions, such as making any future political system based on racial groups.

He said once a new constitution had been negotiated with blacks under the supervision of the current white government, the existing authority in Pretoria would have to accept it and give way to a new government.

While saying there was fluidity in his thinking about how groups could be defined, in the final analysis the reality was that South Africa had a great diversity, including between black and black.

Secrecy as Paris Indaba begins

CRH Time
27/11/87

(11A) (C) (S)

Own Correspondent

LONDON: — The Paris Indaba begins today under a thick veil of secrecy, with increasing speculation that the ANC will use the gathering to present a new "democratic constitution" that would completely abolish apartheid.

About 100 South African delegates are understood to be assembling in the French capital for the six-day meeting, which is being hailed as one of the most significant events on the road to change.

Arousing almost as much international attention as the meeting itself is the impenetrable secrecy surrounding the arrangements.

The venue is known only to a close circle of organisers, as are the identities of the delegates — who represent all sectors of the South African community and a wide spectrum of political persuasion.

However, it is reliably understood the ANC will have a 25-strong delegation, led by the organisation's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

It is believed Mr Mbeki will be putting the proposals for a new constitution before the conference.

South Africans named as delegates in recent press reports include Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly, JCI head Mr Murray Hofmeyer, The Rev Allan Boesak, trade union leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and prominent anti-apartheid activist Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa.

The conference is being held under the auspices of Madame Danielle Mit-

terrand, wife of the French president, and human rights organisation France-Libertes. The status of the meeting has been described as "authoritative but unofficial".

Organised by Afrikaans poet, author and former political prisoner Breyten Breytenbach, the closed sessions are being held "somewhere in the suburbs of Paris", although there will be a public session at the France National Assembly on Wednesday by invitation of Mr Laurent Fabius, former prime minister and president of the assembly.

The French government's support is further illustrated in the private dinner for the delegates, which is being given by Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

Breytenbach said that although there would be no direct government representation "there would be those who would be able to put the government's point of view unofficially".

He described the conference as a continuation of the process begun at Dakar — "breaking down the taboo of contact with the opposition" — but at a higher level and with a broader spectrum of people and a greater diversity of opinions.

But he stressed that the conference was not intended as some kind of camouflaged way of getting to negotiation. The idea was rather to continue to build up mutual trust and confidence and to bring people who are active in South Africa and could have influence together to discuss thoroughly the political and economic situation and to study proposals of how to get out of the crisis.

Big welcome for SA delegates

PARIS. - The conference on South Africa kicked off here yesterday with welcoming speeches from Breyen Breyenbach, Mrs Danielle Mitterand and French Government spokesmen after South African delegates had been whisked through the streets of Paris in a police motorcade.

The 87 delegates ranged from chairman of JCI Mr Murray Hofmeyr to Murphy Morobe of the

UDF, poet Antjie Krog and organiser Dr Alex Boraine and Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

The "external" delegation was led by the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki who addressed the con-

ference on France's obligation to continue placing pressure on the South African Government

Mrs Mitterand said the key to the 21st century would have to be sharing

the sharing of knowledge, of wealth, of natural resources and of the environment.

"The world's conscience is awakening, everybody knows everything, nobody can claim ignorance," she said and added that she believed

From Peter Sullivan

the Paris conference on South Africa would be an important date in history.

In welcoming Breyenbach said one of the exiled South Africans, who had spent 19 years in jail had said goodbye to his son and when he left had been

asked: "Are you going back to jail?"

This showed how important it was to show tolerance and patience as analysis would vary and people would disagree on strategies during the week-long conference.

Speaking on behalf of

the French Government, Mrs Edvige Avice, deputy minister of foreign affairs, stressed that France believed in sanctions not as a punishment but to apply pressure towards a system that was more equitable.

Among the delegates to the conference most talk is of the two men who are absent: President FW de Klerk and imprisoned leader Nelson Mandela

Sowetan
28/11/89



Afrikaans-speaking Soviet academics will meet UDF

THE two leading Soviet academics who arrive in SA this week at Idasa's invitation are scheduled to meet UDF and Cosatu leaders in Johannesburg and Pretoria for four days from Thursday, an Idasa spokesman said yesterday. *BIPam 28/11/87*

Professors Apollon Davidson and Irina Filatova from Moscow State University's African History Department can speak Afrikaans and are African history specialists. They have written several books on Africa. *(SIP) (11A)*

MDM fears death squads

The Mass Democratic Movement, saying it feared death squads would continue to stalk anti-apartheid activists, announced yesterday it had drawn up a seven-point plan of action to deal with the threat.

The movement said in a statement it believed the identification of a few individuals involved in death squad activities would not stop the use of violence and terror against opponents of apartheid.

The MDM demanded:

• All those implicated in the activities of the death squads must be charged or made to account for their complicity. The investigation should go beyond the security police and include other agencies which are implicated, especially the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and the State Security Council (SSC).

Moreover the entire government, right up to President (F W) de Klerk, should be made to account.

• An independent full-scale judicial commission of inquiry must be instituted.

• The State Security Council/JMC, the National Intelligence Service, and the Security Police must be dismantled, and

• The victims and families of state terrorism must be fully compensated.-Sapa.

Sowetan 28/11/89



Big indaba in Paris

From PETER SULLIVAN of The Argus Group in Paris

ON a first day of goodwill platitudes, promises of peace and gestures of welcome to delegates to the conference on South Africa here, the first real idea of the conference emerged — only to be shot down.

Rhodes University Professor Peter Vale suggested that the ANC, Front Line states and South African government should unite to form a "common desk" now to minimise economic damage to the region in the short-term.

He told delegates that Southern Africa had a fragile economic system, and elements of the South African government — notably the Department of Foreign Affairs — could get together with external forces to minimise damage in the run-up to negotiations.

Once apartheid went, Professor Vale said, South Africa's neighbours would deepen, not lessen, their dependence on the Republic.

Negotiation

But Professor Vale's intriguing idea was immediately attacked by several people who may not be quoted in South Africa. They made the point that South Africa did not have a good record on negotiation, that the struggle should not be slackened, that only armed conflict worked when political activity was banned.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told delegates he thought the old violent spiral of oppression, revolt, reform, reaction, oppression and so on had been altered by the accommodation between Russia and the US on regional conflicts.

But, he said, there was now a "mantra" chanted by all who wanted to solve the

South African problem "Unban, disarmantle, release, negotiate".

President De Klerk was starting to pick out the prime bits of this mantra by unbaning marches, dismantling separate amenities, releasing prisoners and indicating a willingness to negotiate, Dr Slabbert said.

The first day of the conference ended without any major exchanges, and after the welcoming addresses by poet Breyten Breytenbach, the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, Madame Danielle Mitterand and some debate in the afternoon, most delegates went to a concert given by Africanists in Paris last night.

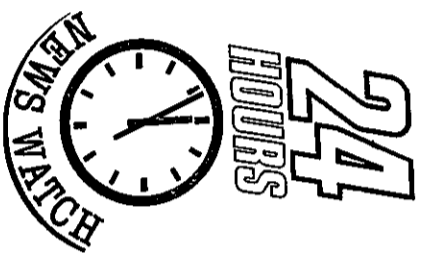
MARK VAN DER VELDEN of Sapa reports that the indaba on a post-apartheid South Africa between the exiled ANC and mainly white liberal political and economic figures from within the country is being conducted far more discreetly with an eye to the future than its controversial 1987 forerunner in Dakar, Senegal.

Larger scale

Although on a numerically larger scale, and with the added impetus of participation by leading Afrikaner Broderbond and business leaders looking to their interests in a post-apartheid South Africa, the ingredients are essentially similar.

Once again it is France's presidential first lady and outspoken human rights campaigner, Mrs Mitterand, and Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa), led by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, playing the key role of organisers.

From its side, the ANC has



as in Dakar, sent its articulate external affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki to lead a 25-man delegation to discuss the future of South Africa with delegates.

The difference in contrast to Dakar's blaze of publicity is that the Paris talks are being held in a secured sports complex outside the city — where many of the delegates are staying out of sight of the media — and that organisers are reticent, bar broad outlines, about details of the discussions.

Secret plans for the conference were leaked early in October, but organisers remained tight-lipped about details — sparse even then — until the first official press statement last week.

Contrast

They have not achieved quite the star-studded guest list from within South Africa they originally hoped for — with a scaled-down tally of 110 last week reduced on Monday to 75.

The list, "names available but not right now", is 25 more than the number of Dakar delegates from South Africa two years ago.

In contrast however, the South African government,



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

while maintaining its stance of outright rejection of the Paris indaba as it did under State President P W Botha for the Dakar talks, has quietly played its role in facilitating this week's discussions.

It lifted security restrictions and speeded up passport applications for a number of key anti-apartheid activist participants.

South African diplomats keeping a distanced but as sharp as possible an eye on developments confirmed that this could be seen as in line with Mr F W De Klerk's reform commitments and "open door" policy to negotiations with anti-apartheid leaders on a "new" South Africa.

The South African government's stipulation that these issues be negotiated and resolved by South Africans, on South African territory and without interference from outside, did however stand unaltered, they said.

Climate

Indaba organisers have made clear the Paris discussions are seen as "exploratory" rather than a contribution to "talks about negotiation" on South Africa's future.

ANC spokesmen left no



Mrs Mitterand

doubt that the organisation still felt the necessary climate for negotiations with the South African government was "nowhere near" and that the armed struggle would continue.

The government's concept of a future constitution based on group rights was unacceptable.

The ANC's demands, outlined in a pre-negotiation condition document drafted a few months ago and subsequently endorsed by the Frontline States and the Organisation of African Unity, still stood.

Businessmen

These included unbanning the ANC and other banned organisations, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, removal of troops from townships and lifting the state of emergency.

The indaba's organisers claim many of the participants — businessmen as well as political think-tank leaders — from within South Africa are potential key participants in the actual anticipated negotiations on a new constitution.

The Paris talks are however clearly aimed at exchanging ideas on a post-apartheid South Africa.

Super-security for delegates

From PETER SULLIVAN in Paris

IS it a new constitution for South Africa? Or the question of a common voters' roll? Or perhaps the redistribution of land that is the major topic of conversation at the South Africa conference here?

No, it is security. Not the security of South Africans facing a total onslaught and/or violent revolution, but the security of delegates to this special conference.

While the diverse mix of exiles, businessmen, politicians, academics and writers are still a little wary of each other's opposing viewpoints, common cause has been found in laughing at the obsessive security surrounding the conference centre, which we are probably not allowed to say is near Versailles.

The 87 delegates are housed in spartan accommodation rather like university hostel single rooms, but the grounds are surrounded by policemen and nobody is allowed out, except on the bus and with motorcycle outriders.

The obsession with security is understandable after the murder of Dulcie September last year in Paris, but that does not make it less amusing or less irritating. We were even banned from attending Madame Mitterand's press conference on the conference we were having.

There are no trips to the city, no strolling on the

streets or along the Seine. Already christened the new Bastille, perhaps the most horrifying thing about the conference centre is that the fortress has no pub, no bar, no place for socialising after the plenary sessions.

But the motorcycle outriders themselves have provoked nothing but admiration. Driving well ahead of the bus, the policemen appear almost to conduct the traffic like an orchestra, waving cars off to left and right, stopping traffic here, making it pause for a few seconds there.

French drivers are remarkably obedient, and several people have noted that Johannesburg rush-hour traffic would not tolerate being told what to do by anyone just waving his arms around.

Even going to the special concert last night the two buses were rushed through Paris with police lights whirling and traffic conductors out ahead, creating a path for the buses like Moses parting the sea.

One ANC delegate who may not be quoted in South Africa rubbed his hands together in mock anticipation and said, "well, I can't tell you what he said but suffice it to say that after certain freedom-loving people have achieved full democracy one can expect lots of motorcades and outriders on Pretoria's streets, even if it is only to see Mamelodi Sandowns play soccer.

'Biggest-ever' meeting on SA gets under way

CHIT 7/1/85 28/11/89
114

Own Correspondent

PARIS — The biggest-ever conference on South Africa — featuring senior members of the ANC and a comprehensive cross-section of South Africans — got under way here yesterday amid tight security

Over 100 delegates, virtually all of whom had slipped into France over the weekend, started the first session of the six-day gathering in Marly-le-Roi, about 20km west of Paris

By mid-afternoon the conference organisers — the France-Libertes movement run by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of President Francois Mitterrand — were still keeping a tight lid on proceedings

The French Foreign Affairs Ministry, which, along with a number of other government ministries, is actively involved in the administrative and security arrangements, was equally tight-lipped

"It is a privately-organised affair and only concerns France-Libertes," said a spokesman

He refused to confirm or deny a report in the French left-wing daily

newspaper Liberation that the government was supplying all infrastructural needs and foreign affairs was picking up most of the tab

Though the guest list had still not been made public yesterday, most of the obvious names bandied about in the press recently were thought to be present. These included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, members of the MDM and senior figures in the Broederbond

According to Liberation, NGK church leader Professor Johan Heyns was also attending, as was Kangwane homeland leader Dr Enos Mabuza

Mr Glen Babb, one-time member of the SA embassy here, may also be present

Among the ANC delegation was foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki, who, Liberation said, was accompanied by Mr Khadar Asmal, one of the authors of the movement's post-apartheid constitution

Sources close to the organisers said the marked absence of Inkhata leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi was on the express wishes of the ANC, who apparently vetoed a number of people

French tight-lipped over SA-ANC indaba

ROBERT GENTLE

PARIS — The biggest conference on SA — featuring the upper echelons of the ANC and a comprehensive cross-section of SA society — got under way yesterday amid secrecy and tight security.

More than 100 delegates started the first session of the six-day gathering at 10am in the town of Marly-le-Roi, about 20km west of Paris. 8/0am 28/11/89

The venue is a sports complex consisting of a number of conference rooms and accommodation units.

By mid-afternoon the conference organisers — the France-Libertés movement run by French President Francois Mitterrand's wife Danielle — were still keeping a tight lid on proceedings.

The French Foreign Affairs Ministry, which along with a number of other government ministries is involved in the administrative and security arrangements, was equally tight-lipped.

"It is a privately organised affair and only concerns France-Libertés," said a spokesman. He refused to confirm or deny a report in the French left-wing daily Liberation that government was supplying all infrastructural needs and foreign affairs was picking up most of the tab.

"One is free to draw certain obvious conclusions," he said.

The spokesman said French police were watching over the event, but downplayed any suggestions of unusual secrecy.

Although the guest list had not been

□ To Page 2

SA-ANC indaba

made known at the time of going to press, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, MDM members and senior figures in the Broederbond were believed to be present

Liberation said NGK moderator Johan Heyns was also attending, as was Ka-Ngwane leader Enos Mabuza

Glen Babb, one-time member of the SA Embassy in Paris, might also be present.

In the ANC delegation was foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki accompanied, Liberation said, by Khadar Asmal,

one of the authors of the movement's post-apartheid constitution

Sources close to the organisers said the absence of Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi was at the express wish of the ANC

A Western diplomat said one of the senior French government officials present was Edwige Avice, secretary of state in the foreign office. Earlier this year Avice walked out of the chemical weapons conference in Paris when SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha took the stand.

□ From Page 1

French Assembly hosts ANC, SA indaba delegates

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — The hitherto closed-door conference between the ANC and 85 South Africans from almost all political persuasions enters its third day today with an unusual open session at the French National Assembly.

The France-Libertés human-rights foundation, which is organising the event with the help of the French government, said it would be the only such session

It is at the initiative of Mr Laurent Fabius, former Socialist Prime Minister and now chairman of the Assembly.

Mr Fabius, a vocal anti-apartheid campaigner, instituted a boycott on South African coal imports during his term of office.

The public session is expected to shed new light on the proceedings which have been shrouded in secrecy until now

Observers are keen to see whether there has been any meeting of the minds since Monday's strong remarks by the ANC delegation.

The thrust of the ANC message was that while much had been achieved in South Africa in recent months, the pillars of apartheid were still in place and State President F W De Klerk had not created a suitable climate for negotiation

A senior Western diplomat said it would be interesting to see just how far the two extremes — the ANC on the one hand and the Broederbond on the other — would bend to find common ground

Despite talks ANC and PAC are still poles apart

DAR ES SALAAM — A recent meeting between two veteran opponents of apartheid in a Cape Town jail renewed hopes of unity between SA's two rival black nationalist guerrilla movements. But their leaders in exile say that after a 30-year rift, the prospects of unity between the mainstream ANC and its smaller and more radical rival, the PAC, still seem remote.

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela met Jeff Masekela, a recently released leader of the PAC earlier this month, but members of the leadership in exile say the movements are still far apart.

The PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959, claiming that the ANC's Freedom Charter of 1955 offered too many concessions to SA's white minority and deprived blacks of their full rights.

"Unity with the ANC is difficult because our ideology which represents the people's sentiments is too strong for them to accept," PAC information director Waters Toboti told Reuters at the organisation's headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

Terms

PAC External Affairs secretary Ahmed Gora Ebrahim was even more blunt "There is no point in uniting just for the sake of unity."

Toboti admitted that unity with the ANC might come one day.

But he said it would have to be on equal terms. The PAC would not simply rejoin the ANC like a prodigal son returning to the fold.

Other key differences between the two movements are the PAC's strong anti-communist sentiments and its flat rejection of any dialogue with SA's white minority government.

The ANC said it was prepared to open a dialogue, but only if the government first meets demands.

Change

The PAC has ruled out any negotiations, vowing instead to intensify the armed struggle to overthrow Pretoria.

"The vehicle for change cannot be the regime itself but the armed strug-

gle through the oppressed people of SA and we therefore maintain there is no basis for negotiations," Ebrahim said. But both movements want to see some form of socialism and a multi-party system to rule a post-apartheid SA.

The ANC dismisses the PAC as an inconsequential movement which both lacks support within SA and a credible military wing.

ANC East Africa chief representative Manala Manzini said "The question of unity comes nowhere near our agenda."

"There is simply no visible presence of the PAC inside our country and for us the cardinal point is unity in action, not mere sloganeering," the Dar es Salaam-based official said — Sapa-Reuters.

SA Paris indaba to hold open session

PARIS ^{6/10/89 29/11/89} The hitherto closed-door conference between the ANC and 85 South Africans from almost all political persuasions enters its third day today with an unusual open session at the French National Assembly.

The France-Libertés human rights foundation, which is organising the event with the help of the French government, said it would be the only such session.

It is at the initiative of Laurent Fabius, former Socialist prime minister and now chairman of the assembly.

Fabius, a vocal anti-apartheid campaigner, instituted a boycott of SA coal imports during his term of office.

The public session is expected to shed

ROBERT GENTLE

new light on the proceedings, which have been shrouded in secrecy until now with not even a formal guest list being released.

Observers are keen to see whether there has been any meeting of the minds since Monday's strong remarks by the ANC which suggested that the gulf between the movement and Pretoria was as wide ever.

The thrust of that message was that while much had been achieved in SA in recent months, the pillars of apartheid were still in place and President FW de Klerk had come nowhere near creating a

□ To Page 2

Paris indaba ^{6/10/89 29/11/89}

suitable climate for negotiation.

A senior Western diplomat watching developments said it would be interesting to see just how far the two extremes — the ANC and the Broederbond — would bend to find common ground.

"That's what exploratory talks are all about, otherwise they serve no concrete purpose," he said.

As for the decision not to invite Inkatha leader Mangosutho Buthelezi, the diplomat said this was merely postponing the inevitable "The gap to breach between the ANC and Inkatha is in a sense just as wide."

France-Libertés had no comment to make yesterday, the second day of the conference which is being held under close guard in a cultural and sports complex in

the small suburban town of Marly-le-Roi, about 20km west of Paris.

A spokesman did confirm, however, that the delegates were scheduled to attend a dinner last night as guests of French Minister of Culture Jack Lang.

The warm reception senior French figures such as Lang have given to the SA delegates underlines the positive light in which the government views the indaba, observers say.

Meanwhile, the main daily newspapers here all but ignored the event yesterday.

The right-wing Quotidien de Paris in a small piece on the inside pages gave a cursory account of the indaba, noting that neither the SA government nor Buthelezi was attending.

□ From Page 1

Haj pamphlets: Sheikh sues MJC

By REHANA ROSSOUW

CONTROVERSIAL Sheikh Abubakar Najaar has issued a summons against the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) for R150 000 in connection with two pamphlets issued by the organisation.

The damages claim follows the furore over Najaar's involvement in the June Haj flights via Egypt.

Saidh 30/11 - 6/12/89

slammed by the MJC and other Muslim organisations as a "violation of the sanctions campaign against South Africa"

In a pamphlet issued at the time, the MJC, Al Jaamia Mosque, Al Jihaad, the Call Of Islam, Chamber of Muslim Meat Traders Association, the Muslim Youth Movement, Muslim Students Association and Qibla said Sheikh Najaar did not represent the Muslims as Islam did not "side with injustice"

(11A)

Another pamphlet said "Sheikh Najaar admits collaboration"

In a press statement the MJC said it viewed the damages action "with regret" They would be defending the action

"The Muslim community has been plagued with many unnecessary court cases and this one will only aggravate the pain and bitterness," the statement said

Sheikh Najaar was not available for comment

W/L ARGUS 30/12/89

Apartheid dented, ^{11A} says MDM

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement believe they made a terminal dent on apartheid during the 1980s and democracy is within sight in the 1990s, the UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said in a new year's message from the two organisations.

The movements would enter the 1990s with the hope and confidence "that victory for democracy in our country is in sight."

"What we will all be doing, from both government and liberation movements sides, will determine whether South Africa goes through the path of a bloodbath or takes the high road of a less violent transition to a non-racial and democratic South Africa."

Although the movements were "seized with the issue of negotiations", they would "remain vigilant" through the 1990s to ensure "no sellout" solution was brought in through the "back door".

"We wish all our organisations, supporters and friends a highly productive new year filled with greater victories against the monster which is apartheid domination and exploitation," the message concluded. — Sapa.

WHAT the masses of our people seek is an end to the racist apartheid system of white minority domination, the super-exploitation of the black working people, rule by fascist methods and external aggression and domination

They wish to see South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country

We are convinced that such a transformation is in the interest of the majority of the people of South Africa, both black and white

In a fundamental sense, capital is the principal historic beneficiary of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa

To see this, we only need to look at the concentration and centralisation of capital in this country, which is probably without parallel anywhere else in the world

It would therefore be correct to say that underlying the entire system of apartheid has been the drive of the property owning classes to make maximum profit and accumulate capital at the highest rate

The political system of national oppression has been central to the economic super exploitation of the black majority, which in its turn, made the high profits and rates of accumulation possible

It was inevitable that the combination of a brutal political system and an equally brutal economic process would evoke the resistance and opposition of the oppressed and exploited

To ensure that resistance and opposition did not become an open and victorious rebellion, it was necessary that the victims of the political and economic oligarchy be ruled with an iron hand, and if need be, by conscious resort to consistent state terrorism

The owners of capital in South Africa, as in any other capitalist country, are few

"The view is expressed in some circles that the establishment of genuine democracy would result in the masses descending on the economy like a swarm of rapacious locusts, eating up everything in their path without regard to the vital question of pursuing an economic policy that would guarantee growth and development"

If they depended solely on their own numbers to defend the apartheid system from which they benefit, this system would have disappeared a long time ago

That it has not is because it recruited millions of other people, themselves not owners of capital to join the battle as defenders of the interests of the property owners

The principal targets of this policy have of course been the Afrikaner people who use the precepts of the democratic revolution including the rights of nations to self determination to win for themselves the possibility to enjoy that right by denying the majority precisely the liberty to which they claim to be entitled

By that act, they put themselves in a situation in which they would join big capital as junior partners and in the end, the storm troopers that would be used to defend the substantial interests of the property owners and their own more ephemeral heaven of crass racial bigotry and a higher standard of living

Added to this is a thin layer of black collaborators who, quite simply are mercenaries who are prepared to accept the extra Rand in exchange for any service the paymaster may demand of them

Brave New World

In his first major public address since his restrictions were lifted ANC leader Goven Mbeki, who was awarded an honorary doctorate by UWC this week, spoke about his vision for a new South Africa after the "ugly heritage" of the past is undone. It will be a "new world" where every South African will feel and be part of the decision making process which would undo the ugly heritage of the past and build a new world We publish an edited excerpt of his speech:

These do not even have the comfort of a natural ideological standpoint to justify their betrayal, such as the rabid Afrikaner nationalism and the pernicious English chauvinism of the dominant white minority

They therefore adopt the ideological platform of those who pay the piper, and are loudest at proclaiming the virtues of the so called free market, denouncing socialism and tying their fortunes to anti democratic and divisive notions of ethnicity

Objectively, the democratic revolution will serve the overall interests of virtually the entire black population

Similarly, it will serve and advance the political and economic interests of the working class, but immediately by the black section of this class

It will also favour the middle strata, including intellectuals and professions, small and medium business people

To be relevant to the exciting and impending process of the democratic transformation of our country, the university will have to identify itself with national and class forces that stand for or stand to benefit from the victory of the democratic revolution

The thesis in the Freedom Charter "The doors of learning and culture shall be open to all is of fundamental importance in defining that act of identification and elaborating the tasks that emanate from that act

In this regard we need to make the point very clearly that we seek a genuine democratic transformation The more thorough the democratic process, the greater the possibility to realise the genuine aspirations of the masses of people

The liberation movement the established vanguard of these millions must continue to be a consistent and unwavering representative of this democratic perspective, resisting any pressures suggesting resort to any practice which seeks to stifle the voice of the people

On this depends the solution of all the fundamental questions we shall have to solve in the course of reconstruction of our country

The national question which looms so large because of our history and the reality of apartheid can only be addressed correctly and successfully if we proceed in a democratic fashion so that every South African regardless of race or colour, feels and actually is a part of the decision making process which must undo the ugly heritage of the past and build a new world

No national group should feel threatened by change

On the contrary, all our people

should take responsibility for that change and by contributing to the process of building a South African nation truly exercise that right to self determination in the only way in which that right can be exercised in a democratic South Africa — by working together in institutions which recognize and guarantee the equal rights of all South Africans

without their separation into groups

On that democratic process depends also the successful handling of the fundamental question of the restructuring of South Africa.

The view is expressed in some circles that the establishment of genuine democracy would result in the masses descending on the economy



like a swarm of rapacious locusts, eating up everything in their path without regard to the vital questions of pursuing an economic policy that would guarantee growth and development and therefore the creation of new wealth at an increasing rate

This view errs because it assumes that the people are incapable of understanding that life cannot be lived only today — that there is a future and that for the future to be better it must be prepared for today

We who are prepared even to make the supreme sacrifice for liberation of course understand the concept of a better future very well indeed

We would otherwise not be ready to give our lives for it if our comprehension dictated merely that we live today for today

In truth it is those who have benefited from the apartheid system who have no conception of a better future and are therefore determined to make hay while the sun shines regardless of the consequence to the future which shall be our certain heritage

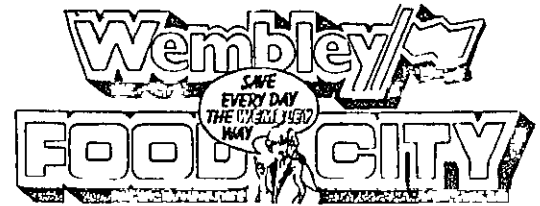
It is precisely because the masses of our people will know how to take care of that future in their own interest and therefore that of the country as a whole

We live in exciting and disturbing times when much of the world seems to be in the process of renewal We are fortunate that this happens on the eve of our own liberation

This gives us the possibility to understand the processes of social transformation better than those who preceded us, precisely because we draw on the experiences of many countries in the world

We must also tap the African experience so that what we build does not repeat the mistakes that the sister peoples on our continent have made

The study and analysis of these world experiences have to be part of the common effort to define the content of the democratic transformation of our country



ROCKLANDS SHOPPING CENTRE, ROCKLANDS

CHOPSTICK

RICE

2kg

R22.89

tax free

RECORD

CAKE FLOUR

2.5kg

R2.39

GOLD MEDAL
CONDENSED

MILK

397g

R1.39

MARVELLO
MARGERINE

500g

R1.59

tax free

TOILET ROLLS 44C each

South 20/11/89 - 11/89

Indaba talk dominated by sanctions

CAP/4 To 15 30/11/89

114

Own Correspondent

PARIS — Sanctions dominated the open session of the Paris indaba held at the French National Assembly yesterday as Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo and the ANC called on France and other nations to tighten the screws on Pretoria

White domination was still entrenched, cheap labour was still being exploited and foreign arms were still killing children, the packed gathering of South African delegates, French politicians and foreign media heard

"What options do we have?" Mr Naidoo asked his 200-strong audience "We cannot ask the French army to march in and help us"

He called on France to support SA workers by pressurising President F W de Klerk to move away from "cosmetic reforms" and address fundamentals

Sharing the platform with MDM spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe, Wits principal Professor Rob Charlton, poet Breyten Breytenbach, Ms Danielle Mitterrand and the ANC's Mr Paulo Jordan, Mr Naidoo said it was an irony that he was able to address such a gathering in France but not in SA

The ANC's Mr Jordan — standing in for Mr Thabo Mbeki — poured scorn on the sudden concern in the West for the plight of black workers and called it so much "ash in the mouth"

The MDM's Mr Morobe was more nuanced in his address, describing SA as being in a state of great flux which would herald one of the most important events of the decade after perestroika

"On a number of fronts apartheid has been significantly rolled back, especially on the front of perception," Mr Morobe said

Prof Charlton was alone on the platform to oppose sanctions, saying that the country needed a strong economy and that many problems faced today will not disappear in a post-apartheid era

SA needed to go beyond merely digging minerals out of the ground and become more entrepreneurial like the Pacific Rim countries, he said

With the session thrown open for debate among the delegates, various degrees of support for and against sanctions emerged

DP co-leader Dr Wynand Malan urged caution on both sides and called for a closer look at Mr De Klerk "He is not totalitarian We are making too little of the switch of government from Botha to De Klerk," he said

Author Andre Brink, whose Dry White Season has just opened at French cinemas, called for "massive aid" to counter the harmful effects of sanctions

This aid argument was endorsed by Peninsula Technikon director Dr Franklin Sonn, who told the audience that the government had cut funding to his institution

Honorary degree for ANC's Govan Mbeki

CAPE TOWN — Govan Mbeki became the first leader of the outlawed African National Congress to receive an honorary doctorate from a South African university when he was awarded a philosophy degree yesterday from the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Mbeki (79), was freed in 1987. After holding two news conferences, at which he declared he believed in the actions for which he was sentenced and remained a member of the outlawed ANC and the South African Communist Party, he was prohibited from making public appearances or statements until his restrictions were lifted last month.

After a message from Mr Nelson Mandela was read to the cheering crowd of 1 000, he said: "We live in exciting and disturbing times when much of the world seems to be in the process of renewal.

"We are fortunate that this happens on the eve of our own liberation."

He added that South Africa should endeavour "not to repeat the mistakes that the sister peoples on our continent have made".

30/11/89
11A
Staw

Militant PAC is facing risk of being sidelined as Pretoria, ANC negotiate

Mr Johnson Mlambo, chairman of the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress, sat alone in his hotel room in Harare. He was deep in thought. Outside, in the corridor, a couple of Zimbabwe policemen stouched in chairs, seemingly bored with their task of guarding the exiled South African leader. It was a poignant sight.

One wondered how many more times Mr Mlambo would ponder the future in a hotel room of a foreign country before returning to South Africa or, as he prefers to call it, Azania. Mr Mlambo had plenty to contemplate. After a three-day consultative conference in Harare with Africanists of various hues from South Africa, the PAC had turned its back on the one route which would guarantee a quick return to South Africa. Negotiations with President F. W. de Klerk and his lieutenants in the ruling National Party.

The communique issued after the conference noted "The participants endorsed the PAC's position that, as of now, there exists no basis for genuine negotiations." But there had been moments of doubt during deliberations on negotiations.

The doubt, and the concomitant anxiety, was reflected in the question posed by the trade union leader, Mr Phillip Dlamini: "Do we have the means to fight on our own?"

Staying out of negotiations for the immediate future meant the PAC risked isolation and marginalisation if the Government and the dominant "liberation movement", the African National Congress, meet at the negotiating table.

But, in the end, the conference concurred that the dangers of going in too soon were greater than the perils of staying out. Delegates applauded loudly when Mr Barney Desai, former president of the Coloured People's Congress which dissolved long ago to join the PAC, quoted Mao Tse-Tung's dictum "Nothing can be won

PATRICK LAURENCE recently attended the PAC's consultative conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, for The Star's Africa News Service. He reflects on the future of the PAC in the light of what he heard there.

at the negotiating table which has not already been won on the battlefield". Viewed from any perspective, that committed the PAC to a long, long haul.

Its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), has failed to mount a serious challenge to South African security forces. It served as "armed propaganda" for the ANC, advertising the presence in South Africa of the ANC as a resistance movement and preparing the ground for the spectacular political re-emergence of pro-ANC movements espousing the Freedom Charter from the early 1980s onwards.

During most of the decade after the 1976 Soweto rebellion, the PAC was hamstrung by internal strife, it reached a bloody climax with the assassination in 1979 of Mr David Sibeko, who was a member of a three-man triumvirate which ousted the fiery and impetuous Mr Potlaka Leballo as chairman. It was not until 1981, when Mr John Pokela took over as PAC leader less than a year after he had served a 13-year sentence on Robben Island, that the PAC fortunes began to revive.

But by then the ANC and allies in South Africa had captured the centre stage. Their dominance could be seen in huge crowds which turned out for its protest marches and rallies in past weeks.

Mr Mlambo might have been reflecting on the leeway he and his comrades have to make up if the PAC is to reclaim the central position it occupied just before and after the Sharpeville massacre of March 21 1960.

But the bespectacled Mr Mlambo, who spent 20 years on Robben Island and who knows how to bide his time, was undaunted by the task ahead. He cannot be quoted in South Africa.

There were, however, as the three-day conference made clear, new developments to console him. APLA had re-emerged to attack "the enemy", instead of turning its guns on itself, the PAC had regained or won access to governments in many parts of the globe, including Moscow, which had once been the preserve of the ANC, most important, Africanism, the PAC's underlying and motivating philosophy, appeared to be on the rise once again.

One of the primary purposes of the consultative conference was to facilitate discussions between the PAC and the interim committee of the Pan-Africanist Movement or PAM.

Several of the delegates from South Africa were members of the PAM interim committee who informed the PAC of the launch of PAM in Soweto on December 1-3.

It would become the standard bearer of Africanism inside South Africa in much the same way as the United Democratic Front became the custodian of the 1983 Freedom Charter.

Mr Mlambo had another thought to fortify him for the long journey ahead: Africanism or African nationalism has deep roots in the ANC.

As a former ANC Youth League member Nelson Mandela himself subscribed to Africanism in the sense of, to quote the Youth League manifesto, "rallying and uniting African youth into one national front on the basis of nationalism".

It was perhaps in that spirit that Mr Mandela, now aged 71, had discussions three weeks ago with Mr Jafta Masemola, the PAC stalwart who was a co-prisoner with him on Robben Island.

If so, the prospect of the formation of a PAC-ANC "patriotic front" cannot be dismissed out of hand.

PAC rejects negotiations 'out of hand'

JOHANNESBURG. — The first formal consultative conference between the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and internal anti-apartheid structures has rejected out of hand negotiations with Pretoria at this stage.

A joint communique released here yesterday — but drawn up at the end of a conference in Harare at the weekend — said negotiations would begin only once the five "pillars" of apartheid were eradicated.

These were named as the Population Registration Act, the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the homeland system, the Bantu Education Act and the tricameral parliament.

"Unbanning the liberation movements, lifting the state of emergency and allowing exiles to return — these demands do not affect the basic structure of apartheid."

Conference delegate Mr Benny Alexander told journalists at a press briefing here yesterday: "The five pillars of apartheid are non-negotiable. Only when they are completely scrapped will those in Pan-Africanist circles see their way clear to going to the negotiation table."

According to the communique, delegates also agreed to campaign vigorously to end "sectarianism" in internationally funded organisations.

Asked to expand on that point, Mr Alexander said only certain projects received funding, and only if the participants belonged to a "particular strain" of the anti-apartheid movement.

"We note that when these organisations apply for money at international forums, they do so on behalf of all the oppressed. But when they disburse it, only a particular section of the internal liberation movement gets the funding." — Sapa

Ciskei to free two political prisoners

BISHO. — Two prominent political prisoners are to be released from jail on Saturday, the Ciskei authorities announced yesterday.

The two political prisoners are the Rev Arnold Stofile and Mr Samkuzi Somyo — both jailed more than a year ago for political offences under the territory's National Security Act.

Ciskei authorities said yesterday the men were being released on humanitarian grounds.

"The Ciskei government has been under no pressure in extending this gesture of goodwill. The release of the two political prisoners is a contribution towards a new dispensation in a broader Southern Africa," said the statement.

The position of the two men's co-accused would also be reviewed.

The releases should not be seen as a revocation of Ciskei's security measures, the authorities said. — Sapa

S
ful
Mr
day
tak-
Co-
for-
off
ing
esi-
lah
ere
ar-
nal-
on-
tels
ists
nit-
two
ar-
Co-
ad
lent
10
ody
l of
ial
led
30
a

CAPE TIMES 30/11/87 117

CAPE TIMES 30/11/87

Apartheid 'grinding on'

Bishops fear FW has no grand plan

CAPE TOWN — Developments in South Africa under new State President Mr F W de Klerk were encouraging, the Synod of Bishops of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa said in a statement yesterday.

The bishops were, however, "deeply concerned" about the consequences that could follow if the Government failed to live up to the expectation it was creating

"Mr de Klerk's decisions to allow protest marches, to release eight long-term political prisoners, to concede May 1 as a public holiday and to open beaches to all races have been praiseworthy and are warmly welcomed," the Synod of Bishops statement said.

But, it said, Mr de Klerk's actions appeared "to be ad hoc responses to internal and foreign pressure, and not part of a comprehensive plan to dismantle apartheid"

The bishops said that while many in the white community and some foreign leaders speculated excitedly about changes to come, the people in most of their congregations experienced no change to their daily lives and struggled to keep up hope for the future in the face of "an apartheid machine which continues to grind on relentlessly".

Giving examples, the bishops said

- There was no end in sight to the terrible suffering which had been brought to the people of the Eastern Cape by grand apartheid
- The failure of police and prosecutors to act against the violence of police riot squads did not augur well for an adequate government response to the death squad revelations

Ciskei brutality

- Priests and church members continued to be the victims of repression

The Bishop of Pretoria, the Right Rev Richard Kraft, had had his home and office raided after campaigning against the Separate Amenities Act

The Bishop of Grahamstown, the Right Rev David Russell, had to deal in the course of his duties with Ciskei security forces "whose brutality is a byword in the Eastern Cape"

- New Nation, which "publi-

cised the views of political forces which would play a role in genuine negotiations", was under threat of banning

The bishops said that as long as the Government made only incomplete and ad hoc gestures, distrust between blacks and whites would continue.

If Mr de Klerk wanted to promote a climate of trust, there had to be purposeful action to negotiate "a comprehensive timetable for the phasing out of apartheid" and the introduction of a non-racial democracy.

Pressures

"In view of our feeling that Mr de Klerk's recent concessions have been a response to pressure, we reiterate the belief that the application of political, diplomatic and economic pressure remains necessary to persuade Government to take purposeful action"

The bishops said the damage apartheid inflicted on the economy and society far outweighed that done by economic pressure

Recent events in Eastern Europe offered convincing evidence that there could be no vibrant economy in an undemocratic society

"As in Eastern Europe, we believe the priority is to establish a democratic and just society"

The bishops believe the Government should

- Reincorporate East Peulton into South Africa, reinstate the pensions of South African citizens from that area and pressure the Ciskei authorities to release community leaders.
- Appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the existence of police death squads, comprising at least three judges from different backgrounds

Also, there had to be widespread consultation on the composition of a commission to ensure that the widest spectrum of South African opinion had confidence in the people appointed

- Lift the state of emergency, including those regulations curbing the media, and allow non-violent political expression
- Unban all political parties, and release remaining political prisoners and detainees

In particular, it was essential that Mr Nelson Mandela be released "He is one of the leaders who could bring together a wide variety of political groups," the statement added. — Sapa

30/11/89

IIA

Star

A
n
d
A
c
h
i
v
e
s
J
h
s
i
d
P
e
r
t
i
s

Mandela praises UWC for award to Mbeki, 79

Staff Reporter

NEARLY 1 000 people gave Rivonia trialist Mr Govan Mbeki, 79, a standing ovation as he was awarded an honorary doctorate at a special graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape

The ovation turned to thunderous applause when Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, last night read a tribute from her husband to Mr Mbeki and UWC

ANC MEMBER

UWC chancellor Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, conferred the degree of Doctor Philosophiae on Mr Mbeki. The award was the first made by a South African university to a senior ANC member

Mr Mbeki said afterwards that UWC had earned itself the honoured title of a "people's university", but had a continuing responsibility to contribute to the "specification of the content of the democratic transformation" of South Africa

"ALLIANCE"

"The alliance between the working people and the intelligentsia is fundamental to the victory, defence and advancement of that revolution"

Mrs Mandela said the doctorate, "to the best of my husband's knowledge", was the first such honour bestowed on a "red-hot freedom fighter" by a South African university

She said Mr Mandela described UWC as having great academic potential and that he recognised the university's efforts in working towards the establishment of a people's university in a non-racial society

SHARED PLATFORM

Mr Mbeki, who was freed in 1987 after being imprisoned for 23 years, shared the graduation platform with distinguished neurosurgeon and medical scholar Professor Jacques Charl de Villiers, who was



Picture LEON MULLER, The Argus

CAPPED: Mr Govan Mbeki, who has been awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of the Western Cape — the first such award to an ANC leader by a South African university.

awarded the degree of Doctor Scientiae

Professor De Villiers, a former chairman of the UWC Council, steered the university to legal autonomy when government control transferred executive authority to its council.

UWC rector Professor Jakes Gerwel said both Professor De Villiers and Mr Mbeki were being honoured, as much as anything else, for their opposition to apartheid. They had been selected for their excellence in a

particular field of endeavour and for having contributed to the broader social and political struggle to make South Africa a more just and humane society

● Mr Mbeki, a former national chairman of the ANC, obtained a BA degree and a diploma in education at Fort Hare University and BEcon Hons through Unisa

In 1978 the University of Amsterdam awarded him an honorary doctorate in absentia and established the Govan Mbeki Foundation

Sanctions dominate indaba

150
BIDAY 30/11/87

ROBERT GENTLE

PARIS — Sanctions dominated the opening session of the Paris indaba held at the French National Assembly yesterday as Cosatu's Jay Naidoo and the ANC called for tightening of the screws on Pretoria.

Naidoo called on France to support SA's workers by pressing President F W de Klerk to move away from "cosmetic reforms" and address fundamentals.

The mass democratic movement's Murphy Morobe said: "On a number of fronts apartheid has been significantly rolled back, especially on the front of perception." Its state of flux would herald one of the most important events of the decade after perestroika.

Wits principal Rob Charlton opposed sanctions alone, saying SA needed a strong economy as problems faced today would not disappear in a post-apartheid era.

DP co-leader Wynand Malan urged caution on sanctions and called for a closer

look at De Klerk. "He is not totalitarian. We are making too little of the switch of government from Botha to De Klerk."

Author Andre Brink, whose *Dry White Season* has just opened at French cinemas, called for "massive aid" to counter the harmful effects of sanctions. He suggested Western governments could stave off the closure of *Vrye Weekblad*, which faced a R500 000 lawsuit.

Abdul Minty, director of the Oslo-based World Campaign against Nuclear and Military Co-operation with SA, called on France to investigate how its arms reached SA despite an official embargo.

ANC Foreign Affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki did not speak as he was "not feeling well". Later, delegates said the session did not reflect what was going on behind closed doors at Marly-le-Roi.

Debate on apartheid in Paris

No negotiation yet, says PAC

The first formal consultative conference between the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and internal anti-apartheid structures has rejected out of hand negotiations with Pretoria at this stage.

In a joint communique released in Johannesburg yesterday — but drawn up at the end of the conference in Harare at the weekend — participants said negotiations would begin only once the five "pillars" of apartheid were eradicated.

These were named as the Population Registration Act, the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the homeland system, the Bantu Education Act and the tricameral parliament.

With regard to this weekend's launch of the Pan-Africanist Movement, deemed in some quarters to be the first formal national organisation with PAC sympathies, a participant said they had received pledges of support from a host of groups around the world.

● However, the exiled leadership of the PAC last night dissociated the outlawed organisation from PAM.

Mr A B Ngcobo, a senior member of the PAC's national executive committee in London, denounced "insidious efforts to pass off this (PAM) monstrosity as part of" the PAC. — Sapa.

● See Page 28.

Rally row: CP plea to recall House rejected

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

CLASHES between the government and opposition parties over the Soweto rally continued today with the rejection of an appeal for parliament to be recalled to discuss the issue.

The call came from Conservative Party leader Dr A P Treurnicht. He said concern was mounting over the government's allowing leftist forces to become established.

At the same time the Democratic Party called for the scrapping of apartheid laws and the state of emergency so that ordinary law could apply.

President De Klerk referred inquiries about Dr Treurnicht's statement to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

Mr Coetsee said it was not necessary to recall parliament as the rally had been within the parameters of the law. The government was in firm control and there was no reason for political parties to panic.

The peaceful nature of the rally augured well for the future, he said.

The government's first ob-

jective — a peaceful and orderly outcome — had been attained. It could now consider further steps to normalise the political situation.

However, certain activities at the rally which had not been "in keeping with the spirit of the arrangement with the organisers" would have to be "evaluated".

ANC event

This was an apparent reference to the organisers' presenting the rally — ostensibly intended to welcome home Mr Walter Sisulu and other released African National Congress leaders — as an ANC event.

Flags of the ANC and the SA Communist Party were displayed and speaker after speaker affirmed the alliance between these two movements.

Other government sources said today that Mr Sisulu's statements at the rally had differed in subtle but important respects from the standpoint of certain ANC hardliners.

Dr Treurnicht said the ANC and SACP were being given freedom to propagate their aims.

The CP had instructed its legal advisers to investigate the

apparent breaking of the law on propaganda by banned organisations and to take steps

Mr Tian van der Merwe MP, spokesman on law and order for the DP, said each time the government scrapped or reformed an apartheid law, it had been only when the law largely had been abrogated. This caused contempt for the law and confusion among policemen who had to apply it.

● The SABC has blamed the National Reception Committee, organisers of the rally, for the absence of Mr Walter Sisulu's voice in its radio and television coverage of the event.

This comes in response to DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall's criticism that the SABC's coverage was "scant" and required an explanation.

The chief director of SABC News, Mr Carel van der Merwe, said "The essence of Mr Sisulu's speech was used on both TV and radio."

"The reason why inserts of his voice were not used was the refusal by the organisers of the event to allow the SABC near the podium."

As a result, the sound quality had been too poor for broadcasting, he said.

PATRICK LAURENCE recently attended the PAC's consultative conference in Harare, Zimbabwe for the *Sowetan* Afri-

ca News Service. He reflects on the future of the PAC in light of what he heard there.

MR Johnson Mlambo, chairman of the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress, sat alone in his hotel room in Harare, his chin resting on his cupped hands. He was deep in thought.

Outside in the corridor a couple of Zimbabwe policemen slouched in chairs, seemingly bored with their task of guarding the exiled South African leader.

It was a poignant sight.

One wondered how many more times Mlambo would ponder the future in a hotel room of a foreign country before returning to South Africa or, as he prefers to call it, Azania.

Conference

Mlambo had plenty to contemplate. After a three-day consultative conference in Harare with Africanists of various hues from South Africa, the PAC had turned its back on the one route which would guarantee a quick return to South Africa negotiations with President F W de Klerk and his lieutenants in the ruling National Party.

The communique issued after the conference noted "The participants endorsed the PAC's position that, as of now, there exists no basis for genuine negotiations."

There had been moments of doubt during deliberations on negotiations.

The doubt and the concomitant anxiety was reflected in the question posed by the trade union

Long, long road for PAC

FOCUS

leader, Mr Phillip Dlamini: "Do we have the means to fight on our own?"

Staying out of negotiations for the immediate future meant the PAC risked isolation and marginalisation if the South African Government and the dominant "liberation movement," the African National Congress, meet at the negotiating table.

But in the end the conference concurred that the dangers of going in too soon was greater than the perils of staying out.

'Better to stay out than to be in too soon'

Delegates applauded loudly when Mr Barney Desai, former president of the Coloured People's Congress which dissolved long ago to join the PAC, quoted Mao Tse-Tung's dictum nothing can be won at the negotiating table which has not already been won on the battlefield.

Viewed from any perspective, that committed the PAC to a long, long haul. Its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has so far failed to mount a serious challenge to South African security forces.

Strikes

Worse still for the PAC, it has lagged behind its ANC counter-part, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the number and quality of armed strikes.

In 1987, a relatively good year for APLA, its guerrillas appeared to be involved in far fewer contacts with security forces



Mr Johnson Mlambo . . . PAC leader

than Umkhonto fighters. Analysis of guerrillas captured and killed in encounters with security forces in 1987 showed that APLA men accounted for less than a fifth.

Guerrilla action by Umkhonto we Sizwe rose steadily from 1976 onwards. It served as "armed propaganda" for the ANC, advertising the presence in South Africa of the ANC as a resistance movement and preparing the ground for the spectacular political re-emergence of pro-ANC movements espousing the Freedom Charter from the early 1980s onwards.

During most of the decade after the 1976 Soweto rebellion the PAC was hamstrung by internal strife which reached a bloody climax with the assassination in 1979 of Mr David Sibeko who was a member of a three-man triumvirate which ousted the fiery and impetuous Mr Potlaka Leballo as chairman.

It was not until 1981 when Mr John Pokela took over as PAC leader less than a year after he had served a 13 year-jail sentence on Robben Island that the PAC fortunes began to revive.

Crowds

But by then the ANC and ANC-aligned organisations in South Africa had captured the centre stage. Their dominance was manifest dramatically and, in the view of most

observers, unequivocally by the huge crowds which turned out for its protest marches and rallies in past weeks and before that for meetings organised by ANC-aligned organisations.

Mlambo might have been reflecting on the leeway he and his comrades have to make up if the PAC is to reclaim the central position it occupied just before and after the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960.

But the bespectacled Mlambo, who spent 20 years on Robben Island and who knows how to bide his time, was undaunted by the task ahead. He cannot be quoted in South Africa.

There were, however, as the three-day conference made clear, new developments to console him.

APLA had re-emerged to attack "the enemy" instead of turning its guns on itself, the PAC had regained or won access to governments in many parts of the globe, including Moscow, which had once been the preserve of the ANC.

Most important, Africanism - the PAC's underlying and motivating philosophy - appeared to be on the rise once again.

One of the primary purposes of the consultative conference was to facilitate discussions between the PAC and the interim committee of the Pan-Africanist Movement or PAM.

Several of the

114

Soodaw 30/11/89

SOMERIAN Thursday, November 30, 1989

Page 3/4

ANC leader wants to go home to rural area after release

Mandela gets a 40 000sq m plot

A FOUR-HECTARE plot in the Qunu administrative area was formally demarcated on Monday for the new rural home of bashed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

The demarcation was carried out by the regional agricultural officer for the Dalindyebo region, Mr H P Mququ, in the presence of the deputy acting paramount chief of Tembuland, Chief Dalagubha Joyi.

The chief of the area, Chief Dalilanga Bahzulu, told people present that the formal siring had long been requested by

Mandela, but had been turned down by the late Paramount Chief Barnabanga Mirara during his paramouncy of the Tembus

ed formal notification of the application by Madela from Joyi. However, because of the urgency of the matter, the actual changing of the plot would be done on Tuesday.

Joyi said that Mandela had indicated that after his release he wanted to come straight home and had to have rural accommodation as his children were anxious to return to Qunu.

Also present at the siring were the District Commissioner for Umata, Mr S S Ndlela, other agricultural extension officers, Mr W Bekebu, Mr Mandela's sister, Mrs M N Tinkwe, Mr M M Livi, who represented Mrs Winnie Mandela, Chief Gwebindala Mirara and Chief Vuhndela Mirara.

The plot is between Bityi and Vidgesville adjacent to the national road between Umata and Idutywa. - Sapa

BLACK
DECEMBER

POLITICS
1989.

11/2/83
11/4

Whirlwind Wessels achieves speedy victory for good sense

11/12/81

11/4

There was general relief, even from the interim committee, when the refugees decided to take up Mr Wessels' offer. President Sebe was not consulted about the offer while it was being made or afterwards.

That it was a victory for good sense, and negotiation is evident — there can however be no question about the fact that the MDM and Cosatu found ready allies in the Peelton East refugees, and possibly saw the situation as one which could be exploited and that demands for reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa could be strongly emphasised.

While the more elderly men and women sat under trees, tough young "comrades" wearing their familiar peaked caps, guarded the two entrances to the Catholic centre. Two coloured men, widely acknowledged to be from the MDM, and a man wearing a Cosatu T-shirt were prominent members of the "committee" which, with Reverend Bongani Finca, chairman of the Border Council of Churches, and the Rev Bill Buckley — the parish priest — negotiated with Mr Wessels.

When Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Leon Wessels took a decision last weekend to end "once and for all" the misery of 885 black South African refugees living in abject and unhygienic conditions in a church hall in the middle of King William's Town, he did it with great skill.

Mr Wessels, a 1,8 metre fitness fanatic, had been to the little town on two previous occasions in order to try to help the refugees from Peelton East. He hadn't received much change from the nearby Ciskeian authorities on those two occasions — and didn't get it on this occasion, either.

President Lennox Sebe, of Ciskei, was "not available" — day or night — to meet the Deputy Minister. The official excuse was that the President was busy with a State guest, two cabinet meetings and a host of more pressing business matters.

This was despite the fact that last month President Sebe had told Mr Wessels he had "an open door policy" towards the refugees and "welcomed" discussions about them.

Mr Wessels had wanted to talk to him about the plight of people who regarded themselves as South African citizens, and who were not prepared to stay in Ciskei in an area known as Peelton East — a triangular area added to Ciskei on August 12 last year. Some of the affected people hold dual nationality.

South Africa says it took the decision to add Peelton East to Ciskei "at the request of the Ciskeian government and of Chief Tembu to territorially unite the Iming-galase tribe again . . . (to enable them) to regain their historical land."

But tension built up and faction fights within the tribe involving people living in West Peelton and Peelton East resulted in Peelton East people attacking "loyal Ciskeian citizens" (those from West Peelton). Ciskei arrested 96 people, and declared a state of emergency in the whole of Peelton.

The matter worsened when, after a visit to the area by President Sebe — who promised 200 sites to enable the dissatisfied

A whirlwind this week reced through King William's Town, once the capital of a British colony — the Province of Queen Adelaide, later known as British Kaffraria — giving the local people a lot to think about. **NORMAN CHANDLER** reports.

people to live peacefully in Peelton — the Ciskei Police acted, apparently without authority, and uprooted 13 families. They were taken across the border into South Africa, and dumped there.

South Africa asked that they be returned. This was done, and the 13 families were then divided into groups and placed in neighbouring villages where they could be "rehabilitated."

About 100 people decided they didn't want to be split from the families, and on

October 21 fled to the Sacred Heart Catholic Church centre in Albert Street. A week later the numbers had swelled to 700, and by the time Mr Wessels successfully negotiated the agreement this week, the total had risen to 855.

This week, as the rain poured down and 191 children and 664 adults huddled together in the hall and under lean-tos, Mr Wessels made up his mind.

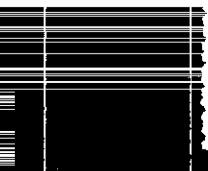
He had already telephoned the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Mearing, addressed a special meeting of the local town council, consulted his Cabinet colleagues at their weekly meeting in the Union Buildings, and been in almost constant discussions with the local MP, Mr Ray Radue, and sundry other officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As far as he was concerned, the question had to be resolved before the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and Cosatu — the

two organisations "helping" the Interim Peelton Residents' Committee to negotiate for the refugees' relocation within South Africa — launched a potentially damaging consumer boycott on King William's Town, and possibly Bisho, the capital of Ciskei.

The MDM and Cosatu, only a day or two before his arrival in King William's Town, made it plain they meant business in a written demand to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and to the South African Ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Chris van Aarde. They said "We reserve the right to take further action depending on the reaction of the South African Government."

Mr Wessels negotiated with the town council for the borough commonage to be placed at his disposal, for the people at the hall to be able to graze their cattle there, and for an informal settlement to come into being, with the aid of the Cape Provincial Administration.



1
mail 1-7/17/89

Gwala's papers seized at airport

LISTED African National Congress leader Harry Gwala had ANC and South African Communist Party magazines confiscated by customs officials at Jan Smuts airport on his return from England where he received medical treatment.

Family members confirmed that the seized documents, including *Umsebenzi*, *African Communist* and *Sechaba*, have been sent to the Publication's Control Board for a decision.

Gwala's listed status prevents him from being quoted in this country but did but did not halt his talks with ANC president Oliver Tambo as recently as November 19.

Tambo limps while recovering from a bad infection in his right foot but is alert and receives regular political updates

London doctors who predicted an 18-month hospital stay after the ANC president suffered a stroke, have slashed their estimate to six months, according to Gwala's son, Linda.

"Originally he was in a very bad shape and couldn't say anything. Now he enters into conversations and is able to take command."

Ciskei releases UDF leader and his co-accused

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE

THE Ciskei government has decided to release two political prisoners on humanitarian grounds

The former general-secretary of the United Democratic Front in the Border region, Reverend Arnold Stofile, and his co-accused, Sakumzi Somyo, are to be released tomorrow

Stofile was sentenced to 11 years in 1987 after being found guilty of terrorism and possession of arms and ammunition

The judge found him to have furthered the aims of the African National Congress. Somyo received a four-year sentence after refusing to testify against Stofile

At the same trial French national Pierre-Andre Alberuni was also sentenced to four years imprisonment after refusing to testify. He was released in September 1987 as part of a prisoner swap

At their trial ANC member Mzwakhe Nelson Ndlela received a 15-year sentence while Linda Stofile and Mveleli Gqibithole were each sentenced to eight years.

A Ciskei representative said they had decided to release the two political prisoners on humanitarian grounds. He warned that the good will shown by the releases should not be interpreted as a renegation of the territory's tight security measures —
ANA



1-7/12/89.

1mm

1-7/12/87

11A

wmail

Zulu prince gives MDM support

By MOIRA LEVY

PRINCE Mcwayizeni Zulu, ranked second only to the king in the Zulu royal family, has called for the dismantling of the bantustan system and turned his back on the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, after more than 17 years of the service as the representative of the king

Interviewed in London this week, the prince pledged his support for the Mass Democratic Movement. He said he resigned his government post earlier this year after he realised that the legislative assembly was a "vehicle only for its driver".

The prince's stand points to a split within the kwaZulu ruling circles and a challenge to the legitimacy of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rule

Zulu confirmed that he has held regular talks with the African National Congress in exile, and said he had been invited to Oliver Tambo's home in London last week where plans were made for him to visit Mandela after his return to South Africa

At last month's ANC rally in Soweto, Zulu joined the released Rivonia trial leaders on the platform. He was

given an enthusiastic welcome when he launched an attack on Buthelezi, warning that the royal family would defy laws imposed upon it by the kwaZulu government

This week the prince said, "One of the tragedies of the South African situation is that some of the people who are generally regarded as part of the leadership in Natal are not readily interested in reaching a democratic solution to the problem (of the Natal violence) and prefer to impose their own viewpoint and will"

He referred to the "double talk" of leaders who "pretend to do one thing publicly, while in fact they do another thing secretly".

This year Zulu joined the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa). He is the most senior traditional leader to participate in the organisation

Last week, while abroad, he learned that his home at the royal kraal in the Nhlophenkulu district had been burned down. And pamphlets

claiming that he aims to depose the king have been circulated in the Nongoma and Mhlabathini districts

The prince described the pamphlets as "an attempt to denigrate and vilify me" and a ploy to divide the Zulu royal family

A founder member of Inkatha, Sibusiso Bhenyu, who fled kwaZulu after a row with Buthelezi and who is now the executive secretary of the Lutheran World Federation in Zurich, accompanied the prince in London.

The Inkatha leadership was "going it alone", he said. "Despite the role played by the Inkatha leadership, the majority of grassroot members want genuine freedom and independence"

Another analyst, a South African exile known as Mzala, author of a book on Buthelezi, predicted that King Goodwill Zwelithini would eventually join the prince in his stand against Buthelezi. "He will not allow himself to be tainted by the blood of innocent people"

Mzala said Buthelezi had also lost support in government and business circles



Unbanning the ANC ... thousands turned out for the Umtata rally at the weekend addressed by Walter Sisulu and Bantu Holomisa

Picture. PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

"THE ANC is really unbanned in Transkei now, all it's waiting for is the word."

That's the view of one of 50 000 people who flocked to Umtata from throughout the Transkei and Eastern Cape on Sunday to the ANC leaders' welcome-home rally.

The rally, the second one to be addressed by the recently released leaders, marks a turning point in the region's history.

Not only was the immediate visible effect on the territory remarkable, but it also provided the popular movement's stamp of approval for the military government.

In addition, it highlighted the conflicts between the territory's old rulers and the new. For years Transkei has had a reputation for being a violent, repressive place, with no tolerance for even the mildest opposition.

ANC supporters spent years in detention and jail, often suffering severe torture. Trade unionism was seen as synonymous with membership of the ANC; political opponents were banished, beaten and mown down by death squads and no progressive organisation was allowed to exist.

Despite the severe repression — or perhaps because not even the mildest organisation was permitted — the Transkei has long been seen as an area of strong support for the ANC and political trials have often revealed links between guerrilla and cell networks right across the territory.

Even at the beginning of military rule opposition was still outlawed and detentions and political trials continued until the last few months.

The day a 'bantustan' chief stood shoulder to shoulder with the ANC

The welcome-home rally in Umtata for the released ANC leaders exposed hidden rifts in Transkei politics. LOUISE FLANAGAN reports

On Sunday full advantage was taken of the military's more enlightened policy, with Transkeians unbanning the ANC. Thousands crowded into Umtata, most wearing T-shirts supporting cultural groups, Cosatu unions, the UDF and the ANC.

Open support was obvious at border posts, where officials cheerfully told of a huge influx of people.

Packed taxis headed for Umtata with cheering passengers and ANC banners draped across their vehicles. In Umtata vehicles jammed the centre of town, with those who couldn't get into the stadium sitting in taxis listening to the speeches live on Radio Transkei. After the rally, people danced the *toyi-toyi* through Umtata.

While the welcome for Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Wilton Mkwayi and Oscar Mpetha showed the massive support the ANC enjoys in the Transkei and Eastern Cape — where many of the

leaders once lived — even more significant was the ANC support for Transkei's military rulers.

Chairman of the Military Council Major-General Bantu Holomisa shared the platform with the ANC leaders and NUM's Cyril Ramaphosa.

While the speakers emphasised their rejection of the bantustan system, there was a veiled acknowledgement that Transkei was a valuable loophole that may well be the first area to unban the ANC.

It's also fast becoming the spearhead of a campaign against the homeland system. Sisulu made a point of noting that the military government's recent actions in the territory — unbannings, releasing of political prisoners, lifting the state of emergency and the reburial of "Comrade King" Sabata Dalindyebo.

Holomisa encouraged the progressive chiefs in the area, where Conralla is gaining support, supported the call for a referendum and praised Transkei's participation in the nationwide defiance campaign.

"Recent developments in Transkei have implications far beyond this region," he said.

Mbeki, who taught in Transkei,

wrote about the area and even served in the Transkei parliament, went even further. "The government of Transkei has begun to get the people free," he said. "We are looking forward to a South Africa in which the people shall govern."

The ANC leaders' presence in the city highlighted the split between the military government and the territory's police force.

The day before the rally, the leaders addressed a group of about 400 at a local church hall, when police moved in, tear-gassing both leaders and supporters.

Two supporters later died and a policeman was later attacked and killed in the local township.

The tear-gassing hugely embarrassed the military government, and Holomisa issued an apology which was read out to the rally. He announced a special commission of inquiry into the incident.

The army and police have a long history of conflict, with the police force seen as supporters of the deposed Matanzima regime.

Ever since the military seized power in December 1987 there has been an unspoken war with the police.

While the military seems to have been treading carefully, they have got rid of or moved into less powerful positions several policemen regarded as Matanzima strongmen.

And Holomisa is becoming more and more critical of police violence, involvement in death-squad murders and unofficial links with South African Police.

11/17

12

wmail

1-7/12/89

104*

1-7/12/89

Inquest appeal over Nofomela evidence ruling

By CARMEL RICKARD

DEATH row prisoner Butana Nofomela could be called to testify in the Piet Retief inquest about what he knows of police hit squads, depending on the outcome of a crucial application to the supreme court.

The inquest is investigating the deaths of four African National Congress suspects, shot by police near the Swazi border last year. The police were acting under the command of Major Eugene de Kock, named by a former colleague as a hit squad commander.

Police claim they aimed to arrest the group but were fired on. They returned fire and killed all four occupants of the car. This version is contested however, and lawyers for the families say they are instructed the four were unarmed.

The lawyers said they needed to establish whether the alleged hit squad exists and if so, whether De Kock is a field commander. If they exist and operate under his command, then police should investigate whether the Piet Retief killings were an assassination rather than an attempt to arrest that went wrong.

This week, lawyers for the families were twice prevented from pursuing this line. The magistrate ruled they could not hand in affidavits by Nofomela as the contents were not relevant.

Yesterday she ruled the lawyers could ask no further questions about C1, the secret police unit of ANC defectors, their handlers and others, some of whose members were involved in the killings at Piet Retief and in similar incidents.

Lawyers for the families then asked for an adjournment so that both rulings could be taken on review to the supreme court.

A number of questions are emerging in the inquest, many of them involving the car in which the four were transported from the Swazi border to the police ambush.

One of the police involved in the shooting, local security police chief Frederik Pienaar, was also the investigating officer into the deaths of the four. However, lawyers for the families successfully applied for him to be replaced.

Counsel complained about several aspects of his investigation of the case, including the fact that the car was not photographed adequately — and that it had been sent to Pretoria for repair.

Pienaar was asked to establish when the car was sent to Pretoria and if it had been repaired. Later the prosecutor told the court that the vehicle had been repaired and was back in use from March.

However, the investigating officer who took over from Pienaar, Brigadier Daniel van Wyk, found the vehicle was still in the garage, unrepaired. He brought it to Piet Retief where it was photographed.

When Pienaar gave his explanation of why he did not photograph the inside of the vehicle he said he did not think it would indicate anything to the court since it was a bloody mess inside.

However, the photographs arranged by Van Wyk and handed in to court show some parts of the interior of the still damaged car. The front passenger seat has been removed and although the seats are covered with fabric, there are no signs of blood stains.

B/Daw 1/12/84 ~~1/12/84~~ ~~1/12/84~~



President F W de Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a news conference at which the release of Nelson Mandela was discussed. PICTURE REUTER

ent
ed
er
ap
th
he
as
p-
s-
e-
in
il-
p-
a,
is
o,
d
o
e
r-
r-

Paris Indaba gets flak from left-wing activists

CHARLENE SMITH

THE Paris Indaba has been criticised by leading SA anti-apartheid activists who have attacked the organisers for "presuming to choose the people's leaders".

An executive of the mass democratic movement (MDM) said the conference was "insignificant, it is purely an academic exercise"

Although the MDM sent delegates, it did not send all the officials requested — leading activists such as Mohammed Valli Moosa, who had his restrictions lifted to obtain a passport, Cyril Ramaphosa of the NUM and Cassim Saloojee, among others, did not travel to Paris

The MDM decided the Internal Conference for a Democratic Future, in Johannesburg on December 9, was of far greater significance and kept leading figures here to continue organising that conference

The MDM's views are shared by the Pan Africanist Movement, which has also rejected the precepts of the Paris Indaba.

"Foreigners and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa) cannot decide who the delegates to a confer-

ence discussing the future of SA and the negotiation process should be — that decision has to be made by the South African people. They are in a way deciding who the representatives of the people are

"For such an exercise to be meaningful it has to be done in consultation with the people," a leading anti-apartheid leader said

Reservations

The Paris conference was organised under the auspices of France Liberte, a human rights foundation run by Danielle Mitterand, wife of President Francois Mitterand.

Similar reservations were expressed by the SA government when news of the conference was first leaked in October.

At the time Foreign Minister Pik Botha said South Africans should solve the country's problems in SA. (11K)

B/Daw 1/12/84

Democratic Alternative in SA (10asa) cannot decide who the delegates to a confer-

said south africans should solve the country's problems in SA. (11A)

To negotiate or not to negotiate (11A)

NEGOTIATIONS — or a refusal to negotiate — are the topics expected to top the agenda at two important anti-apartheid conferences scheduled within the next 10 days in Johannesburg.

The conferences have been dubbed the most important in three decades of SA political history by activists and political observers

Next week's Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF) begins on December 9.

The conference has been referred to as being, potentially, the most important gathering of activists committed to a non-racial, democratic future since the Congress of the People held at Kliptown in June 1955.

The Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) congress beginning in Soweto today will officially launch the organisation

But it is also expected to follow closely

CHARLENE SMITH

some of the recommendations laid down at the PAC conference at the end of November in Harare

Among the PAC decisions taken with delegates from SA — was a chief decision that there was no basis for negotiations at this stage in SA

The CDF is likely to agree with the basic precept of the PAC and PAM that a negotiating climate is not yet present

But they are likely to move closer to a negotiating platform and a programme of action based on the August, Harare declaration drafted by the ANC and adopted by the Organisation of African Unity.

Delegates from both internal movements have made it clear that measures against apartheid will be intensified and not relaxed.

6/10/89 11/2/89

Justice ⁰¹¹¹ the ^{1/12/89} township way

Informal "People's Courts" are often used in Guguletu's Section Two to solve domestic problems. The complainant and defendant each give their side of the story. Afterwards, both parties are questioned and the issue is debated. Proceedings are controlled by a chairman and three assistants, with a clerk taking notes. Serious matters are referred to the police.

Argus reporter VUYO BAVUMA sat in on one of the hearings recently. This is his account of the proceedings...

AT FIRST, it did not seem anything out of the ordinary. Just a gathering of about 200 serious-looking people in a community hall in Guguletu.

Then a man stood and, in emphatic tones, announced: "Okay, residents. We are about to begin."

In front, a panel consisting of a chairman and four aides sat at a table. Alongside, a young woman busily scribbled notes.

The session kicked off with hymns followed by a short prayer.

Then, the chairman, reading from a torn piece of paper handed to him by one of his aides, said "Mama from NY 97 No 28, please come forward with your problem and bring your son as well."

Overwhelmed

A middle-aged, bespectacled woman nudged her way through the crowded, narrow rows of chairs. Also shuffling his way to the front was her son, who seemed overwhelmed by the occasion.

In a shaky voice, the woman greeted the "chairman and the house at large". Most responded

"Residents, this child (she pointed at him) likes to cause problems at home when he is drunk. In 1982, he stabbed one of his sisters. As a result, my husband and I asked him to move to single quarters because he was tormenting the family."

"For a while, there was peace in the house. However, this child returned home after his father died in 1986."

"Then," she said, "on Sunday night I was at work when I was told to phone home. I was told that this child, now in front of you, parents, had stabbed his elder brother in the arm."

"My neighbours saved my child, who was bleeding profusely. I now appeal to you residents to help me before this troublesome child of mine kills a person," the woman added.

Looking somewhat relieved, the woman began fielding ques-

tions from the floor. A flurry of hands, mostly from elderly people, went up.

One tall, clean-shaven old man asked: "What would you like the meeting to do?"

The woman said "I want this problem child to be expelled from my house. He must go and stay on his own so that my other children can stay in peace."

Then, it was the turn of the defendant. The tall, young man in his late 20s moved to the front reluctantly.

The man cleared his throat and assured the meeting that he did not dispute his mother's evidence. "I just want to explain something," he said.

On that day he had had a couple of drinks at a shebeen before going home, he said.

"I continued to drink with my brother's girlfriend at home. Later, my brother arrived and became jealous. He started arguing with me."

"We began fighting. I picked up a knife from the cupboard and, in a rage, stabbed him."

Danger to family

A woman said he had not even shown remorse about his actions and was a danger to his family.

After lengthy deliberations, the meeting resolved that the man should "immediately pack up his bags and leave his mother's house".

According to a committee member, officials from the Provincial Administration's Community Services branch and even social workers refer cases to the general meetings.

Thus do the wheels of justice grind in the townships where matters of this kind come up for consideration by the community as a whole.

Staw 1/12/89

'Independent' Africanist movement to be founded

By Patrick Laurence

Delegates from all over South Africa are expected to arrive in Johannesburg today for the formation at the weekend of the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) as the standard bearer of Africanism

A high point in the PAM's two-day founding conference will occur on Sunday at Nasrec with a videotaped message from Mr A P Mda, exiled veteran black nationalist and former president of the African National Congress Youth League.

Mr Mda (73) was a champion of Africanism or "pure" black nationalism during the 1950s.

The conference will meet on Saturday at the Ipelegeng Centre in Soweto where the president of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Mr Zephania Mothopeng, will deliver an address at a session open to the public.

INDEPENDENT

On Sunday, after electing an executive committee to head the PAM the night before, delegates will reassemble at Nasrec to hear Mr Mda's videotaped message, a second speech by Mr Mothopeng and an address by ANC stalwart Mr Jafta Mase-mola who was a prisoner until mid-October.

While the PAM will clearly espouse Africanism in the broad sense, the PAM interim committee and the PAC have stressed that it will be an independent organisation, not a front for the PAC.

It will, however, fall within the same ideological stream as the PAC, in the same way as the United Democratic Front, the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC all espouse the Freedom Charter.

The launching of the PAM will be vital to Africanist hopes that they can rally their sympathisers to offer a viable alternative to the "Charterist" forces which are now clearly in command of the centre stage

'Red-hot freedom fighter' honoured

NEARLY 1 000 people gave Rivonia trialist Mr Govan Mbeki a standing ovation as he was awarded an honorary doctorate at a special graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape.

The ovation turned to thunderous applause when Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, mounted the graduation rostrum on Wednesday night and read a tribute from her husband to Mbeki and UWC.

She read aloud her husband's letter with controlled emotion and said the doctorate "to the best of my husband's knowledge" was the first such honour bestowed on a "red-hot freedom fighter" by a South African university.

Referring to UWC, Mandela described the university as having great academic potential and said he recognised its efforts in working towards the establishment of a people's university in a non-racial society

A first

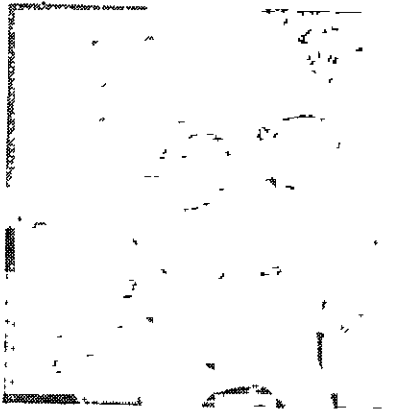
The honour in awarding Mbeki a doctorate had greatly heightened that esteem.

UWC chancellor Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, conferred the degree of Doctor Philosophiae on Mbeki, who is only eight months away from his 80th year. The award was the first made by a South African university on a senior member of the ANC national leadership.

Mbeki, who was freed last year after being imprisoned for 23 years, shared the graduation platform with distinguished neurosurgeon and medical scholar Professor Jacques Charl de Villiers, who was awarded an honorary Doctor Scientiae.

De Villiers, a former chairman of the UWC Council, steered UWC to legal autonomy when the Government transferred executive authority to the university's council.

In a brief speech before the capping ceremony, UWC Rector Professor Jakes



Mr Govan Mbeki, received honorary doctorate.

Gerwel described the awards to De Villiers and Mbeki as an historic occasion and said both graduands had been honoured, as much as anything else, for their opposition to apartheid.

They, like three previous graduands, had been selected because of their excellence in a particular field of endeavour and for having contributed to the broader social and political struggle to make South Africa a more just and humane society.

Mbeki, a former national chairman of the ANC, obtained a B A degree and a diploma in education at Fort Hare University and a B Econ and B Econ honours degree through UNISA.

He was editor of left-wing newspapers *New Age* and *Spark* until they were banned and was secretary of the high command of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe at the time of his arrest at Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, in 1963.

In 1978 the University of Amsterdam awarded Mbeki an honorary doctorate in absentia and established the Govan Mbeki Foundation while he was still in prison. In 1981 the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ) awarded him the Julius Fucik medal, named after an East European communist journalist who was brutally tortured and then murdered by the Nazis - Sapa

1/12/89
Sowetan

11A wmail 1-7/12/89.
TWO MAJOR AFRICANIST SUMMITS THIS WEEK ...

PAC summit only underlines kindred ties with rival ANC

JOHNSON MLAMBO, chairman of South Africa's outlawed Pan Africanist Congress, admonished his comrade and co-member of the PAC's central committee, forcing him to rephrase his question

The comrade had referred to Nelson Mandela invidiously; he had asked what "kind of political animal" the jailed leader of the rival African National Congress was

Mlambo's rebuke was typical of the man; delivered quietly, with a chuckle to ease tension, but firmly.

The incident occurred during last weekend's historic consultative conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, between top members of the PAC's central committee and 24 delegates "from home"; it was reminiscent of an earlier gesture from the aging PAC president, Zephania Mothopeng, after his release from jail a year ago.

Mothopeng called then for the release of Mandela and the longest serving PAC prisoner, Japhta Masemola

Mandela returned the compliment last month when he invited Masemola, who was released from prison with seven ANC stalwarts on October 15, to join him at his bungalow in Victor Verster Prison for talks about the future.

These events reflect the kindred ties between the PAC and the ANC. Pondering on the Harare conference, one is struck with the thought that bonds between the PAC and the ANC are, in several cases, fraternal in a biological as well as an ideological sense

Three of the men at the PAC Harare conference have close relatives in the ANC, linking them to it intimately and insolubly; it helps explain the feuding which co-exists with the generosity of spirit displayed by Mlambo and Mandela.

Gora Ebrahim, the PAC's secretary of foreign affairs, is the brother of Ebrahim Ebrahim, the ANC leader convicted of treason in January and jailed for 20 years

Dikgang Moseneke, a leading lawyer, is the elder brother of Tiego Moseneke, a key member of the United Democratic Front.

Bojane Jordan, the PAC's representative in Nigeria, is a cousin of Pallo Jordan, the ANC secretary for information

In a real sense the ideological dispute between the two

The PAC conference in Harare only underlines how close its general principles are to the rival ANC, despite 30 years of feuding



PAC president Zeph Mothopeng ... a nod to Nelson Mandela

"liberation movements" is akin to a family quarrel; they share a long history, the PAC having broken away from the ANC 30 years ago but laying claim to the ANC's long heritage before that.

The PAC sees itself as the inheritor and guardian of the Africanist tradition in the ANC, particularly as expressed in the 1948 Manifesto of the ANC Youth League and the 1949 Programme of Action.

It asserts that the ANC reneged on its African nationalist tradition when it embraced the "multi-racial" Freedom Charter of 1955

But today these differences seem less important to the outsider than the points of agreement.

The PAC insists that its definition of "African" is not biological but political, that non-Africans in the racial sense can qualify as Africans in the wider sense if they accept Africa and its peoples. Ebrahim, who is of Indian origin, is palpable proof of that.

The ANC, of course, opened its membership to South Africans of all races 20 years ago, in the 1980s it went a step further when it agreed that people of all races should be eligible for election to its national executive committee

Divergences in the policy on major issues such as land and political economy amount, on closer examination, to differences in emphasis rather than principle

Both organisations agree on the need for redistribution of land in favour of the dispossessed in a post-apartheid society; both attach importance to socialism as a creed and stand for universal adult suffrage in a non-racial South Africa.

Ideological convergence stands out even more clearly when it is remembered that Mandela, recently released Rivonia trialist Walter Sisulu and ANC president Oliver Tambo, were all members of the Africanist-inclined ANC Youth League.

Mlambo and his comrades offered another perspective; there was a "united front" between the PAC and ANC for three years after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. They noted, too, that relations were generally good in prison and that there was agreement on the need for unity.

Thus, one may be tempted to conclude that the chances of the two organisations joining hands, in, say, a patriotic front similar to the one between Zanu and Zapu in Zimbabwe are good.

But the conclusion would probably be premature.

The PAC appears to be too weak: it was crippled by inter-ethnic strife in the vital years immediately after the Soweto uprising of 1976, the ANC, in contrast, captured the attention of "the masses" through a sustained guerrilla campaign and prepared the way for large scale political mobilisation by its ancillaries.

There is no incentive for the ANC to seek a deal with the PAC while it is relatively weak. The ANC thus tends to stick to its standard line. The PAC is a prodigal son which must return to the fold.

But if the PAC can demonstrate that it is on the rise again, the ANC may be under pressure to change its attitude

For that reason alone, the launch, this weekend, of the PAC-aligned Pan Africanist Movement in South Africa is of critical importance. The PAC seems to think so, the agenda for its consultative conference in Harare included several closed door sessions between the PAC and the PAM interim committee

Masemola may disclose Mandela talks

THE recently released Africanist leader, Japhta Masemola, may disclose the content of his discussions with jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela when he addresses the launch of the Pan Africanist Movement this weekend.

PAM representative Benny Alexander said the movement — to be launched this weekend — will decide during a closed session whether Masemola should "make a public statement on his meeting with Mandela".

The Pan Africanist Congress leader met Mandela at Victor Verster Prison two weeks ago but the issues discussed during the three-hour meeting were not revealed.

The new movement, to be launched at the Soweto Ipekeng community centre tomorrow and the Nasrec showgrounds on Sunday, embraces organisations and individuals subscribing to Africanist principles, based on scientific socialism. They also view the South African system as one of settler colonialism.

PAC president Zeph Mothopeng will address the opening session on "Land and Liberty — the Struggle Continues".

"The spiritual father of mass strug-

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

gles" Ashby Peter "AP" Mda, a founder of the ANC Youth League and a leading Africanist, will travel from London to talk on the liberation struggle today and the strategies and tactics of mass struggle.

Alexander said 600 delegates, from affiliates of the movement as well as individuals, from around the country are expected to attend the launch where the organisation's structures are to be set up. These are expected to comprise six regions in the Cape, two in the Free State and seven in the Transvaal, said Alexander. "So-called homeland areas will form part of these regions."

Besides adopting a constitution, the agenda will comprise elections, a programme of action and the movement's position on current issues, such as the debate around "negotiations". A PAM document on negotiations may also be adopted.

PAM's position on negotiations is expected to be similar to the PAC blueprint discussed last weekend at the Harare conference, which was attended by PAM interim executive

members. However, whereas PAM will confine itself to addressing the vanguard of the struggle the exiled organisation dealt with both the masses and the international world, said Alexander.

"At the Harare conference, the PAC informed us that, as a tactic at international forums, they will put forward a position that they would regard the regime as serious when it unilaterally scrapped the Population Registration Act and the Land Act of 1913; removed the current tricameral constitution; scrapped Bantu education; and did away with the homeland system.

"Once the government has done this the PAC will be convinced the regime is willing to talk about one person one vote, the ownership of resources and the liberation and establishment of a democratic non-racial system"

Tomorrow PAM will also decide whether to attend the Conference for a Democratic Future next weekend, which aims to bring together organisations from different ideological camps. Alexander said, however, it was unlikely the movement would do so. "PAM believes it is a senior party in the political scenario and is offended that it has not been included on the CDF convening committee."

...ater of Law and
resident was talking
by took a bit
comfortable, but so
...d you if the State
...resident was talking
...out you in your
...esence. FW de Klerk,
... was using a Police
...ollege function this
...eek to announce a
...ajor curtailment of
...ecurity Force powers.
...ne Joint Management
...Centres would be
...scrapped, he said, and
...he expected a report from
...Vlok within days on
...allegations of police hit-
...squads.
Picture: ULLI MICHEL, Reuter

Holomisa at giant CDF conference

By GAVIN EVANS

TRANSKEI leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa is one of the guests expected to attend next weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future.

About 500 organisations have applied to attend the conference at Wits University. Keynote speakers are former African National Congress secretary-general Walter Sisulu and Azanian Peoples Organisation leader Jerry Mosala.

The anti-apartheid event will draw together 3 000 delegates, making it the largest and most representative conference of its kind since the 1955 Congress of the People which drew up the Freedom Charter.

Conference representative Lesly Dikeni said 500 delegates had been allocated to trade unions, 200 to religious organisa-

tions and 100 to international observers. About 400 other organisations have been invited or have applied.

Applications are considered on the basis of an acceptance of the conference's "unifying perspective" which stresses "one person one vote, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unconditional release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations, freedom of association, expression and the press and a living wage for all."

Organisations also have to agree to a declaration "to be associated in principle and deed with the oppressed and exploited", to be committed "to the destruction of all apartheid structures", the

"unification of our country" and the eradication of "oppression and exploitation".

The three main items on the conference agenda are negotiations, "the role of the international community in the struggle to end apartheid" and "a programme of united mass action to end apartheid".

The Organisation of African Unity's negotiations package and sanctions proposals are expected to be debated. Organisers are not expecting unanimity on either issue.

In addition to the unions and religious movements, other groups include political (25 organisations), youth (65), civic (64), business (36), student (32), rural (28), women (23), teachers and education (27), cultural (18) and unemployed (four).

11/11/89
1-7/10/89

ND FW BLOWS DOWN THE HOUSE PW BUILT

PAGE 7

small
1-21/89

The ANC puts its policy on ecology

The ANC gives its first statement on the environment. EDDIE KOCH reports

THE ANC this week outlined its concern about key ecological issues facing South Africa in a wide-ranging interview with the *Weekly Mail*. It is the exiled movement's first detailed statement on its policy regarding the environment.

"There is a growing awareness within the movement on important ecological issues and the need to counter with vigour any degradation of the environment," said Max Sisulu, head of the ANC's Department of Economics and Planning. "The ANC is in the process of formulating policy on the environment."

He said the ANC believed it was impossible to pursue a rational ecological protection policy under apartheid, because the system involved the manipulation of racial groups as well as natural resources.

"Widespread overgrazing, soil erosion and serious land degradation in the so-called homelands constitute the inevitable destructive consequences of apartheid," he said.

Sisulu's department, which is responsible for advising the ANC on ecological issues, prepared the following responses to questions by the *Weekly Mail*.

Air and water pollution

The ANC was deeply concerned about high levels of atmospheric pollution in South Africa's industrial areas as well as signs that some of the country's major rivers have been seriously affected by industrial toxins.

"The ANC will be guided by the principle of seeking appropriate means of introducing environmental management into industrial development so that technical innovations also address sources of pollution, prevention and control."

"Industry should look at alternative fuel-energy sources like solar energy to reduce the need to burn coal and other fossil fuels."

"The issue of air pollution in the black townships is rooted in apartheid and its corollary, black poverty, which creates conditions where black people have no option to escape pollution from domestic fuel."

Toxic waste
"The ANC respects the Basle Convention on the control of trans-boundary movement of hazardous waste signed by 106 states, including the EC, in 1989."

The news that the South African government intends to import and dump industrial toxins in the country comes as no surprise to the ANC.

"It is needless to reiterate that the planned facility will be dismantled with the rest of apartheid structures in a post-apartheid South Africa."

Nuclear power stations

"The ANC believes there is no need to use nuclear power to generate electricity in South Africa because alternative sources of energy exist in huge coal deposits (which can be used with the correct technology) and abundant solar energy."

"These alternative sources have enormous potential in South Africa and fit the economic structure. What is needed is to divert the tremendous human and financial resources devoted to research on nuclear technology to research aimed at exploiting coal and solar energy."

Nuclear weapons

"The ANC has stated that it is the military uses of nuclear power that is topmost on the agenda of the regime. Eskom's advanced plans for a second nuclear facility in the Western Cape are, therefore, in place in this respect."

"South Africa is today a leading exponent of nuclear weapons; it has accumulated tremendous expertise and technology for nuclear enrichment; there is a growing capacity in South Africa to develop nuclear capacity warheads; to develop nuclear power without outside support it has trained an 'army' of highly trained personnel in nuclear reactor technology which is only a short step away from nuclear weapons technology."

"South Africa has carefully avoided the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which would require it to dismantle any nuclear weapons in its possession and clear facilities for inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency."

"South Africa's nuclear research is a flagrant violation of the declared policy of African nations, endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly, to respect Africa as a nuclear-free zone."

Wildlife conservation
"ANC policy will emphasise state assistance to the communities involved in the management of wildlife resources, particularly in rural areas, on a sustainable basis."

"The ANC supports the policy approach of some of the free Southern African governments which advocate full community participation in the management of wildlife resources and in the economic benefits flowing from this resource."

"If wildlife is perceived as an asset by the communities where it exists, they will take it upon themselves to protect it and not be party to poaching and smuggling."

"A ban on trade in ivory and rhino horn will not stop poaching. A positive approach to protect these animals is to emphasise public participation in the management and rational utilisation of their products."



Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, right, may look a bit uncomfortable, but so would you if the State President was talking about you in your presence. FW de Klerk, left, was using a Police College function this week to announce a major curtailment of Security Force powers. The Joint Management Centres would be scrapped, he said, and he expected a report from Vlok within days on allegations of police hit-squads.

Picture: ULLI MICHEL, Reuter

Holomisa at giant CDF conference

By GAVIN EVANS

TRANSKEI leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa is one of the guests expected to attend next weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future.

About 500 organisations have applied to attend the conference at Wits University. Keynote speakers are former African National Congress secretary-general Walter Sisulu and Azanian Peoples Organisation leader Jerry Mosala.

The anti-apartheid event will draw together 3 000 delegates, making it the largest and most representative conference of its kind since the 1955 Congress of the People which drew up the Freedom Charter.

Conference representative Lesly Dikeni said 500 delegates had been allocated to trade unions, 200 to religious organisa-

tions and 100 to international observers. About 400 other organisations have been invited or have applied.

Applications are considered on the basis of an acceptance of the conference's "unifying perspective" which stresses one person one vote, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the unconditional release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations, freedom of association, expression and the press and a living wage for all.

Organisations also have to agree to a declaration "to be associated in principle and deed with the oppressed and exploited", to be committed "to the destruction of all apartheid structures", the

"unification of our country" and the eradication of "oppression and exploitation".

The three main items on the conference agenda are negotiations, "the role of the international community in the struggle to end apartheid" and "a programme of united mass action to end apartheid".

The Organisation of African Unity's negotiations package and sanctions proposals are expected to be debated. Organisers are not expecting unanimity on either issue.

In addition to the unions and religious movements, other groups include political (25 organisations), youth (65), civic (64), business (36), student (32), rural (28), women (23), teachers and education (27), cultural (18) and unemployed (four).

Webster killing: Ex-cop is held

FURTHER arrests are expected after police confirmed yesterday the detention of a former drug squad police sergeant in connection with the assassinations of Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski and Wits University lecturer Dr David Webster.

The recent arrest of the 29-year-old suspect who already has two murder, one attempted murder and three theft convictions brings to two the number of men being held in connection with Mr

SOWETAN REPORTER

Lubowski's murder.

Police have already said the two assassinations which led to allegations of 'hit squad' killings were similar. Both victims were gunned down outside their homes by killers in cars.

The possibility of further arrests is not excluded, said a statement issued by the SAP Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria.

A Namibian police spokesman said the status

of Irishman Mr Donald Acheson (51), also linked to Mr Lubowski's killing, was "unchanged" and was still in detention.

The latest suspect, a former West Rand drug squad detective, is being held in Johannesburg in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He has apparently not yet appeared in court and can be held indefinitely under Section 29.

His name is known to the press but police have requested that he not be

• To page 2

1/18/89

Sowetan

(Signature)

1/A

P.T.O.

Row over royalties

Sowetan 1/2/89

11A

11A



Mzwakhe Mbuli recites one of his poems.

MZWAKHE Mbuli, dubbed "the people's poet" by his fans, is involved in a dispute with Shifty Records over royalties from sales of his recordings.

Mbuli, who has gained local and international recognition through his recitals of revolutionary poems to rhythms of drum beats and other musical instruments, alleges the company has not paid him for his recordings nor informed him about sales of his albums.

Shifty disputes Mbuli's claims saying all money due to him has been paid. A statement released by the company said Mbuli had received all his overseas and local royalties from the first album, *Change Is Pain*.

Mbuli's recordings are *Change Is Pain* and *Umbroken Spirit* which were recorded and released by Shifty.

"I have not received royalty statements or payments pertaining to the albums since they were released," said Mbuli.

Mbuli also demands the company return master tapes of the two albums and terminate the publishing contract he entered with them.

BY KENOSI MODISANE

The company has said it would only correspond with Mbuli next March concerning the second album, *Umbroken Spirit*, which was released in July.

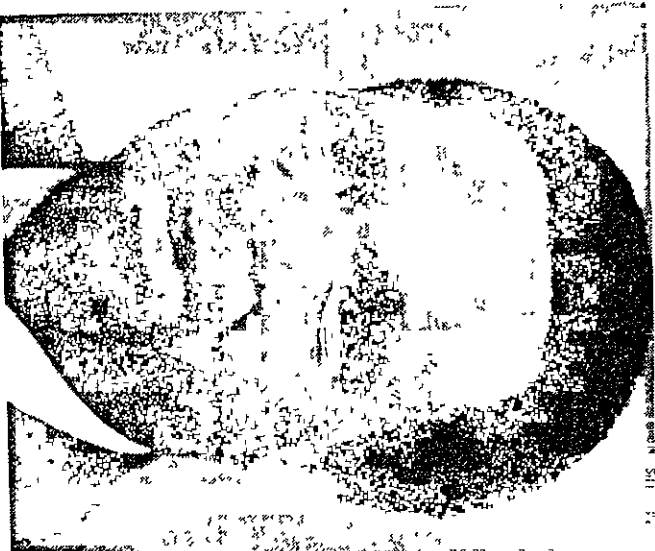
Mr Mark Bennet of Shifty Records said his company was not in a position to discuss the matter regarding the second album because its royalties would be paid out next March.

"Mbuli might as well forget about the master tapes because they were recorded and paid for by Shifty and therefore are owned by us," said Bennet.

When asked to produce proof of payments made to Mbuli, Bennet said he could not discuss his company's financial issues in the Press. He, however, promised to prepare a financial statement to prove his company's innocence regarding the claims

The two sides of Enos Mabuza

11/12/80
Soweto



Enos Mabuza.

ENOS Mabuza, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, occupies an unusual position in South Africa's political line-up.

He heads a homeland government, which should be anathema to the African National Congress. In 1986 he held apparently constructive discussions with the ANC in Lusaka. He still heads a homeland government.

He believes the ANC is the primary black political force in South Africa, but he also believes other black political organisations should take part in constitutional negotiations.

Rhetoric

These apparently contradictory positions possibly place Mabuza as close as anyone to that point where the arcs of opposing political rhetoric intersect to provide practical as opposed to ideological answers.

On the future of the homelands, for instance, he says they should be dismantled as ethnic political entities. But they could well be retained as

participant

"I don't see myself as a participant, though I would attend if asked and I were convinced that I could play a role."

He says the Government cannot afford to ignore the ANC, which he sees as the primary black

grouping

"They are not the only one but they are without doubt the main political actor."

"There are other groups but they will be marginalised, some neutralised, by the unbanning of the ANC. This is my

firm conviction"

He sees the object of political negotiations as the establishment of a just political and economic order in which a Bill of Rights protects individuals rather than groups. The form of government - federal or unitary -

is less important than that it should come about as the result of negotiations and it should be democratic.

On the time span for constitutional change Mabuza is characteristically pragmatic - no instant solutions

in a post-apartheid South Africa, as the most effective way of bringing services to particular communities (His government serves a million ethnic Swazis wedged between Swaziland and Mozambique)

He expresses cautious optimism following the De Klerk Government's release of political prisoners and its flexible attitude toward public marches and rallies by the extra-parliamentary opposition

But the Government still has to take the giant leap of unbanning political organisations such as the ANC, releasing Nelson Mandela and arranging negotiations.

"It is a race against time. There is a need for more more action and fewer words."

Mabuza says his concern is to see the different parties in South Africa sit down together to negotiate. He envisages this including minority parties, white as well as black.

He does not regard himself as a facilitator of talks or necessarily a par-

Release of Mandela will be on agenda

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

CM. Times 2/12/89

THE release of Mr Nelson Mandela is on the agenda of a special cabinet meeting in the Transvaal scheduled for Monday and Tuesday.

The cabinet will also hold its usual weekly meeting in Pretoria on Wednesday, the State President's office said yesterday in a statement.

It said that the main aim of the special working meeting, the second since Mr F W de Klerk became president in September, was to plan the implementation of the government's policy initiatives.

No statement would be released after the meeting, it added.

However, the cabinet will undoubtedly discuss the government's reform programme, particularly in regard to the phasing out of the Separate Amenities Act, reports of fears of incidents on open beaches during the holiday period and the growing pressure for the abolition of the Group Areas Act.

The government's strategies on negotiations are likely to be discussed in view of the meetings held with homeland leaders and others.

A core issue in the attempt to begin talks about talks before a negotiation structure is established, is the release of Mr Mandela, a major precondition for all black groups.

The scrapping of the media regulations, and possibly the state of emergency itself, is also likely to be discussed.

The government is paying considerable attention to economic issues, particularly in regard to reducing the state's share of the economy, privatising, deregulation and reductions in the defence budget, as well as cutting down the civil service and reducing costs.

Its strategies on these economic issues will almost certainly be on the agenda next week.

Another issue the government will be paying attention to is the McNally Commission's report on alleged police hit squads and a statement on this issue is expected from Mr De Klerk, probably only after the normal cabinet meeting on Wednesday.

Reception marks end of Paris indaba

PARIS — The largest-ever gathering between the ANC and a cross-section of some 85 South Africans drew to a close last night with a final reception at the French Foreign Ministry hosted by Foreign Minister Mr Roland Dumas

Mr Dumas was the fourth senior French government figure in almost as many days to have received the delegates, underlining what some observers see as a mini diplomatic coup by the French

Earlier in the week, the group met with Prime Minister Mr Michel Rocard, National Assembly chairman Mr Laurent Fabius and Minister of Culture Mr Jack Lang

France has effectively climbed on board the vehicle of reform in South Africa with the successful conclusion of what has already been dubbed Dakar II and has further enhanced its image in the eyes of black South Africans

A final press conference was scheduled for today, a France-Libertes spokeswoman said, with most of the delegates scheduled to leave at the weekend

114
CMT TMS 2 (12/87)

There's no turning back

2/12/89
From PETER SULLIVAN
Weekend Argus
Special Correspondent

PARIS — A week of debate here has significantly altered the future of South Africa — it is as simple as that

On two major points, the African National Congress (ANC) on one hand and Cosatu on the other, changed attitudes as irrevocably as the collapse of the Berlin Wall

Neither is easy to explain, both contain political complexity. Yet they represent a major shift in policy, in line with shifts taking place around Eastern Europe almost daily

But these two significant issues represent only a drop in the ocean of inter-reaction that took place in a week of dining together, talking together, debating, visiting French dignitaries and the inevitable late night sessions of intense discussion over bottles of red wine which saw former adversaries become firm friends

It is almost impossible to over-emphasise the rapport established between opposing economists, for instance, or the friendship that grew between the Chairman of JCI, Mr Murray Hofmeyr and the ANC's rising star, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

They drank together, talked together into the wee hours and laughed together at the

silly jokes which always help to alleviate the tension of political cut and thrust

Attempting to adequately describe a week of speeches and hundreds of comments by about 90 people is impossible. Only glimmers of what really happened can be offered

Who was here? The list is long, but it includes all the ANC's top brass from Lusaka except for its President Oliver Tambo, ill in hospital. Big business was represented, a large number of Press people were delegates, not there to report but to listen and take part in debates, and perhaps the most significant other group was the Mass Democratic Movement/United Democratic Front/Cosatu alliance, many of whom were meeting the ANC for the first time

Nobody can doubt that this alliance and the ANC have similar political ideals, but it was the small differences which emerged that fascinated

Who made the best speeches? It is difficult to say, but most delegates would single out Cosatu economist Mr Alec Irwin for making the most dramatic, and ANC constitutional researcher Mr Albe Sachs for his brief comment on human rights which made even the normally intransigent editor of Business Day, Mr Ken Owen, ameliorate his position

University of the Western Cape econo-

most Professor Pieter de Klerk put his finger on the main economic debate when he said it was how to get the mix of a mixed economy right. And the biggest gains of the conference were on the economics front, for a full day was spent in deep discussion of economic plans and philosophy

This is when Mr Alec Irwin made his dramatic input, declaring that old style command economy ideas had to change as they had shown they could not market their goods effectively

Put in simple language, what he finally said means that Cosatu has abandoned a strict economic view and is more flexible, agreeing that some of the free market economic truths are more important than old political beliefs which essentially nationalised all business

Yet he remained extremely critical of present government policy. He said the country had to get a coherent and useful science and technology programme, as it did not help if every university did its own thing, a decent manpower programme so that artisans were not trained in modules that removed some essential skills, find an environment policy that did not rape the natural resources, change the education policy, get a tourist policy that was coherent and so on, all of which should be done democratically with worker input

What the Paris meeting showed was that the talks held with the ANC have changed its positions, and that the ANC is willing to listen to debate and values the input from people as diverse as big business, university principals, authors like André Brink and poets like Antjie Krog, editors, economists, trade unionists and politicians like Wynand Malan of the Democratic Party — the only MP who was a delegate

The conference was organised by Idasa, and executive-director Dr Alex Boraine said it had been wonderful to bring together people like Cosatu's Jay Naidoo, the UDF's Murphy Morobe, Trevor Manuel, Cheryl Carolus of the Western Cape and Janet Cherry of the Eastern Cape with the ANC, business, editors, academics and writers.

"Idasa's aim is to make it possible for South Africans over a broad spectrum to get together and discuss tough issues to prepare for a new South Africa and this is what we achieved," he said

All in all it was a remarkable meeting of brains and political planners

If people can now meet the ANC in Paris without government panic, it cannot be long before President De Klerk unbans the organisation and the ANC ceases its violent struggle

it's over to FW and the ANC as they take a hard look at the future

9900 PIERA QUIT TOPPERS HIT THE

STimes 2/1/2/84

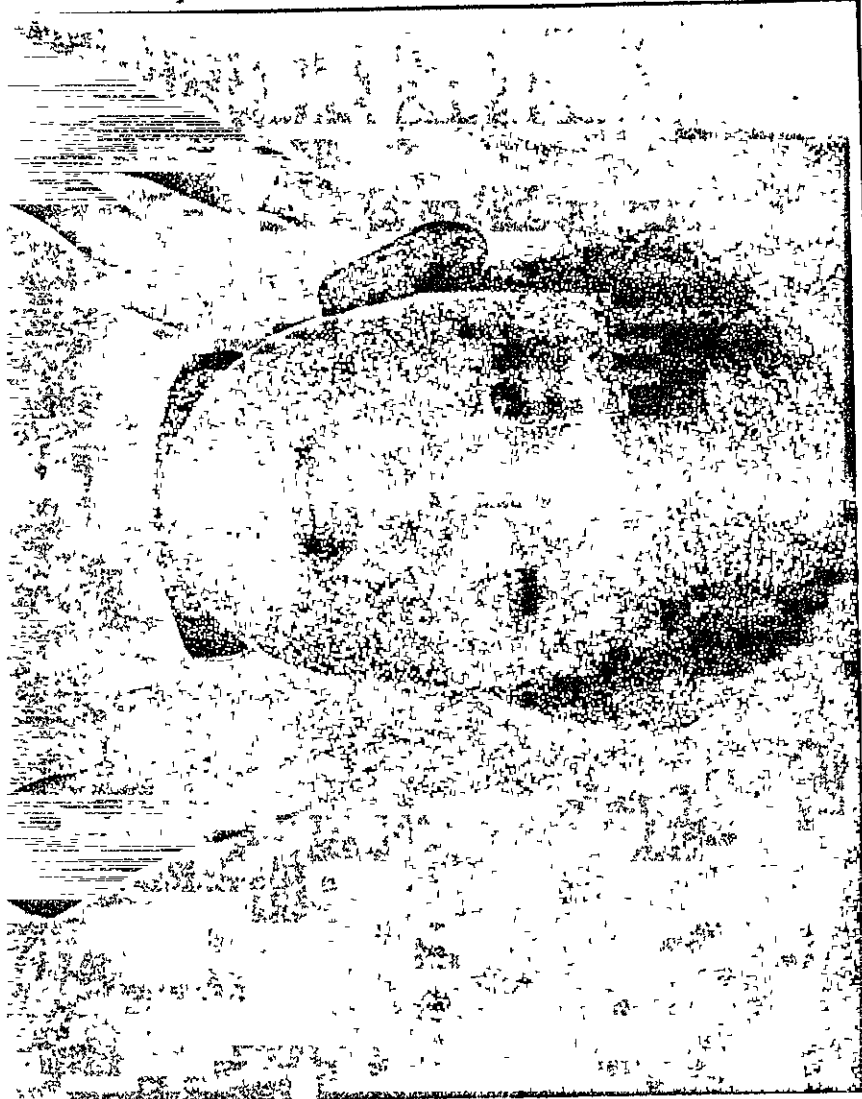


PRESIDENT DE KLERK

van HEERDEN

RICA enters a and a new with its long-problers tanta-ser to solution. first weeks of 1990, future shape and expected to become with the Government take a hard and at their agendas. are being pinned on de Klerk when he ent on February 2 — a ill be the most impor- reer

Monday, the recently n ANC leaders are of for the first time in 25 if exited colleagues in s say discussions will movement's response to nment moves towards



What I

want for

future,

by TV

angel

Pieter

BY BOETI ESHAK

SINGING in the changes for the 90s ... that's young choirboy Pieter Engelbrecht, 11, who has touched the hearts of millions of TV viewers every night this holiday season. Says the youngster with the angelic face, "I hope South Africans will be like me 10

Campy on

having

a party!

BUT NOT IN NATAL

WARN KILLJOY GOPPS

NEVER on a Sunday will be kicked into touch tonight as South Africa dances its way into the new decade.

Despite antiquated anti-liquor and revelling laws governing Sundays, most of the nation has been given carte blanche to carry on celebrating

Public-spirited policemen will be turning a cautious, but blind eye to high-spirited New Year festivities

But Natal is definitely NOT the place to be if you want to enjoy yourself on the town tonight. The long arm of the law there says it will be out in force.

So as champagne corks pop, streamers fly and party-goers dance in downtown Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town at the stroke of midnight, Durban's new decade will be high and dry and boogie-free on the streets.

Hundreds of extra cops have been called in to patrol the Golden Mile tonight as Natal police have decided to stick to the letter of the law ... come hell or New Year.

The Liquor Act says that all bars and bottle stores must close on Sundays. Restaurants may serve alcohol until 9pm and nightclubs until 11 30pm, but only with a proper meal.

Drinking in public places is never allowed and the ancient Defamation of the Sabbath Act, introduced in the Transvaal in President Kruger's day, still means that dancing on a Sunday is illegal.

Said Durban's chief of the Narcotics and Alcohol Bureau, Major Vlaggies Roux "My men will be out keeping a careful watch on liquor establishments and we will not hesitate to prosecute establishments contravening the Act."

Condemn

He also warned that stern action would be taken against revellers drinking in the streets or on the beaches.

Twenty people were arrested for liquor-related offences on Durban's beachfront over the Christmas weekend

Captain Coert Marals, police spokesman for Natal, said "Obviously we expect people to enjoy themselves but not by breaking the law"

Police in Durban will also be monitoring a rock concert on the Village Green starring Lucky Dube for signs of drinking and dancing

The chairman of the Federated Hotel and Liquor Association of South Africa in Durban, Mr Alan Gooderson, said. "Anyone would think we were still living in the Dark Ages here the way the police behave

"We have been trying for years to bring in free trading and licensing laws on Sundays in line with the rest of the Western world but to no avail

"Police must obviously act if there are complaints or

□ To Page 2

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

The b of Fra



GAT

SO D

Filter

3/12/89

(circled scribble)

11A

THEY are young. They are energetic. Politically, they are street-wise. And they are angry.

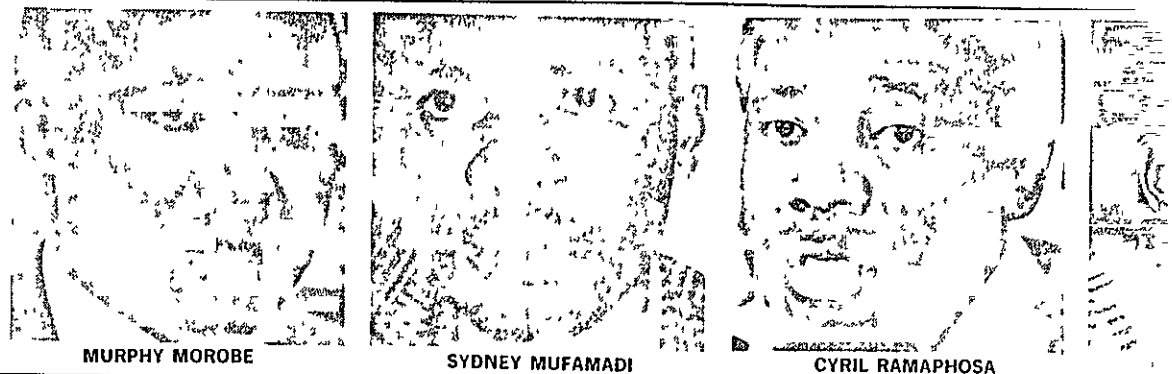
They are the new generation of black political leaders to emerge as South Africa moves into the '90s

An astute group of charismatic young men, they are schooled in both the politics of protest and the politics of negotiation

They learnt the former through prolonged immersion in organisations driven underground by the state of emergency, in street committees and in "the mobilisation of the masses"

Their negotiation skills were picked up through involvement with the trade union movement which, in the '80s, developed into a training ground for the day — which may not be that far off — when the real bargaining about South Africa's future will take place

THE YOUTH



MURPHY MOROBE

SYDNEY MUFAMADI

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

New face of b

LEGACY

Next Saturday the new leadership will display its political muscle when more than 2 500 representatives of anti-apartheid organisations meet at Wits University for the Conference for a Democratic Future

In many respects they have much in common with their contemporaries in the De Klerk generation in white politics — they are largely unencumbered by the legacy of a discredited past

After all, the differences between Mr FW de Klerk and his predecessor are not confined to style alone. The new NP leader came of age politically after apartheid had been instituted and can disclaim responsibility for past fixations about separatism

At 53, Mr De Klerk is Tomorrow's Man and knows he will have to live with the results of his policies. Equally important, he is intelligent enough to realise that the old prediction that minority rule could not last forever will

probably come true in his political lifetime

But as the *ancien régime* in the Union Buildings makes way for the new, parallel events are taking place in black politics. The heroes of the defiance campaigns in the '50s and the initiators of the armed struggle in the '60s are also ageing — and there is no lack of capable leaders to succeed them

Until his illness, Mr OLIVER TAMBO's position inside the ANC was unassailable. But real details of his health are shrouded in exactly the same mystery as were President P W Botha's highly publicised walks on the beach at the Wilderness to prove his fitness

At 72, Mr Tambo may well choose at next year's consultative conference of the ANC to leave day-to-day running of a fast-growing organisa-

tion to younger men

But like its old foe, the National Party, the ANC is in its structures and organisation a very conservative movement. No one rises to the top if he has not earned his spurs in a labyrinthine network of committees and departments

The odds on favourite to succeed Mr Tambo is another veteran of the 50s, Mr ALFRED NZO. But he can, at most, be a transition figure

Although he has been secretary general of the ANC since 1969, 64 year old Mr Nzo is something of an unknown quantity. A former Johannesburg health inspector, he was the brain behind the Alexandra bus boycotts in the '50s

After his arrest and detention for more than seven months in 1963 he left the country and served as ANC

representative in Egypt and India before becoming secretary-general

Mr Nzo is one of a troika of veterans said to be the mainstay of the ANC's organisation. The others are treasurer general Mr THOMAS NKOBI 67, and his deputy, Mr DAN TLOOME

But there is a younger generation waiting in the wings — the most important being Umkhonto we Sizwe's commander, Mr CHRIS HANI, the newly appointed head of the international department Mr THABO MBEKI, and his successor as director of information and publicity, Mr PALLO JORDAN

The so-called "power struggle" between Mr Hani and Mr Mbeki — with the former representing the so-called "hardliners" and the latter the "moderates" — is often blown up out of all proportion

on all South African delegations that conferred with the movement

Other ANC members becoming increasingly influential include national executive member Mr JACOB ZUMA. Mr Mbeki's deputy Mr STANLEY MABUSELA, the head of the Women's League, GERTRUDE SHOPE and the ANC's linkman with internal political organisations, Mr STEVE TSHWETE

But where do Mr NELSON MANDELA 71, and his seven recently released Rivonia comrades fit in? In a sense those who (like Mr Cyril Ramaphosa) say he is "just another ANC leader" are correct — but it is also true that his international fame has elevated him into the most visible symbol of the struggle for black political rights. The ANC would be mad not

to use

and

once he

for V

Mr W

is in the

good

comrade

arrested

in 1963

for 14

years

ANC: GENERATIONS APART



OLD GUARD . veterans Walter Sisulu, Alfred Nzo and Oliver Tambo



NEW GUARD . Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete and Thozamile Botha

CULTURED

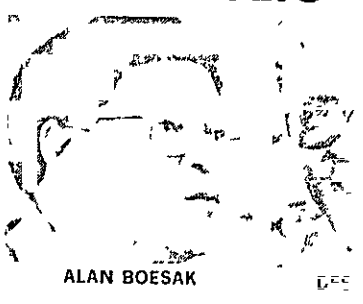
For one, at 47 years of age, they know that they are mere spring chickens in ANC terms and that they will have to bide their time before making a bid for the leadership. And contrary to speculation, the personal relations between the two are cordial

Born only 10 days apart, they went to school together at Lovedale in the Transkei and later rose through the ranks of both the ANC and Umkhonto together

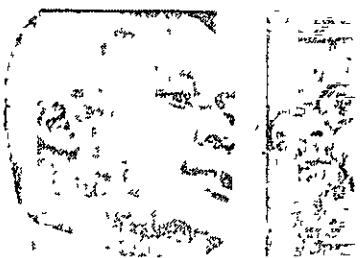
Belying his image as the "main terrorist", Mr Hani is a highly cultured man with a degree in Latin. And Mr Mbeki, the ANC's "super-diplomat" holds an MA in Economics from the University of Sussex

What distinguishes the ANC from most other liberation organisations in Africa is the sound quality of its second tier leadership. Mr Jordan, who also heads the ANC's research department, has made a lasting impres-

THE CHURCH



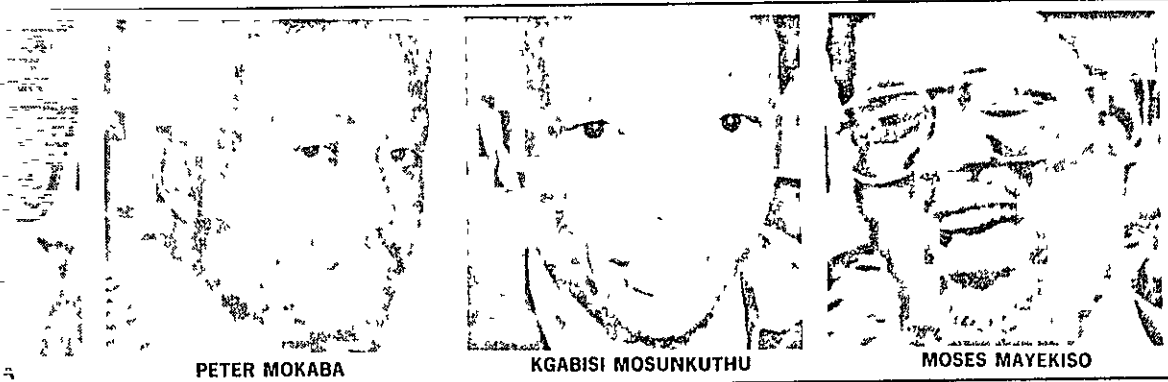
ALAN BOESAK



FRANK CHIKANE

FATHER

JING ONIES



PETER MOKABA

KGABISI MOSUNKUTHU

MOSES MAYEKISO

black politics

NEWS ANALYSIS BY DRIES VAN HEERDEN

mean del...
ed with
be-
influ-
execu-
JACOB
's deputy
RUSELA,
Women S
KRUDE
NC's link-
political
STEVE

NELSON
his seven
Rivonia
In a sense
Cyril Ra-
is "just an-
are cor-
true that
fame has
the most
struggle
rights
be mad not

to use his undoubted skills and reputation to the fullest once he is released from Victor Verster prison
Mr WALTER SISULU, 77, is in the same league as his good friend and long time comrade By the time he was arrested at Lilliesleaf Farm in 1963 he had already been secretary-general of the ANC for 14 years Another "heavy-weight" of the old generation is Mr GOVAN MBEKI, 79, elected chairman of the ANC in 1956
The release of the seven and their later public appearances have again proved the unworkability of moves, often contemplated in government circles, to split the ANC — be it between communists and nationalists, older and younger leaders, or internals and externals
Mr Sisulu's recent statements prove that the glue

will not easily come unstuck Unity has been one of the ANC's strongest features
But what about the "communist connection"? The fact is that no one in the organisation has ever hidden the symbiotic relationship between ANC and SA Communist Party The communists are not a "secret pressure group" bidding their time to perform a coup inside the ANC
SACP boss Mr JOE SLOVO is a highly valued — and highly visible — member of the ANC executive
With the bulk of the ANC leadership either in exile or behind bars, a few stalwarts of the '50s kept the organisation going However they, too, were often imprisoned or banned for lengthy periods The most notable are Mr HARRY GWALA and Mr OSCAR MPETHA — both now suffering ill health
The uprisings of the late '70s and mid '80s produced their own crop of internal leaders Some, like the charismatic Eastern Cape trade unionist, Mr THOZAMILE BOTHA, fled the country He is now considered to be one of the "rising stars" in the ANC

the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 Others in this category include World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr ALLAN BOESAK, 44, SA Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev FRANK CHIKANE, 38 and SA Catholic Bishops' Conference general secretary Father SMANGALISO MKHATSWHA, 50
Although important internal political leaders now operate "above ground" again, the "era of the clergy" is not necessarily closed and they will continue to be influential
However, recent events have moved a new generation of leadership on to cen-

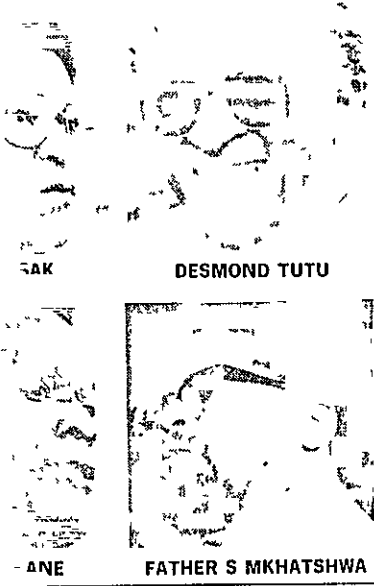
tre stage — the most important figures being Mr MURPHY MOROBE, Mr CYRIL RAMAPHOSA and Mr SYDNEY MUFAMADI
Mr Morobe, 33, shot to prominence during the 1976 Soweto uprising when he served as deputy chairman of the Soweto Students' Representative Council He was subsequently detained, served three years on Robben Island and on his release became active in the Congress of SA Students and the General and Allied Workers' Union
He cut his teeth as publicity secretary for both the UDF and the MDM and has now become one of the most

prominent players in the field
Mr Ramaphosa 37, graduated with a law degree from the University of the North where he was active in the SA Students Organisation In the '70s he was detained for lengthy periods for his political activity In 1984 he became the first secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers and later was the driving force behind the establishment of the umbrella trade-union body, Cosatu
Mr Mufamadi, 30, was elected general secretary of Gawu in 1982 and assistant general secretary of Cosatu in 1985

SPECTRUM

Where the older generation rose to prominence through the defiance campaigns and the armed struggle, many of the new leaders earned their spurs in the trade union movement
Other important figures are Mr CHRIS DLAMINI, 45, Cosatu vice president Mr MOSES MAYEKISO, 41, of the Alexandra Action Committee, and Mr JAY NAI-DOO, 34, the secretary-general of Cosatu
Said to be rising stars are Mr KGABISI MOSUNKUTHU, the president of the postal workers' union, Potwa, and Mr PETER MOKABA, leader of the now restricted SA Youth Congress
Saturday's conference is expected to be the biggest anti-apartheid gathering ever Delegates from a broad spectrum of organisations are expected to attend
Legally, the ANC will not be present But last week a strong delegation of the MDM — including Mr Morobe and Mr Ramaphosa — spent many hours in discussion with the leadership in Lusaka and it can be expected that the decisions taken on Saturday will not surprise the ANC's external wing

CHURCH LINK



DESMOND TUTU

FATHER S MKHATSWA

IMPUNITY

Others like former UDF general secretary, Mr POPO MOLEFE, 37 and UDF spokesman Mr "TERROR" LEKOTA, 41, are in jail but still considered to be very important figures in black politics
In the 10 years from 1976 to 1986 the internal leadership of black political movements was decimated through government action Into this breach stepped church leaders, who because of their positions of influence in the community and the international world, could operate with a greater degree of impunity
The most visible is obviously Archbishop DESMOND TUTU, 58, who was awarded

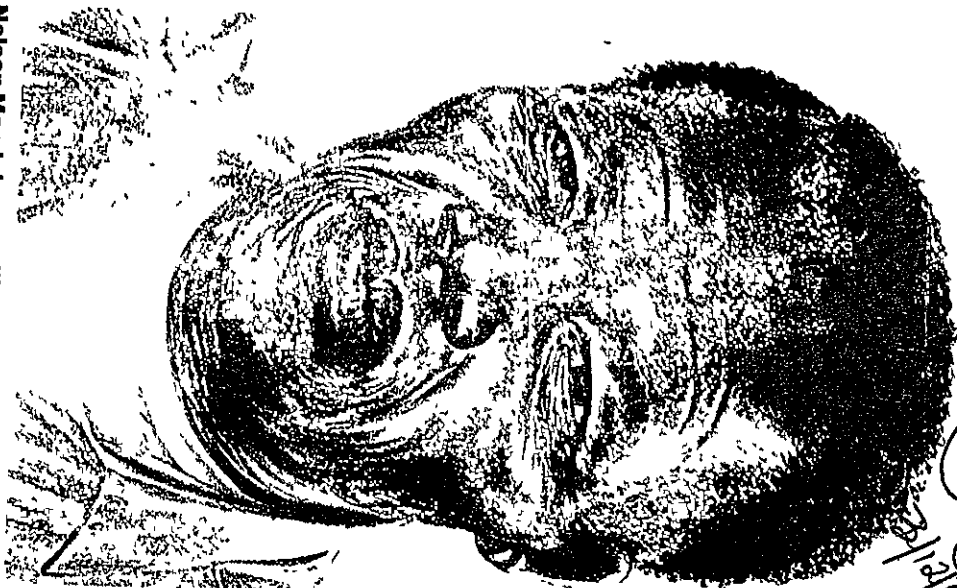
Upstaged PAC eyes the comeback trail

RACKED by decades of weak leadership and internal dissension, the Pan Africanist Congress is now attempting a spirited comeback
At one stage, in the '70s, it seemed as if the PAC was vying with the ANC for pre-eminence among black liberation groups
Steve Biko's star was on the rise and the philosophy of Black Consciousness was almost conventional wisdom in the townships
But the 1976 uprising changed all that Large numbers of students fled the country and tried to link up with the PAC in exile
But the movement was in complete disarray and most would-be supporters eventually found a political haven in the ANC
The PAC's woes started when its charismatic founder, Robert Sobukwe, was arrested and jailed on Robben Island in the 60s
A struggle between Potlako Leballo and David Sib

eko ensued The movement has not fully recovered from this clash
Officially, the movement is headed by another 'island' veteran, Zeph Mothopeng, 76, who is operating from inside South Africa, but the day-to-day running is left to Johnson Mlambo, 49, based in Dar es Salaam
Breakaway
Mr Mlambo, who studied for an economics degree through London University while on Robben Island, is also commander in chief of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army
Obviously recognising that it has been upstaged by the ANC and its internal ally — the MDM — the PAC has, of late tried to revive an internal front
The result is the recently established Pan Africanist Movement
Saturday's Conference for

a Democratic Future will cut across the ideological differences which have separated the ANC and PAC since the major breakaway by Mr Sobukwe in the late 50s
Representatives of PAM have been included in the organising committees, which indicates that the hatchets have, at least temporarily been buried
Conspicuous by its absence will be the third major grouping in black politics — Inkatha Led by KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, 61, it is not an organisation to be sneezed at
Although he has cut away from the ANC through his involvement in 'homeland politics', Dr Buthelezi is said to enjoy cordial relations with Mr Nelson Mandela
Other important figures in Inkatha are its secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, 45 and its chairman for social and cultural affairs, Frank Mdlalose

PAC, ANC say unity not likely



Nelson Mandela . . . still behind bars.

THE recent meeting between jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and recently released PAC veteran Japha Masemola at Victor Verster Prison has renewed hopes of unity between the rival movements

But the exiled leadership of both organisations say that after a 30-year rift, the prospects of unity seem remote

The PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959, saying the ANC's Freedom Charter of 1955 offered too many concessions to whites and deprived blacks of their full rights

"Unity with the ANC is difficult because our ideology, which represents the people's sentiments, is too strong for them to accept," PAC information director Waters Tobot told reporters at the organisation's headquarters in Dar es Salaam

Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, the PAC's secretary for external affairs, was more blunt "There is no point in uniting just for the sake of unity"

The PAC views whites with suspicion because of their privileged status, but treats Asian, Chinese and coloureds the same as blacks because they are also discriminated against

A colleague said "We do not reject whites as members of the PAC, but we reject the concept of these whites joining us only to assume positions of power and influence

Like any other person, they must start from the bottom"

He admits that unity with the ANC, which makes no racial distinction between its members, might come one day

But he said it would have to be on equal terms, the PAC would not simply rejoin the ANC like a prodigal son returning to the fold

The ANC says it is prepared to negotiate, but only if the government first ends a national state of emergency, frees all political prisoners and detainees and unbans political groups opposed to apartheid

The ANC, which is based in Lusaka, dismisses the PAC as an inconsequential movement which lacks support within South Africa

"The question of unity comes nowhere near our agenda," said ANC chief representative in East Africa Manala Manzini

"We have always been willing to accept individual members of the PAC wishing to join the ANC. Many have come and many others are still knocking on our door"

Ebrahim admitted that the PAC has a lower international profile than the ANC, but he said "The PAC never said it was waging an armed propaganda war"

"The struggle is not in foreign capitals but inside the country and we insist that it remains so" - Sapa-Reuter



Japha Masemola . . . recently released.

There IS a light

at the end of the

sanctions tunnel

John Chettle
former director for North Africa Foundation, sees encouraging signs of improved relations between the United States and SA

some sanctions would be the best sort of recognition — there may be a backlash which brings reform to a halt

It was, in fact, the absence of any domestic or overseas recognition of the reforms Sir Edgar Whitehead introduced in Rhodesia in the early '60s which helped to bring the Rhodesian Front to power, and led to Mr Ian Smith, UDI and civil war

The question is whether there is a Lech Walesa among those black leaders who is statesman enough to recognise the fears among whites as well as the need to give leadership to blacks. One thing such a statesman needs to do is to give that guidance to Congress and the administration

What can South Africa expect? Not the elimination of all sanctions, certainly. But there are some sanctions that are likely to be removed

Battle

The US may well also eliminate financial sanctions including the requirement that the US vote against any South African application for financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund

The criteria for removing that restriction are less demanding than for removing sanctions under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act

None of this means that this is going to be an easy battle, or that South Africa can sit back and wait for sanctions to fall like ripe fruit. South Africans are going to have to shake the tree and be there to catch the fruit, but that the fruit is there to be caught and that it can be shaken loose there can be very little doubt

Cohen's belief that the reforms would take place — a belief, as he made clear in a subsequent interview, that was based on assurances given by the South African Government

The final phase of reform, that of negotiation with blacks about a new constitutional structure, Cohen described as the most important, but he set no deadlines

Cohen, in another phrase that was not picked up by the Press, noted that "our policy will balance pressure and incentives"

Results

It is here that one needs a little imagination. What will be the impact of such events on a media-driven society like the US? Would the Bush administration and senior members of the Congress simply renege upon their assurances of reciprocity? Would this be an intelligent thing for them to do?

Practising politicians here understand that such reforms have an electoral cost. They realise that the South African Government needs to show results. And

these points need to be taken seriously. Divestment measures by state and local governments have operated almost irrespective of what is happening in Washington — not to mention what is happening in South Africa itself

It is also true that this is an issue which makes politicians very nervous. South Africa has been in the dogbox for so long that politicians are still afraid of being bitten. There is also a genuine concern about black opinion, both in the US and in South Africa — the more so because Americans are uneasily aware of lingering tensions and inequalities within their own society

And it is true that President Bush and his aide Secretary of State, James Baker, have shown no inclination to fall upon their swords, either in this or any other cause. This is not an administration with any profound philosophical principles, its guiding principle is pragmatism

Confidence

And, finally, it is true that the Democratic Party, which controls Congress, is deeply beholden to black support, and has been in the vanguard pressing for sanctions against South Africa

Perhaps the situation being hopeless is made, and that nothing more need be said. But the trouble with such argu-

ment is not merely that they are arguments of despair. They are, in effect, arguments that existing circumstances cannot be changed, that the US is irrevocably antagonistic

The most astonishing revelation at the recent Senate hearings lay in the predictions of change made by Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Hank Cohen

He divided the process of reform in South Africa into three phases. The first was what he described as the "process issues". Obviously, it is impossible to have a negotiation about a future constitutional structure while the leaders of one essential part of those negotiations are in jail. By definition, then, Nelson Mandela and the other detainees have to be released

Affront

It has been suggested that the "volksfront" in the House of Representatives and the 15 per cent of the electorate which is black (actually, closer to 11 per cent and not voting in those numbers) would regard any alleviation of sanctions as a direct affront

Finally, South Africans have been told that US investment in South Africa is already about as uncomfortable and isolated as John le Carré's spy who came in from the cold, and that the position is likely only to deteriorate. Now, it's true that some of the

11A
2/12/89

Stines 3/12/81

114
#12
3/12/81

Delighted Paris indaba delegates find they have much in common

By KAREN MACGREGOR Paris

MUCH excess baggage has been shed en route from Dakar to Paris and at this week's meeting of more than 100 South Africans and ANC allies, people tackled the mly-gritty of life after apartheid. Largely abandoning rhetoric, fears and ideological platitudes, most delegates found it was easier to travel light. They engaged in what must be one of the most exhaustive debates held on South Africa's future economy, constitution and society.

Subjects discussed included present developments in southern Africa, the economy and a new constitution, the SA Law Commission Report, the ANC's constitutional guidelines, the Harare Declaration and government proposals.

In spite of the absence of some notable players (at the least of which were the SA Government and Inkatha), the meeting was broadly representative, including black and white business leaders, Cosatu, lawyers, academics and a judge, media people, politicians, 25 ANC leaders and several members of the Mass Democratic Movement. Several of the South African delegates had restrictions lifted to

enable them to attend.

The importance of the Paris indaba, after 30 odd contacts with the ANC since 1987, was not only the quality of debate and the building of bridges but the high-level involvement of the French Government.

At a dinner with Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, JCI chairman Murray Hofmeyr rejected the concept of group rights in a post-apartheid society would simply entrench existing inequalities. He said negotiations between the Government and the ANC would require the acceptance of two basic conditions.

The first is that every South African should be a full citizen with full rights, including political ones. The second is that, having re-

cognised the need to destroy the wicked doctrine of apartheid, it is necessary to recognise that the concept of group rights also has to be abandoned.

Strong individual rights were needed to create a genuine democracy. The only serious moment of disharmony came when "moderate" delegates disagreed with the pro-sanctions stance of the ANC and MDM.

The conference was hosted by France Liberté, a foundation created by Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President but organised by exiled author Breyten Breytenbach and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Iana co-director Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert said the progress made since Dakar — where there was far more posturing and less talking — was remarkable.

He said, "There has not only been a greater appreciation for allian and proportional representation, but much greater willingness to accept areas of common ground that previously did not exist at all."

He said it would be better if it was the South African Government talking to the ANC, "but the very fact that debate has to be initiated by the people present is a reflection of the deadlocked position which the Government has yet to break out of."

said there had been acceptance of fundamental freedoms. Delegates were happy with the ANC guidelines on an independent judiciary.

It is also clear that the ANC will allow further debate on federalism and proportional representation. Perhaps the most remarkable session was on the economy, where ideas rather than spats flew.

Dr Ronnie Bekhelem, group economist with JCI, said delegates had uncovered much common ground. "While differences remain, particularly on the matter of the redistribution of wealth, we are not too discouraged," he said. Cosatu economist Alec Irwin said "The fact that Cosatu is so-

cialist should be the starting point of the debate, not the end. The same applies to business when they talk of free markets."

By the end of the week the mood was largely optimistic. Every such conference, said Dr Slabbert, "strengthens my conviction that, given the appropriate circumstances and a conducive climate, South Africa has both the resources and the people to bring about fundamental change."

A closing statement declared that apartheid was "untenable and indefensible" and that a new post-apartheid SA was imperative.

Such a society should be based on fundamental human liberties and equal political and economic choices and opportunities for all South Africans irrespective of race, creed or gender. They said negotiation politics would only succeed if a climate of negotiation was developed. "Such a climate would be encouraged by action against apartheid and towards a non-racial democracy in every sphere of life."

The UDF's Mr Murphy Morobe said the Paris debate should be continued vigorously in South Africa.

Diplomatic coup for ANC at the Paris conference

Lighter moments eased the tension

THE ANC this week scored a diplomatic and political victory at a week-long conference held in Paris with top businessmen and academics

The 20-strong ANC delegation led by director of international affairs Thabo Mbeki, was accorded status normally reserved for governments

Their mission? "The time has finally arrived to talk seriously to our fellow countrymen"

On the diplomatic front, the status of the ANC was highly elevated by the recognition it received from the French government, which pledged solidarity in the fight against apartheid and oppression in South Africa

Government officials the ANC met included French culture and communication minister Jack Lang, prime minister Michael Rocard and his cabinet, and foreign affairs minister Roland Dumas

This was a big victory for the ANC, whose international status and recognition baffled the South Africa delegation comprised of lawyers, academics, union and political activists and newspaper editors

Discussions between businessmen and the ANC were tense and sometimes both parties

By KHULU SIBIYA



failed to reach agreement on pertinent issues like restructuring or distribution of wealth

There were lighter moments, like when a former South African judge told Mbeki the ANC Harare document on a future constitution was "pie in the sky"

The judge said he found clause 16 of the document absurd and ridiculous - it promises South Africa shall have a new legal system

"Where have you seen a country starting a new legal system?" he asked, amid laughter from the delegation

Another light moment came when the delegations were given caviar and Cuban cigars

In the bus on the way to the hotel, JCI chairman Murray Hofmeyr, stood up and said "All you cigar-smoking ANC

capitalists, move to the back so that we poor whites from South Africa can get seats"

Serious discussions on the political transition in southern Africa during the last 10 years included the impact of regional processes on South Africa, the current situation in South Africa, the ANC guidelines, the South African law commission and OAU peace proposals

There was strong opposition from the business sector on the OAU peace proposals, the ANC guidelines and the future economy of South Africa.

Some of the businessmen present were Hofmeyr, Leon Cohen, Colin Hall, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, Ronell Scheffer, Christo Nel, Ron Bethlehem, and Mike Olivier

Among the politicians were Wynand Malan, Alex Boraine, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Edgar Ngoyi and Henry Fazzie. Trade unionists were led by Jay Naidoo and Moses Mayekiso

Issues that led to intense debate were sanctions, restructuring or redistribution of wealth, state intervention, privatisation and land ownership

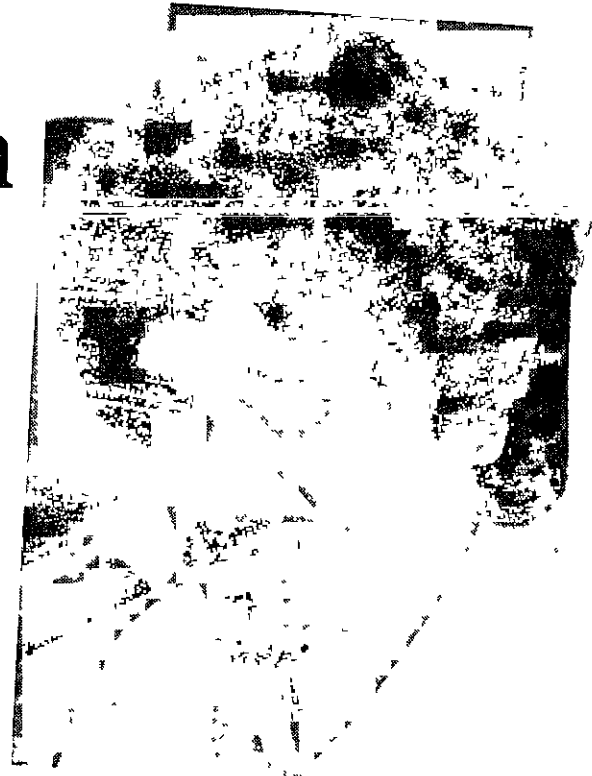
The ANC would like to see a unitary state rather than a federal state. It believes South Africa should belong to all of the people and not be divided into fragments

Many in the South African delegation felt De Klerk was doing a good job as president and should be given a chance

The ANC said as long as De Klerk was still taking about group rights, he was still promoting apartheid

The road for De Klerk was forward, "because to go back to repression will be too high risk"

Whatever thinking the South African delegation may have had about the ANC before the Paris meeting, what emerged was that the ANC should be there when the new South African constitution is drawn up



Jay Naidoo ... led the union delegation.



Dr Sam Motsuenyane ... business interests.



Frederik van Zyl Slabbert ... Idasa was there.

Many tears as wreath is laid

IN a moving ceremony that had many people near to tears, ANC top officials led by director of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki laid a wreath outside the building where Dulcie September, former ANC representative in Paris, was killed

Although the ceremony was held at night in cold conditions, many people attended

Some were seen with placards praising the assassinated leader as a gallant person who died brutally under a fascist regime

At a reception in the town hall, a big picture of Dulcie and that of Nelson Mandela were displayed. The ANC flag was displayed outside and inside the hall

The national anthem was sung and later as the crowd swelled, the South African delegation and the ANC sang toyi-toyi songs to the delight of the French and mayor of Arcuella, a city outside Paris

Nelson Mandela has been made an honorary citizen of Arcuella

3/12/89
11A
C.P. 1055

11H

C. P. RUS

3/12/89

Mxenge questioned days before his murder

By S'BU MNGADI

SLAIN Durban civil rights lawyer and political activist, Griffiths Mxenge, was questioned about "ANC funds" at CR Swart Square Security Police headquarters in Durban days before he was killed in November 1981, Durban attorney Bheka Shezi said this week.

Before this, a security policeman, a W/O De Wit, burst into Mxenge's offices in Victoria Street, Durban, while the attorney was in consultation with a client.

Police assassination squad leader Captain Dirk Coetzee, recently told *Vrye Weekblad* he had planned the murder of Mxenge with then security police chief in Durban, Brig H van der Hoven.

Coetzee said Van der Hoven told him police knew Mxenge was channelling ANC money into South Africa but could not prove it.

Shezi, now the family lawyer, said his former boss

was summoned to CR Swart Square for questioning a few days after De Wit burst into the offices.

"Mxenge asked me to accompany him just in case the security police decided to detain him.

"I waited from 2pm until Mxenge emerged from De Wit's office at about 5pm looking very disturbed," recounted Shezi, who was then an article clerk.

He said the first thing Mxenge uttered in the elevator was "Bheka, these boers are after me."

Back in the office, Mxenge reported to his late wife Victoria Mxenge, Shezi and the staff that the police believed he was a local conduit of ANC funds.

"A group of detained student activists from KwaMashu confessed to the police that Mxenge had given them money for school fees.

"It was this money the security police alleged was from the ANC," he recalled.

Mxenge later telephoned his brother Dr Fumbatha

Mxenge, then studying medicine in Ireland, saying he was disturbed by such accusations and the poisoning of his dogs.

A W/O JHJ De Wit, of the security branch in Durban, on Friday could not confirm or deny he had questioned Mxenge about "ANC funds" in 1981.

Van der Hoven, implicated by Coetzee in Mxenge's killing, strenuously denied the charge.

Van der Hoven, who is now retired in Middelburg, reportedly refused to say whether Mxenge was suspected by security police of channelling ANC funds.

He explained that when a local division of the security police "believes there are terrorists in the vicinity, you just ask the Pretoria headquarters to send a team from the anti-terrorist unit.

"What the team does and how they do it has nothing to do with the local commander."



Griffiths Mxenge . . . "boers are after me."

CDF shows the time has come for unity in action

11A

C. Press 3/12/89

UNITY in action against apartheid is about to be given a shot in the arm.

The Conference for a Democratic Future, scheduled to take place in Johannesburg on December 9, will bring together the Mass Democratic Movement, the Black Consciousness Movement and adherents of Pan-Africanism to work out a common strategy of resistance to apartheid.

The move is being hailed as an historic one, as in many years of opposition to apartheid, the groups have been viewed as rival factions.

Their ultimate goal, nevertheless, has been the same – to end an oppressive system.

Democracy – a society in which the people govern – is the one element high up on all their agendas.

And the hot issue will be that of negotiation with the South African government.

There is little consensus on the issue between participants. "This is precisely why we are coming together," said an MDM spokesman.

In June, the MDM, BCM and churches agreed the CDF should be held "to map out the shortest path to the ending of oppression and exploitation and the creation of a democratic country".

Originally scheduled to take place on October 7, the CDF was postponed to December 9.



Walter Sisulu ... billed to deliver a keynote speech at the CDF.

The BCM opposed the staging of the conference in September last year, which was aborted by the government.

This time round, each participating organisation in the CDF is going in on its own steam. As the MDM had put it, the main requirement for anyone wanting to be part of the CDF is that they subscribe to the principle of unification.

Apart from discussing the principle of unity against apartheid and determining minimum demands before negotiations, the CDF will assess the role of the international community.

The original October date for the CDF was to precede the Commonwealth heads of state conference later that month.

A CDF co-ordinating committee spokesman said the idea at the time was to scuttle any notion of a negotiated settlement British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher may have had.

It was also to tell the world the oppressed in South Africa would be the architects of their own fortune.

The Government is not likely to interfere in the CDF, judging by its attitude to marches countrywide and the release of seven ANC leaders and one PAC stalwart.

It can be assumed the government will be curious to know the official stance on negotiations taken by the people's organisations.

But whether the CDF will result in a closely-knit front against apartheid is yet to be seen.

More likely to emerge from the CDF is the acknowledgement of differing opinions.

For the South African Government the clear message spelt out by the CDF is that the campaign against apartheid has intensified.

Transkei home for Mandela

A FOUR-HECTARE plot in the Qunu area of Transkei was formally demarcated this week as the new rural home of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The demarcation was carried out by the regional agricultural officer for the Dalindyebo region, HP Mququ, in the presence of the deputy acting paramount chief of Tembuland, Chief Dalagubha Joyi.

The chief of the area, Chief Dalilanga Balizulu, told people present that the formal siting had long been requested by Mandela, but had been turned down by the late Paramount Chief Bambilanga Mtir-

ara during his paramountcy of the Tembus.

He said he had received formal notification of the application by Mandela from Chief Dalagubha, which would now get the stamp of the tribal authority and be finalised by the regional authority.

However, because of the urgency of the matter, the actual chancing of the plot would be done next week.

Chief Dalagubha said Mandela had indicated that after his release he wanted to come straight home as his children were anxious to return to Qunu.

A senior member of the Tembu tribe, PS Fadena, said he believed the people of Qunu were lucky to have a person of Mandela's calibre settle among them.

Mququ said he estimated the site was not smaller than four hectares.

It is situated between Bityi and Vidgesville adjacent to the national road between Umtata and Idutywa - Sapa

husband might be one of the victims.

"The police gave me contradicting statements and asked me strange questions. My husband would have contacted us if he escaped."

In a letter to Zodwa dated December 4, 1987, the family lawyers, Ktish Naidoo, said they had made inquiries about David's whereabouts to the Commissioner of Police who confirmed that "your husband did escape on November 4, 1987, from custody at, or near, Siyabuswa".

MDM not just a front - ANC

CP Correspondent

THE ANC has signalled support for Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa's plea for unity among black South Africans.

But it disagreed with Holomisa that the ANC was "operating as Cosatu, the UDF and the MDM".

Holomisa said this week it was futile for the South African government to continue to ban the ANC and he was surprised it had not removed the ban.

"When the South African government unbans the ANC, it will be dealing with the same people who run these organisations (that make up the MDM)."

In an interview this week, an ANC spokesman criticised Holomisa's statement and denied that Cosatu, the UDF and MDM were the ANC.

"They exist separately from the ANC, but share the same principles and ideals with the movement."

Commenting on the great welcome the ANC leaders received last weekend in Umtata, the spokesman said it was an indication of the strong support the ANC had in the Transkei. About 80 000 people thronged the stadium.

The spokesman said Holomisa was "accommodating the process in politics that is unfolding."

"He is certainly aware that you can't wish it away. It may well be that he is listening to those who understand the underlying nature of the changing process." - Ano

C.Press
3/12/89

11A C.Press
3/12/89

① s/Times 3/12/89

Africa 'moving out of world focus'

By JOHN SCOTT
Berlin

DRAMATIC changes in Europe would make Africa "drop off the world", Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall claimed yesterday

Speaking while on a visit to Germany with other South African political leaders, Dr Worrall said it was clear from discussions with leading politicians, bankers, journalists and churchmen that Germany and the rest of Europe would now be indefinitely preoccupied with the rebuilding of Eastern bloc countries.

He was accompanied by the Labour Party leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, the chairman of the national council of Inkatha, Dr Frank Mdlalose Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe and Professor Andie Roux of the University of the Western Cape's economics department

Priorities

The party of five arrived in West Berlin on Friday as guests of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. By late yesterday they had not returned from a tour of East Berlin.

Yesterday Dr Worrall said "All the people we spoke to this week have indicated that priorities are going to change. What money they did have is going to be earmarked for Eastern Europe.

"Much of the Third World is going to drop out of their consciousness. In fact I believe that Africa, in that sense, will drop off the world.

"But South Africa could be an exception. I don't think apartheid will be put on the back-burner. That is why we must move fast, and keep up the pace of reform while Europe resets its horizons."

Ex-Robben Island prisoner heads Africanist movement

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — A former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Clarence Makwetu, has been elected president of the newly formed Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM).

His election at the end of the PAM's founding conference in Soweto at the weekend was one of two critical decisions taken by 600 delegates from all over South Africa.

The second was a resolution not to attend the pending conference for a democratic future organised jointly by the Mass Democratic Movement and pro-black consciousness organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation

The PAM decision not to attend represents a setback to the conference for a democratic future's hopes of finding a formula for joint action by anti-apartheid opposition forces seeking radical change

It means that re-emerging Africanist forces will not put their stamp on

approval on whatever emerges from the conference for a democratic future

PAM is ideologically aligned to, but organisationally independent of, the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)

The PAM-PAC alignment stands in ideological opposition to the Freedom Charter-supporting African National Congress and its MDM ideological ally

Not suprisingly Mr Makwetu, who comes from the Transkei, was a founder member of the PAC and, like several members of his newly elected executive, a former Robben Island prisoner He served six years on Robben Island

He is a farmer He was in one of the three buses of delegates who attended the PAM founding conference from Transkei At the opening session of the conference he was given pride of place on the rostrum with the PAC president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng

apt 7/12/89 4/12/89 11/19

New anti-goyt group holds first meeting

JOHANNESBURG. — Serious debates behind closed doors dealing with pre-conditions for negotiations with Pretoria formed the thrust of the first policy meeting of the newly-formed Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) in Soweto on Saturday.

PAM holds that negotiations can only take place once Pretoria has scrapped the five "pillars of apartheid" These were named as the two land acts, the Population Registration Act, the homeland system, the Bantu educational system and the tricameral Parliament

Papers presented at the meeting reiterated that until those acts were scrapped, there would be no negotiations whatsoever

The organisation was launched on Saturday morning at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in White City, Jabavu, where more than 600 delegates from throughout the country met to forge a cohesive organisation with political sentiment linked to the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)

'Internal wing'

Although they share a similar "Africanist" ideology with the PAC, the eight-member steering committee made it clear from the outset that they intended maintaining independence from the PAC

This is clearly designed to prevent charges that the PAM were merely the internal wing of the exiled body

Sources at the conference said that several papers dealing with negotiations, education, labour, relations with other organisations and an international policy were dealt with at length

A declaration as well as the formal constitution would be made known once all debates and commissions had ended, the sources said

However, it is clear from the nature of the debate on negotiations that the PAM would adopt a similar stance to that of the PAC — Sapa

Afrikaans writers fail to support ANC boycott

By Carina le Grange

BROEDERSTROOM — Amid fears of a split, the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde (ASG — Afrikaans Writers Guild) failed to take a stand on the ANC's selective cultural boycott at its annual meeting this weekend.

The ASG, however, adopted a new constitution in which it spelled out its aims to strive for a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united South Africa — sentiments previously absent.

But the expected next move, for the ASG to join the MDM, did not materialise and was not discussed.

A motion that the ASG adopt a position on the cultural boycott was accepted, but a decision on the nature of that position was put off until the next meeting next year.

EXPECTATION

It was generally expected that the ASG — which came into being as a sign of protest among Afrikaans writers against censorship 14 years ago — would support the cultural boycott.

This expectation arose after half the executive and several prominent members, such as Andre Brink and Antjie Krog, signed the ANC's position paper on the subject after a meeting with writers at Victoria Falls in June this year.

At the annual meeting of the ASG however, Brink and Krog were absent. And a paper on the cultural boycott by Cosaw (Congress of South African Writers) national organiser Mr Junaid Achmed initially failed to draw as much attention as that of Dr Wilhelm Liebenberg on writers as cultural workers.

Dr Liebenberg was accused by author Professor Piet Haasbroek of using "neo-Marxist terminology" to present the meeting with propaganda.

Vigilantes destroy the homes of six activists

By Janet Heard

A group of vigilantes destroyed the homes of six activists in Acornhoek in the north-eastern Transvaal last week, forcing the owners to flee the village in fear of a further attack.

In a statement, the Bushbuckridge Youth Congress (Buyco) to which all six men belong alleged that further attacks had occurred since then and the violence was spreading to surrounding areas.

The statement said an attorney was seeking a court interdict against the group and a delegation of church and community leaders would be meeting the chief magistrate and the head of police to express concern about the alleged failure of the police to take any action against the assailants.

Speaking from a hideout, one of the activists, Mr Jacqui Modipane, told The Star that he was at his Broeklyn home on Sunday when he saw a big crowd approach armed with all types of weapons.

Mr Modipane said he got into

his car and sped away but he saw the crowd destroying his home and later setting it alight

He said the group then went to the homes of five other activists and set them alight.

According to the Buyco statement, one activist was allegedly assaulted with an axe and later admitted to Tintswalo Hospital at Acornhoek.

The attack was said to be due to the success of the Buyco in calling for a boycott of a levy imposed by the tribal authorities for "non-existent" water, and for organising a mass protest march attended by more than 30 000 people.

A sergeant from the Acornhoek police confirmed the attacks but said no arrests had been made. He said there were very few police on duty on Sunday and officers had reached the six homes only after they had been set alight

He added that the owners of the homes were not co-operating with the investigation, and did not wish to speak to the police.

Mayekiso heads new Alex body

By Janet Heard

11A

Mr Moses Mayekiso, who was acquitted of treason earlier this year, was elected president of the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) at its launch yesterday. *Star 4/12/89*

Four of his co-accused were elected to the organisation's executive committee. Mr Paul Tshabalala, Mr Mzwanele Mayekiso and Mr Richard Mdakane were elected *in absentia*.

They were detained under the emer-

gency regulations last week after attempting to march to the council offices to hand over a petition expressing the community's grievances about the shortage of houses.

The fifth activist, Mr Obed Bapela, was elected publicity secretary.

The ACO pledged to continue the fight for better and more affordable housing for all, and to revive "democratic structures" such as street, area and hostel committees.

Political Staff

CONDITIONS for the resumption of full diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Ivory Coast have been spelled out in a front page editorial in the Ivory Coast daily newspaper *Fraternite Matin*.

The conditions would be the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the state of emergency and the start of negotiations.

Fraternite Matin made it quite clear in an editorial the day President FW de Klerk arrived in Yamoussoukro that "it all depends on De Klerk".

Mr De Klerk said Mr Mandela's release was "not a dream and could become a reality". He acknowledged that the ANC leader had been discussed with Ivory Coast president Mr Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

"I have no news for you in that regard," he said, adding that the government was constantly reviewing the situation and "as and when it is possible, he will be released".

Addressing a press conference prior to returning to SA, Mr De Klerk said the talks had ranged from practical issues of mutual concern to political developments in Africa.

The Ivory Coast president, he said, had been very interested in developments in SA and the latest initiatives.

South Africa was prepared to play its part in

(F 111) (S 275)
CART 7-215 4/12/89

'Ties with SA depend on Mandela's release'

Southern Africa on a constructive and positive level.

Asked whether SA planned to approach the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) for membership, Mr De Klerk said: "I don't think we should press for membership. We must normalise relations with as many countries as possible and membership will flow from that."

Mr De Klerk said he had not asked Mr Houphouet-Boigny to help SA normalise relations with other countries, but had no doubt that he would inform other countries of the conclusions he had drawn from the talks.

Asked whether he was not caught between the two fires of black demands and the white right-wing, Mr De Klerk said he did not feel he was caught "and not between fires".

If there were fires, he added, he would put them out.

He said it was impossible to satisfy everyone, but that he believed the majority of South Africans supported the process which had begun in SA.

"There is a spirit of hope and people are reaching out to one another in South Africa."

Paris indaba closes on high note

ON Times
4/12/89
11A (22)
LGM

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — The six-day conference between 110 South Africans from the ANC and a wide spectrum of political opinion ended on Saturday, achieving what a final communique described as much common ground despite clear differences.

The event, the largest of its kind, was organised by the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation through its human rights movement France-Libertes, with active support from the French government at the highest level. It brought together members of the ANC, the Mass Democratic Movement, business, the clergy, the media, organised labour and academia.

"The discussion was often intense, characterised by a spirit of inquiry and underlying unity which transcended the various viewpoints of the delegates," the final communique said, citing especially the economic debate.

The delegates agreed on the need for apartheid to go and be replaced by a system based on fundamental human liberties and equal political choices and opportunities for all, irrespective of race, creed or gender.

"There was a consensus that a non-racial democracy would require honest thinking, hard work, commitment and, wherever possible, unity of action and purpose," the communique said.

Expanding on this theme at the indaba's final press conference, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) chairman Mr Murray Hofmeyer said a major shift was needed as change would not be achieved by small incremental actions.

The ANC's general-secretary of information, Mr Paulo Jordan, while conceding that certain reforms had taken place, said the ball was still in the government's court for creating a climate of negotiation.

The ANC and Pretoria should agree to what he called a "mutual ceasefire at the same level" — in effect, a level playing field.

Pretoria could, for example, confer with whoever it wished in the interim, whereas the ANC could not, because key black figures were either in prison or under some form of restriction.

PAM rejects negotiation and ANC position

4/12/89
By Thabo Leshilo (118)

A negotiated settlement and the ANC's position on the issue were rejected yesterday by the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) on the third day of its launching congress held at Nasrec, Johannesburg

Interim committee member Mr Cunningham Ngcukana said the preconditions to negotiations set out in the ANC's Harare Declaration earlier this year failed to address the questions of one person, one vote, in a unitary Azania and the redistribution of the nation's wealth

According to Mr Ngcukana, the ANC and the OAU's conditions were not anything new

Similar conditions were put down in the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 and rejected by the PAC

Mr Ngcukana said that his movement on Saturday agreed

● Not to participate in the Conference for a Democratic Future, billed in some quarters as the biggest anti-apartheid gathering to be held since the early Fifties, which takes place this coming weekend in Johannesburg

NO CLARITY

There was also no clarity as to who should participate and homeland leaders had been invited

● That there should be working class unity

● That there were inconsistencies in the terms of the cultural boycott A special commission would formulate a consistent policy on this

● Education was currently designed to perpetuate the status quo

● That it should relate to other organisations in accordance with the principles of non-collaboration and non-racialism

● To put forward as conditions for negotiation with the Government one person, one vote in a unitary country and redistribution of the means of production

● To condemn the National Sports Congress as sectarian, based on political affiliation and to support Sacos



The president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng (in suit), leads the way as delegates to the launch of the Pan Africanist Movement give the open-palm salute of the organisation

PAM WOM

11A Sowden 4/12/89

Sowetan Reporter

THE newly formed Pan Africanist Movement will not compromise in its struggle for liberation, speakers told more than 1 200 people at the launch yesterday.

'The struggle will continue'

We will pursue all peaceful methods but we will not compromise, Mr Cullingham said.

Ngqakana said during the policy speech. Our stand is clear on negotiations. We will not enter into them until a system of one person-one-vote is instituted in a non-racial community and resources are redistributed. Messages of support from local and international Christian communist and anti-apartheid movements were read on the last day of the three-day congress held at Nasrec in Crown Mines.

● To page 2

PAM launched 11A

● From page 1

Giving a keynote address the Pan Africanist Congress president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, said PAM arrived at a crucial time.

However, failure to understand this climate will result in misunderstanding issues confronting the Azanian people and consequential tactical blunders, Mothopeng said.

Internationally, the political climate is dominated by Perestroika, Glasnost and rapprochement between East and West. This swing from the confrontation and the Cold War of the post-

World War 2 era is misleading and can easily fool you into believing that the struggle is now expected and possible to be resolved through rapprochement," he said.

"The PAC basic documents are prophetic in that they fore-saw this phenomena in 1959 and adopted a policy of positive neutrality in super-power rivalry of 1940s. However, we placed emphasis on self-reliance of the oppressed exploited and dispossessed masses. This policy we still uphold till today and I advise PAM to adopt the same," he said.

Sowden 4/12/89

Mr. P. Burnner, BA LLB ACTS MSA TM, Principal of the Danelin Correspondence College makes sure that Danelin takes the lead in education. Now more than ever a better educational man has a better future.

TO THE DANELIN CORRESPONDENCE COLLECT

P.O. BOX 4129 JOHANNESBURG 2000

Dear Mr Burnner

Please send me your free brochure on the Danelin Correspondence Courses

Name

Address

Impressions of the Paris indaba

AKG's
4/2/89

119

By PETER SULLIVAN, reporting from Paris

DELEGATES to the conference on South Africa's future held in Paris last week dined on fine French food and drank wonderful

wines but it was the food for thought which was really memorable

Five days of intense debate left every delegate with new insights. These are some of mine

Economics:

□ The attention of the North (rather than the West) is shifting quickly from Africa to eastern Europe, as traditional communism collapses. Aid will follow this shift

□ Command economies can achieve substantial changes but cannot market their reserves adequately or provide the needs of a more sophisticated economy

□ Subsidising food was acceptable when white Afrikaners were starving, now it is essential and economic sense because black Africans are starving.

□ We will need a common currency for southern Africa to rival the common currency being planned for Europe in 1992

□ Previous formulas which were common among socialists — taking over the commanding heights of industry for example — are no longer acceptable to themselves and are being deeply questioned

□ If negotiators insist on retaining group rights they need not start the negotiations

because they are doomed to fail, according to JCI's Murray Hofmeyr

□ The main debate on economics is how to get the "mix" right between command economy and free marketeering — nobody believes one system is correct.

□ After a truly democratic non-racial government takes over in South Africa, the country will become more of a regional power with even greater responsibilities, not fewer. It could even start the process of uniting Africa politically for the first time in history.

□ Sanctions are like chemotherapy: too little poison has no effect on the cancer, too much kills the patient more effectively than the cancer itself

□ The indigenous human resource is the way concerned trade unionists describe black workers.

Politics:

□ ANC violence is no longer a major issue. Most parties believe the movement will be unbanned soon, probably within the next year.

□ ANC leadership is diverse with flashes of brilliance and times of stupidity — like any political cabinet of any Western or Eastern country

□ The ANC, UDF, Cosatu, and MDM share major ideals but differ substantially on details of those ideals and on strategies to implement them

□ One of the major obstacles to negotiation is that the ANC will not contemplate an interim government, while the South Afri-

can government can see no other way

□ An agenda and strict parameters will have to be set for negotiations. An open agenda with all things on the table will take too many years to resolve

□ President De Klerk is reforming extraordinarily fast, gaining huge space and credibility, but nobody is sure of where he intends to go by the start of the next century

□ A Bill of Rights is essential but the debate about its wording is far from over.

□ Gender discrimination (women's rights essentially) still needs huge debate.

□ Detention without trial is not only disgusting, it is an outrage on a personal level. Imagine yourself being separated from your 10-week-old child and only seeing him or her when they are two — with no chance to fight in court, imagine the frustration, anger and outrage that is felt.

□ The cycle of oppression, revolt, reform, reaction cannot be undone by chanting the mantra "unban, release, dismantle, negotiate"

□ Death squad revelations disturb Afrikaners who are no longer placated by slogans of war, total onslaught, or false accusations of betrayal

□ There is an epidemic of tuberculosis among black people in South Africa which needs urgent action and funding

□ We must be ever vigilant and constantly suspicious to ensure that at the moment of liberation one tyranny is not replaced by another tyranny

PAM leaders announced

Star 5/12/89 (HA)
The leadership of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM), launched at the weekend, was announced at a press conference yesterday.

The executive committee is headed up by president Mr Clarence Makwetu (61)

Trade unionist Mr Benny Alexander was elected the organisation's general secretary.

Mr Walter Sifozonke Tshukila was elected national organiser and Mr Mike Matsobane was chosen as treasurer.

THERE was a moment outside Paris last week, during the conference at Marly le Roi, when it became clear to me that in South Africa, at this time of momentous worldwide dislocation, it is not enough to win the arguments.

A heavy duty rests on every one of us to search diligently through the debris of communist ideology for conciliation

The realisation — less than epiphany, more than an intellectual insight — came as I listened to the flat South African accent of Albie Sachs, the broken-bodied victim of a car bomb whom I had regarded for nearly 30 years as a fanatic and a killer, a high priest of the doctrine of violent seizure of power — what today we would call a Stalunist.

When he was freed from prison and immediately went to run on the beach (was it 1964? and was it Chifton?) I noted the fact without emotion I cared nothing for the man, only for the principle that nobody should be imprisoned without trial

Even when he was maimed by the bomb in Maputo, I refused to trivialise a life dedicated to revolution by making a display of shock. Live by the sword, I said, so die by the sword.

The rules of the conference and the laws of South Africa forbid me to quote Sachs but I found myself, astonished, in agreement with him. The people of this country have accumulated enough suffering to deserve freedom; none of us needs tyranny to replace tyranny.

Somehow a way must be found, and soon, to make this country safe and free for all its people, and to bring our scattered children home

Sachs took the risk of dropping his ideological guard in the presence of his own ideological constituency; I could do no less. That night I rewrote the draft of my own contribution to the conference, abandoning the habit of brute intransigence — total war in debate — which is my personal style, and casting my arguments in a form that, I thought, might invite constructive response.

As bluntly as I could, I spelled out my own central fear for the future that liberty will be betrayed at the moment of liberation when the South African Communist Party, acting as a vanguard party of the revolution, and equipped with considerable military resources, embarks on the "second stage" of its agenda to overthrow the new democracy.

The liberal role as apartheid dies and socialism recedes

B/Dam 5/12/89 *IIA* *IIA*

KEN OWEN

The struggle against apartheid, which is the doctrine of the spawn of Hitler, has lasted so long that I really do not have the heart for another liberation struggle, this time against a regime headed by the spawn of Stalin

All this needs to be kept in perspective. The conference was inherently unequal. It brought together leaders of the ANC and the SACP — Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Pallo Jordan, Aziz Pahad, Jeremy Cronin — with leaders of Cosatu, the UDF and the MDM, and on the "other side" a disparate gaggle of business leaders, academics, writers and journalists who might, at a pinch, be described as "liberal"

The "liberals" (some will not forgive me for the label) lacked any mandate, either to negotiate or even to speak for others. While both the ANC-SACP group and the members of the MDM caucused regularly, the rest were individualistic to the point of self-indulgence and some were free spirits to the point of anarchy. Only the businessmen showed a capacity to get together, but as individuals.

The whole affair got off to a rocky start, the first day consumed by boring Marxist rhetoric from the "outside" speakers, and intransigent posturing by the "inside" spokesman. That night I was close to flying home

On the second morning, given the rare honour to address the French Assembly and to engage in a public

exchange of views with the députés of France, Murphy Morobe of the UDF, Pallo Jordan of the ANC, and Jay Naidoo of Cosatu made ringing speeches designed to reinforce the desires of the deputies to impose sanctions, only the vice-chancellor of Wits, Professor Robert Charlton, demurred firmly. Both Wynand Malan and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert fumbled ineffectually in trying to redress the balance without precipitating a civil war

Many of the rest of us, taken by surprise, suspected a left-wing plot, especially since the French persisted in referring to us all as "the South African delegation", but it turned out to be simply the consequence of the imbalance of forces. Trust was restored and by the end of the week, Thabo Mbeki was publicly inviting Murray Hofmeyr, chairman of JCI, to speak for us all

Perhaps I was mistaken to think that it was Sachs who broke the initial logjam, but whatever the reason, the debate was joined, and it deepened throughout the week. There was no agreement, but much illumination. Lines of stress, even fissures, appeared where they were least expected, unplanned alliances emerged (on one occasion, disconcertingly, between me and the ANC's Pallo Jordan)

What follows is not a report on the

conference, but a distillation of my own observations — my tentative conclusions

Firstly, the liberation of Eastern Europe has shattered all post-war paradigms, but for the left it has been devastating. Old-style communism is as dead as God was once said to be, and nobody is a Stalunist any more. The communist world is embarked on a transition, historic in its scope, towards democracy and while the South African Left obviously cannot shape that immense process, neither is it immune

Liberals, I suspect, would be wise to stand back, and give the best members of the Left the space they need to work out a new definition of themselves. South African socialists, like all socialists, are groping towards ideas of liberty, and we should not throw obstacles in their path

Secondly, I think ideological dominance has shifted from the SACP and the exiled ANC to the internal forces of Cosatu, the UDF and the MDM. The "insiders" are closer to the reality of South Africa than the ANC exiles, more familiar with the terrain of apartheid, more able to see tactical possibilities, more independent and creative in their thinking

They are certainly tougher, more flexible and more optimistic, and I think more formidable than most "outsiders". The implication, of course, is that the government, if it really does seek negotiations, might find advantage in letting the sophisticated and subtle exile leaders come home

If nothing else, it would weaken their ties with the opportunists who have climbed on the international anti-apartheid bandwagon to make a living out of the destruction of this country, and who care nothing for our people

Thirdly, the international standing of the ANC is simply astounding. We were treated by the French government as no South Africans since the Smuts era have ever been treated. We were sponsored by Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President, courted by the President of the Assembly, Laurent Fabius, feted and feasted by the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Cultural Minister and diplomatic corps, and swept through the rush-hour streets in cavalcade

Till my dying day I shall remember 74-year-old Henry Fazzie, released from restriction after years on the run, seated with serene dignity on the silk-backed chair where Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher had sat. I shall never forget the ebullient rascal from the Eastern Cape, Mkhuseh Jack, also recently free, leading the *toy-toy* beneath swaying crystal chandelier and under the gaze of a benign, if slightly apprehensive, host

And when *Vrye Weekblad* was said to be under threat of closure, took the French only hours to come up with a guarantee of R1m to keep the paper alive. The message is unmistakable: the global village is reality, and it has had enough apartheid. Our government cannot more shoot its way out of trouble than the East Germans, liberalise one way or another, is at hand

Fourthly, any solution in South Africa must meet two essential criteria: it must, of course, eradicate every trace of apartheid, but it must also satisfy a deeply felt need among people long oppressed for some form of redress. If liberal thinking is to prevail, it must offer a credible solution to the problems of deprivation and poverty, and this is the time to offer it

This brings me to my final observation, which is less tentative because it is more personal: the struggle against apartheid is all but won, the threat from the left is receding, socialist thinking disintegrates around the world. We can put those arguments while we search for conciliation

In the end, what we need is a country that offers space to live in peace and freedom even to our enemies

GERALD SHAW, who was there, gives his impressions of last week's conference in France between the exiled ANC and a delegation of South Africans

THE conference in Marly-Le-Roi, outside Paris, last week between the ANC-in-exile and a diverse party of internal South Africans was an outstanding success, measured in terms of exploded myths and the discovery of a surprising area of common ground.

What has made the difference between the hardline mood at the Dakar conference in 1987, where rhetoric and reproaches were initially the order of the day, and Marly-Le-Roi, where there were no reproaches and almost no rhetoric at all?

Obviously Mr Gorbachev's transformation of international and regional politics has something to do with it. Since Dakar the world has been continuing to change with astonishing speed, notably in Eastern Europe, where the urge for individual freedom is sweeping aside communist tyranny.

At home Mr F W Botha's bleak and comfortless militarism has made way for Mr F W de Klerk's very different and more hopeful style.

Cross-section

The conference, superbly planned by Dr Alex Boraine and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and sponsored by the Danielle Mitterrand Foundation, brought together a remarkable cross-section of influential or otherwise significant South Africans.

There were the exiled ANC and MDM/UDF/Cosatu activists on the Left and captains of industry on the Right, with an array of academic lawyers and economists and other specialists, a novelist (André Brink), a poet (Antjie Krog) and a few journalists.

Confined in conditions of maximum security amid the zero temperatures of a European winter, far from the sunny skies of home,

Success at Paris indaba raises hopes for a new SA

the South Africans who went to Marly-Le-Roi seem to have been all the more conscious of their common commitment to South Africa — and the responsibility resting on this generation to turn the country away from conflict.

There were three outstanding moments of the conference which the South Africans who were present are unlikely to forget very quickly.

First it was the exiled Cape Town advocate, Albie Sachs, who suddenly bound the conference together, emotionally when he stood up to declare his faith in human rights as the common property of mankind, transcending conflicting systems. It was a speech of compelling power and sincerity which dispelled much distrust and steered the conference away from recrimination.

Sachs, a legal and constitutional adviser to the ANC, survived a car bomb attempt on his life carried out by a death squad in Mozambique. He suffered appalling injuries and lost an arm. After many months of surgery and recovery in hospital, he taught himself to use a word processor with his left hand and is pursuing his legal and constitutional research at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London.

High symbolism

He may not be quoted in South African newspapers, but it may be said that Sachs's dramatic intervention in the debate on the draft Bill of Rights drawn up the

South African Law Commission was generous and magnanimous. He spoke in terms which would astonish those who have had him typecast as a cold, hard-eyed communist ideologue.

Then there was the moment of high symbolism when the delegates were royally entertained amid the gilt-and-chandelier splendour of the Quai D'Orsay by the Foreign Minister of France, M Dumas, who was loud in his praise of the ANC and in particular of Mr Thabo Mbeki, describing him as a future foreign minister of South Africa.

Mr Mbeki, the leading public spokesman for the ANC, was called upon to reply on behalf of the South Africans. In a gesture of great tact and shrewdness he immediately offered the floor to Murray Hofmeyr, chairman of JCI, inviting Mr Hofmeyr to reply on behalf of the ANC and the South Africans present. Mr Hofmeyr did so in superb fashion, stressing the common ground which had been reached at the conference, including a commitment to a non-racial democracy which would exclude a group-based constitution.

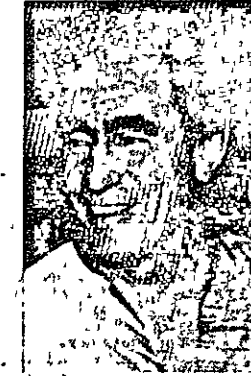
Lucidity

It was a fine show of South African solidarity on foreign soil.

Thirdly, there was the debate on the economy, which veterans of such conferences agreed was on a level seldom reached on these occasions. It was introduced with admirable lucidity by Professor Pieter le Roux of UWC,



MURRAY HOFMEYR, chairman of JCI ... superb reply



ALBIE SACHS, car bomb victim ... faith in human rights



THABO MBEKI, ANC spokesman ... diplomatic stroke

followed by a brilliant Alex Erwin on behalf of the Cosatu unions and by Mr Max Sisulu, son of Mr Walter Sisulu and an economic spokesman for the ANC. Finally, there was Mr Ron Bethlehem, a JCI economist.

South Africa's glaring inequalities and the poverty of so many of its people were acknowledged on all sides. And there was a surprising measure of common ground on what might be done about it, including massive investment in education, health and housing.

Disillusionment with the role of the State is widespread, evidently, and the old rhetoric of nationalisation — capturing the commanding heights of the economy — was explicitly disavowed. The need for rapid growth was readily acknowledged.

Redress

Naturally there are areas of serious disagreement remaining between the ANC and its allies on the one hand, and the enlightened business leadership present at Marly-Le-Roi on the other.

But these areas of disagreement, as in questions such as privatisation and restructuring of the ownership of business, could well become more manageable in negotiation. Enlightened busi-

ness seems ready to act to restructure ownership towards the black community to redress the huge imbalance — to pre-empt punitive action.

The ANC, for its part, will defer a great deal to the trade unions in framing detailed economic policy, which could be problematic, and it is not too keen to be pinned down on specifics just yet. Yet the message is broadly reassuring, it seems to me, foreshadowing social democracy and a mixed economy.

No matter what we have been told for decades, the ANC would not uphold a communist tyranny, and this would become rapidly apparent to everybody if the ANC and its spokesmen could say so for themselves.

It is tragic that key ANC spokesmen cannot be quoted in their own country. As long as this is so it will be difficult to convince white South Africans that they have been misled — and are still being misled, as recently as yesterday morning's SABC editorial — about the history, nature and goals of the ANC.

Acceptance

Certainly the ANC is radical and is concerned to transform the lives of the poor. With its huge working-class constituency it would be remarkable if this

were otherwise. But they are not devils and they are open to discussion.

The leadership in exile is of remarkable quality, given the notoriously demoralising effects of prolonged exile. There is no outward sign of bitterness, only an extraordinary warmth and acceptance of their fellow South Africans as compatriots.

So what about the future? If it identified common ground, the conference also identified more clearly than ever the problem areas. It suffices to note three of the most important.

Firstly, there is the ANC's current insistence on an interim government of national unity to hold the ring once substantive negotiations have begun. Neither the De Klerk government nor any foreseeable successor is likely to agree to relinquish power before the terms of a new constitution have been agreed.

Secondly, there is also the NP's continuing insistence on a group-based constitution, and thirdly the problem of black disunity, notably the bitter animus between Chief Mangosuthu Buthe (lezi), at the head of six million Zulus, and the ANC and its allies.

But whatever the obstacles, the delegates at Marly-Le-Roi went home full of hope, and determination to build a new South Africa.

11A Sowetan 5/12/89

Mandela's release still imminent

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is to be released from jail "as and when it is possible", the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said in the Ivory Coast at the weekend.

Speaking at the end of a day's talks with the Ivorian President, Mr Felix Houphouet-Boigny, in Yamoussoukro on Saturday De Klerk said 'Nelson Mandela will be freed but I am not prepared to speculate on when'

De Klerk's statement, after the talks with an African leader, has strengthened rumours about Mandela's imminent release which escalated after seven ANC leaders were freed after 25 years in prison in October

Editorial

One of the released leaders, former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu, said at the time that Mandela would be freed by next July.

De Klerk's reform initiative, the release of the ANC leaders and the negotiation process were given favourable and extensive coverage in the

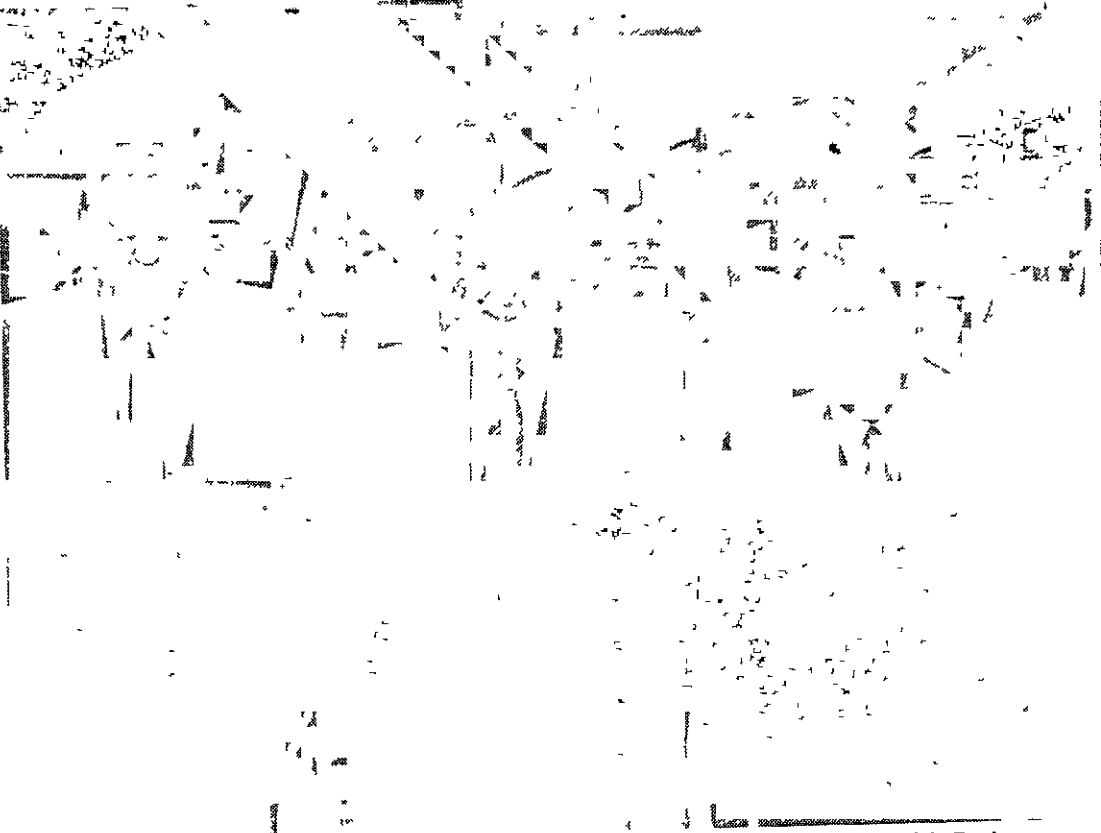
By THEMBA MOLEFE

West African country's only government-owned newspaper *Fidelté* *Matin*

In its editorial comment on the visit the newspaper said "There is a positive climate in South Africa. It is true that on October 15 President de Klerk released members of the ANC who were in jail for 25 years. It is true that De Klerk has allowed more than 70 000 blacks to hold the first official meeting of the ANC since the movement was banned in the 1960s"

The newspaper also said it was important that De Klerk 'had ordered his Minister of Constitutional Development to find ways of ensuring significant participation in central Government for the 26 million blacks in South Africa'

It also said the majority



The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, are welcomed by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny at Yamoussoukro on Friday.

of blacks were confident about De Klerk. "But how long there is still to go is a question mark," the newspaper

said. Asked if the Government feared any left-wing backlash on its reformist initiative De

Klerk said "If we are caught between the fires we will put them out"

And, questioned about whether South Africa

would consider applying for membership to the Organisation for African Unity, the State President said the time had not yet

De Klerk keeps mum on the timing

come for such a move. He also said he would not speculate on whether full diplomatic ties would be forged with the Ivory Coast "I do not think it is a dream. It can become a reality," he said

Angola

The State President and Houphouet-Boigny also discussed the Ivorian leader's role in helping to achieve peace in strife-torn Mozambique and Angola

De Klerk was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, Deputy Minister Mr Leon Wessels and the director-general of foreign affairs Mr Neil van Heerden

De Klerk was the third South African president to visit the Ivory Coast. In 1974 Prime Minister John Vorster went to the country and was followed by former State President Mr P W Botha last year

Ex-prisoner elected

(11A)

Sowetan 5/12/89

Robben Island man leads PAM

six years on Robben Island

FORMER Robben Island prisoner Mr Clarence Makwetu has been elected president of the newly-formed Pan-Africanist Movement.

His election at the end of the PAM's founding conference in Soweto at the weekend was one of two critical decisions taken by 600 delegates from all over South Africa.

The second was a resolution not to attend the pending Conference for a Democratic Future organised jointly by the Mass Democratic Movement and pro-black consciousness organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation.

'No man'

The PAM decision not to attend represents a setback to the Conference for a Democratic Future's hopes of finding a formula for joint action by anti-apartheid opposition forces seeking radical change

SOWETAN Reporter

It means that re-emerging Africanist forces will not put their stamp of approval on whatever emerges from the Conference for a Democratic Future

The PAM is ideologically aligned to - but organisationally independent of - the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress

The PAM-PAC alignment stands in ideological opposition to the Freedom Charter-supporting African National Congress and its MDM ideological ally

Not surprisingly, Makwetu who comes from the Transkei, was a founder member of the PAC and, like several members of his newly-elected executive a former Robben Island prisoner. He served

He was one of the delegates who attended the PAM founding conference from Transkei. At the opening session of the PAM he was given pride of place on the rostrum with the PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng

Makwetu will be supported by the newly elected general secretary of the PAM Mr Benny Alexander, a trade unionist who played a leading role in the formation of the PAM

MDM talks on rebel tour

Sacuan 5/10/89
THE sports wing of the Mass Democratic Movement, the National Sports Congress, will discuss the rebel cricket tour at the Conference for a Democratic Future on Saturday

A statement from the Mass Democratic Movement issued in Johannesburg yesterday said they would put forward "for

discussion the sports boycott in general and the rebel cricket tour in particular"

The MDM said an urgent meeting would be sought with the major sponsors of the SA Cricket Union to appeal to them to revise and reconsider their support for the internal programmes of

the Sacu

"The South African Government should redirect the R15 million to fulfill urgent needs of the oppressed people," they said

The MDM commended the majority of the Sacu executive members who are opposed to the rebel tour

11A

Star 6/12/89



119

Cricket sponsors wary over MDM call

By Kaizer Nyatumba

South Africa's major cricket sponsors yesterday responded cautiously to the Mass Democratic Movement's announced intention to get them to revise and reconsider — in the light of the SA Cricket Union's planned "rebel" tour — their support for the SACU's local programmes

In a statement, the MDM said it intended asking the country's four major sponsors of cricket for an urgent meeting where the MDM would spell out its opposition to the SACU's rebel tour scheduled for next month.

The MDM is also expected to request the sponsors to end their involvement with the SACU if the union continues to organise rebel tours, and to publicly distance themselves from the tour.

The four major sponsors are SA Breweries (SAB) which sponsors the Castle Currie Cup, Nissan SA, which sponsors the Nissan Shield, United Tobacco Company (UTC), and Bakers Ltd

SAB public relations manager Mr Adrian Botha told The Star his company had nothing to do with the planned cricket tour, and would never consider sponsoring such tours

Mr Botha would not comment

on the MDM's statement. Although he had been informed that he would be invited to a meeting to discuss the MDM's concerns, he had not yet received the invitation

"We still have to hear the MDM out, and right now we do not quite know what it is they want to ask us to do or not to do. I will comment after attending the meeting," Mr Botha said.

Nissan public relations manager Mr Nico Brits said Nissan's managing director and chief executive would make themselves available for the meeting, but he did not think they would have the time this week.

Mr Brits said Nissan SA was not planning to get involved with any rebel tours "at this stage."

He added: "At the moment I'm unable to disclose our position on the (MDM) issue. At the end of the day it all depends on what's in the best interest of the sport."

Bakers Ltd public relations manager Mr BD Fowle refused to comment, saying Bakers had not yet been approached by the MDM. He said his company would comment in writing after the meeting had been held.

At the time of going to press, UTC comment was unavailable.

Cape UDF has new executive ^{11/11}

CAPE TOWN — A new regional executive committee was elected at the United Democratic Front's first annual meeting in the Western Cape for more than two years.

A statement yesterday by UDF publicity secretary Ms Cheryl Carolus said the meeting, which lasted from Friday to Sunday, was attended by 150 delegates.

"The overwhelming feeling was that the Front had battled through over three years of harsh repression under various states of emergencies and had emerged victorious."

Discussions looked at a wide range of topics such as the constitutional guidelines for a new South Africa and the strengthening of relationships between the UDF and other groups such as Cosatu and religious institutions.

star 6/12/87
STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE

Resolutions reiterated the demand for an assembly to draw up a new constitution and one person, one vote, in a single undivided South Africa.

Delegates reaffirmed that the strategic objective of "our struggle is the transfer of power from a small racist minority to the majority of South Africans".

The conference ended with a commitment to intensify the struggle by "building mass-based people's organisations and isolating the apartheid regime on all levels".

There was also unanimity that the defiance campaign should be stepped up.

Advocate Mr Dullah Omar, who is the Western Cape president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, was elected vice-president of the UDF. — Sapa

Everyone's duty now is to search for conciliation

CM Twpk 6/12/89 11A

THERE was a moment outside Paris last week, during the conference at Marly-le-Roi, when it became clear to me that in South Africa, at this time of momentous worldwide dislocation, it is not enough to win the arguments.

A heavy duty rests on every one of us to search diligently through the debris of communist ideology for conciliation.

The realisation — less than an epiphany, more than an intellectual insight — came as I listened to the flat South African accent of Albie Sachs, the broken-bodied victim of a car bomb whom I had regarded for nearly 30 years as a fanatic and a killer, a high priest of the doctrine of violent seizure of power — what we would today call a Stalinist.

When he was freed from prison and immediately went to run on the beach (was it 1964? and was it Clifton?) I noted the fact without emotion I cared nothing for the man, only for the principle that nobody should be imprisoned without trial.

Even when he was maimed by the bomb in Maputo, I refused to trivialise a life dedicated to revolution by making a display of shock. Live by the sword, I said, so die by the sword.

The rules of the conference and the laws of South Africa forbid me to quote Sachs but I found myself astonished in agreement with him. The people of this country have accumulated enough suffering to deserve freedom, none of us needs tyranny to replace tyranny.

Taking risks

Somehow a way must be found, and soon, to make this country safe and free for all its people, and to bring our scattered children home.

Sachs took the risk of dropping his ideological guard in the presence of his own ideological constituency, I could do no less. That night I rewrote the draft of my own contribution to the conference, abandoning the habit of brute intransigence — total war in debate — which is my personal style, and casting my arguments in a form that, I thought, might invite constructive response.

As bluntly as I could, I spelled out my own central fear for the future that liberty will be betrayed at the moment of liberation when the South African Communist Party, acting as a vanguard party of the revolution, and equipped with considerable military resources, embarks on the "second stage" of its agenda to overthrow the new democracy.

The struggle against apartheid, which is the doctrine of the spawn of Hitler, has lasted so long that I really do not have the heart for another liberation struggle, this time against a regime headed by the spawn of Stalin.

All this needs to be kept in perspective. The conference was inherently unequal. It brought together leaders of the ANC and the SACP — Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Pallo Jordan, Aziz Pahad, Jeremy Cronin — with leaders of Cosatu, the UDF and the MDM, and on the "other side" a disparate gaggle of business leaders, academics, writers and journalists who might, at a pinch, be described as "liberal".

The "liberals" (some will not forgive me for the label) lacked any mandate, either to negotiate or even to

... speak for others. While both the ANC-SACP group and the members of the MDM caucused regularly, the rest were individualistic to the point of self-indulgence, and some were free spirits to the point of anarchy. Only the businessmen showed a capacity to get together, but as individuals.

Ringling speeches

The whole affair got off to a rocky start, the first day consumed by boring Marxist rhetoric from the "outside" speakers and intransigent posturing by the "inside" spokesman. That night I was close to flying home.

On the second morning, given the rare honour to address the French Assembly and to engage in a public exchange of views with the deputies of France, Murray Morobe of the UDF, Pallo Jordan of the ANC and Jay Naidoo of Cosatu made ringling speeches designed to reinforce the desires of the deputies to impose sanctions, only the vice-chancellor of Wits, Professor Robert Charlton, demurred firmly. Both Wynand Malan and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert fumbled ineffectually in trying to redress the balance without precipitating a civil war.

Many of the rest of us, taken by surprise, suspected a left-wing plot, especially since the French persisted in referring to us all as "the South African delegation", but it turned out to be simply the consequence of the imbalance of forces. Trust was restored and by the end of the week Thabo Mbeki was publicly inviting Murray Hofmeyr, chairman of JCI, to speak for us all.

Perhaps I was mistaken to think that it was Sachs who broke the initial logjam, but whatever the reason the debate was joined, and it deepened throughout the week. There was no agreement, but much illumination. Lines of stress, even fissures, appeared where they were least expected, unplanned alliances emerged (one on occasion, disconcertingly, between me and the ANC's Pallo Jordan).

What follows is not a report on the conference, but a distillation of my own observations — my tentative conclusions.

Ideas of liberty

Firstly, the liberation of Eastern Europe has shattered all post-war paradigms, but for the left it has been devastating. Old-style communism is as dead as God was once said to be, and nobody is a Stalinist any more. The communist world is embarked on a transition, historic in its scope, towards democracy and while the South African Left obviously cannot shape that immense process, it is not immune.

Liberals, I suspect, would be wise to stand back, and give the best members of the Left the space they need to work out a new definition of themselves. South African socialists, like all socialists, are groping towards ideas of liberty, and we should not throw obstacles in their path.

Secondly, I think ideological dominance has shifted from the SACP and the exiled ANC to the internal forces of Cosatu, the UDF and the MDM. The "insid-

ers" are closer to the reality of South Africa than the ANC exiles, more familiar with the terrain of apartheid, more able to see tactical possibilities, more independent and creative in their thinking.

They are certainly tougher, more flexible and more optimistic, and I think more formidable than most "outsiders". The implication, of course, is that the government, if it really does seek negotiations, might find advantage in letting the sophisticated and subtle exile leaders come home.

If nothing else, it would weaken their ties with the opportunists who have climbed on the international anti-apartheid bandwagon to make a living out of the destruction of this country, and who care nothing for our people.

Thirdly, the international standing of the ANC is simply astounding. We were treated by the French government as no South Africans since the Smuts era have ever been treated. We were sponsored by Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French President, courted by the President of the Assembly, Laurent Fabius, feted and feasted by the prime minister, foreign minister, cultural minister and diplomatic corps, and swept through the rush-hour streets in cavalcade.

Unmistakable

Until my dying day I shall remember 74-year old Henry Fazzie, released from restriction after years on the run, seated with serene dignity on the silk-backed chair where Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher had sat. I shall never forget the ebullient rascal from the Eastern Cape, Mkhusele Jack, also recently freed, leading the *toy-toy* beneath a swaying crystal chandelier and under the gaze of a benign, if slightly apprehensive, host.

And when *Vrye Weekblad* was said to be under threat of closure, it took the French only hours to come up with a guarantee of R1 million to keep the paper alive. The message was unmistakable: the global village is a reality, and it has had enough of apartheid. Our government can no more shoot its way out of trouble than the East Germans; liberation, one way or another, is at hand.

Fourthly, any solution in South Africa must meet two essential criteria: it must, of course, eradicate every trace of apartheid, but it must also satisfy a deeply felt need among people long oppressed for some kind of redress. If liberal thinking is to prevail, it must offer a credible solution to the problems of deprivation and poverty, and this is the time to offer it.

This brings me to my final observation, which is less tentative because it is more personal: the war against apartheid is all but won, and the threat from the left is receding as socialist thinking disintegrates around the world. We can put aside those arguments while we search for conciliation.

In the end, what we need is a country that offers space to live in peace and freedom even to our enemies.

Lawyer elected UDF leader in West Cape

110A
Cape Town 6/12/87
By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) has elected Cape Town attorney Mr Bulelani Ngcuka as its new chairman in the Western Cape.

He replaces Mr Dullah Omar, who was elected vice-president at the weekend at the UDF's first annual general meeting in the Western Cape for more than two years.

Mr Omar, who suffered a heart attack earlier this year, said yesterday that he had not stood for chairman mainly because of his health.

Former Robben Island prisoner Mr Christmas Tinto was elected president of the organisation in the Western Cape. Two honorary presidents were also elected, former Robben Island prisoner Mr Zolli Malindi and Mrs Dorothy Zihlangu, a former president of the United Women's Congress and the first president of the relaunched Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) in the region.

A former detainee, Mr Trevor Manual, and a former Robben Island

prisoner, Mr Amos Lengesi, were elected UDF general-secretaries in the Western Cape.

The organisation is still officially restricted, but during the defiance campaign earlier this year it declared itself unrestricted.

In a statement issued by its new publicity secretary in the Western Cape, Ms Cheryl Carolus, it said "Delegates reaffirmed that the strategic objective of our struggle is the transfer of power from a small racist minority to the majority of South Africans."

The defiance campaign would be stepped up, it said.

The other members of the executive are: Mr Johny de Lange (treasurer), Mr Willie Hofmeyer (media), Mr Graeme Bloch (education and training officer), Mr Rudie Dicks (education liaison), Mr Mbuyi Ralawe (religious liaison), Mr Mountain Qumbela (civic liaison), Mr David Abrahams (labour liaison), Mr William Thomas (organiser) and Mr David Dlahi (additional member).

The big indaba

Details out today

THE convening committee of the Conference for a Democratic Future will today outline details for the historic two-day meeting of extra-parliamentary organisations to be held in Johannesburg on Saturday.

The conference, the first of its kind in recent times, aims to formulate a programme of united action to end apartheid.

It will also take a stance on negotiations, calling for the unbanning of organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency and for one-man-one-vote among other objectives.

Charter

Organisations subscribing to the pro-Freedom Charter, Mass Democratic Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement have indicated they would attend.

But the newly-formed Pan Africanist Movement of Azania said after its launch rally this week it would not participate in the conference saying the CDF was being called without the PAM's participation in the convening committee.

In a statement the PAM said it noted that it had no say in the programme and that this contradicted the very spirit of the CDF.

BY THEMBA
L. MOLEFE

PAM's decision would be addressed in the Press briefing to be held today.

The organisation's stance will set a poster for the conference as it has members in the National Council of Trade Unions which earlier indicated the federation would participate. Some of Nactu's affiliates subscribe to the BCM.

Joint CDF spokesman
Mr Haroon Patel said the

6/12/89 Sowetan

(114)

Sense of deja vu as activists strive for democratic future

Star 1/12/87

11A

The Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF), set to be held in Johannesburg on Saturday, invites comparison with the 1955 Congress of the People, where about 3 000 delegates adopted the Freedom Charter.

But, like the Congress of the People at Klip-town, the CDF is certain to arouse controversy, as anti-apartheid activists affirm or reject it in the strongest terms

Already the Africanists, through their newly formed organisation, the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM), have dissociated themselves from the CDF, implying that it lacks "serious commitment to principled unity"

There is a sense of *deja vu* to the PAM's opposition, it recalls the opposition to the Freedom Charter from Africanists within the African National Congress in the 1950s

The CDF's original purpose was to provide a forum for representatives of anti-apartheid organisations to map the shortest route to a democratic future. To that end it invited organisations to apply to take part if they subscribed to seven principles: one person, one vote in a united SA, lifting of the state of emergency; release of all political prisoners, unbanning of political organisations, freedom of association and expression, press freedom, and living wages for all

Working together

The convening committee, which screened applications, was drawn from two camps: the pro-Freedom Charter Mass Democratic Movement and the black consciousness movement.

Co-operation between MDM and black consciousness leaders was — as MDM publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe was quick to point out at a CDF news conference yesterday — a major step towards unity

A few years ago, activists from the two camps were killing and maiming one another; today they're working together for even greater unity

But the CDF's quest for unity will start without the blessing — and possibly in the face of stern opposition — from two major forces in the black community: the Africanists and Inkatha

The PAM alleged at its founding conference that the CDF convening committee had started on a divisive rather than a unifying note by not including Africanists

PAM was formed only last weekend, as Mr Haroon Patel, a member of the convening committee and executive member of the pro-black consciousness organisation, noted yesterday.

But, Africanists pointed out, the PAM interim committee has been in existence for some months and, according to a resolution passed by the PAM at its founding conference, overtures

A soon-to-be-formed organisation will be striving for a united front against apartheid. But its quest will start without the blessing — and possibly in the face of tough opposition — from two major forces in the black community, reports **PATRICK LAURENCE**.

were made to the CDF convening committee for representation to be given to Africanists.

Inkatha was conspicuously absent from the list of participating organisations disclosed at the CDF press conference. Its absence drew questions from the press

Inkatha had not applied to take part "directly or specifically", Mr Morobe said. Had it done so, its application would have been considered, he added. He could not, however, speculate on what the result would have been

He was asked, but did not say, whether Inkatha fell into a category of organisations which — in the words of a CDF statement — "exclude themselves by virtue of their track records in supporting the racist Government and its apartheid structures and their continued hostility to the liberation movement and its traditions".

The list of participating organisations provoked further questions, it included parties and organisations taking part in what the MDM and the black consciousness movement usually label contemptuously as "bantustans"

Among organisations accorded full delegation status are Inyandza, the ruling party in kaNgwane, Seoposengwe, an opposition party in Bophuthatswana, and the Democratic People's Party in Transkei. The Democratic Party in SA's Parliament was given only observer status

Three members of the convening committee offered explanations for the apparent anomalies. Mr Khehla Mtembu agreed that participation was "a very sensitive issue", the DP, however, was excluded from full participation because it was part of the "ruling class in Parliament".

Mr Morobe replied that the DP had to be seen in the context of its participation in the recent general election. He appeared to be alluding to the DP's contentious decision to field candidates in the election of MPs to the Indian chamber.

Mr Patel referred to an addendum to the seven unifying principles, requiring organisations to associate "with the oppressed and exploited" and to commit themselves to "total eradication of oppression and exploitation". He thought some parties and organisations in the "bantustans" could fulfil those criteria while the DP could not.

Africanists, however, saw an element of "opportunism" in the inclusion of people who have "collaborated" with the white Government by operating from apartheid structures

Star 7/12/87

Apartheid's demise is aim of new group

By Patrick Laurence

119

7/12/87

The Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF), the most important gathering of anti-apartheid activists since the 1972 Black People's Convention and the 1955 Congress of the People, is on course.

But when hundreds of delegates, representing scores of organisations, converge on the University of the Witwatersrand for the historic conference on Saturday, they will not include emissaries of the Pan-Africanist Movement or of Inkatha.

A delegation from the largely white Democratic Party will be there. It has been accorded observer status only. In contrast, political parties from some of the "black homelands" may qualify for full status as participating delegations.

These were the key points to emerge from a press conference called yesterday by the convening committee of the CDF.

"The aim of the conference is to chart a common course for mass united action towards the realisation of a democratic future," the CDF conveners said.

The conveners — who are drawn from both the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and black consciousness organisations — declared it was not their intention to exclude any organisation or person.

But, they said, "organisations and people may exclude themselves by virtue of their track records in supporting the racist Government and its apartheid structures and their continued hostility to the liberation movement and its traditions."

UNIFYING PRINCIPLES

Mr Murphy Morobe, of the MDM, avoided a question about whether Inkatha fell within that category, merely noting that Inkatha had not applied to attend.

Parties from "homelands" which, unlike the DP, may be accorded full status, include Inyanga, the governing party in KaNgwane; Seoposengwe, an opposition party in Bophuthatswana, and the Democratic People's Party, an opposition party in Transkei.

To qualify for full status they will have to subscribe to seven "unifying principles" — including universal adult suffrage in an undivided South Africa — and to a supplementary declaration committing them to mass action to eradicate "oppression and exploitation".

Mr Haroon Patel, of the CDF convening committee and of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), defended the decision to allow participation by "homeland parties" even though it contravened a long-standing Azapo principle of non-collaboration with people operating in Government-approved or apartheid structures.

"We want to narrow the social base of the National Party and expand the base of the liberation movement," he said.

It would enable the DP to be there to listen to the arguments and counter-arguments from the floor and to take part in informal discussions, Mr Patel said.

At the same time it would protect the DP from the danger of having every statement and resolution which emerges from the conference hung around its necks by its foes on the Right.

Sisulu keynote speaker

THE Conference for a Democratic Future, a gathering of anti-apartheid organisations of divergent ideologies, goes ahead as scheduled on Saturday

Keynote addresses will be given by Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Jerry

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

Mosala who will speak on the road ahead and a negotiated settlement.

The conference begins at 9 am at the University of the Witwatersrand.

A statement read at a

Press conference by CDF co-publicity secretary Mr Haroon Patel said. "This is a historic gathering in our country which will draw people across the political spectrum and will be characterised by non-sectarianism and unity of the oppressed."

"The aim of the conference is to chart a common course for mass united action towards the realisation of a democratic future.

"The conference will be taking place against a

• To page 2

11A Sowetan 7/12/89

THURSDAY DECEMBER 7 1989

Sisulu keynote speaker

• From page 1

background of an intensely fluid political situation both inside and outside South Africa."

Present at the Press briefing were other members of the convening committee, Mr Murphy Morobe, Mr Mbulelo Rakoena, Mr Khehla Mthembu, Dr Beyers Naude and Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa

The committee said a general invitation was issued to organisations and applications had been received from many organisations, including groups such as Inyandza of KaNgwane, Seoposengwe Party of Bophuthatswana and the

Democratic Peoples Party of Transkei

Indications were that Major-General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei wanted to attend

The newly-formed Pan Africanist Movement of Azania said it would not participate in the conference as it was called without the PAM's participation in the convening committee.

Responding to a question on the PAM's stance, Patel said it was any organisation's democratic right to decide whether to participate or not.

11A

Sowetan 7/12/89

Witness accuses Inkatha

11A

• From page 1

Mr A said that one of the men who got off the bus was dressed in a customary beshu (loin skin) and carrying a shield. This man produced a gun.

7/12/89

"We retreated and ran some distance. We saw a taxi draw up and a Mr Nomvete get out. The man who got out of the bus went up and shot Nomvete in the mouth.

Sowetan

"A South African Defence Force truck appeared and I told the soldiers what had happened, and then a South African Police truck drove up.

"I told them that a man had been shot dead by a man I could identify but the killer was not arrested."

Mr A blamed Inkatha for the violence in the townships, alleging that there were hit squads who took instructions from higher up.

"Violence has stopped in Edendale because there are no Inkatha people there," Mr A said.

Mr A alleged that a well-known Inkatha man (Mr Sibuso Christopher Zuma) had told him, Mr A, that he had received R10 000 from the Kwa-Zulu Government to "do away with the United Democratic Front supporters and that he would receive R500 per client."

Mr A said that in 1985 one of the causes of the violence was the fact that some Inkatha men had stood on the roof of an Inkatha man's house and shot at mourners who were being ferried in taxis after the shooting of Mr Gibson Thulani Msomi, chairman of the Imbali Youth Organisation.

A woman who often broke down while testifying said that her son had been shot dead by a white policeman in Mpu-mulanga on November

Observer status only for DP and business

B1D4 7/12/87

ALAN FINE

The Democratic Party and the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) have been accorded observer status only at Saturday's Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF)

At a media briefing yesterday, CDF convenors outlined plans for the conference at Wits University. They said it would "be characterised by non-sectarianism and unity of the oppressed".

Murphy Morobe, explaining the limited status of the DP and CBM, said the September general election had highlighted serious contradictions within the DP. UDF affiliates strenuously opposed DP participation in the House of Delegates election.

~~Sensitivity~~ **Sensitivity** 119

However, Morobe added "We are not shutting the door on them and we look forward to the day when those contradictions can be resolved".

He said convenors had also had to consider the views of the trade union movement as regards the CBM. There was a great deal of sensitivity, especially in the light of struggles against the Labour Relations Act.

DP co-leader Wynand Malan said his party empathised with the organisers' difficulties in managing their programme and believed there could have been objections from black consciousness groups. While the DP would have preferred full delegate status, it still supported the initiative.

The CBM's Christo Nel said he recognised the realities of the situation and

the organisation held to the view that the identification of common ground among all actors held the key to the future. The CBM represents about 100 prominent businessmen.

The conference will be attended by 2 500 delegates, representing hundreds of organisations, who will discuss the question of negotiations, international support for the anti-apartheid struggle and a "programme of mass action to end apartheid".

Keynote speakers will be Walter Sisulu and Jerry Mosala.

CDF convenors said Nactu's participation remained in doubt, while Inkatha had not applied to attend.

Nactu sources said yesterday the question of participation was still being discussed. There appeared to be reservations in Nactu about the attendance of a number of homeland-based political parties. Transkeian ruler, Bantu Holomisa may also attend.

Africanists in Nactu also appeared to wish to adhere to the non-participation line expressed earlier this week by the newly-established Pan Africanist Movement, while black consciousness elements were willing to attend.

CDF convenor Haroon Patel said the purpose of the conference was to "seek to put ordinary people in charge of the process of change as a way of ensuring that the new order we seek is truly a product of our own struggles and not of the benevolence of F.W. de Klerk and the NP".

Mar 21/2/89

2 Soviet Academics on 2-week SA visit

By Brendan Templeton
The idea that the ANC had departed from the armed struggle was more a figment of South Africans' imaginations than a process which was really taking place, two Russian academics said on their arrival at Jan Smuts airport yesterday.

Professors Apollon Davidsen and Irina Filatova are on a two-week tour of the country on invitation from the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa). They will visit the cities and townships of Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

"There is much spoken about (the ANC's departure from the armed struggle), but it is more the wishes of South African people than reality." "Previously the main stress was on a military solution, now political solutions seem to be more fruitful... but by no means will Russia abandon the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC," Professor Filatova said.

PERESTROIKA

"Political solutions are very much a part of Gorbachev's policy," Professor Davidson said. "I hope you have heard of perestroika. Now we want to see if it is in your county," he said.

They studied South Africa for many years, but were able to come here now only because of the loosened constraints on academics in Russia after President Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika policy, he said.

The policy was not a departure from socialism, rather it was an attempt to change the face of socialism and to move away from Stalinism, Professor Filatova said.

The question of diplomatic relations between South Africa and Russia would only become relevant if this country became more democratic, Professor Davidson said. They will address a public meeting tonight at 7 30 pm at the University of the Witwatersrand, Senate House, Room 6.

ire
ce
in

WELCOME

Atteridgeville brings
out the red carpet for
Japhta Masemola

7/12/89
Sawetaba
11A

THE Atteridgeville Super Stadium will be the venue of a mass rally on December 16 organised by Atteridgeville residents to welcome back Pan Africanist Congress stalwart Mr Japhta Kgalabi Masemola

Masemola was jailed in 1963 and released this year with seven African National Congress leaders. He served 26 years of a life-sentence imposed on him for PAC activities

According to a spokesman for the Atteridgeville reception committee, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, the community of Atteridgeville had decided to arrange the welcome home rally "because Masemola went to jail for beliefs which we all share."

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng will share the stage with Masemola. It will be the first time Masemola has spoken at such a mass rally.

Other speakers will include Atteridgeville residents Mr Nkosi Molala, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Dr Abe Nkomo, representing the Atteridgeville-



Japhta Masemola

Saulsville Residents Organisation, Professor SS Mameela, who will represent Atteridgeville clergy, and Mrs Joyce Matube, community and social worker.

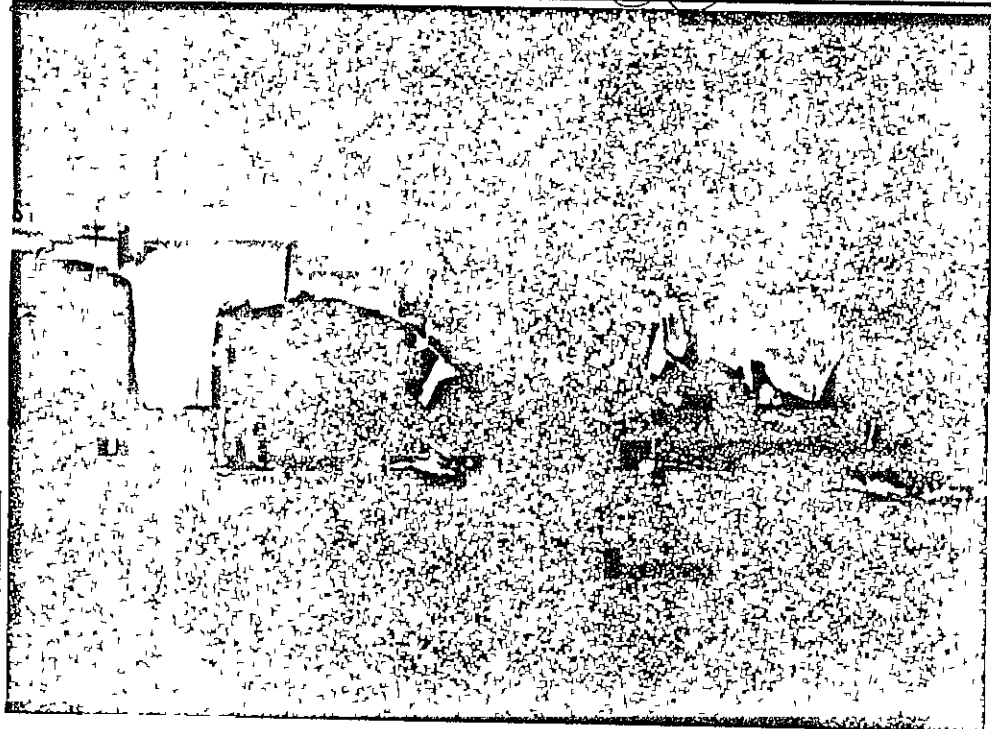
There will also be choral music from groups like the Pretoria Serenaders, the Atteridgeville Adult Choir, Unity Band, traditional groups, Carlos Djedje, and poetry reading.

The rally will start at 9am and go on until 40pm, according to Moseneke who has himself served a 10-year prison term with Masemola.

"We would like to involve the whole community of Pretoria in this rally for we believe that in times like these unity is paramount in our action," said Moseneke.



AG 6/12/89 (114)



200 feared homeless in Crossroads burnings

Staff Reporter
 ABOUT 60 shacks were burned down in Crossroads early today after a protest against the administration of the mayor of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

No casualties have been reported but more than 200 people, including children, are believed to be homeless.

The first fires were reported just after 2am in Boystown Old Crossroads. Civil Defence alerted the fire station and two fire engines arrived under police escort.

Two shacks were set alight in F2 and others in F1. A water tanker was sent to help.

When further shacks were set alight near Lansdowne and New Iseleben Road at 3am another fire engine was sent. Firemen said many shacks were burning in the area.

Police said a man was arrested after he tried to persuade people to attend an illegal gathering.

HOMES LOST - Some of the 60 shacks burned down in Crossroads in growing tension between opposing groups in the township

Pictures: LEON MULLER The Argus



SALVAGE Crossroads residents, some with their babies on their backs, battled to save whatever they could from their burning shacks.

THE NEWLY-LAUNCHED AFRICANIST GROUP IS 'ON THE MARCH' SAYS ITS LEADERSHIP

A 'who's who' of the new Africanist leaders

The Pan Africanist Movement elected a 16-member executive at its launch last weekend. CASSANDRA MOODLEY gives a 'who's who' of the key figures

THE Pan Africanist Movement's 16-member executive committee, elected last weekend, includes activists in the labour movement, former Robben Island prisoners, and former Pan Africanist Congress members

Jeff Masemola, the PAC leader recently released from Robben Island, and PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, however, are not PAM members

Masemola has yet to apply for membership and Mothopeng is already head of an Africanist structure, say PAM representatives

PAM is the first liberation movement in South Africa to have a president living in a homeland during his term of office

The president, Clarence Makwetho, was born in the Comababa district in Transkei and has a long history of political involvement.

He was a member of the African National Congress Youth League, holding the position of assistant branch secretary

Makwetho supported the Africanist position within the Youth League and left the organisation when the PAC was formed

He was the first PAC president of the Western Cape region and was in the frontline of the 1960 Sharpeville anti-pass march organised by the Africanist organisation, which had been banned by then

He was sentenced to eight years imprisonment on Robben Island in 1968 on a charge of furthering the aims of a banned organisation. After his release he returned to the Transkei, where he took up farming

The general-secretary, or administrative head of the PAM, is Benny Alexander who has been the organisation's front-man in the weeks leading to the official launch

Alexander, a son of "working class" parents, hails from Kimberley

He traces his belief in the Africanist ideology to the days when he saw Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, the founder member of the PAC, walk the streets of Kimberley and noted how "white people feared him"

But it was when he arrived in Johannesburg in 1982 that he became more familiar with the Africanist philosophy — it was the first political movement he "joined with his heart"

Africanists ready for '90s

THE Pan Africanist Movement was ready for the 1990s Pan Africanist Congress chairman, Zeph Mothopeng, told 1 000 supporters he addressed at the movement's launch last weekend at Nasrec in Johannesburg. But PAM representatives did not want to speculate on their national leadership this week, saying this could be determined after local launch congresses had been held.

PAM general-secretary Benny Alexander said the organisation was seriously organising in rural areas and the bantustans.

"With the establishment of the bantustans, a system of feudalism resumed and we can once again see a peasant problem."

PAM rejected calls for talks with the government, saying the organisation was not "in the current euphoria about negotiations as a result of the international policy of rapprochement by superpowers (caused by) Russian economic reconstruction".

"The consequence of this on the African National Congress means drastic cuts on military and material support and the fading prospect of a successful armed struggle. They must be able to survive and have to do so without losing face," PAM said.

PAM said South African society as the result of settler colonialism and that the struggle would be for na-



PAC President Zeph Mothopeng leaves the Nasrec complex in Johannesburg after the PAM launch.

Picture ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Alexander was seconded to assist Mothopeng on his trip abroad earlier this year and has since assisted the PAC president at press conferences and public appearances

Alexander's move to Johannesburg also heralded his entry into the world of trade unionism. While working at a pharmaceutical company in Wynberg he became a shop steward and was a founder member of the Black Health and Allied Workers Union, an independent union, and co-ordinated many health workers' strikes

Alexander joined the law unit of the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union in 1986

During these years Alexander was also instrumental in organising the formation of the Pan Africanist Organisation.

Together with the present assistant general-secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, Cunningham Ngcukana, and another Africanist activist "General" Mqandela, Alexander travelled around the country talking to workers about the need for an Africanist structure

This led to the first consultative conference of Africanists in January 1988, where PAM's launch was discussed and a national committee of

four elected to guide Africanist affairs. Alexander was one of the four. At present Alexander is helping in the law unit of the Steel Engineering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa until the end of the month, when he will assume the full-time position of general-secretary of the Nactu affiliated organisation

Nactu's Ngcukana was also in the vanguard of PAM's launch and sat on the 12-man interim executive committee as secretary

However, he said he would not take any official position in the organisation while he held his position in Nactu. This did not mean he would

"abandon his Africanist principles and obligations", he added

Commenting on the presence of Nactu banners at the launch, he said "Nactu considers PAM to be an ally, as it would consider any other organisation in the liberation movement — it does not mean that Nactu is an affiliate of PAM"

Some of PAM's leaders have also spent lengthy terms on Robben Island

The assistant general-secretary Philmon Tefu, vice-chairman of the interim committee, received a life sentence in 1963 for being a member of a banned organisation following the

mass arrests of PAC leaders during that year. He spent 22 years in jail.

Tefu joined the organisation in 1964 after it was banned and at the time of his arrest was chairman of the Mameledi branch. He said he could identify with the PAC principles of the land belonging to the African people

He was released in 1985 after renouncing violence, following State President P W Botha's offer of conditional release. The PAC leaders decided it was up to the individual to make this decision

Publicity secretary Benny Moetla, was released from Robben Island in June this year, after completing his second prison sentence

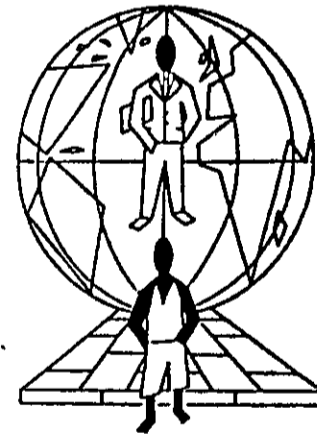
In 1963 he was sentenced, with Tefu, for sabotage. Once again, in 1979, Moetla found himself on the island for his alleged involvement in the PAC

He is also the acting general-secretary of the United Association of Motor and Allied Workers union, a Nactu affiliate

The national organiser of the new body, Walter Tshikila, was also a Robben Island prisoner and was released with ANC leader Govan Mbeki. Secretary of political affairs Mpolose Mangquangwana also served 18 years on the island

Other executive committee members who are also involved in the labour movement include labour secretary Manele Samela, a South African Chemical Workers Union organiser, and Phillip Dlamini of Sabmawu

The remaining executive committee members are treasurer Mike Matsobane, secretary for education Mahlubi Mbanda, cultural secretary Mopolusi Morokong, Lesley Ntuli (sports); Patricia de Lille (foreign affairs); Nana Moabi (health), Joyce Sedibe, projects and development secretary, and Bathembu Lugulwane, secretary for relief projects



'street-wise'

helps street children to get an education, to learn job skills, to meet the challenge of living within society instead of on its fringe.

STREET-WISE is in Durban, Soweto, Pretoria, Johannesburg.

'STREET-WISE' URGENTLY NEEDS FUNDS

HELP STREET CHILDREN ...

HELP SOCIETY ...

HELP STREET - WISE !

(Fund-raising under the auspices of the Children's Foundation: 01 100173 000 7)

I WANT TO HELP STREET-WISE
by offering personal assistance
 contributing

the enclosed sum of R

a monthly sum of R

(It costs about R120 p.m. to train a child at STREET-WISE)

I want to pay

by Stop Order (please send me a form)

Cheque/Postal Order

(crossed and made payable to STREET-WISE)

Name:

Address

Code:

Telephone:

Please return coupon to STREET-WISE, P.O. Box 1312, Parklands 2121.

Cassandra Moodley

POLITICS

FW's new weapon against securocrats

MAJOR scandals about some people who run the country seem to surface when they are useful to other people who run it. Like the Information Scandal, current charges that people in the security establishment have been assassinating activists were not invented by factions in the government. But, in both cases, the revelations have allowed a section of the state to strengthen its position at the expense of another.

Their concern is to ensure that they do this without weakening themselves as well; that the scandal weakens a section of the government, rather than the government itself.

The Information Scandal did just that. It was used by PW Botha and his supporters to destroy the political careers of Connie Mulder and his allies. Attempts to implicate PW Botha and then Finance Minister Owen Horwood — and so to end their careers — were successfully deflected and Muldergate did not damage the National Party as a whole.

Some time after the scandal, a senior journalist on an opposition newspaper reflected ruefully that, despite euphoria at the time, the exposes were not a Watergate-type example of a crusading press cutting through official secrecy to expose the power structure.

"We were used as tools in a faction fight," he mused. The hit squad allegations, of course, come at a time when the FW de Klerk administration is trying to reduce the influence of the "securocrats" and strengthen that of the politicians.

This attempt, confirmed last week when De Klerk announced the downgrading of the State Security Council and scrapped the Joint Management Centres, can hardly be harmed by allegations that shatter the security establishment's image as a benign force.

That does not mean that the allegations are any less serious. But it does explain rumours that senior government politicians are not at all upset that they have surfaced — and would be equally unperturbed if they were made to stick.



Worm's Eye
Steven Friedman

But the scandal is clearly only of use to them if it can be contained.

Firstly, the Nat leadership would obviously be strengthened if the allegations implicated "securocrats" but not politicians.

In theory, this should be difficult. In a parliamentary system, ministers are supposed to know what is happening in their departments. If there were — and are — hit squads it doesn't matter whether the ministers in charge of security departments knew about them. As political heads of the security forces, they should have known and would presumably have to resign.

Since some of the ministers are allies of the current leadership, this could severely weaken the government itself.

Secondly, the allegations may be extremely dangerous if they implicated the top echelons of the security establishment.

The "securocrats" are unlikely to be enjoying their decline in influence and the obvious question is whether they are going to tolerate it. If the hit squad allegations threaten the security establishment as a whole, they are far less likely to sit back and allow themselves to be targeted; it is not at all certain that the politicians would be able to control them.

Again it might be difficult to prevent implicating them since generals are also supposed to know what their troops are doing.

Despite this, Muldergate suggests that the Nat leadership might contain the damage and succeed again in ensuring that they emerge stronger, their opponents in the system weaker.

This time around, however, it will prove far more difficult because the Nats are not controlling this scandal.

Then there was no extra-parliamentary movement directly affected by the allegations. Now there is, and it has access to foreign opinion, which is important to the government and which is far more likely to react strongly to these charges than to evidence that state money was used to promote the ruling party.

Parts of the government largely controlled Muldergate; this time, they may be forced merely to react to the scandal and they may well find it far harder to control the outcome.

That said, there is little or no prospect that the scandal will bring down the government — or even threaten to do that.

If it does widen, this may be possible only because part of the government has an interest in allowing it to.

If it seemed likely to threaten the entire political establishment, current divisions within it would probably end and "securocrats" and politicians would unite to ensure that public debate on the issue ended.

That might halt — or at least delay — the liberalisation which the Nats have been forced to begin.

On the other hand, if the scandal is contained, the Nat leadership might not be the only victors.

The divisions would remain and the politicians, who are far more likely to make concessions to the demands of the voteless than the "securocrats", would emerge strengthened.

This suggests that scandals, even if they are as serious as the current one, have a limited effect on our politics.

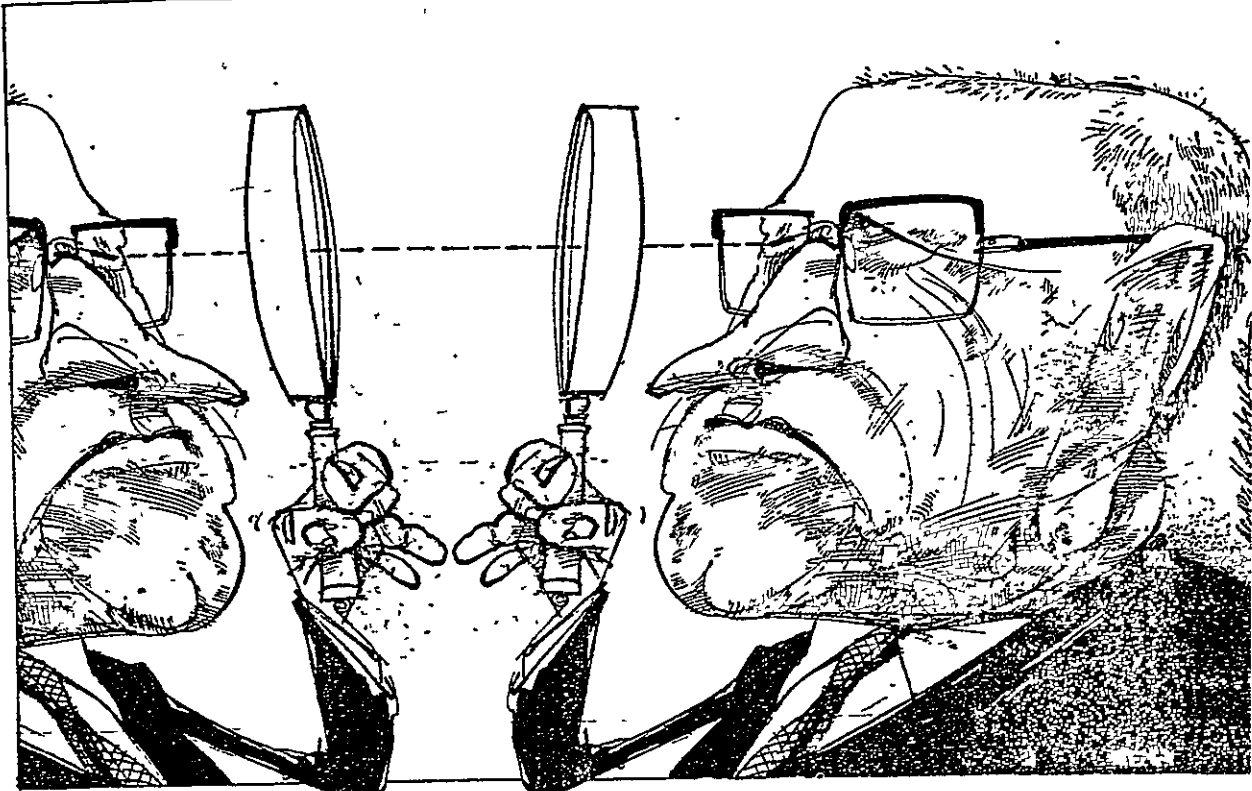
It is obviously essential that information about hit squads should continue to be revealed — including evidence about who has been involved in them, however senior they may be.

But an attempt to use the allegations as the basis for a campaign to force the entire government to resign is likely to end in failure.

The revelations could, however, further strengthen pressure on the government for a political settlement and further weaken those who still pin their hopes on a military solution.

In the longer term, that might do a great deal to ensure that activists can engage in politics free of the fear that they are placing their lives on the line.

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



LETTERS

Society, not doctors should decide on unborn kids

■ Dr Gruber (Weekly Mail, November 10 1989 letters page) suggests the medical profession should be given the freedom to terminate pregnancies "at as early a stage as possible" in order to alleviate overpopulation.

Firstly, the question of abortion is not simply one which concerns the medical profession. It also concerns mothers, fathers, the unborn children and society. Secondly, it is impossible to decide upon the issue of abortion without deciding on the status of the unborn child.

Dr Gruber's phrase "terminate pregnancies" shows he has already come to a conclusion on this point — Hilton Taylor, Edenvale

■ GOOD grief! Oh dearie, me and isn't it amazing? Here we have Nadine Gordimer in a lather and MJ Gordon frothing at the mouth about SACP flags at the ANC Soccer City rally. Howzit for freedom in the new South Africa? Or are we just heading for another 50 years of oppression and totalitarianism?

Seems so, if Gordon ever gets his/her hands on the reigns. Perhaps he/she should be the one to "go" somewhere. Alabama? Tiananmen Square?

Viva freedom of opinion, viva subtlety, delicacy, comprehension of complexity, and viva a multi-party state in South Africa so the will of the purple can triumph at last. Perhaps someone reliably authorised to speak for the ANC could comment? — EJ Rosenthal, Bellevue East

■ I AM currently doing psychological research into the nature of the negative experiences that some people report while being treated by clinical or counselling psychologists.

Many psychotherapy patients are often unknowing victims of deficient or unprofessional psychological treatment. Theoretically the Medical and Dental Council, the body with which all psychologists are registered, enforces professional standards of treatment and is empowered to act against psychologists who do not meet these standards.

However, in practice the power structure of the patient-therapist relationship and general ignorance about the nature of psychotherapy serves to discourage patients from questioning the conduct of their therapists.

I'm appealing to people who feel they have, in any way, been mistreated or unprofessionally dealt with in the course of their treatment to write and tell me about their experiences. All correspondence will be regarded as strictly confidential. — Gavin Ivey, 2103 High Tide, Kings Way, Amanzimtoti, 4125

■ I AM alarmed and quite dismayed at the conduct whites secretly pursued during the period since the start of the State of Emergency. I say so because when I remember how they not only opened themselves during the uprising before the declaration of the Emergency regulations, but called on other whites

to accept blacks as human beings.

I soon found myself with quite a number of repentant and liberal white friends who were still politically naive and dis-informed. Immediately after the State of Emergency was promulgated I suddenly lost a number of them and those who remained on the friendship wagon were to suddenly retreat to the laager and not only ceased to discuss political issues but disagreed with whatever I said.

I suspect that on realising my refusal to budge they'll call in the crushing machinery of the state to assist. I've decided to estrange myself.

I must stress I am not racist or anti- but only want to reflect my report. Viva Mandela Viva — Tim Singiswa, Gugulethu

■ YOUR article on the contact between environmentalists and trade union representatives at St Lucia dropped a major piece of the jigsaw into place for me.

Things are moving so fast in South Africa — in the world, for that matter — that one has to do one's thinking on the run. Many are conscientised today and involved over their ears tomorrow. And conscientisation, as we all know, is an ongoing process.

I have been both a democrat and an environmentally concerned person for many years. My environmental concern has found a home in an organisation called Earthlife Africa. And many in that organisation had already put the jigsaw together. Earthlife Africa has recognised from the start that you cannot separate the environment from people. One of the first things the newly established Johannesburg branch got interested in was teaching trench gardening to squatters who do not have enough to eat.

But liaising with trade unions — to me that is a new and brilliant idea. In launching the Pretoria branch of Earthlife Africa we relied too much on general publicity advertisements in papers, posters in public places.

Your article first suggested to me the idea of a personal approach to Cosatu. Thank you for jogging my memory, and I hope Weekly Mail readers in the Pre-

toria trade union sector generally will accept this letter as a sincere bid for their support in making the earth a good place for our children.

By the same token, I shall never again go on a peace march without a supply of flowers. Had I thought as I think now when we demonstrated on Church Square a few weeks ago, I would have brought flowers for the police we were sure to find.

This is my decision, even after reading and weeping over the revelations of Dirk Coetzee in *Vrye Weekblad* last week. Does he really re-

gret only the "uselessness" of his actions? I hope it goes deeper than that.

Oh, let's have an end — not to vigilance, but to fear and suspicion and aggression. Do we really want to perpetuate these things, implant them in our children? Those who have no part in aggression cannot suspend aggression, but we can work at the other end — even only by broadening our minds, opening our hearts and carrying a copious supply of flowers. — Madeleine du Toit, Pretoria

■ ON Friday December 1 David Schmidt ended five years' community service. As a classified religious objector he is required to complete a period of community service one-and-a-half years longer than the period of military service (including the statutory 18 months' camps) required of conscripts. Schmidt therefore has a further year's service to perform — which he is refusing to do. His action is not that of an isolated religious objector, but of one with the punitive requirements of the Defence Act. His hope is it will draw attention to the plight of all conscientious objectors in South Africa.

Legislation demands Schmidt's prosecution, which if successful, will mean a year's imprisonment as a common criminal. This will be a shameful waste yet another principled, capable and committed young South African.

As an organisation representing 100 community servers, we support Schmidt in his courageous raising of these issues, and reiterate his criticism of the present system of community service, which includes

- length of service — approximately the equivalent of a conscript's salary for six years

- narrow scope of jobs — in government departments and local government bodies, excluding working as a teacher or in the Department of Justice

- exclusivity of the religious objector classification — the government does not recognise the right of moral or political objectors to alternative service

- the imprisonment of conscientious objectors who cannot or will not conform to the religious objector classification, or cannot or will not go into ex — National Community Servers Group, Cape Town

Address letters to Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, Box 260425, Excom 2023. Shorter letters will be given preference. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for clarity or space.

(11A) wmail 8-14/12/89.

The debate will be fierce, but major obstacles are now past

THE Mass Democratic Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement appear close to healing a decade-long rift on the eve of tomorrow's Conference for a Democratic Future

Representatives of both movements said that while they still had their differences they had nevertheless achieved consensus on how the weekend event at Wits University should proceed

Previous sticking points such as the question of the presence of "homeland" parties and the Democratic Party seem to have been resolved amicably, though the conference floor debate is expected to be vigorous

The tentative unity between the BCM and MDM may have placed the newly formed Pan Africanist Movement out on a limb with its decision to stay away from tomorrow's gathering

While the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) has announced it will not be attending, it is possible that divisions between Africanists and BCM supporters within the federation will lead to some of its member unions breaking ranks — as they did with the workers' summit earlier this year

A year ago black consciousness groups withdrew from the proposed (and later banned) Anti-Apartheid Conference, but have been integral to the planning process from the start in this year's event, and have made it clear they have no intention of withdrawing

"Relations have been positive and we've been working very well together," said the BCM's Khehla Mthembu

The United Democratic Front's Murphy Morobe said that in the process of organising the event, "many differences were ironed out" and common approaches had emerged

An area of intense debate earlier in the process was whether parties participating in "homeland" structures should be allowed to attend

But in the end it was agreed that those groups which agreed to the seven-point conference "unifying perspective" and to an anti-apartheid declaration would not be turned away

Two homeland parties whose dele-

By GAVIN EVANS

gates have been accepted are Chief Enos Mabuza's kaNgwane ruling party Inyandza and Bophuthatswana opposition party Seoposengwe

BCM representative Haroon Patel said that while they were opposed to participation in all government bodies, groups such as Inyandza were "undermining collaborationist structures" to the extent they were actively opposing apartheid

Another issue of potential division was whether the DP and groups representing "big business" should be present

It was resolved by creating an observer group category which will include the DP, the Consultative Business Movement and the German-South African Chamber of Commerce

Over the last week the number of organisations applying to attend has mushroomed to nearly 1 000 and organisers expect the final delegate tally to pass the 3 500 mark — 1 000 more than originally expected

The conference convening committee appears to have succeeded in their aim of holding a broad-based event

Over 200 of the groups present are not linked to the UDF, the BCM or the Congress of South African Trade Unions

Several "establishment" groups not previously viewed in anti-apartheid terms will be present

Included among the delegates will be 20 senior Jewish leaders from groups such as the Jewish Board of Deputies, the Union of Jewish Women and the Zionist Federation

Also present will be delegates from the Southern African Independent Schools Association, the National Soccer League, the principals of several universities, the National Medical and Dental Association, the Women for Peace, the National Taverners Association, the Southern African Black Taxi Association, several environmental groups, scores of committees representing the unemployed and squatters and a range of Christian, Muslim, Jewish and Hindu organisations and churches

The three who stayed away

THREE anti-apartheid organisations have announced they will not attend the conference

The newly-formed Pan Africanist Movement, the Cape Action League and the National Council of Trade Unions have said they will not participate, joining the stayaway begun by the New Unity Movement soon after plans to hold the conference were announced earlier this year.

Non-charterist opposition to the conference was not expected since the convening committee included members of the Black Consciousness Movement as well as MDM, church and trade union leaders. This was expected to allow broad representation in the planning of the agenda and drawing up the guest-list.

However, at its inaugural congress last weekend PAM, which embraces the African nationalist principles of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, announced its decision "not to be par-

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

ty to the CDF?"

PAM said its withdrawal was based on the fact that it was not included in the convening committee despite declaring its willingness to do so. As a result it could not raise its objections to the inclusion of homeland bodies, nor would it be able to influence the agenda.

In the wake of this stand by Africanist organisations, the trade union federation Nactu announced it too would not attend the conference.

Nactu representative Cunningham Ngcukana said the federation was unhappy about the attendance of such "collaborationists" as the Democratic Party, Inyandza and Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa, despite the fact that Holomisa and the DP would be accorded observer status only.

But there were indications yesterday that certain Nactu affiliates adhering to black consciousness principles would be at the conference.

Hani's alleged bomber joined police - Coetzee

By IVOR POWELL and
MZIMKULU MALUNGA

ERNEST RAMOTALA, the man who allegedly attempted to bomb current Umkhonto weSizwe leader Chris Hani in Lesotho in 1980, was given a job by the South African security police after absconding on bail, the *Weekly Mail* ascertained this week.

Prior to the attempted bombing, in which Ramotala was severely injured when the bomb went off during priming, he had been a police informer and a member of the South African state-connected United Democratic Party. However, he was not officially employed by the SAP.

Subsequent to absconding, Ramotala was seen on numerous occasions in the company of self-confessed security police death squad operative Butana Almond Nofomela, and on one occasion he introduced himself as a colleague.

This was told to *Weekly Mail* by a senior Lesotho government official.

According to the source, it was widely suspected at the time that the bomb had been booby trapped and that Ramotala had been set up. Ramotala believed the bomb would explode when Hani put the car into reverse gear. Instead it left Ramotala very nearly castrated and walking with a permanent limp.

Seriously injured by the blast, Ramotala was taken to Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Maseru, where he was kept under 24-hour police guard.

However, journalists managed to get to him at the time and Ramotala told them that he had been doing the job for the South African security police.

Apparently he had been promised his own minibus taxi as reward for the successful completion of the job.

In September of 1981, Ramotala was brought to trial for the crime, but after being granted bail of a mere R200, he absconded across the border into South Africa.

Former self-confessed security police death squad officer, ex-Captain Dirk Coetzee confirmed to *Vrye Weekblad* that Ramotala had been involved in the incident, and that he had later joined the SAP.

The fugitive assassin added that Ramotala's escape was aided by members of the South African security police, and Ramotala was taken to the alleged death squad headquarters at Vlakplaas, where he received further training and became a constable in the police force.

Coetzee also said that Ramotala — whom Coetzee knew by his police nickname, Mosjesj — was smuggled across the border and received explosions training in Bloemfontein prior to the attempted bombing.

① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬ ⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰ ⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕ ㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙ ㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝ ㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲ ㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶ ㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺ ㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾ ㊿

wmail 8-14/12/89

'Campaign to expose camps'

(11A)
(11B)
THE United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross have been drawn into the continuing row surrounding allegations of South African death squads operating against anti-apartheid activists.

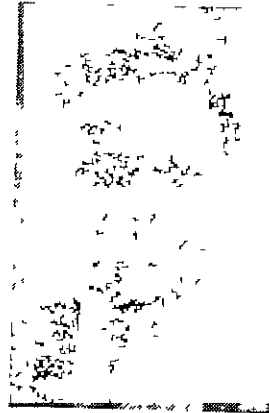
Sowetan
The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has written to the international organisations to ask for help in exposing the shadowy camps where captured ANC members are allegedly "turned" to become "killing machines" and in putting an end to the activities of the alleged hit squads.

8/12/89
In the letters, released at a Press conference yesterday, SACC general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane asked the UN to put pressure on the South African Government, and for the Red Cross to monitor and inspect the camps.

Speaking at the conference, Mrs Emma Mashinini, director of the Anglican Church's department of justice and reconciliation, said her son, who had left the country after 1976, was apparently one of those former ANC members who had been "turned" by the Government.

She had not even known that he was back in South Africa.

"These people (the victims of the alleged hit squads) are friends. I keep saying, is it my son who has done it? Is it my son



Reverend Chikane

who killed Dr David Webster?" she asked, her voice breaking with emotion.

Mrs Mashinini would not answer further questions on her son or give his name.

Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Right Rev Bruce Evans, said not much attention had been paid to the cries of many parents whose children were captured as guerillas and never taken to court but "used" by the security forces in the assassination of anti-apartheid activists.

Parents had never been informed of their capture and detention.

The cadres were at the mercy of the captors and could be forced to do anything. The situation alone constituted extreme coercion.

Bishop Evans called for the names of the former ANC members to be released and for them to be put in contact with their families.

Nactu quits Indaba

11A

BY THEMBA MOLEFE

THE National Council of Trade Unions will not take part in tomorrow's Conference for a Democratic Future, the federation announced yesterday.

Nactu's first assistant general secretary, Mr Cunnungham Ngcukana, told a Press conference the main objection to the CDF was the participation of homeland leaders and other "sellouts".

He said: "It was in the meeting of December 5 (of the CDF's convening committee) when Nactu was finally presented with a *fait accompli* that Inyanda, Seoposengwe and

other homeland structures would participate in the CDF without the matter being fully discussed by the convening committee.

"As a result of participation of these homeland leaders and other sellouts, Nactu's principle of non-collaboration is being compromised and therefore Nactu will not participate in the CDF.

"We owe our position to the people who are on Death Row and in jail, who are in that predicament because of this principle and we will not betray them," Ngcukana said

The newly-formed Pan Africanist Movement of Azania, the Azanian Youth Unity and the New Unity Movement have said they will not participate

Azanyu said the Africans had gone on record as having been the only ones calling for principled unity.

"The CDF, however, does not represent the principled unity we have been calling for."

The New Unity Movement said "The conference, clearly, is but a first step by liberals and opportunists to divert the liberatory struggle and to

drive into a cul-de-sac of 'negotiations'."

The president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Nkosi Motala, said the homeland parties and representatives would have to sign an undertaking that they would resign from the "government created" structures to qualify.

No homeland structures were invited, he said, adding that they had themselves applied to participate.

The CDF begins at 9 am at the University of the Witwatersrand and 2 500 delegates are expected to attend. Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Jerry Mosala will be keynote speakers.

Sowetan 8/12/89

To collaborate or not?

2/2/89 (17A) Sowetan

TWO events, one last weekend and the other this weekend, will have a profound effect on South Africa's future.

Last week was the founding congress of the Pan Africanist Movement and this weekend is the Congress for a Democratic Future.

It is not possible to do comprehensive critical analyses of the two events in a column as short as this one, but I will only highlight a problem that emerged in both events.

Mr Tsepo Tisetso Letlaka, former Transkeian Cabinet Minister, turned up at the PAM congress at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto and asked for observer status.

He has an impressive *curriculum vitae*. President of the Fort Hare SRC in 1950, first president of the ANC's Youth League in the Cape, participant in the 1952 Defiance Campaign, one of the founders of the Pan Africanist Congress, executive committee member of the PAC in exile, and then his dramatic return to the Transkei to serve in the Matanzima government

Of course he is out in the cold now after the overthrow of the Matanzima clique.

He says he is still an Africanist and that he made mistakes in his past, but argues that circumstances pushed him to make the decisions he made. He speaks quietly, saying all he wants to do now is to make up for his mistakes by contributing to the liberation struggle

"I don't want a position in the leadership I am prepared to contribute in any way that the Africanists might indicate," he said as he stood outside the hall to hear his fate

He might be speaking quietly, but the delegates debating his position in the hall are heated "There is no way we can sit in the same meeting with a man who actually controlled the Transkeian police as they terrorised the people," a delegate argues. "Particularly in a conference that is going to shape the future of our organisation."

The decision is unanimous. Letlaka and another former PAC man, Lennox Mlonzi, a former Soweto councillor, will not be allowed into the congress.

Contrast

"They are free to attend the open sessions just as FW de Klerk is free to attend them," a delegate says.

In contrast to this position is the CDF's attitude towards "collaborators" The conveners - the Mass Democratic Movement, Cosatu, the Black Consciousness Movement and some prominent churchmen - have opened their arms to Inyandza of KaNgwane, the Seoposengwe Party of Bophuthatswana, the Democratic People's Party of the Transkei. They have also opened their arms even to the current head of the Transkeian government, Major-General Bantu Holomisa

The conveners have

* To page 15.

PERSPECTIVE



P T O

* From page 9.

invited "all organisations committed to the reunification of our country and a democratically constituted government and adhering to the unifying perspective" of:

* one person one vote;

* the lifting of the state of emergency,

* the unconditional release of all political prisoners;

* the unbanning of all political organisations;

* freedom of association and expression;

* Press freedom;

and
* a living wage for all.

The debate among the organisers of the conference was: Do we accept somebody into the conference simply because he says he accepts the unifying perspective or do we judge him by his track record?

The CDF's final position, which contributed largely to the PAM decision not to participate, calls into question a programme first adopted by the liberation movements on July 7 1944 - that of non-collaboration.

In a statement entitled *Along the New Road*, the All African Convention called for the resignation of all members of the Native Representative Council.

Adopted

The concept of non-collaboration, that the disenfranchised refuse to collaborate in their own oppression, was later adopted by the African National Congress in its 1949 Programme of Action. "It should be competent for the council of action to implement our resolve to work for the abolition of all differential political institutions the boycott-

Perspective column

These in turn were rejected and the present black local authorities took their place.

Between 1984 and 1986 black communities throughout the country firmly and violently rejected the local authorities.

The Coloured Representative Council collapsed and it led to the present tricameral Parliament.

It is now very clear that the Government experiments with vari-

ous dummy institutions - those that do not erode white power - and measures the level of resistance to them. If the resistance is high the Government quickly moves to something else.

The people's resistance to dummy institutions, particularly between 1984 and 1986, has contributed considerably to the creation of the current ferment in South African politics.

We should watch out against this particular weapon being blunted in the same way as protest marches have been blunted. Inviting homeland leaders to the CDF might be a tactical move that takes into account that they are in fact the only people the National Party wants to talk to at this stage but the costs of that tactic need to be calculated carefully.

ting of which we accept and to undertake a campaign to educate our people on this issue and, in addition, to employ the following weapons: immediate and active boycott, strike, civil disobedience, non-cooperation and such other means as may bring about the accomplishment and realisation of our aspirations."

Nobody can deny that it has been an effective weapon in winning the oppressed some ground. The Native Representative Council collapsed so the Government was forced to look for alternatives, leading up to the present Bantustans - including the Transkei. Because the people still reject the present institutions, the Government is now being forced to search some more

The advisory boards collapsed and the urban bantu councils replaced them.

MI 'infiltrated the ANC in Holland'

MORE allegations of illegal death squad activity came out into the open this week and sensational claims were made concerning official killer units and activities allegedly linked to Military Intelligence, the Reconnaissance Commandos and the Security Police.

The Afrikaans weekly newspaper *Vrye Weekblad* yesterday exposed an alleged MI spy and linked him to the MI's attempts to infiltrate overseas anti-apartheid organisations including the ANC and the Committee of South African War Resisters.

SADF denial

The SADF has however, denied that the Military Police, Military Intelligence or any other section of the SADF had been involved in espionage concerning conscientious objectors or their organisations in Holland or any other European country.

Mr Robert Carelse a former member of the 5 Reconnaissance Commando based at Phalaborwa has alleged to *Vrye Weekblad* that he

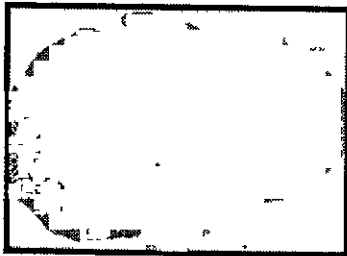
General claims R1-m from newspaper

THE head of the forensic laboratory and Deputy Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling, is claiming R1 million from *Vrye Weekblad* for articles which he claims defamed him.

The summons claiming the amount was delivered to the newspaper by the Registrar of the Supreme Court on Thursday, according to the latest edition of the newspaper.

The editor of *Vrye Weekblad*, Mr Max du Preez, has given notice that he will defend the action in court and that no apology or any amount of money will be offered to Lieutenant-General Neethling.

The claim of R1 million is made up of two claims of R500 000 each for articles which appeared in the paper on November 17 and December 1. — Sapa.



GENERAL NEETHLING: says he was defamed

South Africa without being charged for not completing his service.

According to *Vrye Weekblad*, Mr Carelse admitted that he was briefed by officers in MI to spy on conscientious objectors because of his brother-in-law's links with Cosawr. He was paid R2 000 a month and his flight ticket was paid.

His cousin Mr Raper, still in exile but no longer a Cosawr member, told the paper he was also approached by MI to spy for them.

'Askaris'

In a further development the newspaper makes allegations about at least 10 "Askaris" — former ANC guerillas who joined security forces — who have now been captured by the ANC or voluntarily re-joined the organisation.

Self-confessed hit squad member, Mr David Tshikalange, who admitted to the newspaper that he had been involved in the murder of civil rights activist Griffiths Mxenge is believed to have joined the ANC.

edly approached by MI during his military service and questioned on the activities of his exiled brother-in-law Mr Raper.

He arrived in Amsterdam on July 27 and joined Cosawr after telling them he had decided to flee the country because he could not associate himself with the SADF anymore.

He had completed 18 months of his national service.

Other Cosawr members were greatly surprised when he returned this year in March to

Also this week two men who identified themselves as members of the MI were earlier in the week found prowling the Pretoria premises of Director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin.

Mr Carelse, now a Johannesburg Technical College student and apparently still employed by MI, returned to South Africa in March this year after living with Cosawr executive member, Mr Keith Raper for seven months.

Mr Carelse was alleged-

received orders from Military Intelligence and spent part of his national service in Holland where he was ordered to infiltrate the ANC, the committee of South African War Resisters and other anti-apartheid groups.

This is confirmed in a taped recording handed to *Vrye Weekblad*. The MI was this week linked with the now detained Ferdi Barnard, one of the two men being held in connection with the murder of Dr David Webster and Swapo Attorney Anton Lubowski.

PAARL — Mr Nelson Mandela met leaders of the banned United Democratic Front (UDF) for five hours yesterday in his latest contact with anti-government activists.

UDF delegation holds talks with Mandela

CAP Tinto 9/12/89 (11A)

Regional president Mr Christmas Tinto led a five-person UDF delegation to see Mr Mandela in the former warder's house that serves as his cell at the Victor Verster prison farm about 50km north-east of Cape Town

"Our visit to Comrade Mandela underscored the tragedy and the cruelty of his incarceration," UDF spokeswoman Ms Cheryl

Carolus said.

"This country is being deprived of so much by having some of our best people, including Comrade Mandela, behind bars"

Ms Carolus said the UDF endorsed undisclosed steps taken by Mr Mandela in regular meetings with several white government ministers, discounting re-

ports of a possible split between Mr Mandela and some black political movements.

She added, however, that the nationalist leader was not negotiating on behalf of South Africa's 28 million blacks but was trying to get the government to see it must negotiate with the masses of the people — Sapa-Reuter

FOR South Africans, the political journey from Dakar to Paris has been a long and tough one. But, having led through West Germany and several other foreign stop-overs, there finally seemed reward at the Paris end last week.

Participants left the Paris indaba on South Africa's future well impressed. Even from Pretoria, the proceedings seemed this time to have been watched with interest more than annoyance.

The conference was largely organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and sponsored by the Liberté Francaise foundation in which Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French president, plays a leading role.

This week Dr Alec Boraine, executive director of Idasa, looked back on the difficult path to Paris and at the challenge ahead of bringing South Africans of all races and political persuasions together, not only in foreign places but, eventually, also within the country.

He and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa's director of planning and research, left parliament in 1980 because of the need they saw for negotiation politics.

They realised the various groups could not hear each other or talk to each other. They saw a need to break down caricatures and myths that had been built up, most important of these being the state's demonisation of the African National Congress.

One of the first priorities was to see if the ANC could be de-mystified, which meant finding out who they were, what their history was and what kind of support they had.

AFTER a number of meetings with leading ANC members in Lusaka and Harare, some 60 key figures, mainly Afrikaners, were invited to meet ANC members in Dakar in July 1987. It was Idasa's first major project and extremely tough.

Said Dr Boraine "People were deeply suspicious and there were fairly angry exchanges focussing on violence, communism and socialism. On the other hand, there were the accusations by the ANC that whites were in an unholy alliance with the government and the apartheid structure."

"Towards the end of that conference, a level of trust had developed which made it possible for us to arrange subsequent meetings."

There was a major women's conference which included 50 leading white women from South Africa with ANC women in Zimbabwe under the theme of "Women in search of peace".

Another was between the ANC's legal division and prominent constitutional lawyers and professors from inside South Africa. Again people were deliberately in-

Rewarding Paris talks after a long tough road

BY JOSE WENZEL

Invited from the Afrikaans universities in addition to representatives from the so-called liberal universities.

Half-a-dozen meetings for student leaders, including Afrikaners, were organised in Lusaka and Harare. Groups of academics were also taken to similar meetings.

ONE of the most successful of these was held in West Germany last year when a group of white South Africans from the professions, business, academia and the church met prominent members of the ANC executive and a delegation from the Soviet Union.

Once more, attempts were made to clear the ground, to move away from caricatures and to facilitate dialogue.

The Paris conference had its roots in the Dakar conference where Mrs Mitterrand had first given some help. This time a much wider group of South Africans took part in the dialogue. It was a meeting not only between Afrikaners and the ANC, but also had a delegation from the Mass Democratic Movement.

Dr Boraine explained "The dynamics of the conference meant that you had a much wider expression of views, in terms both of principle and strategy."

"The other major difference was that for the first time, particularly in the economic debate, people started listening to one another instead of simply adopting a fixed position and refusing to budge."

"Socialists, for example, agreed that the market should play a role, that there

were real dangers in a centralised economy.

"On the other hand, free marketers acknowledged that there should be some state intervention in order to deal with the inherent historic disparities."

"Of course clear differences remained but there emerged far more common ground than many of the delegates had imagined possible."

"We have, in other words, come a long way from Dakar. Instead of differences and antagonism there was a genuine commitment to a common search for a new democratic South Africa."

THERE was agreement on the prerequisites for the creation of a climate for negotiation, such as the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of organisations.

There were long discussions on the role of President De Klerk, how genuine he was, how far he was prepared to go and the question of group rights.

The concept of group rights was strongly opposed. It was felt the focus should rather be on an individual bill of rights protected and safeguarded by an independent judiciary.

What came as a great surprise to many delegates was the ANC's commitment to a bill of rights enshrined in the constitution, a multi-party state and a mixed economy.

On the absence of government representatives, Dr Boraine said the gover-

ment had stated that it felt such a conference was unnecessary, that such conferences should be held in South Africa and that they did not intend attending. "In other words, they excluded themselves."

"It is my personal view, however, that the initial response, we ought to involve people in government in any future conference of this kind. The time is long overdue for the two main antagonists to meet each other and to begin to establish areas of difference and of common ground."

ON the decision not to invite Inkatha, he said it was felt that the present violence in Natal would make it extremely difficult for representatives of this organisation to be present and that it might have had a potentially disruptive effect.

He believed, however, that Inkatha should be drawn into the process to guarantee a peaceful transition. He was hopeful that talks between Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu could be resumed.

The Pan Africanist Congress was not invited because it was not interested in working with white South Africans. This was in sharp contrast to the ANC and its commitment to a non-racial South Africa.

At the conference, it was agreed that every opportunity should be used to have regular meetings, for example, between the MDM, Cosatu, business, academics and clerics.

On the reason for holding the conference in Paris and not in South Africa, Dr Boraine said that as far as the ANC was concerned it was agreed that pressure for the unbanning of the movement should be kept up so that it could participate in the normal political process.

"If this should happen we would not have to go elsewhere."

ON the other hand, most of Idasa's activities at present were inside the country in the form of occasions to bring together whites and blacks over a wide spectrum of the community including business and labour leaders, lawyers, teachers, students and pupils.

One of Idasa's main aims was to help whites realise that there was life after apartheid. Fears had to be dealt with honestly. One way of doing so was to bring whites into contact with blacks from whom they had so long been separated.

The climate of negotiation, which made significant progress in Paris, could only be developed if the contacts established there were broadened internally.

Idasa would, therefore, continue with efforts to get people from all race groups together, also internally. Hopefully, in this way, the message would reach the government in time that a climate for genuine negotiation was developing.

CAF Tm 75 9/12/89 (11A)

MDM to join forces with BC?

JOHANNESBURG — As several thousand delegates from throughout the country began arriving here yesterday for the Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF), indications were that the convention would formalise itself into a new organisation with a constitution and staffed structures

Sources in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and Black Consciousness ranks — the protagonists in the event — confirmed that finance had already arrived to oil the political wheels of the new organisation

A new name, suggested as the Anti-Apartheid Coalition by a document currently being circulated by the MDM, as well as portfolios and the form of the new structures, would be discussed by a convening committee

due to meet tomorrow.

"We have received about R1,5 million for the two-day meeting at Wits. We already have some sort of structure when one takes into account that we have offices and equipment.

"The MDM paper is being discussed and it is almost certain that the office in Johannesburg will be augmented with offices in other parts of the country," a highly-placed source in Black Consciousness ranks said.

"We have already been guaranteed more funds from international aid agencies and foreign governments should the conference be a success. Delegates in both the BC and MDM camps are discussing the conference being turned into a bona fide organisation." — Sapa

Lingeletu councillors charged with murder

CHE-TE-23 9/12/87
114
Court Reporter

EIGHT Lingeletu town councillors and five Khayelitsha residents appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with seven charges of murder and three charges of attempted murder.

The men, arrested in connection with incidents which occurred on and around election day, September 6, were released on bail of R200 each without being asked to plead.

They are Mr John Warrington, 40, and Mr Jan van Wyngaardt, 37, of Goodwood; Mr Magolola Zomo, 46, Mr Ezekile Jezile, 37, Mr Gxowa Morris, 63, Mr Charlie Banti, 55, Mr Vakutshiwo Goenie, 47, Mr Livingston Boo, 38, Mr Charles Mnikina, 32, Mr Alfred Mpetsheni, 41, Mr Peter Mathole, 39, Mr George Magquazu, 44, and Mr Million Goniwe, 44, of Khayelitsha. The case continues on February 28.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL Mr Neil Rossouw appealed to members of the public yesterday to come forward with information relating to incidents of violence in Khayelitsha on September 6 and 7.

In a statement issued yesterday he referred to a court case involving "certain members of the Lingeletu Town Council on various charges".

"There are a number of indications that persons who may give material evidence on these and related offences have not come forward with information," he said, adding that the successful prosecution of offenders always depended on witnesses.

He also invited people to contact himself or state advocate Mr WC Viljoen at 23-3000.

Trade unions will be at CDF rally

**PAT DEVEREAUX,
SUE OLSWANG
and DREW FORREST**

EXCITED anticipation marked last night's registration of more than 4 000 delegates from all over the country for this weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future, at Johannesburg's University of the Witwatersrand, which promises a new phase in anti-apartheid action.

The conference, organised by the Mass Democratic Movement, aims to create conditions for united action by the broadest possible anti-apartheid alliance.

In a dramatic development, sources said 11 affiliates of the National Council of Trade Unions are to defy Nactu's refusal to attend the conference, announced this week.

Yesterday it was revealed that Nactu's long-serving general secretary, Mr Piroshaw Camay, is to quit the federation at the end of the year. Other employees have also resigned.

See PAGE 10

The split in the federation is believed to reflect ideological divisions between Africanists in Nactu, who are in the ascendancy, and more tactically flexible Black Consciousness elements.

ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, who will give the keynote address, today told the Saturday Star. "I will speak on the need for a united front against apartheid forces. The UDF and Cosatu's pre-conditions for negotiations remain the same as the ANC's."

Conference organisers said last night there had been an overwhelming response.

A giant marquee especially erected for the event is to be extended to hold the vastly increased number of delegates from more than 3 000 organisations. A bank of video monitors will relay images to those attending the conference and who are not able to enter the debating halls.

Overseas observers, including Norwegian and Danish foreign affairs officials, Soviet academics and local foreign ambassadors, will be attending the event.

This week the CDF announced that kaNgwane's Chief Enos Mabuza's In

● TO PAGE 2.

Wits rally

● FROM PAGE 1

andza Party, Bophutatswana's Seaposengwe and Transkei's Democratic Peoples' Party would all participate.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said "We will attend the CDF as DP members but as observers. We want to hear what the participants have to say and we hope to hold informal discussions with participating organisations."

Dr Alex Boraine, of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, said the organisation was excited at the possibility of participating with other South Africans in the

search for greater unity in opposition to apartheid.

According to Five Freedoms Forum delegate Ms Gael Neke, there is evidence in many areas that the MDM is taking a more flexible position.

"The Conference for a Democratic Future shows an open standpoint as regards co-operating with Black Consciousness organisations and the possible drawing in of homeland leaders, opposition parties and others into an anti-apartheid alliance."

South African Youth Congress vice-president Mr Msimasi Mangotywa said "We will go into the conference with the same pre-conditions as the ANC for negotiations and hope that other organisations will agree to these."

PRINTED by The Newspaper Printing Company for the proprietors and publishers, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg

(11A)

9/12/89 Star

9/12/89

(11A)

Vivas and toyi-toyis bring hope for change

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE eye-catcher was the brightly coloured T-shirts. They were yellow, black and green, the unmistakable combination of the three visibly expressed the ANC connection.

Then came the thunderous voices "End apartheid now" — "Forward to a new South Africa" — "Release Mandela and all detainees" Then there were groups toyi-toying in the narrow alleys of the Wits campus.

Clenched fists were aloft and dancing was the forward-sideways-and-backwards shuffle that is fast becoming "protocol" for any supporter of the struggle for black political rights in SA.

The atmosphere was electric. A sense of history-in-the-making was in the air.

It was the most important gathering of anti-apartheid forces since the heady days of the '50s, when ordinary men and women came from far-flung regions to Kliptown with small scraps of paper in their hands, their contributions to the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

The organisers expected 2 500 delegates. Almost twice as many pitched up. The huge gymnasium on the campus could not accommodate the crowd, which overflowed into a huge adjacent tent.

Roared

On stage, the power elite of the internal liberation struggle was visible.

The new guard was on a high — Murphy Morobe, Cyril Ramaphosa, Sydney Mufamadi, Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Beyers Naude, Jerry Mosala of Azapo, father figure Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina.

The massive crowd needed little prompting when conference chairman Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa reached for the microphone and shouted "AMANDLA!" The reply was roared "AWETHU!"

"Viva! Viva ANC! Viva! Viva Cosatu! Viva Swapo! Viva SA Communist Party! Viva!"

And then the sonorous strains of the beautiful Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, softly at first, almost wistful, building up to a mighty crescendo.

Then "Sechaba sa heso Sechaba sa Afrika" (Our nation, our African nation).

THE DAILY OPTICION

101 12/84

THE TRANSKELI — long spurred as the unattractive offspring of one of the world's foremost pariah states — may yet turn out to be a place where the disparate agendas of the South African Government and the ANC find common ground.

Indubitably, something is stirring in the theoretically independent homeland since General Bantu Holomisa's coup d'etat rid the place of its egregious former rulers.

Having swept government offices clean of the last vestiges of the Malanzana dynasty, the cocky little general seems to be positioning himself to become a player on the regional scene.

Originally, the Transkel was meant to become the crowning glory of the Verwoerdian vision of a southern Africa pocket-marked by sovereign independent states, leaving the Republic white. However, this was not to be and quite soon even the most dire predictions of prophetic apartheid doom were proved right.

To this very day its independence is recognised in no other capital than Pretoria. It remains hopelessly tied to South Africa's budgetary apron strings and there is little semblance of independent foreign, military or economic policies.

Pathetic

All attempts to make it anything but a rather pathetic client state have not succeeded. Even ex-President Botha's grand design of a "constellation of southern African states" didn't help. It brought forth grand summit meetings and spawned countless inter-governmental committees — but little else.

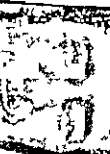
Likewise, the idea of a confederation also seems to be still-born. No regional solution that is based on the premise of a divided South Africa stands a much chance of acceptance in the international world.

Even inside the National Party government this has become the conventional wisdom. Indeed, this was implicitly recognised even during the Botha era when it was agreed that citizens of the former homelands could still lay claim to South African nationality and passports.

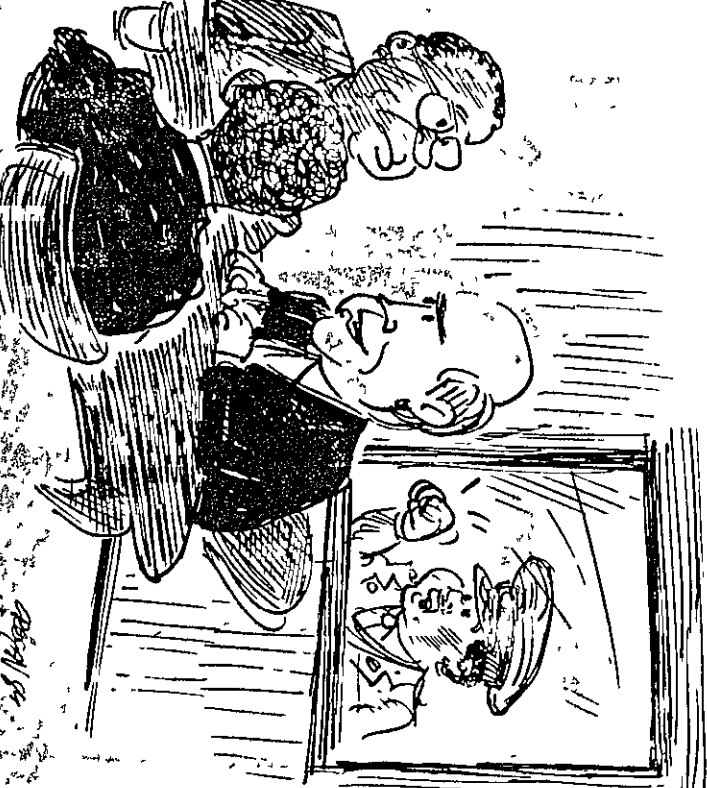
Under President De Klerk, Verwoerdian dreams may finally have come to an end. In the spirit of revisionism, that is sweeping through government corridors, many politicians are tearing out their hair in frustration as they lament the fact that the NP ever embarked on the road of homeland independence.

And the possibility of the TRKIC states (as Transkel, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei are known) ever growing into the TBVCIKGK states — that is, with KwaZulu, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Kangwane,

Dries van Heerden



considers the role Bantu Holomisa may play in bringing South Africa and the ANC to the negotiating table



say only half-jokingly that the ANC is already the de facto government in Umhlatsha. That may be an overstatement, but it is indicative of a growing disquiet in Pretoria over where this relatively unknown quantity may be leading his country.

The leverage South Africa has over the Holomisa government remains immense. Almost half of the R2-billion Transkel budget for 1989/90 is derived from South African budgetary aid. And a further 30 percent (R74-million) comes indirectly from sources such as the Customs Union and tax transfers from Transkelan citizens working in the Republic.

So the means of putting the screws on an obstreperous Umhlatsha are to hand. On the other hand, the opportunities that could arise from a Transkel straddling "the Structure" and "the Struggle" are also great and Pretoria is not blind to them.

If Gen Holomisa decides to officially unban the ANC within his territory — as he is expected to do quite soon — it will present the exiled organisation with an interesting operating arena. It states operating legally in the Transkel, it will gain an important strategic foothold in the region — but at the same time it will be affording what amounts to de facto recognition of a homeland government.

Reality

For the De Klerk administration the Transkel experience with a legalised ANC could then become a laboratory for what may yet be an important decision that awaits Pretoria in the future.

And if the Transkel does the able to return to the South African fold — and Gen Holomisa has indicated he will ask his citizens to vote on this in a referendum — he will have killed two birds with one stone. The ANC will legalise structures already in place, and a South African accepting it as a reality "this day" present both sides with a way to polish burlesque hand.

On the other hand, he is shielded in some regard by Mr. Nelson Mandela. And his personal connections with people inside the "struggle" are said to be strong. In private conversation, some senior South African officials

are not at all surprised that he is in no place at the table with his name on it.

In public Gen Holomisa likes to portray himself as the humble career soldier who was forced to take on the sword task of leading his country of corrupt politicians and who would love to return to the barracks once he has fulfilled his duty.

But from his actions it is obvious that the general sees himself as something else. Unlike his predecessors — who were content to be ostracised but rich in their own fiefdom — he fancies

Looking through the window into South Africa, Gen Holomisa senses that the table is being laid for negotiations. And there

THE Rev Jesse Jackson is once again toying with the idea of visiting South Africa, but much depends on whether or not he is given a visa.

SA Ambassador Piet Koornhof believes he has developed a meaningful relationship with the preacher, is lobbying on his behalf.

Dr Koornhof apparently holds the view that Mr Jackson will be so impressed by what he sees in South Africa that he may renounce sanctions or at least take a more moderate stance on the issue.

Furthermore, I am told the ambassador is not alone in this very expectation. Mr Jackson's arrival in certain business circles, must be given one. But it must also be understood that there is about as much chance of his changing his opinion of sanctions as there is of Margaret Thatcher joining Bill Clinton's Labour Party.

It is true that in recent talks with Dr Koornhof he explained the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and the other ANC leaders and the easing of restrictions on demonstrations and political rallies. Unfortunately, that is an extremely slender reed upon which to found any higher hopes of the man, especially since only days earlier he was at the United Nations laying into the "racist regime" for allegedly trying to rig the Namibian elections.

Simon Barber
Jesse plans a new visit
Washington Diary



List of options includes becoming mayor of Washington and thus being able to exercise a host of administrative ability, years to lead the crusade.

While we're assassinating chairmen, look for Mr Warren Clark, senior deputy to Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, to be packed off into an embassy in a town within the next few months. Mr Clark, who led the US delegation to the latest joint commission meeting in South Africa, has not impressed colleagues with his thrust for moderation.

Several weeks after the event, he was asked what he thought of President De Klerk's inauguration speech and confessed that he had not read it, though from news accounts it looked promising.

A few weeks earlier he had appeared as acting secretary in hearings on Angola before the House Africa Sub-Committee Chairman Howard Volpe, president of a letter. President George Bush had sent to Unalaska, Alaska, a letter from him to attend the Kissinger mini-summit on September 18.

Mr Clark admitted he was unaware of the letter. He was also unclear about the scale of the fighting then under way in Angola, offering a variety of assessments ranging from major to relatively minor. By the end of the session the name of a still drink.

TRANSKELI WILD CARD COULD HELP SOLVE PRETORIA'S ANGST

TRANSKELI WILD CARD COULD HELP SOLVE PRETORIA'S ANGST

'Unite efforts for a new SA'

10/12/89

(HR) C. Ross

THE discussions between the ANC and delegates from South Africa held in Paris have been important and the experience of being together has had its own joyous dynamics.

I believe that many of us have been able to clarify or broaden our understanding of the many strands that make up the fabric of our society that is prepared to contribute towards a new South Africa based on democracy and non-racialism.

However, we should not underestimate the difficulties that face us. There are still powerful forces which control and retard the pace of change. These are not only ideological differences, but mutual divisions – such as the balkanization of our country – that need to be overcome. Above all, there is a huge gap between those who have much and those who have little or nothing.

How are we to face up to these sober realities?
The task must be to intensify pressure which will lead to the acceptance of a new constitution.

Some of the means of exacting pressure will continue to be confrontational. We cannot avoid this when we still have to counter a powerful and determined government.

But another form of pressure is more irresistible – the educational process of demonstrating that there are other ways to govern South Africa, and that the alternatives offer better opportunities

Mary Burton of the Black Sash was part of the South African delegation that met the ANC in Paris last week. These were her closing remarks to the conference.

and much hope for a more stable, more just and more peaceful society.

I believe that the discussion about and the drafting of a Bill of Rights and a new constitution are a vital point of this educational process. I welcome the SA Law Commission's report on a Bill of Rights – not that there are no aspects of it which still cause concern.

Most particularly is that there can be no Bill of Rights until discriminatory legislation is repealed.

I welcome the ANC's constitutional guidelines and the Harare Declaration. And I hope we will use them as powerful weapons in bringing many more South Africans to understand that many possibilities lie ahead of us.

However much I believe in the necessity for a Bill of Rights, I think we should not have unrealistic expectations of what it can do.

A proper Bill of Rights offers protection to all citizens, and exacts control over the power of the state and its arms. An example could be found in Zimbabwe. The question of economic and social

rights can be enshrined in charters and conventions.

The forms of pressure to be exacted on the government are internal resistance and the continued international pressures which will no doubt, at least for the present, continue to include sanctions and armed intervention.

This does not exclude other means of change which lie in the hands of many of us; in education, in economic relations, and in winning over opponents both within and outside government structures.

Our present experience has strengthened us to play a part in that process. And we must realise a similar experience is available to us at home.

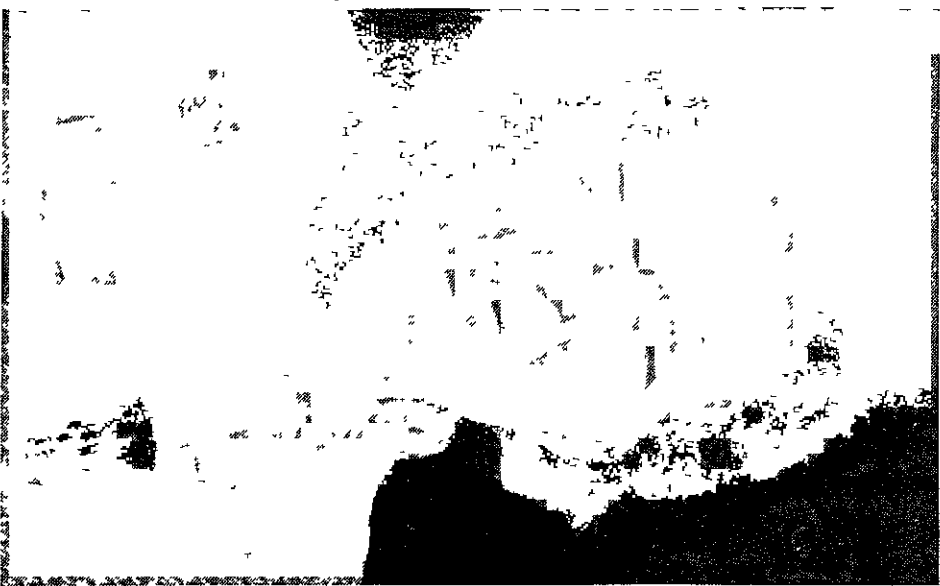
I propose that we think seriously about whether we should attend any more meetings outside South Africa until we have done our utmost to ensure that those at home who are at present prevented from meeting us are able to do so.

Furthermore, we need to hold the kind of detailed debates that we have had here with our organisations at home. There are enormous pressures on individuals in the leadership and in organisations.

We need to share and spread the experience of debate and empower others to participate in the kind of discussions we have had.

I believe we have the resources and that if we harness them in the correct combination we can pull the oxwagons of South Africa onto a road of opportunity and fulfilment.

Mary Burton . . . Black Sash delegate.



ANC AND PICKETS IN ROW OVER EMBASSY COLLECTION BIN ...

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

A PLASTIC dustbin outside the South African embassy in London is causing friction in anti-apartheid circles and the ANC.

The bin, painted in the ANC colours of green, black and gold, has been put there to collect money for the City of London Anti-Apartheid group

For months passers-by have dropped their spare change into it, assured by demonstrators that the money will go to the ANC and other "liberation movements"

But the City of London group is not on speaking terms with either the ANC or the mainstream Anti-Apartheid Movement, which expelled the City group in 1984

The ANC says the group is not authorised to collect money on its behalf and claims not to have seen a penny of the money raised so far

The group denies this. It says some

money, about R4 000, went to the ANC at the beginning of 1988 but not through its London officials, with whom it refuses to deal

Spokesman Dominic Thackeray claimed "Just because we use the green, black and gold doesn't mean we have to give the money to them. They are also the colours of Swapo"

But he is wrong — Swapo's colours are blue, red and green

London's Metropolitan Police are keeping a wary eye.

Suspended

According to Scotland Yard, the City of London group has never applied for permission to make a street collection

The picket outside the embassy's front door is now, along with Nelson's Column across the road, a permanent feature in Trafalgar Square. It has been there, through snow and sunshine, around the clock for nearly four years

City group founder Norma Kitson and her husband David — a prisoner on Robben Island for 20 years — have both been suspended from the ANC. The couple are liv-

The
colour
of
money

ing in Harare after leaving Britain for financial and health reasons. David Kitson, who refused to join criticism of his wife's organisation, was suspended by the ANC four months after his release from jail.

He lost his "job for life" — an academic post at Oxford University — when its trade union funding was withdrawn

Friends campaigning for the Kitsons' readmission into the ANC have held meetings with ANC officials first in London, Lusaka and Harare over the past year.

Norma Kitson's energetic campaigning, for her husband's release and against apartheid, has enraged the ANC, which accuses her of trying to hijack their own rallies

Designed

An ANC spokesman said in London "Whatever the City group might say, they are not affiliated to us"

"We do not have the copyright on the green, black and gold colours, but their use at the picket is clearly designed to make people think they are donating to the ANC. That is not so"

A day's newspaper

Tycoon: I've no fear of ANC

SOWETO tycoon Richard Maponya told British TV viewers this week of his climb to success, telling millions how he challenged and beat the apartheid system

And the 56-year-old retail magnate said he sees no threat in a "socialist ANC government" of the future

"I do not believe they would nationalise It has not worked in our neighbouring states, and it will not work here," said the businessman, a close friend of both Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo

South Africa Under the Skin was broadcast by the BBC on Tuesday night It centred on Mr Maponya's Dallas-style life, with several homes, luxury cars, over 60 racehorses and a vast property and retail empire

Viewers saw precious racehorse emblems on the bonnets of his cars They are made by Asprevs the gold and silver London jewellers used by the Queen

Mr Maponya described how, when he bought his first store, Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo acted as his lawyers He and his wife Marina said a recent meeting with Mr Mandela — "our national leader" — was the highpoint in their lives

"I am not ashamed to say I was a member of the ANC The organisation articulates the aspiration of my people That is why we say unless the ANC is unbanned, unless it plays a part in the political set-up of this country, there can never be a solution"

Defiant

Despite his fortune, Mr Maponya said he was still forced to live as a "squatter" inside his mansion in a white Johannesburg suburb

He had a comfortable home in Soweto, but he bought the house to "test the water"

"Let them dare try to throw me out of here All hell will break loose.

"Everybody knows that I live here They haven't as yet interfered with us As a South African I should be able to live wherever I like"

Mr Maponya said he was lured into business when, as a young teacher, he realised



SITTING PRETTY ... Richard Maponya and his wife Marina in their luxury home

By JEREMY BROOKS, London

there was more money to be made

His first job — looking after the stock of a major department store — was done so well that his white boss was promoted to managing director But because of his colour, Mr Maponya did not climb the ladder with him

"It was the most humiliating thing a man could encounter Even if I was more able, more educated than a

white man, they would still not let me oversee a white man"

Fortune

Critics in the programme accused him of using apartheid to create his fortune

Mr Maponya replied "I have not benefited from the apartheid system I have got where I am today through hardship and hard work It wasn't achieved because I was favoured — I tackled the

bull by its horns.

"I said 'This is the goal I want to reach. And I challenged whatever stood in my way'"

He said it had taken him five years before he was eventually granted a licence to enter racing. Today he owned over 60 racehorses

Referring to his jockeys' colours — green, black and gold — Mr Maponya said with a grin "The ANC says they are their colours Buthelezi says they are Inkatha's colours I say they are my colours"

PAC to sit in at UN

Sunday Times Reporter

THE chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Johnson Mlambo, will attend this week's special session of the United Nations in New York — where South Africa will again be heading the agenda *5 Times 10/12/87*

Mr Mlambo will be joined in New York by the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Gora Ibrahim Later, Mr Mlambo will fly to Guyana as a guest of that government.

The theme of the special UN session will be "the elimination of apartheid"

It is expected that the Harare Declaration, stating the ANC's preconditions for negotiations with the South African Government, will form the basis of the discussions

Both the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement have recently adopted the Harare Declaration as the cornerstone of their policy towards South Africa

Big Show of black unity

217

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

11A

517 10/12/84

MORE than 4 500 delegates yesterday attended a historic rally to mobilise black organisations for what they see as "the final push" against apartheid.

The Conference for a Democratic Future — held on the Wits campus in Johannesburg — was the biggest gathering of black leaders since the drafting of the ANC's Freedom Charter at Kliptown in 1955.

The delegates representing some 2 000 organisations spanning the great divide in

liberation politics — from Black Consciousness to the ANC's Charterists — listened attentively to the keynote speech delivered by the recently released ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu

Veterans in the resistance movement said yesterday the meeting was the most significant attempt yet to unify those engaged in the struggle for a democratic and non-racial South Africa

Salute

Speakers during the morning's open session urged the Government to abandon its "racist policies," scrap plans for a "Great Indaba" or a "black election" and urged State President F W de Klerk to "submit to a constituent assembly"

There were also repeated calls on "white compatriots" to join mass actions under the slogan "No Apartheid"

When Mr Sisulu rose to speak, the hall exploded into thunderous chanting of "ANC, ANC" while the thousands of black and white delegates clenched their fists in salute as the floor reverberated to toyi-toyi dancing

Cries of "Viva" and "Amandla" greeted Mr Sisulu's call to join hands "in the struggle against Press cen-

Anti-apartheid groups overcome ideological divide

sorship, death squads, political imprisonment and all other forms of oppression

The conference, organised by the Mass Democratic Movement, also called on the warring factions in Natal "to extend the hand of peace and sheath the weapons of war" and on townships groups to end their rivalry and launch mass peace campaigns

In the run-up to the conference a "unifying set of principles" was sent to delegates to ensure agreement on fundamental issues

These principles included a political system of one man, one vote in a united, democratic country, the lifting of the state of emergency; the unconditional release of all political prisoners; the unbanning of all political organisations, freedom of association and expression, Press freedom and a living wage

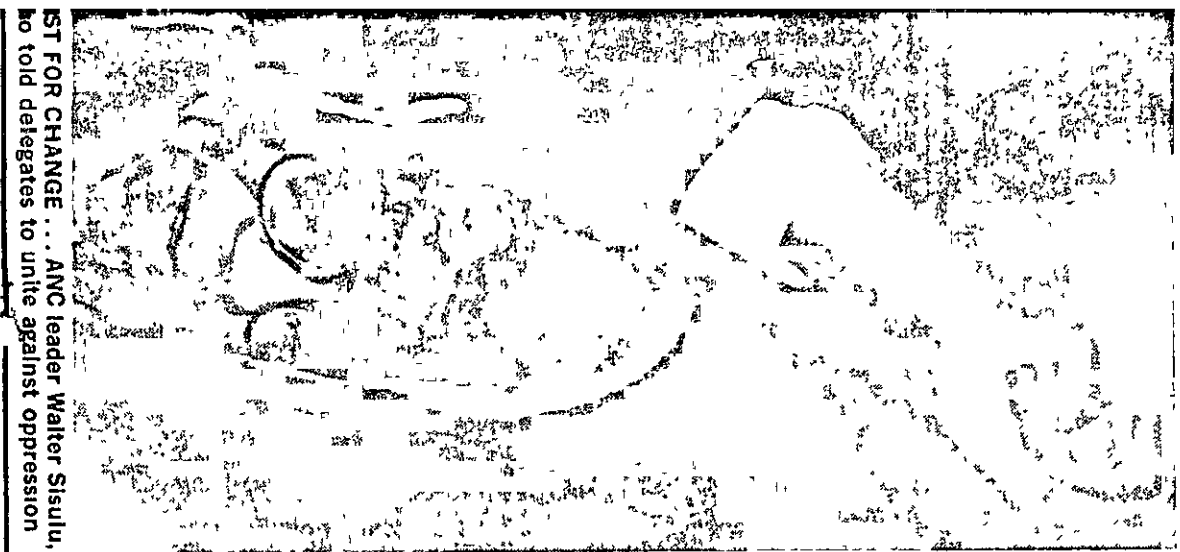
Conspicuous by its absence was the recently formed Pan Africanist Movement, which claims to be the ideological heir of the Pan Africanist Congress and which objected to the MDM's ties with homeland leaders like General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei and Mr Enos Mabuza of Kangwane

However, some other delegates from organisations representing the Africanist tradition did attend, including Azapo and unions affiliated to the National Council of Trade Unions. Azapo leader Mr Jerry Moseala was one of the main speakers

Strategy

Outside the hall some delegates raised objections to the presence of Democratic Party members who attended the conference as observers. However, it was understood these differences were regarded as "cosmetic" in the light of the significance of the conference and the common goals that bound delegates together

Yesterday afternoon the conference went into closed session to discuss a detailed



ANC leader Walter Sisulu, who told delegates to unite against oppression

ty

strategy on how to address President F W de Klerk's latest reform moves and his calls to all parties "committed to peaceful change" to come to the conference table

UNITY GALLAT CONFERENCE

11A C.P. Pass 10/18/89
Sisulu invites
De Klerk to
join democrats

BY SANDILE MEMELA
and CONNIE MOLUSI

UNITY was the buzz-word at the historic Conference for a Democratic Future that saw 4 469 delegates from all corners of the country converge at Wits University yesterday

Sources in the Mass Democratic Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement said the conference could lead to a new political movement - possibly called the Anti-Apartheid Coalition - and that offices could be set up countrywide

Promises of international funding had been received provided the conference was a success, sources said

Delegates in both the BC and MDM camps are discussing intensely the conference being turned into a bona fide organisation

The conference, jointly convened by the MDM and the BCM, saw unity being forged between two organisations which had been at each other's throats for years

Earlier, the Pan Africanist Movement and the trade union Federation Nactu withdrew from the conference, although eight Nactu affiliates are attending

ANC leader Walter Sisulu spoke in his opening address of the need for a united front against apartheid

(Our unity today is more important than our differences. To bicker now, or to relax in our efforts to obtain unity, will be to throw away the hard-won gains of resistance of past decades)

"The diversity of organisations represented here is our strength. In collective action, we explode the myth that an innate separateness prevents us from acting



Jubilant crowds dance outside the conference hall at Wits University where the Conference for a Democratic Future is being held.

could be set up countrywide.

Promises of international funding had been received provided the conference was a success, sources said. "Delegates in both the BC and MDM camps are discussing intensely the conference being turned into a bona fide organisation."

The conference, jointly convened by the MDM and the BCM, saw unity being forged between two organisations which had been at each other's throats for years.

Earlier, the Pan Africanist Movement and the trade union federation Nactu withdrew from the conference, although eight Nactu affiliates are attending.

ANC leader Walter Sisulu spoke in his opening address of the need for a united front against apartheid.

"Our unity today is more important than our differences. To bicker now, or to relax in our efforts to obtain unity, will be to throw away the hard-won gains of resistance of past decades."

"The diversity of organisations represented here is our strength. In collective action, we explode the myth that an innate separateness prevents us from acting together."

"Our gathering here exposes as hollow (State President) De Klerk's insistence that group rights remain the cornerstone of a new South Africa," said Sisulu.

He condemned De Klerk's "so-called reforms" as an attempt to de-escalate the struggle and end international isolation.

"Our grievance is our exclusion from political power, and our objective is a transfer of power. De-segregation of beaches is not a transfer of power." He appealed to De Klerk to join the "democratic movement."

In his address, Jerry Mosala, a theologian from UCT, said "This conference cannot be a meaningless workshop to please imperialists like President Bush and Margaret Thatcher. The context of this conference is the struggle of the people for liberation."

Mosala said the aim was not to negotiate but to eradicate capitalism and apartheid.

Ironically, eight affiliates of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) - with general secretary Piroshaw Camay, who resigned this week - attended the conference although Nactu decided to stay away. Shop stewards of other Nactu affiliates sent messages of support.

The Soviet Union expressed solidarity with the MDM and anti-apartheid forces, visiting Soviet professor Irina Filatova told the meeting.

And visiting Norwegian deputy foreign minister Knut Wollenback said: "Apartheid is unacceptable. A democratic future is the only future."

The conference was attended by people reflecting a variety of political leanings.

No re

By MESHACK MOTLOUNG

THERE are fears of a cover-up after the suspected poisoning of the Mahweleeng Mother soccer team before their game against Swaraj United at the First National Bank Stadium on November 18.

The game had to be abandoned and four of the players were admitted to Baragwanath hospital for a night.

It is suspected some orat



(11A) C. Press 10/12/89

How Tutu breathed life into a publishing dream

BY ZB MOLEFE

WHAT do Archbishop Desmond Tutu and young publisher Mthobhi Mutoatse have in common?

"Ideas to liberate our minds," said Mutoatse, who was under the spotlight on Friday when black-owned publishing house Skotaville celebrated its eighth anniversary.

Highlight of the proceedings was the launch of 12 books which cover a wide spectrum of South Africa's black experience.

To understand the link between Tutu and Mutoatse, the story goes years back

A daring Mutoatse and a few colleagues from the African Writers Association (AWA) had a dream.

It was a dream inspired by Mwelli Skota, who in the 1920s was the ANC secretary-general, and a printer, designer, publisher, researcher and writer.

Skota, who died in 1976, was founder editor of the independent newspaper *Abantu Batho*, and editor-publisher of the first-ever standard reference work of South African politics, *African Yearly Register*.

Mutoatse and his friends took the plunge in 1982 when they en-

tered the demanding, risky and competitive field of publishing South Africa's first black-owned and run publishing house was born.

Looking back in 1984, Mutoatse said "The idea of a black publishing house was introduced by Skota. We merely completed the struggle he initiated."

There were birth pains. Only one or two books saw the light of day. But well-known personalities in the steering committee - like poet Sipho Sepamla, journalist Jaki Seroke, writer Nape Motlana, writers Don Mattered, Miriam Tlali,

playwright Matsemela Manaka and Es'ka Mphahlele - soldered on.

The African Bank was the first black South African body to lend its support, along with certain church groups and both local and overseas readers.

But the magic moment happened in 1983 when a collection of Archbishop Tutu's political speeches and sermons were published as *Hope and Suffering*. The book was an instant best-seller overseas.

Skotaville had arrived and critics began to sit up and take notice. Two awards in the

Skotaville Johannesburg offices are testimony to the reputation the company has built.

There is the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce award for "the recognition of your contribution in the field of human service, as well as your commitment towards the breaking of the fetters of human bondage".

And there is the 1986 Wozza Afrika Arts and Letters Award, presented in New York, "in recognition for their work as an outstanding publishing house".

Said Mutoatse of the future, "We are intensifying the liberation of our indigenous languages, as well as building a wide range of children's books."

"The liberation of the mind is our greatest challenge."

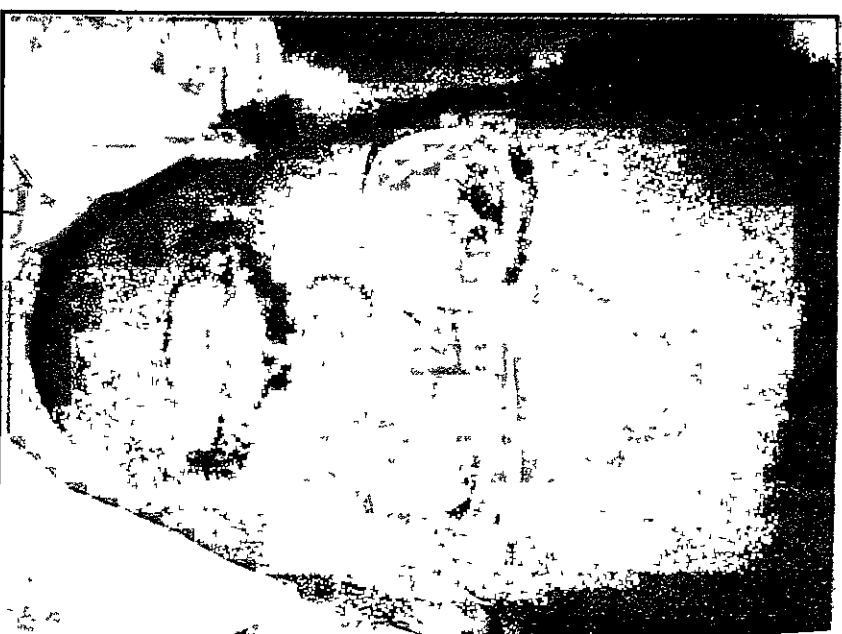
"For me it is encouraging and exciting to know we have a place in the historical development of our people."

What Mutoatse means is that the publishing house is keeping up the spirit of Mwelli Skota.

In April next year Skotaville will release a book by a University of Zimbabwe academic on Shaka to coincide with a major conference on the life of the Zulu king.

One project is close to Mutoatse's heart - publishing health books under the auspices of the World Health Organisation.

... and kept the spirit of Skota Mwelli alive



Mthobhi Mutoatse ... turned a dream into reality.



Playwright Matsemela Manaka ... one of the well-known personalities on steering committee of Skotaville who soldered on through difficult early times



AFRICANISTS

REVIEWAL

The only thing likely to come out of the CDF is the scoring of political points. PAM, I must stress, has the ability to mobilise people on its own.

PEOPLE'S PRESS
Where City Press readers speak out

Preference will be given to short, neatly written or typed letters. While pen names may be used, all letters must include writer's full name and address.

The Editor
PO Box 57473
Springfield
2137

Christodoulou deserves no nomination

I WAS perturbed to read that Stanley Christodoulou has been nominated for the Man of The Year award in this year's presentation.

I feel Christodoulou's name should have been left out of the awards because he is an official of the SA Boxing Board of Control.

Two boxing promoters, Mike Segal, of the M&K, and Thinus Strydom, from the World Sports Promotions, are competing with Christodoulou for the award.

It would have been wise for the organisers to have replaced Christodoulou with another promoter.

Christodoulou has been an official of the SABBC for a long time, and has won a number of awards for his involvement in boxing in the past.

He has also represented South Africa abroad on many occasions, and has refereed in several world title fights.

I feel the organisers should remove Christodoulou's name from the list of nominees because he has had a fair share of the spotlight.

A number of promoters have spent thousands of rands securing local boxers much-needed international competition, and deserve to be nominated.

Promoters such as Marcus Nkosi (VIP Promotions), Reggie Hillman (Future Promotions), Sam Mokane (Alexandra Promotions), Mzimase Mnguni (Eyetu Promotions) to name but a few, are being neglected.

They were responsible for the staging of a number of big tournaments this year. Khame Didiya, Dube, Soweto.

Who decides our destiny?

I FOUND the view in the letter page of 5.11.89 on the NSL debacle very apt. Indeed, those who live by the sword will die by the sword!

May I expand on the writer's letter. My premise is this: we Africans do our best to pull the rug from under the feet of our kith and kin, yet show remarkable tolerance to manipulation by Indians



THE Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM), which follows PAC principles, was launched at the weekend in Soweto. Already it has stoked controversy because of its refusal to attend this weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future.

The Africa News Organisation (ANO) interviewed founder-member Cunningham Ngcukana.

WHY was PAM formed? Ngcukana: It was formed to give direction to Africanists and to launch our people into the political arena on the basis of Pan-Africanism and mass political struggle.

In the absence of the PAC, those who subscribed to Pan-Africanism had no organisation inside the country. When did the idea of PAM come about?

It dates back to 1985 when our people began formulating strategies. The proposed launch of the organisation was in 1986, but that was when the state of emergency was introduced.

In January 1988, a consultative meeting of Africanists was held in Cape

Town to discuss the formation of a political organisation. Two years later PAM got off the ground.

What are your numbers in PAM? It is very difficult to say exactly how many people are in PAM, but I can say there are at least 100 000 key people. I do not mean supporters, I mean those who are active in every corner of the country, including the so-called independent homelands.

With the release of PAC President Zeph Mthopeng last year, a lot of old supporters of Pan-Africanism began coming to the forefront. This prompted us to call another consultative conference.

It was finally decided that PAM must be launched by the end of November this year. In keeping with our principle that we must depend on ourselves alone, we sought support from Africanists inside the country who each contributed R20 towards the launch. Is PAM non-racial and, if it is now, how many non-blacks are there in the organisation?

We don't talk about blacks or whites. We speak in terms of Africanists and regard colour as totally irrelevant. Our belief is that people ought to be organised on the basis of the material conditions under which they live and not on the pigmentation of their skin. In a nutshell, what is PAM's policy?

One has to see PAM policy in the context of impending talks or, better still, talks about them. How do you view such talks?

The question of negotiations arises because of international developments triggered by the Soviet Union and the European Economic Community. The Soviet Union found itself beset with

PAC is a banned organisation. PAM is the ideological fellow-traveller of the PAC, although it is neither a front for the PAC nor has it any intention of replacing the PAC.

What are the differences between PAM and the PAC? The PAC has a military wing and PAM does not. Does that mean PAM does not support armed struggle?

We believe armed struggle and peaceful methods of struggle are not in conflict with each other.

Last week PAM was described in Johannesburg by a visiting PAC member based in London as a "monstrosity". What is your reaction?

This man - a certain Ngcobo - was in the executive of the PAC when it was formed. He left the PAC some 30 years ago.

How does PAM view unity among the oppressed and exploited?

We believe unity is fundamental to the struggle of the oppressed and exploited. But that unity is to be based on principle.

What principle? The principle of non-collaboration, non-racialism, and of the understanding that the oppressed and exploited are pariahs.

Further, unity must be demonstrated in action - it cannot come about by waving a magic wand.

What sort of relationship do you see PAM having with the mass democratic movement (MDM) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in the light of PAM having dissociated itself from the Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF)?

Our relationship with these organisations will be guided by non-racialism and non-collaboration. For us, the CDF is a non-issue and will not

Hundreds of supporters thronged to the launch of the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) in Soweto at the weekend.

PAM takes tough stance Ownership of resources, land in dispute

By CONNIE MOLLISI

PAM (Pan-Africanist Movement) has declared a "no negotiations" stance on the South African government, which it regards as a settler State.

The organisation says the cause of conflict is the question of ownership of resources, particularly land, of which land is primary for a non-racial democracy without group protection.

The organisation is critical of the current calls for negotiations, which it views as arising from the policies of the superpowers.

PAM resolutions state that the change of policy in the Soviet Union has led to the capitulation of the ANC because of the change of policy implied dramatic cutbacks on military and material support and fading prospects of a successful armed struggle.

However, despite the radical stance of PAM on negotiations, the organisation says if peaceful means of resolving the South African conflict is possible they should be pursued, although it has not said what these peaceful means are.

These could be the five conditions adopted in a joint communiqué between the PAC and some of its sympathisers at a consultation in Harare recently.

The consultation noted that there existed no genuine basis for negotiations, for as long as the government relied on

- The Population Registration Act
- The 1913 and 1936 Land Act.
- The Bantu Education Act
- The Tricameral parliamentary system
- Rantustans

These were called the five political pillars of apartheid which are non-negotiable.

The organisation sees itself engaged in a struggle against dispossession of land and national oppression. Its principles are: Non-racialism, sexual equality, non-collaboration and anti-imperialism.

The biggest challenge facing the new organisation is to mobilise support.

It draws its support from relatively small organisations such as the Azanian Youth Unity, African Women Organisation (Awo), Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Pasos), Marfabe Arts Commune and some affiliates of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

The guidance behind PAM consists largely of former PAC activists.

The executive committee of the organisation is led by a PAC stalwart Clarence Makwetu, who spent eight years on Robben Island for furthering the aims of the PAC.

Makwetu, 61, was a founder member of the ANC Youth League. He was among those who led the breakaway from the ANC that led to the formation of the PAC, and became its first Western Cape region

Among other Robben Islanders are Philemon Tefu and Benny Ncoele, the PAM spokesmen.

There are also a number of trade unionists whose inclusion might give the organisation the necessary organising capacity.

This seems in accordance with the leading role PAM has defined for the African working class in the struggle.

The concern of the mobilising capability of PAM was echoed by PAC President Zephania Mopheng, when giving a paper entitled "The Advance Into the 1990s".

He said PAM was inheriting some problems from the 1980s which would not disappear like mist.

However, he ended on an optimistic note when he said, "We can accomplish solutions provided we upgrade the ability and initiative of our people through our various structures and projects which engender confidence to assist Africans to be achievers".

Among the resolutions was the withdrawal from the Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF), saying the conference was being convened without its participation on the convening committee and it was not having a say in the programme.

Another reason for PAM's pull-out is the possibility that May-Gen Holomisa of Transkei and Enos Mabuza of KwaZulu would attend the conference, which runs

contrary to PAM's principle of non-collaboration. PAM says, despite the withdrawal, it is committed to, and will pursue, a policy of principled unity.

The organisation passed a resolution supporting the South African Council of Sports (Sacos) and condemned the National Sports Congress (NSC) for dividing sports people.

The organisation also issued a declaration to the South African/Azanian people which outlines PAM's vision of a free society which calls for

■ A constitution that enshrines both individual and collective rights, with individual rights a priority

■ State control of major sectors of the economy for the wellbeing of its citizens

■ Transport, mining and water supply will be under State control

■ Constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom which will not infringe any of the human rights enshrined in the constitution

■ Universal franchise for every citizen over 21

■ Sexual discrimination shall be punishable by law in social, economic and political spheres

■ State provision of free education for all children under the age of 16

■ Free provision of health and medical services by the State

■ Independent trade unions to protect the interests of the working class

■ State provision of housing

own economy. This brought about changes in its foreign policy with regard to support for liberation movements.

The Soviet Union, together with the US, felt all regional conflicts had to be resolved peacefully and that all liberation movements receiving support from it had to be pressured into accepting negotiations.

You are not in favour of that? Certainly not. There is much more at stake - for example, the question of the restoration of land to its rightful owners.

But what about the Frontline States which, no doubt, have been feeling the brunt of economic, political and military destabilisation by South Africa?

This has forced them to put pressure on the liberation movements to consider negotiating a settlement.

The man behind the move is President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who was also behind the "Lusaka manifesto" launched as the official policy of the OAU in 1969. The "manifesto" says it is better to talk than to destroy.

The document virtually urges liberation movements to negotiate - even if this means compromise.

This document was rejected out of hand by Zanu in Zimbabwe, and by the PAC in 1969.

Has PAM any other views in relation to negotiations? Negotiations arise out of the dynamics of international white politics. Because of sanctions, the South African regime has long been faced with the task of bringing about change. It has decided to negotiate while it is on a firm footing - to the disadvantage of the exploited masses.

What issues in PAM's view, gave rise to the struggle in South Africa? There are two. One is democracy - one person one vote in a unitary state - and the second is the redistribution of land.

We believe a climate for negotiations will be there but not a principled acceptance by the regime of one person one vote in a unitary South Africa and the redistribution of resources.

For us to move away from this position would be suicidal for our people. PAM has pointed out it is not the internal wing of the PAC. What is its relationship with the PAC? PAM is a public and legal organisation in South Africa, while the

W. Y. did PAM disassociate itself from the CDF? Convenors of the CDF refused to allow PAM on the convening committee. In addition, we understand the CDF may include such participants as "independent" homeland leaders.

Do you do accept that the MDM and the BCM are non-collaborators? Yes. Can there be some measure of unity between PAM and the MDM and BCM? Yes - only at the level of a working relationship.

What would that entail? A principled agreement on issues to be tackled. It is naive to say we are going to the CDF to find out the attitude of organisations on negotiations - they have already stated their feelings on the subject. Is there, in your view, any political benefit to be derived from the CDF? None - except that there will be delegates from abroad and plenty of publicity.



on its own. What role does PAM see the international community playing in the struggle for liberation? As Africanists, we have always maintained that the support of the international community is complementary to our struggle.

But the Azanian masses are the final arbiters in the struggle against national servitude.

Will PAM accept money from abroad? We have, as Africanists, always appreciated financial help from abroad - as long as there are no strings attached.

How much support does PAM hope to galvanise? The 1990s will be the decade of the Pan-Africanist Movement inside the country. The movement has taken the responsibility of representing the interests of the ordinary man in the struggle.

The focus in politics will shift and PAM will be taking the centre stage. We accept that the De Klerk regime will gradually be meeting the demands of the MDM, which will be no substantial gain for the people of our land.

On realising this, our people will begin to see that they have a home in PAM simply because what they won through negotiations has already been won on the battlefield.

They will see negotiations will not actually have improved their quality of life in respect of health, housing and so many other things.

What role does PAM see the international community playing in the struggle for liberation? As Africanists, we have always maintained that the support of the international community is complementary to our struggle.

But the Azanian masses are the final arbiters in the struggle against national servitude.

Will PAM accept money from abroad? We have, as Africanists, always appreciated financial help from abroad - as long as there are no strings attached.

How much support does PAM hope to galvanise? The 1990s will be the decade of the Pan-Africanist Movement inside the country. The movement has taken the responsibility of representing the interests of the ordinary man in the struggle.

The focus in politics will shift and PAM will be taking the centre stage. We accept that the De Klerk regime will gradually be meeting the demands of the MDM, which will be no substantial gain for the people of our land.

On realising this, our people will begin to see that they have a home in PAM simply because what they won through negotiations has already been won on the battlefield.

They will see negotiations will not actually have improved their quality of life in respect of health, housing and so many other things.

was pr vi eige to nare. He se?y cen o moiso "Tso" Modise.

Fellow Africans, not content with one of their own proving to all and sundry that we can determine our own destiny, planned a mutiny and stabbed him in the back.

After him, George Thabe earned the title "El Supremo" of South African soccer by his advancement of the cause of the African sportman. He too was ousted. A key figure was one Abdul Bhanjje, who had fallen out of favour with the South African Soccer Federation. These days Bhanjje rules the roost.

In black newspapers, we have elevated non-Africans like Sy Lerman to be authorities on a predominantly African sport, at the expense of capable scribes like Sekola Sello and Thomas Kwenate.

Fancy the Sunday Times turning Sello into the definitive voice on rugby? - Motemo wa Lesape, 768 Zone 5, Ga Rankuwa

Boiki's reports are fair and unbiased

I AM a regular City Press reader and am discouraged by the way our readers behave against one of our honourable journalists. I am referring to Raymond Mpanza of the Adams Mission, who claims that Boiki Mothei gives us unfair and biased reporting (City Press November 12, 1989).

I totally disagree with what Mpanza wrote about. He must bear in mind our reporters make a big effort to deliver the news and not each and every one of us can be satisfied by every reporter's way of reporting.

Boiki Mothei knows his job and has a wealth of experience in journalism so he knows what will attract readers' attention. He does not report at random.

I would like to say to Mpanza that he must just be thankful for what Mothei is reporting for City Press and must stop criticising, because it won't do him any good - Naledi Samule Motlan, Demilton

Exam questions confuse

IT IS common knowledge that the relationship between students and teachers is not a good one nowadays. Yet our Department of Education continues to make the situation worse by "purposely" failing students.

I really am concerned and would like to express my dissatisfaction about the setting of the Std 8 external final exam papers, especially the commercial subjects.

What the examiners do is set a new examination paper composed of questions extracted from old examination papers. What they forget is the syllabi change now and then, so questions take from old exam papers are usually out of date.

Students normally do not see the syllabi, when examination papers arrive with questions covering topics they have never heard of, they find Who then do they blame - their teachers of course. So I ask the department's examiners to please consult the latest syllabi when setting examination papers and please stop playing with fire, because teachers are the ones who get burnt! - Conce Teacher, Estcourt

11A C.D. Press 10/12/89

Mandela looks forward to Christmas with family

CP Correspondent First festive season that he will spend with loved ones

AS the Western Cape basks in summer weather and tourists begin to flock to the Boland to look at the vines and buy vintage wine, South Africa's most famous political prisoner is playing host to a number of visitors.

In the past few days jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela has had visitors from Durban, Transkei and Cape Town.

And there is no sign of the traffic abating.

But the visit he is looking forward to most is the one on Christmas Day. It will be the first time he has been with his family on that day since he went to prison about 27 years ago.

The Christmas visit was confirmed this week by Winnie Mandela.

The news that Mandela's family will be at the prison on Christmas Day squashes recent speculation that the government is considering releasing the ANC leader over the Christmas period when townships are "quiet" with everybody else out visiting or on holidays.

"We are looking forward to it because it will be the first time the family will be together over Christmas," said Winnie. She also spiced reports that her husband wanted to buy a house in Transkei.

"All he wants to do is rebuild the family home-

stead. There is no question of him wanting to buy a home there."

This weekend Mandela is due to see his eldest son, Makgatho - one of three children born to his first wife, Evelyn.

Meanwhile, one of this week's four-man Cape Town delegation, which included ANC stalwart Zolile Malindi and UDF regional leader Dullah Omar, has described him as a sharp man.

"He's intelligent, sharp and gives the impression that he's outside and free. He analyses everything and is very concerned about what's happening."



Winnie Mandela ... confirmed Christmas visit.

Johannesburg station set for major facelift

By SAMKELO KUMALO

JOHANNESBURG station, that mecca of human activity in the inner city, is set for a major facelift.

The idea is to make the station area comparable with the much-improved centre of the city.

No specific date has been set for the completion of this ambitious programme, but according to the deputy director of business development at South African Transport Services, Johan Malherbe, proposals have been made and tenders for developers are expected to be advertised on December 15 this year.

Malherbe indicated that when present plans had been completed in a few years' time, the open space above the railway lines would be covered with concrete and businesses established.

There will also be taxi facilities to ease traffic jams in the Noord Street area.

Jeppie MP Henne Bekker said the Sats project would have numerous implications for the surrounding area as old buildings would get a facelift.

Flats in the station area have blacks and whites living in them, and Bekker

feared the upgrading of the area would push rentals out of the reach of ordinary people.

The plan will not only benefit hawkers and taxi operators, it will also benefit Sats in that new shopping centres will draw more commuters.

The first stage of the concrete decking will cover King George and Wanderers streets. The area will then be leased for a 35 to 50-year period.

Depending on the success of the first stage, the second phase will be added from Wanderers to End Street.

The final stage will be on the western side of Johannesburg Station up to Queen Elizabeth Bridge in Sauer Street, Malherbe said.

The Johannesburg Station East section, which will be tendered this month, covers 12 974 square metres.

On the other side of the station up to Harrison Street there will be a major Civic Plaza to link Braamfontein and the CBD along Rissik Street.

The plaza area shall be developed into a "people place" using landscape features such as plants and water features, and pedestrian-oriented features such as colonnades, shelters and seating areas.

De Klerk change forced, say top Soviet academics

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's reform initiatives were the result of pressure from democratic forces and struggles within and outside of South Africa, according to two top Soviet academics who arrived in Johannesburg this week as guests of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

They told a Press conference that if South Africa became more "democratic" diplomatic relations between this country and the USSR could improve.

Professor Irina Filatova and Professor Apollon Davidson, both African History specialists at the Moscow State University, will be visiting towns and townships to assess recent developments.

"We're here because we want to see South Africa. Many South Africans have visited our country and we have

some good friends here like Alex Borane, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Archbishop Desmond Tutu," said Filatova.

The two said the Soviet Union would never abandon the ANC and the South African "struggle".

Soviet policy on South Africa had altered in recent years from a military to a more political one, they told reporters.

They said political solutions could not be ruled out, and the Namibian settlement was a good example.

Political decision-making was an important part of President Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika*. His reforms aimed at creating a more democratic and humanitarian state, and a more efficient economy.

Asked if they thought capitalism would be a solution to the problems of their economy, the academics said if



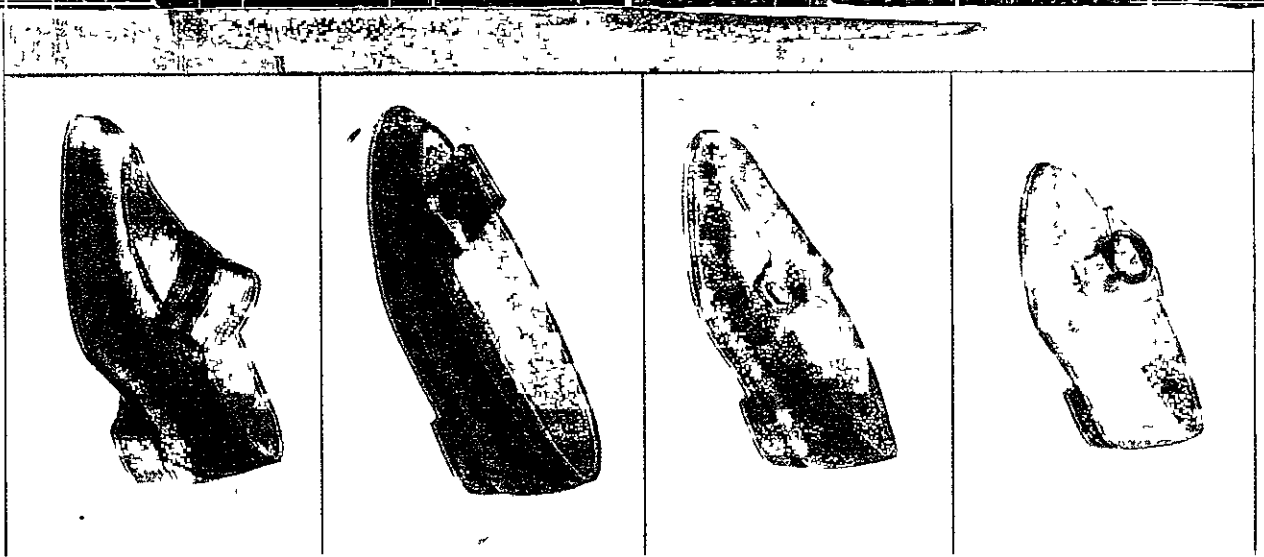
TOG BAG
WHEN YOU PURCHASE
THE THF52 HI-FI SET

VERY STYLISH

PRICE: R1399.00. DEP. R278.00

THF52 HI-FI SET

Shoes



Genuine Leather Shoes
 That's why Heilo Shoe
 combine comfort and
 you might pay a little
 in who wouldn't spend a

10

USES

Shoes.
 Johannesburg

Molloy & Associates 148C

infect aley, tier coun
 try would play second fidd
 die to countries which had
 had many years of capital-
 ist development

The demand for inde-
 pendence from some Sovi-
 et republics was a natural
 outcome of the unjust
 manner in which some of
 the republics became part
 of the union. Some Soviet
 policy-makers were moot-
 ing a secession mecha-
 nism and a period of tran-
 sition for the republics
 which demanded indepen-
 dence, they said

Davidson has been
 asked by the Soviet news-
 paper, Pravda, to write ar-
 ticles on the visit - Sapa

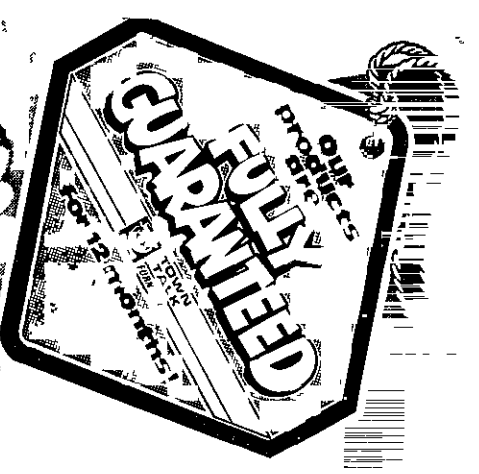
Setting the record straight

THE attorneys of Dr
 Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
 Chief Minister of Kwa-
 Zulu, have written to City
 Press saying the headline
 of a news item, "Buthe-
 lezi says sorry to Hol-
 lomisa", was misleading

"The heading to your
 article was misleading in
 that our client did not
 apologise to Maj-Gen Ho-
 lomisa, but merely wrote
 a full reply to the detailed
 letter which Maj-Gen Ho-
 lomisa sent to him placing
 certain very important
 matters in the correct per-
 spective"

The City Press news re-
 port reads, "Chief Man-
 gosuthu Buthelezi has
 written to Transkei mil-
 itary leader Maj-Gen Bar-
 tu Holomisa apologising
 for a comment Holomisa
 said he considered insult-
 ing to him"

Chief Buthelezi's attor-
 neys faxed a copy of the
 letter written by him to
 Holomisa. Part of it
 reads "As I said in my
 letter to you and the Press
 statement, I am sorry that
 you experienced my re-
 marks as abusive, derogat-
 ory and defamatory
 They were not intended as
 such."



STAND 178 HF
 ● 2 way speaker system
 ● FM/AM Reception
 ● Modern design

PREPARE
 SWEET DISH WHEN
 YOU PURCHASE THE
 MIAMI LOUNGE SUITE

PRICE: R1249,00. DEP. R150,00
R78.10
 PER MONTH OVER 24 MONTHS

4 PIECE
**MIAMI
 LOUNGE SUITE** 201 LN
 ● Made of solid timber
 ● Polished to Imbua finish
 ● Modern design

Coffee Tables excluded

- THERE'S A BRANCH NEAR YOU: BARBERTON ● BENONI ● BLOEMFONTEIN ● BRITS
 ● BURGERSFORD ● BUTTERWORTH ● CARLETONVILLE ● CLAREMONT ● DUWELSKLOOF
 ● DURBAN ● EAST LONDON ● EMPANGENI ● ESTCOURT ● EVANDER ● FRANCOISSTOWN
 ● GERMINSTON ● GITANI ● GRAHAMSTOWN ● GROBLERSDAL ● HARRISMITH ● HARTSWATER
 ● HEIDELBERG ● HOEDSPRUIT ● IDUTYWA ● JOHANNESBURG ● KIMBERLEY
 ● KINGWILLIAMSTOWN ● KLERKSDORP ● KURUMAN ● LADYSMITH ● LICHTENBURG ● LOUIS
 ● RICHARDT ● MAFIKENG ● MANZINI ● MAPUTSOE ● MARBLE HALL ● MASERU ● MATATIELE
 ● NELSPRUIT ● NEWCASTLE ● ODENDAALSBURG ● PIETERMARITZBURG ● PIETERSBURG
 ● PINETOWN ● PORT ELIZABETH ● POTGIETERSBURG ● PRETORIA ● QUEENSTOWN
 ● ROODEPOORT ● RUSTENBURG ● SIBASA ● SPRINGS ● THABANOCHU ● TZANEEN
 ● Uitenhage ● UMtata ● VERREINING ● VRHEID ● WARMBATHS ● WELKOM ● WHITE
 RIVER ● WITBANK
 ALL DEPOSITS & INSTALMENTS INCLUDE G.S.T
 PRICES CORRECT AT TIME OF PRINTING
 PRICES APPLICABLE TO SOUTH AFRICA ONLY

**TOWN
 TALK**
FURNISHERS

WE'RE THE TALK OF THE TOWN!

TT 11/0028

Major victory for Helen Joseph as visit gets OK

By ZB MOLEFE

VETERAN human rights activist Helen Joseph won a round of applause this week when it was announced she had scored a major personal victory

She has been granted permission to visit her long-standing friend Nelson Mandela

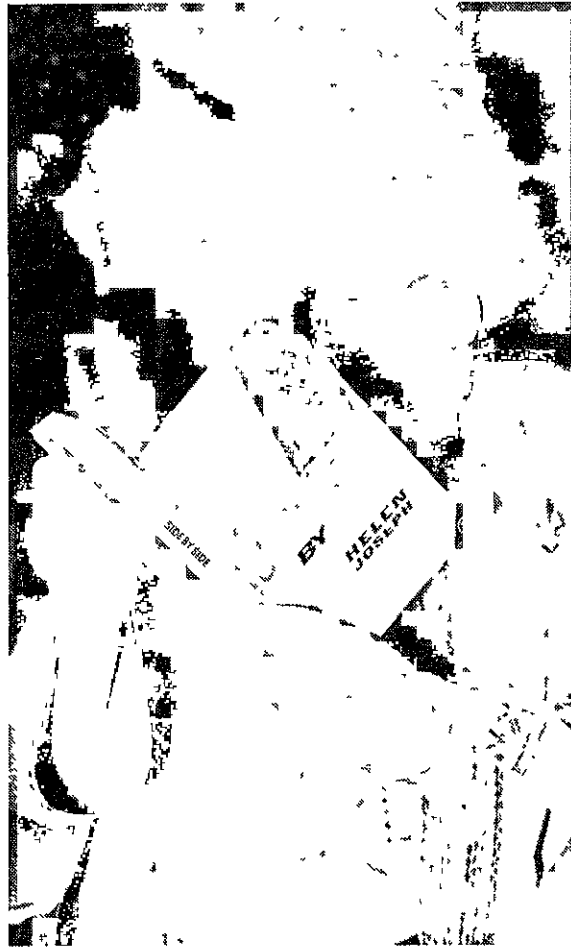
A packed launch of the book *Resistance Art in South Africa* in Johannesburg heard author Sue Williamson say "The great news Helen received today is that the authorities have granted her permission to visit Nelson Mandela on December 21."

Joseph, 84, became a "listed" person in 1962. She cannot be quoted

For more than 30 years she has been active in South African resistance politics since her involvement with the Congress of Democrats in 1953

Williamson, paying tribute to Joseph - who was guest speaker - said her book was not about art "but about people who care about their country; people who want to change things"

Williamson dedicated



Helen Joseph at the launch of her own book.

her book to Joseph "and all who have the courage to pursue a vision of freedom, no matter what"

She described the book as a picture "of our society and something you will not see on television

or in the newspapers"

Williamson said Joseph was her inspiration in writing the book

"Helen's life has been an example to all of us. She has not been afraid to stand up for the truth

"She has been directly responsible for the book," added Williamson, an accomplished artist in her own right

The book, which documents South Africa's protest art, includes examples of paintings, sculpture, murals, peace parks, posters, T-shirts and graffiti by over 100 artists.

Writing the introduction to *Resistance Art in South Africa*, Archbishop Desmond Tutu says. "When people assert their humanity and are creative in the way that this anthology catalogues, it is wonderful. It speaks of a proud defiance of the hostile forces that would demean and dehumanise them

"Graffiti, T-shirts shouting their slogans, banners, paintings, murals, sculptures - all say there is something in human beings that refuses to be manipulated"

11A C.Press 10/12/89

The Star

Progress towards a full democracy

THE MOBILISATION of extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid groups within South Africa has begun. That is the most significant and encouraging feature of the huge Conference for a Democratic Future held at the weekend. The biggest threat and challenge from the conference, however, is the confrontational CDF decision to intensify its campaign against apartheid and its rejection of the Government's reform moves as any indication of genuine intent to move past apartheid.

If progress is to be made from the mobilisation of these groups, the onus now falls heavily on the Government to ensure the way to negotiation stays open.

Former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu called for President de Klerk to join the democratic movement. It was a fraternal and symbolic gesture on which to build, even if Mr de Klerk from his position of power will have to find his own way to respond. The release of political leaders to be free to organise themselves for the desired negotiations on South Africa's future must still

happen, and the lifting of the emergency is crucial to progress. These things could be part of the response.

The CDF aim of establishing a united front against apartheid may have been too ambitious. The range of political opinions and strategies makes consensus unlikely. The organisers themselves, for instance, showed no enthusiasm for homeland government participation, gave the Democratic Party only observer status and were faced with a stay-away from the Pan-Africanist Movement and most of Nactu. Azapo opposed negotiation. Those signs of division, however, are not the yardstick by which to minimise the conference's importance.

A distinction will have to be made in time between achieving a cohesive all-party plan to end apartheid and recognising policy and strategy differences. Resolving disputes between opposing political parties and policies is the bread and butter of democracy. Unity to end apartheid is just a short-term step on the road to that goal.

Stow
11A
11/12/89

Nusas adopts Freedom Charter

11A

11/18/89

The National Union of South African Students adopted the Freedom Charter at its 1989 congress, Nusas said in a statement on Saturday.

"Nusas will develop programmes within the framework and spirit of the Freedom Charter and its vision for a non-racial and democratic South Africa," said the Nusas president for 1990, Miss Erica Elk.

She said Nusas believed that adopting the Freedom Charter directly reflected the interest students had in a just and peaceful South Africa.

The congress asserted the need for the alliance to move quickly toward forming a single non-racial students' organisation.

Nusas also reaffiliated to the United Democratic Front.

Further policy was adopted on a range of issues involving universities, the ANC constitutional guidelines and the environment. — Sapa.

Re-incorporation fever sweeps through TBVC

11/12/89
Soweto
11A

By MATHATHA TSEDU

IS the government just about to dismantle the TBVC states and re-declare those areas part of a unified South Africa?

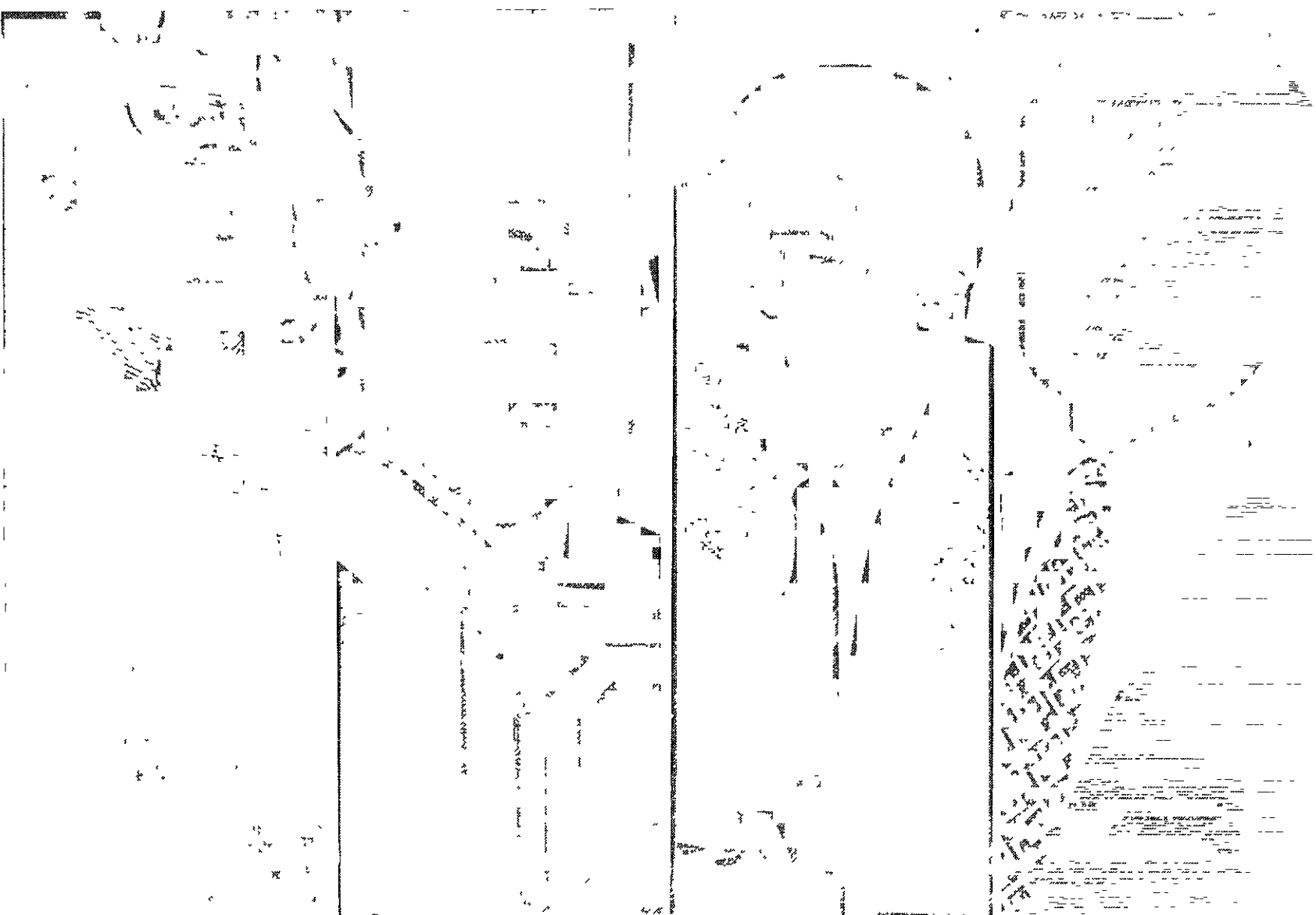
This question begs to be asked in the light of the euphoria that is sweeping the states now. Following Mr FW De Klerk's appointment as State President, he has been at pains to explain that a new South Africa is about to burst forth with freedom and justice for all.

Then came Transkei military leader, General Bantu Holomisa, stating that his government was prepared to test public opinion on the acceptability of independence. Since then he has stated that a committee had been appointed to look into the mechanism of conducting a referendum on the issue.

Futile

Transkeian state president Ndamase told Venda president Ravele that it was futile to hang on to outdated institutions to protect one's interests. This was seen as more proof of Transkei's unquestionable commitment to the concept of re-incorporation.

Venda has also seen movement in the same direction. Senior bureaucrats recently met to discuss possible options



Mr Lennox Sebe

Mr Frank Ravele

Genl Bantu Holomisa

Mr Lucas Mangope

in the event of re-incorporation. They were studying whether a unitary or federal set-up would be most appropriate. The results are not yet known.

On Friday last week De Klerk was at Thohoyandou, where he met Ravele and his cabinet. A statement issued after the talks merely stated that both parties had

agreed that a new era had dawned in Southern Africa. No indications of whether renunciation of independence was discussed at all.

But Foreign Minister Pik Botha told a news conference that such an issue could not be discussed in public. The states had asked for themselves about independence and if for one reason or another they did not want to continue the process they should approach South Africa through the normal channels, he said.

But still the euphoria continues. People say the independence days are numbered. Is this out of line? Have they any reason to be optimistic? Is the government ready to make an about turn?

Expensive

Yes, according to Unisa lecturer in African Political Development and former journalist, Mr Phil Mthimkulu.

He says De Klerk and his National Party have realised that maintaining the duplicate structures with more than nine ministries of education, health, roads etc was expensive.

Although survival of white domination rested on the continued division of black people into tribal nations allegedly independent from each other, the reality of the situation

now is that De Klerk has committed his party to negotiations with liberation movements such as the ANC, PAC and the BCMA.

All these movements have demanded that the government commit itself to a unitary state, among other things. Would the government dismantle the TBVC states immediately or wait for the negotiations to get under way and then announce the measure as part of its compromises in the spirit of give and take that forms part of everyday negotiations?

Mthimkulu said without the dismantling of the TBVC states and the other bantustans, no negotiations can take place. Negotiations can only take place if all these states are brought back into South Africa, he added.

He said it was immaterial whether the leaders of these states wanted the idea of re-incorporation. "You have to bear in mind that these states are wholly dependent on De Klerk financially. So it is a case here of he who pays the piper calling the tune. If Mangope for example was to say 'no I am not going back to South Africa,' De Klerk would just simply switch off the financial tap. We saw that happening with even real independent states like

Lesotho," Mthimkulu said.

He said a major announcement on the demise of the bantustans was definitely imminent. The announcement last weekend by Ravele that Venda would take part, although the format of the new dispensation was still hazy, can be seen as proof of this.

"The euphoria is justified if one analyses the moves that De Klerk has made in recent months. The releases of political prisoners and the marches are cases in point. But in the end pressure must of necessity come from the people themselves, who must indicate quite clearly that the so-called independence is unacceptable.

Mood

"We must realise that the independence that we are talking about here was not fought for. The people in those states never asked for it.

"A realisation that these states were corruptible was another major factor to be looked at. And with the present mood in these states, any attempt to hang on to the status of the TBVC states would unleash mass mobilisation that would equal what we have been witnessing in the socialist states of Eastern Europe," Mthimkulu said.

He discounted the theory that De Klerk would keep the TBVC states as non-independent states intact and form a nucleus of a local DTA with which he would go to the negotiation table.

"The DTA in Namibia has just been a very expensive affair with very little returns. The government wanted to stop Swapo government from taking over Namibia but the DTA failed miserably in that. So did Muzorewa in Zimbabwe," he said.

The demise of bantustans would effectively remove one of the major demands of the liberation movements - namely a unitary South Africa. This, however, would not necessarily ensure the success of the process itself, other observers said.

What is likely to be agreed upon would be South Africa with entrenched discrimination. The state would be capitalist. Taking into consideration that organisations such as the PAC and the BCMA have stated their ultimate aim is socialism of one kind or another, it is understandable why the people feel the stage is not yet ready for talks with the white minority.

As the euphoria in the TBVC states goes on, it is important to remember that re-incorporation is not the same as liberation.

CAPK (11A)

Cape Times, Monday, December 11, 1989 5

Joseph to meet Mandela

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mrs Helen Joseph, the veteran anti-apartheid activist, has been granted permission to see Mr Nelson Mandela on December 21

She has not seen her former treason trial co-accused for more than 27 years

Mrs Joseph, who is 84 and confined to a wheelchair after ill health and a series of strokes over the past two years, is said to be delighted to have been granted permission to see 71-year-old Mr Mandela

She will travel to the city on December 19 for the visit

Conference aims for constitution

CAM Tries 11/12/89 11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Conference for a Democratic Future will begin a campaign next year to mobilise support for a constituent assembly to draw up a new South African constitution.

The conference drew 4 462 delegates from 2 138 organisations representing about 15 million South Africans, according to Mass Democratic Movement spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe.

The conference, which discussed a wide range of issues over 13 hours on Saturday, adopted the Harare Declaration on negotiations drafted by the African National Congress and adopted by the Organisation of African Unity in August.

It also called on "our people to reject capitalism and the free-market system as solutions to our economic problem"

The conference also attacked deregulation and privatisation, saying they were not a solution, and as a direct action called for the "occupation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to prevent trading in shares of privatised enterprises such as SATS, Eskom and the GPO"

It resolved to intensify all international pressure, specially sanctions, and to set up internal monitoring committees to force companies to adhere to the sanctions campaign

It also called for the "occupation" of factories, mines and

JOHANNESBURG — Anti-apartheid movements have frequently faced criticism for their lack of conservation policy, but resolutions at the Conference for a Democratic Future revealed yesterday that conservation was on the political agenda.

Preservation and rehabilitation of the environment is part of the process of liberation, notes a resolution from the conference.

"Grave environmental problems result from irresponsible industrial and agricultural practices, and are compounded by an inefficient and corrupt government that places the maintenance of apartheid above environmental issues," a resolution said.

The conference called on delegates to campaign for the protection and rehabilitation of the environment and to develop policies for a post-apartheid SA which took ecological issues into account. — Sapa

shops, isolating and campaigning against companies like Barlow Rand "which are leading the attacks against unions for a living wage"

The Harare Declaration is due to be discussed at a special United Nations meeting in New York tomorrow to be attended by Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers. Dr Boesak said the conference adoption of the declaration lent weight to the document.

However, the adoption of the declaration was the issue most hotly debated at the conference, which in line with the MDM drive for "united action" included Azapo, Black Consciousness Movement and Unity Movement delegates as well as a group of eight top unionists from the National Council on Trade Unions (Nactu). Nactu refused to send an official delegation in line with other Pan-Africanists.

After much debate, Mr Winter Mayiso, a BCM official, proposed a motion supporting the "spirit" of the declaration. This was seconded by United Democratic Front official Mr Dullar Omar.

However, 30 to 50 BCM activists then staged a walkout. As a result Mr Omar withdrew his secondment of Mr Mayiso's motion, and the conference then endorsed a motion supporting the Harare Declaration.

The conference in its declaration stated the belief that President F W de Klerk was not interested in creating a democratic South Africa, "nor is (the government) interested in genuine negotiations. Clearly, De Klerk is buying time to re-order the forces of minority domination and win over some of our people to his fraudulent schemes"

They said "the security forces of the De Klerk regime continue their merciless assault on our unarmed people — the hit squads remain intact and have been given a new mandate to continue the elimination of our leaders and activists"

Schools to be named after ANC men

11A
Soweto
11/12/89

THE Soweto City Council is to rename certain high schools in Soweto after political leaders including the recently released seven African National Congress stalwarts.

The mayor of Soweto, Mr Sam Mkhwanazi, said in an interview yesterday that it had always been the council's intention to honour all legitimate political leaders in a manner befitting their stature in the community.

He said the honour would be bestowed on all past and present leaders across the political spectrum

Mkhwanazi said he had already approached the Department of Education and Training on the issue. He said the DET said it had no problem with the idea as the naming of schools was the prerogative of the community they served.

He said leaders to be honoured deserved to be praised in this fashion as they had sacrificed most of their lives fighting for the liberation of their people.

"We'd be very shortsighted to ignore that fact. They deserve to be honoured for their courageous and tireless efforts," he said.

Mkhwanazi said he was presently trying to get an interview with Sisulu to hear his opinion on the matter and to discuss ways and means on how this could be achieved.

He has not yet identified the schools

By SY MAKARINGE

which would be renamed but said that high schools whose names meant very little to Soweto residents would be the first to be changed

'Start paying service charges'

Soweto
11/12/89

SOFASONKE Party leaders yesterday urged Soweto residents to start paying their service charges from January next year as the ultimatum given by the Administrator of the Transvaal draws nearer.

Speaking at a mass rally attended by about 1 000 people at Eyethu Cinema, Mr Sam Mkhwanazi, general secretary of the party and mayor of Soweto, said flat rate tariffs proposed earlier this year were expected to be promulgated in the *Provincial Gazette* on January 1.

The Soweto Council, which is ruled by the Sofasonke Party, was given until the end of this month by Mr Danie Hough of the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) to put "its house in order".

The TPA had accused the council of, among other things, poor management after allegedly failing to collect service charges.

noted

Broederstroom 3 appeal (11P)

Sowetan
A NOTICE of appeal against sentence has been lodged with the clerk of the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on behalf of the Broederstroom Three who were effectively jailed for between 18 and 25 years. The appeal, lodged on November 24, asks that notice be taken of an appeal to the Transvaal


12/12/89
SOWETAN Correspondent

Provincial Division of the Supreme Court against the sentences imposed on November 10. Damian Michael de Lange (31), the commander of an ANC cell, was sentenced to an effective 25 years' imprisonment after being convicted on 11 counts of

terrorism, two counts of arson and one of attempted arson. Ian Hugh Robertson (36), political commissar for the cell and guilty on 11 counts of terrorism, was sentenced to an effective 20 years' imprisonment. Susan Catherine Donnelly (nee Wescott) (25), was sentenced to 18 years

Boksburg arrests

POLICE have arrested eight people in connection with the violence which erupted during a protest picnic in Boksburg at the weekend. Police spokesman Lieutenant Ida van Zweel could neither confirm nor deny if those arrested were alleged members of the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging. Saturday's clashes between AWB members and Reiger Park residents started at the Boksburg Lake when residents and right wingers wanted to use the same facilities at the picnic area.



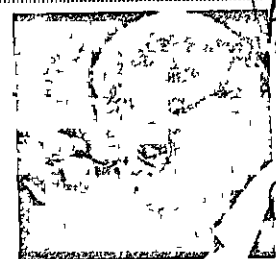
MARSH RECORDING LABORATORIES OF CHICAGO, USA WAS THE FIRST TO PUT ELECTRICAL RECORDINGS ON THE AMERICAN MARKET WHEN, IN 1924, A DISC WAS ISSUED ON THE AUTOGRAPH LABEL WHICH INCLUDED A PERFORMANCE BY JAZZ PIANIST JELLY ROLL MORTON (1885-1941)

© Guinness Publishing Ltd 1989

2 injured when a bus
stationary truck near
for in the early hours

Anti-apartheid groups reject De Klerk's negotiation initiative

THE WAY TO A NEW SA



Mr Walter Sisulu

11A
11/12/89



A section of the 4 500-strong audience at the Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg at the weekend

11A Sowetan 11/12/89

The way to a new SA

• From page 1

Messages of support were received from Sweden a major financial sponsor of the conference. In calling for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly the CDF said 'There can be no solution in the interests of the oppressed and exploited masses while apartheid structures and its laws exist.

The convening committee said. The most significant development of the conference is the adoption of the OAU's Harare Document especially in view of its imminent discussion at the United Nations on Tuesday (December 12).

The basis and climate for genuine negotiations do not exist and De Klerk's proposals for negotiations supported by the imperialists are designed to enmesh our organisations and people in schemes to maintain the status quo.

The CDF also issued a call to all whites to break decisively with apartheid and take to the streets to indicate their rejection of apartheid.

Saying that many whites had indicated their desire for an end to apartheid and 'a speedy and just revolution to the conflict in the country the CDF said the protest should be in the form of marches from the towns to the townships.

The CDF resolved
+To call on all organisations and people to mobilise forces organise and intensify the struggle for the creation of a single non racial democratic South Africa with a single parliament and a single universal suffrage.

+To call on the international community to intensify the isolation of the South African Government and to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

+That "real democracy" be given to the freely elected delegates of the people united in the Constituent Assembly on the basis of one person one-vote in a unitary South Africa.

+That only the Constituent Assembly had the right and duty to define a new constitution as well as the form and social content of a new and just society.
In its statement the CDF's convening committee said the Black Consciousness Movement took the view that it was going to take all the resolutions as recommendations for further discussions by its constituency 'but was nevertheless happy with the conference continuing with its deliberations'

Come and join us, Sisulu asks De Klerk -Page 2

THE Conference for a Democratic Future, a gathering of more than 2 000 anti-apartheid organisations held in Johannesburg at the weekend, rejected the State President, Mr F W de Klerk's negotiations initiative.

It called for the establishment of a non-racial Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

In a statement at the end of the conference held at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday the CDF's convening committee said "The conference also adopted a political declaration which expressed a shared perspective of the current political situation.

Thus a firm basis was established for the political direction of all anti-apartheid forces well into the 1990s, the decade of the final onslaught against apartheid."

President De Klerk has

already rejected the idea of a Constituent Assembly

The conference which was attended by 4 500 delegates represented about 15 million South Africans, according to the convening committee. Most organisations subscribed to the pro-Freedom Charter, Mass Democratic Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement.

Present as observers were 23 representatives of European and American governments, including Professor Irina Filatova and Dr Appolon Davidson of the Soviet Union.

• To page 2

11A Sowetan 11/12/89

Cut jail sentences for objectors, MP urges

STON
11/12/89
Political Correspondent

The Government has been urged to shorten the period of imprisonment for conscientious objectors, in line with the reduction in national service.

Mr Peter Soal, Democratic Party MP, appealed to the Government to review especially the six-year jail sentence for objectors who refused to do any service. At present the period was 1½ times the length of military service, without remission or parole.

He urged the Government to review the six-year prison term and in particular the cases of David Bruce (26) and Charles Bester (19) who are both now serving the maximum six-year sentence.

He would be contacting Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee directly to appeal to him for a review.

STON
11/12/89

Zulu prince joins ANC group

JULUNDI — Zulu senior Prince Mwayizeni's joining of the pro-ANC group Contralesa drew strong criticism yesterday from kwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi.

The chief said in a statement Contralesa was an organisation aimed at sowing discord between kwaZulu and Inkatha officials.

The prince had abused Chief Buthelezi.

"I have never had a quarrel with the senior prince and politically it never occurred to me he would want to challenge me. I have never had to deal with him as a political enemy," the statement said. — Sapa.



Marches planned from towns to townships

Nineties a 'decade' of mass defiance

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The huge Conference for a Democratic Future — the biggest assembly of black resistance organisations since the Congress of the People in 1985 — decided at the weekend to make the 1990s a decade of mass defiance against the Government.

But it failed to achieve complete unity — especially on the vital question of negotiations. While the much larger Mass Democratic Movement endorsed the ANC-backed Harare Declaration, the smaller Black Consciousness Movement failed to do so. The BCM also did not endorse the conference's plans for mass action.

Rejecting President de Klerk's reform moves as merely an attempt to make apartheid more "palatable" while continuing to entrench white privilege, the conference of some 4 600 delegates from 200 organisations, resolved to intensify the struggle with wide-ranging mass actions.

These included marches, rallies, and the occupation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to prevent trading of shares of privatised enterprises such as Sabs, Eskom and the Post Office.

The conference also called on whites to "break decisively with all apartheid forces and side with the majority in acting to end apartheid" by taking action such as marching from townships into townships "as an expression of solidarity with the struggling masses".

It also decided on a campaign to create single municipalities out of neighbouring black and white towns and cities such as Johannesburg and Soweto and called on whites to participate in such campaigns. UJF leader Mr Maharajee Valli

1/1A Star 11/2/89

Tragedy follows end-of-matric party

Star 11/2/89

By Kazuo Nyasumbwa
A Greenside, Johannesburg, youth died and his seven friends were injured in a car accident at the weekend, shortly after they attended a party to celebrate the end of their matriculation exams.

Mr Craig Hoyle (18) died when the car in which he and his friends were travelling early on Saturday went out of control, left the road and overturned. They were on their way back home from an hotel in Bromhof, Randburg.

The other pupils involved in the accident were Miss A Pretorius of Hilbrow, Miss Jackie Morn of Northcliff, Miss Charlene Dicks of Berario, Mr Gary Farrar of Parktown North and Mr Kyle Taylor of Greenside. The names of one girl and one boy were still unknown to The Star this morning. All four girls were Northcliff High School

pupils and the boys were at Greenside High School.
Miss Dicks, Miss Morn and Mr Taylor were admitted to the Rosebank Clinic, and a spokesman for the clinic today said they were "all doing very well".

The pupils had attended a party at the White Horse Inn Hotel in Bromhof to celebrate the end of the matric exams.
Miss Jackie Morn's mother, Mrs Valery Hitha, said the pupils were "a very pleasant group of children, and this was a very unfortunate incident".



Calling for unity and peace... leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement preside at the Conference for a Democratic Future, which attracted 4 600 delegates (below) to the University of the Witwatersrand at the weekend. The leaders are (from left) Dr Beyers Naude, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Sydney Madimadimi.

Deluge batters Transvaal platteland town

Extensive damage was caused in the northern Transvaal town of Ellisras on Saturday night when more than 118 mm of rain fell in less than an hour.

Mr Otto Jacobs, a resident, said the cloudburst happened shortly after midnight and had lasted for about 45 minutes.

by 35 mm, Heederspruit 47 mm, Potgietersrus 47 mm, Leeudorgrand 35 mm, Klerksdorp 55 mm, Hartswater 22 mm.

No damage was reported in these towns. Damage estimated at R50 000 was caused by lightning which struck a Roodepoort flat during the storm on Saturday night.

Mpetha 'stable' after mild stroke

Veteran trade unionist and African National Congress leader Mr Oscar Mpetha (60) was admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital last Thursday after suffering

delegates from 200 organisations solved to intensify the struggle with wide-ranging mass actions.

These included marches, rallies, and the occupation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to prevent trading of shares of privatised enterprises such as Sats, Eskom and the Post Office

The conference also called on whites to "break decisively with all apartheid forces and side with the majority in acting to end apartheid" by taking action such as marching from towns into townships "as an expression of solidarity with the struggling masses"

It also decided on a campaign to create single municipalities out of neighbouring black and white towns and cities such as Johannesburg and Soweto and called on whites to participate in such campaigns

UJF leader Mr Mohammed Vulli said the conference had established the foundation for the democratic forces' mass action for the decade of the 1990s.

Although there was no agreement on negotiations and the Harare Declaration, organisers hailed the conference as a "roaring success" and said the adoption of the Harare Declaration by most of the delegates was its most significant achievement

The Harare Declaration says there is a possibility of ending apartheid through negotiations if the Government releases political prisoners and detainees, unbans political organisations, removes troops from the townships, lifts the state of emergency and repeals security legislation, and ends all political trials and executions

Step to black unity

BCM spokesman Mr Strini Moodley saw the conference as a step towards unity among black resistance groups

A conference declaration noted that if President de Klerk could convince them he was serious about genuine negotiations, "we are ready to talk"

The conference resolved to intensify the struggle for a single non-racial democratic South Africa and to call on the international community to intensify the isolation of the Government and to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

Released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu in his keynote address said the ultimate aim of the Government was a "Great Indaba", a negotiating forum of representatives from the tricameral parliament, the bantustans and other "groups" such as "urban blacks", chosen by separate election

All of these groups would have the power of veto and the white group would therefore be able to block fundamental change

He appealed to President de Klerk to abandon the "Great Indaba" and black election and to "submit to a democratically elected constituent assembly"

Mr Sisulu's speech was the most conciliatory. Though casting some doubt on Mr de Klerk's reform moves, he also noted that "sections within the ruling bloc" were becoming increasingly aware that South Africa could only be rebuilt on the principles of freedom, equality and a living wage

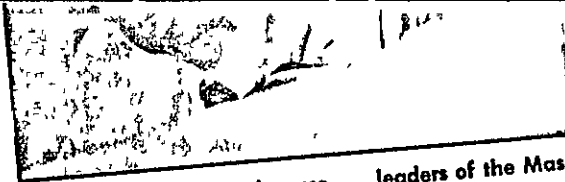
"Those groups know that under such conditions we are ready to offer them our hand"

He said Mr de Klerk was being forced to reform due to international economic pressure and local pressure from liberation movements

He added that new circumstances needed fresh analysis and urged delegates to "remain tenacious to our principles but be flexible in our tactics".

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.



Calling for unity and peace... leaders of the Mass University of the Witwatersrand at the wheel



I
E
T
w
a
h
h
d
h
F
I
S
h
R
R
o
s
a
r
t
h
s
3

Teachers' special 12% rise of 12 pc welco

The Government's announcement that the country's 250 000 teachers are to have a special 12 percent pay increase on March 1 next year has been welcomed

The pay rise announced by the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday will be over and above the general public service increase which is expected on April 1 next year

Mr Roger Burrows, Democratic Party spokesman on education, today welcomed the move to wipe out the teachers' pay backlog. He said 12 percent was the figure teachers had been negotiating for and now they had got it.

He stressed the 12 percent was a special increase for teachers. Teachers would also get the general public service increase on April 1. The Public Servants' Association had been negotiating for 20 percent

but was likely to get

This meant teachers would get a total of 22 percent.

"The DP is excited about this matter because it is in the area of contributing mechanisms for the economy,"

Dr Viljoen said that university lecturers also stood for the 12 percent increase

The subsidies to technikons would be cut from March 1 next year with existing subsidies to include the 12 percent available for salaries

It would be up to the government and technikons to decide how much of the teaching staff would be affected.

— Spondent-Sapa

Cheers to virtues of

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Drinking is good for you, according to a report out here today.

It accuses doctors and health campaigners who are trying to reduce alcoholic intake of setting unnecessarily low limits for safe drinking.

Many organisations working to cut levels of drinking are extremist prohibitionists working with doubtful statistics, says the report by the right-wing Social Affairs Unit think-tank.

The campaigners, it goes on, ignore the benefits of use of alcohol — prevent heart disease, rickets and mineral deficiencies, reduce fat, giving so and lowering stress

The report, based on a survey of academics, is a major challenge to the Government's policy on alcohol abuse.

RECOMI
Medical colleges and Education authorities should reduce limits of 14 units of

Mpetha's heart puts him in hospital

CAPE TOWN — The president of the African National Congress in the Western Cape has been admitted to the Groote Schuur Hospital with a mild heart problem.

A hospital spokesman said Mr Oscar Mpetha (80) was admitted on Friday.

His condition is reported to be satisfactory.

Mr Mpetha, recently released after being imprisoned for ter-

rorism, will be kept in hospital for a few days for observation.

He was one of five people who visited Mr Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison in Paarl on Friday.

The other members of the delegation were the United Democratic Front's Mr Trevor Manuel, Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Christmas Tinto, who led the delegation, and Mr Johnny Issel. — Sapa.

Mpetha 'stable' after mild stroke

Veteran trade unionist and African National Congress leader Mr Oscar Mpetha (80) was admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital last Thursday after suffering a mild stroke which affected the left side of his body.

A hospital spokesman today said Mr Mpetha was in a stable condition. — Staff Reporter.

● See Page 6.

11A

11/12/89

Staff Reporter

ARGUS 11/12/89 111 327

'We will expose the limits of De Klerk's reforms'

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

At the age of 35 Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, the new chairman of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, has come a long way from being a cattle herd in the Eastern Cape where he grew up

In an interview he looked forward to what he described as "exciting times amid indications of a change in the political terrain"

It was while studying for a B Proc degree at Fort Hare university from 1974 to 1977 that he had his first brush with the police. He was detained, along with other students, for attending a memorial gathering for Steve Biko. They were cautioned and discharged

The next time it was more serious. In 1981 he was doing his articles in the office of Durban lawyer Griffiths Mxenge whose murder that year has recently been linked with allegations of police hit squads

Mr Ngcuka was in that year sentenced to three years imprisonment for refusing to testify against a friend in a treason case. Some of that time he spent in Victor Verster prison in Paarl

Increasing defiance

He had attained an LLB degree through Unisa by the time he was released in 1985

Then followed a spell of two years with the International Labour Organisation in Geneva where he was in a department which implemented the ILO's programme against apartheid

Again he made good use of his time, gaining a master's degree in international relations from an American university

As a restricted person, prohibited from taking part in or speaking about the activities of the UDF his position may seem a strange one, but his recent election as chairman is seen as another sign of increasing defiance among restricted organisations

In terms of his restrictions Mr Ngcuka also has to be indoors from 8 pm to 6 am, but he is not prohibited from making statements about the political situation in general

He came to Cape Town where he became a partner in a legal practice in Athlone

Speaking in his personal capacity Mr Ngcuka said he saw the De Klerk regime as "completely different from all the other Nationalist administrations we have been dealing with where there was usually no response to the demands of the oppressed majority. If there was any answer it was usually expressed in violent forms"

"Now it seems as if we are dealing



Mr Bulelani Ngcuka

with an administration that has a different approach to the issues and of necessity our tactics will have to change.

"In terms of real issues there is no difference but in the people's perceptions there is the impression that the De Klerk government is prepared to listen and talk, even if they keep talking about group rights

"The mere fact that they want to talk to the extra-parliamentary groupings gives some people more hope

"That is the challenge we have to deal with in a manner which will ensure that the momentum of our struggle will not be affected and to ensure that our people are not hoodwinked into a situation where they accept something less than a non-racial and democratic South Africa"

How can this "challenge" be met?

"We must introduce strategic thinking through debate and political discussions

"We must engage in actions that expose the limits of the government's reforms

"We must mobilise all the people — I mean all the people — who believe in a true and non-racial South Africa to join the ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement

"We must enter into tactical alliances with those forces who have hitherto supported the apartheid system but who are now disillusioned with it.

"There are a growing number of Afrikaner intellectuals who can no longer support the system. We must find ways of accommodating them in our structures"

Referring to negotiations Mr Ngcuka said the questions were

about who had to negotiate with whom and even that had to be negotiated

On the one hand there was the government in power and on the other the representatives of the people

It was generally accepted that the African National Congress was the leading "proletarian movement" in the country

Negotiations would have to take place mainly between the MDM, including the ANC on one side and the government on the other

Referring to efforts to create a climate for negotiations Mr Ngcuka said there had been hopes that, with the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC prisoners the government was starting to create the necessary climate

Conversely, however, there had been further detentions and restrictions under the De Klerk government.

He pointed to the detention of Ms Cheryl Carolus, and now Mr Whitey Jacobs, president of the Cape Youth Congress, who has been charged with breaking a restriction order

Mr Ngcuka had himself been restricted under the De Klerk regime

If there were to be negotiations the people would have to know what was being negotiated because they would be affected. A system of accountability would have to be devised

Under a state of emergency and with Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners still in jail and organisations banned there could clearly not be negotiations

Optimistic

Referring to the future Mr Ngcuka said he was optimistic

"There is no way in which one can be involved in the struggle and not be optimistic. The balance is changing in our favour. The government is involved in an escalating crisis, economically and politically

"This gives us reason to believe that finally we will see the end of apartheid. The government has come to realise that it cannot continue in the way it has all these years and that it must change"

There was also the question of white fears.

"As long as there are people who present a picture of white influence suffering under a majority government we must address these fears, even if there is no basis for them. We must guard against a situation where such fears are going to be exploited

"Promoting joint activities will go a long way to allaying the fears. We believe that the country belongs to all of us, blacks as well as whites

"For whites to be in a position where they will influence the events in our country they must join the struggle. Our doors are open", Mr Ngcuka said

Mandela has no access to fax says Mhlaba

NELSON Mandela is concerned over incorrect reports that he has use of a fax machine, according to ANC colleague Mh Raymond Mhlaba.

SA Press Association

"He appealed to me to correct this - it's not true."

Rivonia trialist Mhlaba, a former leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape, who was one of seven long-term prisoners released from jail recently, met Mandela at his prison quarters at Victor Verster in Paarl on Wednesday.

Mhlaba, who was due to return to Johannesburg on Thursday afternoon, said he would be working on regional matters and intended visiting Natal.

He attended the Yengeni trial in Cape Town on Thursday in solidarity with the 14 accused.

Mhlaba said he had briefed Mandela on recent ANC rallies.

The fax machine is the property of the Prisons Service and is in the administration office at Victor Verster Prison.

Mandela was perturbed at what he regarded as 'incorrect propaganda' that he had access to a fax machine. Mhlaba said

Mandela does not have access to it, his lawyer said.

Sowetan 11/2/89

T-shirts for Africa at CDF talks

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

THE controversial CDF has come and gone. And now hopefully life can go back to its tedious slow pace of struggling for this and that to make ends meet.

Apart from the political speeches that were made, the gathering was interesting in a number of ways.

Take the people who were there. Clad in a kaleidoscope of colours ranging from white and red, yellow and black and yellow and green etc, it was quite easy to tell the political affiliation of the wearer from the slogans boldly emblazoned on their chests and backs.

The logistics of putting together a mammoth come together like the CDF is mind boggling.

The conference and its preparations, which include transport for all 4 500 plus delegates, was run on a budget of at least R1,2 million. This included stationery, food and an office with full facilities including two telephones and a fax.

Each delegate had or at least was supposed to have a name tag printed on a self sticking tag which briefly told anyone who the delegate was, which organisation he belonged to and from which area.

In the main conference hall delegates who were lucky to be in - over 2 500 of them - sat in relative comfort. Those not so lucky had to make do with a tent and 18 TV screens that relayed the proceedings in the hall. The latter could not address any issues from where they were.

To speak, a delegate had to send a slip of paper to the table via marshals who were everywhere. Some had walkie talkies in which they would constantly speak, just like the police do.

Stalls selling or giving away various items were also abundant. You could come out of it all very educated indeed. How many of us mere mortals knew that the banned ANC has offices in Church Street, Pretoria.

Or at least this is according to a leaflet distributed freely at the conference, purporting to come from the "ANC inside South Africa".

T-shirts ranging from "Welcome home our leaders," with pictures of the released eight ANC leaders, "The church is a site of struggle", to "Steve Biko Tribute to a martyr" were on sale at different corners. Stickers saying "ANC lives" were abundant.

11/12/89
Sowetan

PAC man buried 11X

A MEMBER of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was buried in Dar es Salaam on Sunday. Andile Zinzi died on December 1 reportedly of a liver failure at Muhimbili Hospital in the Tanzanian capital.

He came from the Eastern Cape and was 17 years old.

Zinzi was buried with full military honours and more than a 100 APLA forces attended the funeral. Most of the members in attendance were from the East London area, a PAC communique said.

The main speaker at the graveside was Mr Joe Mkwana, the PAC's administrative secretary, who said that "the boers were ultimately responsible for Zinzi's death."

*68/12/89
Sowetan*

qualified
positions.
Pelsner
ready su
report to
mitter
Prov
on wi
iscusi
id wi
'car
addi
iding
o the
-il "to
3s "



three people died and 4 others were
from Port Elizabeth collided with a

Mxenge: 'Big fish' wanted

Sowetan

12/12/89



THE Mxenge family would bring a private court prosecution against two "big fish" in the South African Police if they were not charged by the Attorney General of Natal for the murder of lawyer Mr Griffiths Mxenge.

This was said by the family's legal representative yesterday

At least six policemen,

**Family
may
bring
private
case**

including two senior officers, have been mentioned by former police-

men in newspaper articles on the 1981 murder

Mr Michael Imber, the Attorney General of Natal, has decided to prosecute former policeman Almond Nofemela on the murder

Nofemela, who is on Death Row, revealed his own alleged role in the Mxenge murder.

Mr Bheki Shezi, the Mxenge family lawyer, said Nofemela should be charged together with other policemen who have been named. He would have expected that the other policemen named would have been arrested by now "right up to the big fish"

"We are not interested in the small fry but the people who engineered the whole thing."

Prosecute

Shezi said he would wait to see who Imber prosecuted and if the "big fish" escaped, the family would bring a private prosecution as had been done in the Trojan horse Supreme Court case in Cape Town

"Everyone must be charged, from Nofemela right up to the top."

Shezi said he would still like an official judicial commission of inquiry into allegations of a police hit squad.

The Mxenge family is continuing with its claim of R1,5million from the police for the death of Mxenge

Imber was yesterday not available for comment

Mxenge: 'Big fish' wanted

Sowetan

12/12/89



THE Mxenge family would bring a private court prosecution against two "big fish" in the South African Police if they were not charged by the Attorney General of Natal for the murder of lawyer Mr Griffiths Mxenge.

This was said by the family's legal representative yesterday

At least six policemen,

**Family
may
bring
private
case**

including two senior officers, have been mentioned by former police-

men in newspaper articles on the 1981 murder

Mr Michael Imber, the Attorney General of Natal, has decided to prosecute former policeman Almond Nofemela on the murder

Nofemela, who is on Death Row, revealed his own alleged role in the Mxenge murder

Mr Bhekı Shezi, the Mxenge family lawyer, said Nofemela should be charged together with other policemen who have been named. He would have expected that the other policemen named would have been arrested by now "right up to the big fish"

"We are not interested in the small fry but the people who engineered the whole thing."

Prosecute

Shezi said he would wait to see who Imber prosecuted and if the "big fish" escaped, the family would bring a private prosecution as had been done in the Trojan horse Supreme Court case in Cape Town

"Everyone must be charged, from Nofemela right up to the top"

Shezi said he would still like an official judicial commission of inquiry into allegations of a police hit squad

The Mxenge family is continuing with its claim of R1,5million from the police for the death of Mxenge

Imber was yesterday not available for comment

Minister 217 000 signatures — refused —
hundred signatures a day are being received.

Mpetha making good recovery in hospital

11A

Staw
2/12/89

CAPE TOWN — Mr Oscar Mpetha, admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital last Thursday, has had a stroke, a hospital spokesman said yesterday.

The 80-year-old ANC leader, released from jail about two months ago, was reported to be in a stable condition.

The spokesman said Mr Mpetha was admitted to hospital after a mild stroke which affected the left side of his body.

A LOT OF SLEEPING

"He has been stable throughout the weekend. He is awake, cheerful and doing a lot of sleeping," said the spokesman.

"You know, he is a very old man now," said the spokesman. One of the doctors treating the ill ANC leader said he had "a quiet night and appears to be stable for the moment".

"He is not in danger and we feel very positive about him." — Sapa.

RG

BCM calls for debate on Harare Declaration

By Patrick Laurence

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) yesterday further distanced itself from a central resolution on negotiations adopted at the weekend by delegates from the rival Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) at the Conference for a Democratic Future.

The first — and most important — resolution adopted by MDM delegates endorsed the "Harare Declaration on how the conflict in South Africa could be

resolved."

But, the BCM said yesterday, the OAU-approved Harare Declaration "goes against the grain of the policies and principles" of the BCM.

Originally drafted by the African National Congress and ideologically aligned organisations in South Africa, the Harare Declaration was adopted by the OAU in August and the Non-Aligned Movement in September.

It is due to be discussed by the United Nations General As-

Who took boycott decision, the unions want to know

By Drew Forrest

The conflict in the ranks of the National Council of Trade Unions over the Conference for a Democratic Future is far from over.

Yesterday it was announced that the eight unions who attended the CDF, apparently in defiance of federation policy, would meet today to prepare an approach to the federation's central committee.

Mr Motsomi Mokhe, general secretary of the Black Allied Construction and Mining Workers Union, said the unions wanted to establish who took the decision to boycott the conference. "Nactu decided in August to attend, and that decision was



never reversed," he said.

Mr Mokhe said Nactu's assistant general secretary, Mr Cunningham Ngucukana, had announced the federation's withdrawal at a meeting with affiliates on December 6.

"Only six affiliates were present and the meeting was not constitutional. When we asked Mr Ngucukana who had made the decision, he refused to say."

Mr Ngucukana could not be contacted yesterday.

Black consciousness elements have privately complained that Nactu's Africanists are trying to force a political line on the federation, which has traditionally been non-aligned.

sembly today, which explained — BCM leaders inferred yesterday — why the ANC-aligned MDM was anxious to secure its adoption by the conference at the weekend.

But the Harare Declaration ran into resistance from BCM delegates, who declined to endorse it, undertaking instead to refer it as a recommendation to BCM organisations for further discussion.

"We feel that the Harare Declaration cannot be simply imported and pushed down our throats," Mr Jerry Mosala, of the BCM, said yesterday. "We can't just have the OAU deciding what is good for our people."

BCM leaders emphasised yesterday that the BCM was a convenor of the Conference for a Democratic Future and that its delegates "constituted 50 per cent of the entire conference delegation."

Two BCM leaders mentioned yesterday that the Harare Declaration was brought in at the last moment by the MDM in an apparent bid to get it accepted before today's UN debate.

Mr Makuntle Hlapolosa said, "The question of the Harare Declaration was brought to the Conference for a Democratic Future on Thursday (less than two days before the start of the conference)."

Until then, negotiations in general were on the agenda, not

the Harare Declaration in particular.

Dealing with the same point, Mr Mosala, who delivered a key note address at the conference, said "Not all the BCM delegates knew that the Harare Declaration was going to be discussed."

It seemed to him that the most important issue for MDM delegates was the UN meeting.

He did not say so but the ANC, assisted by its ideological allies, is anxious to secure a strategic advantage over both the SA Government and rival liberation movements by getting the widest possible acceptance of its negotiating position.

Spelling out the BCM position on the Harare Declaration, Mr Mosala said "We are not saying we reject the Harare Declaration. We are saying that there hasn't been enough debate inside the country in the BCM and, I think, in the MDM itself."

The priority was not to get it accepted by the conference in time for the UN meeting but to debate it fully in SA itself.

Mr Hlapolosa said "Irrespective of the outcome at the UN, whether it is adopted or not, at the end of the day it is the people themselves, the oppressed and exploited masses of South Africa, that have to discuss that document and adopt it. Only then can it be supported by international organisations."

Sisulu to visit
Mandela today

CAPE TOWN — Jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela will hear about the Conference for a Democratic Future today when Mr Walter Sisulu pays him a two-hour visit in Paarl

Mr Sisulu was the chief speaker at the conference. — Own Correspondent

● See Page 6.

north-west of Jakarta, killing at least 45 people
and injuring 20.

CAT Times 12/12/89 (114)

R28m anti-apartheid fund

JOHANNESBURG. — The Kagiso Trust — an extra-parliamentary fund sponsored by the European Commission and foreign governments — yesterday said it would make available R28 million for educating "victims of apartheid".

Broederstroom 3 lodge appeal

Pretoria Correspondent

(71A) A notice of appeal against sentence has been lodged with the clerk of the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on behalf of the "Broederstroom Three", sentenced to effective jail terms ranging from 18 to 25 years

(28) (Stan) The appeal was lodged on November 24

Damian Michael de Lange (31), commander of a white ANC cell, was sentenced to an effective 25 years in jail after being convicted on 11 counts of terrorism, two counts of arson and one of attempted arson.

Iain Hugh Robertson (36), political commissar for the cell, found guilty on 11 counts of terrorism, was sentenced to an effective 20 years in jail

The 25-year-old Susan Westcott (also known as Donnelly), a British citizen and communications officer for the cell, was sentenced to an effective 18 years in jail. She was found guilty on 10 counts of terrorism.

According to the appeal, the sentences were excessive and created a sense of shock.

'COURT ERRED'

The appeal also argues the trial court erred or committed a misdirection. It erroneously found that while similar actions

12/12/89
on the part of black persons could be understood, this was not the position in regard to the accused.

The court imposed sentences which were not in proportion to the moral guilt of the accused, in light of the fact that Westcott was not party to the explosion set off in the vicinity of an Air Force bus, and the court failed to take into consideration that it was common cause between the State and the defence that there were clear political reasons why the accused joined the ANC.

A further ground for appeal was that the trial court erred by quoting the State President for authority for the fact that the ANC was banned because of the violence of Umkhonto We Sizwe, in the absence of any evidence on the record to that fact.

The appeal also states the court gave undue weight to aggravating features of the case, thereby according inadequate weight to mitigating factors.

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Conference for a Democratic Future held at the weekend was part of the government's initiative for more open politics, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday.

"It is part of the normalisation process of politics that is taking place," Mr Meyer said in an interview.

He declined to say whether this process would result in lifting restrictions on 32 organisations.

He said the conference was organised by the Mass Demo-

cratic Movement (MDM), which was not banned.

When it was put to him that both the UDF and Cosatu — key elements of the MDM — were restricted, Mr Meyer replied: "They are restricted, but they are not totally banned."

The government had taken note of the conference, but there was not much to say about the proceedings.

"It seems to me that part of the emphasis was to make a unified stand before the coming UN meeting.

'Open politics' move behind CDF talks

contacts — which could only be to the good for negotiations — were made. He said this emphasised the need for multi-party negotiations.

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) said yesterday white people had always had a role in the struggle to end apartheid, but black people had a right to wage an autonomous black struggle.

The BCM would talk to and accept the support of white people, but Africans had to be their own liberators, a senior Azapo member, Mr Jerry Mo-

sala, told a press conference called to outline the BCM position on the conference.

"Given the nature and structure of South African society, whites are part of the problem, and our primary responsibility is the mobilisation of the black working class."

The BCM had been deliberately and maliciously misrepresented on this point, he told the conference.

The BCM claimed the MDM "pushed" to get the Harare Declaration passed so it could be taken to the United Nations for discussion.

DAR ES SALAAM - A recent meeting between two veteran opponents of apartheid in a Cape Town jail renewed hopes of unity between South Africa's two rival black nationalist guerilla movements

But their leaders in exile say that after a 30-year rift, the prospects of unity between the mainstream African National Congress and its smaller and more radical rival, the Pan Africanist Congress, still seem remote

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela met Japhta Masemola, a recently released leader of the PAC last month, but members of the leadership in exile of the two movements say they are still far apart

The PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959, claiming that the ANC's Freedom Charter of 1955 offered too many concessions to South Africa's white minority and deprived blacks of their full rights.

"Unity with the ANC is difficult because our ideology which represents the people's sentiments is too strong for them to accept," PAC information director Waters Toboti said at the organisation's headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, the PAC's Secretary for External Affairs was even more blunt

"There is no point in uniting just for the sake of unity," he said in his office overlooking the Indian Ocean in Tanzania's steamy capital

The PAC views whites with suspicion because of their privileged status in racially divided South Africa.

But it treats South Africans of Asian, Chinese and

FOCUS

ANC, PAC unity - dream or a reality?

11A
Sawetaw
13/12/89

"coloured" origin on the same level as blacks because they are also discriminated against on the grounds of race

Ebrahim, who has been in exile for 20 years, is himself of ethnic Asian origin

His colleague Toboti said "We do not reject whites as members of the PAC, but we reject the concept of these whites joining us only to assume positions of power and influence.

"They must, like any other person, begin from the rank and file."

Toboti admitted that

unity with the ANC, which makes no racial distinction between its members, might come one day

But he said it would have to be on equal terms

The PAC would not simply rejoin the ANC like a prodigal son returning to the fold.

Other key differences between the two movements are the PAC's strong anti-communist sentiments - influential members of the South African Communist Party are members of the ANC - and the PAC's flat rejection of any dialogue with South Africa's white minority government

Dialogue

The ANC says it is prepared to open a dialogue with Pretoria, but only if the Government first ends a national state of emergency, frees all political prisoners and detentions and lifts a sweeping ban on political groups opposed to apartheid

The PAC has ruled out any negotiations, vowing instead to intensify the armed struggle to overthrow Pretoria.

"The vehicle for change cannot be the

regime itself but the armed struggle through the oppressed people of South Africa and we therefore maintain there is no basis for negotiations," Ebrahim said.

But both movements want to see some form of socialism and a multi-party system to rule a post-apartheid South Africa

The ANC, which has its headquarters in the Zambian capital Lusaka, dismisses the PAC as an inconsequential movement which lacks support within South Africa and a credible military wing.

"The question of unity comes nowhere nearer our agenda," said Manala Manzini, the ANC's chief representative in East Africa.

"There is simply no visible presence of the PAC inside our country and for us the cardinal point is unity in action not sloganeering," the Dar es Salaam-based official said.

"We have always been willing to accept individual members of the PAC wishing to join the ANC

"Many have come and many others are still knocking on our



JAPHTA MASEMOLA

door," he added

The ANC, with an estimated 10 000 guerillas, is widely regarded as the leading group sworn to topple the South African Government

Its guerillas, who are mostly based in Zambia, Angola, Tanzania and Uganda, frequently clash with South African security forces and they are widely credited with bombings in South Africa's main cities

Ebrahim said the PAC had an unspecified number of guerillas operating inside South Africa as well as another 2 000 outside

He did not say where, but diplomats say China has traditionally provided facilities for training PAC fighters.

Profile

Ebrahim admitted that the PAC has a lower international profile than the ANC, but he said. "The PAC never said it was waging an armed propaganda war"

He added: "The struggle is not in foreign capitals but inside the country and we insist that it remains so."

African diplomats in Tanzania said it was difficult to say what impact Mandela's recent meeting with Masemola would have on moves by black African governments to bring the ANC and PAC closer together.

But they noted that the two men had been friends since childhood.

Several South African churchmen and the 50-member Organisation of African Unity have tried but failed over the past 30 years to heal the rift between the ANC and PAC.

The OAU, which spearheaded the struggle for Namibia's independence, says a unified guerilla movement in South Africa would be more effective in fighting apartheid. - Sapa-
Reuter.

Mass rally given OK

BY MONK NKOMO



Sowetan 13/12/83

THE Chief Magistrate of Pretoria has approved the holding of a mass rally to welcome back Congress Africanist Party stalwart Mr Japha Masemola but warned that unlawful and inflammatory speeches would not be tolerated.

Mr P A J Burger, in a letter dated December 8 and addressed to the A-ertidgeville Reception Committee, authorised the holding of the rally at the Aertidgeville Super Stadium on Saturday, December 16 from 9am to 5pm.

Burger said that the reception committee had given the following undertakings in regard to the gathering:

- *To see that the gathering is peaceful;
- *That no unlawful and/or inflammatory speeches will be made;
- *That no flags, banners or placards in connection of any law or regulation will be displayed and;
- *That the committee will take the responsibility for any damage caused to the property of the local city council.

Prayer

Speakers at the rally will include PAC president Mr Zeph Mothontsi, Professor Simon Maimela, senior lecturer at the University of South Africa, Dr Abe Nkomo of the local Residents Organisation, Mrs Joyce Mabe, a social worker, and Mr Nkosi Molala, president of the Azanian People's Organisation.

The opening prayer will be conducted by Dr Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church of Southern African, Dr T Mofokeng and the Reverend David Moeapete.

Choir

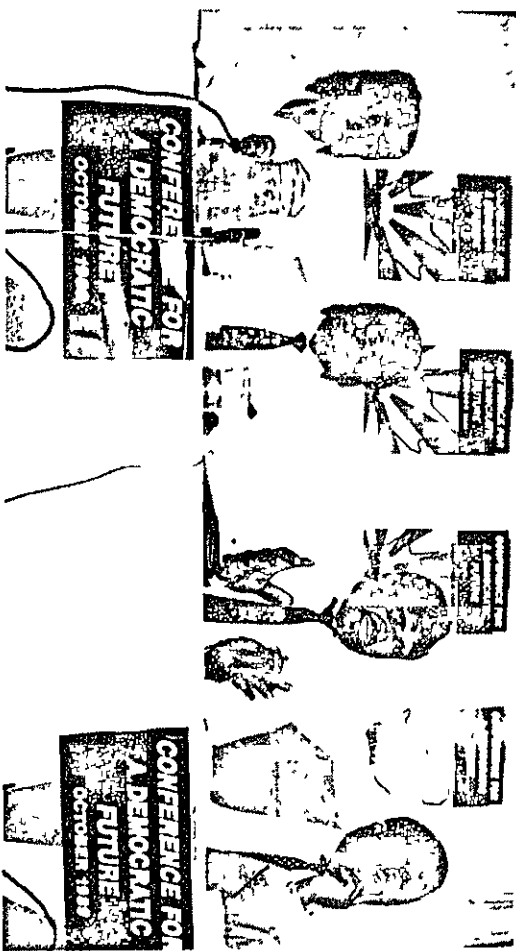
Music groups Unity Band, Dadsna, Pretoria Serenades, Aertidgeville Adult Choir and Carlos Dyedje will feature. There will also be reading of poetry.

Masemola served 26 years of a life sentence imposed on him for PAC activities in 1963.

He was released together with seven African National Congress leaders on October 15 this year.

(114)

Just an ordinary picture



Unexpected allies on the convening committee. From the left, Haroon Patel, Father Smangalisso Mkhathshwa who chaired the press conference, Murphy Morobe and Mbululelo Rakwena

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapic

of a most unusual scene

The press was probing the invitation list for this grand show of unity. Inkatha had not been invited, they pointed out. The Africanist organisations had withdrawn. The Democratic Party was only granted observer status. There was no clear reason why National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce members should be accepted as delegates, while the Consultative Business Movement was given observer status, they said.

Morobe, however, chose to emphasise the gains that had been made rather than the contradictions that still existed. A few years ago, many of the people on the platform would hardly talk to each other, let alone hold joint meetings. The ill feeling ran so deep that in some areas members of their respective organisations were killing each other.

Now they were coming together to co-host the biggest show of apartheid unity this country has ever seen — the unity conferences of the 1960s are dwarfed in comparison as is the showy launch of the UDF in 1984.

The day itself promises to be a fairly chaotic affair. With thousands of delegates representing hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of organisations, the organisers admit they won't be able to cope with the number of participants they expect to attend. And all of these people thrown together in a room for a day-long plenary session, with no clear voting structure (surely impossible when every participating organisation, no matter how small or large, has two delegates), are unlikely to come to any major decisions.

These thousands of delegates will go into closed-door discussions over the issue of negotiations, after first

listening to opening addresses by African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu and Azanian People's Organisation leader Jerry Mofokeng.

Organisers have differing views of what they expect from the negotiation session. Morobe said yesterday he did not believe there would be major differences of opinion. Patel said the purpose was not to achieve consensus, but simply to hold an exploratory discussion, enabling the differing sides to understand each other's position better.

Thereafter, the conference will look at the possibility of a programme of action. This is the heart of the matter: all the participants are adamant that the conference will only serve its purpose if it plans concrete action against the government.

They also agree, however, that they will only be able to draw a broad outline of such a programme, and they share an uncertainty over what structure will emerge to implement it.

The final session will discuss the role of the international community in the struggle against apartheid. This could produce heated debate. One of

The mere fact that these men are sharing a platform this weekend, is already cause for hope

BY ANTON HARBER

The issues which unite the Mass Democratic Movement and Azapo is their support for sanctions — and representatives of the business community are not going to be silent about this.

A resolutions committee will sit the whole day, putting debate and proposals into formal resolutions. The organisers are hoping to achieve consensus on these resolutions and avoid putting things to the vote.

Saturday may not, therefore, produce great fireworks, though this does not denigrate its importance. The event presents the resistance

negotiations, whether or not to participate and who else could rightfully be asked to participate, the CDF has already achieved many of its aims.

All the parties to the planning have been forced to rethink some of their most fundamental positions. "The process of building the conference has been very important," an MDM source said. "The MDM has gone through very rigorous discussion for months. It forced us to ask key questions, such as the role of the business community and how we see alliances with other organisations."

The process also helped strengthen the Cosatu/UDF alliance in the MDM. "We were forced to come up with common positions and this helped build our cohesiveness," the source said.

"We have also made a huge impact on other organisations. The business organisations had to decide whether to associate themselves with us, for example, as did the Democratic Party. This process was very important in itself," he said.

The BCM's Patel echoed this. "The fact that the CDF is taking place indicates that the mainstream groupings in the liberation movement have been able, with great maturity, to arrive at compromises."

"In the BCM, we were unanimous about participation, but we have had to do a lot of talking and explaining to our cadres. That unanimity is based on the understanding that it is important for us to be part and parcel of mass struggles. This is an indication from the BCM that the blanket boycott position is in our view not the correct approach under current circumstances," he said.

The CDF has already had a major effect on black politics. The set-piece battles with the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and various liberal organisations on one side, and the Azanian People's Organisation, the National Council of Trade Unions, Africanist and Unity Movement groupings on the other, have broken down. With the BCM in the conference, and the Cape Action League, the Pan Africanist Movement and Nacem out, a long-standing political axis has come apart.

All sides emphasise that there are still important differences between the MDM and the BCM. However, they all agree on the enormous achievement of the CDF in bringing them together.

Extra-parliamentary politicians confused and concerned as ...

MANDELA

Sussem

14/12/89

11R
11R

MEETS F.W. DE KLERK

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN and Sapa

IN A surprise move that sowed confusion and concern among extra-parliamentary politicians, State President De Klerk yesterday met jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys in Cape Town

The Bureau for Information reports that the meeting took place at the request of Mandela and that De Klerk welcomed the opportunity "since it continued the initiative of his predecessor and also fitted in with the President's programme to consult with the full spectrum of political opinion

concerning the mutual future of all South Africans

Senior members of the Mass Democratic Movement yesterday reacted guardedly to the announcement if Mandela had held a meeting with De Klerk. The jailed ANC leader was taken from his hut in the Victor Verster prison compound Tuynhuys the official residence of the state president. When approached for comment Mr Mande's closest comrade Mr Walter Sisulu said he did not know of the meeting.

Meaningful dialogue

We do not know what they discussed, but we are certain Mandela cannot deviate from the people's long standing demands, he said. The meeting was the second between Mandela and a South African, head of state in the past five months. On July 5 former State President P W Botha had tea with the imprisoned ANC leader. The Bureau yesterday also said that issues that were explored between De Klerk and Mandela included ways and means to address current obstacles in the way of meaningful dialogue. The Bureau reported that more talks are envisaged. It said further statements at this stage would serve no positive purpose.

The meeting was also attended by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Dr Gerrit Viljoen and the Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee. Reacting to the meeting, the president of Azapo Mr Nkosi Mofeja yesterday said he was shocked and expressed concern that Mandela was talking to the Government while still behind bars. Mofeja said any meaningful dialogue had to take

Nelson Mandela meets De Klerk

From page 1

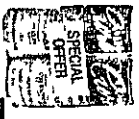
posed the dangers of talks with the regime, "Molala said

"We are even more concerned that the meeting came at Mandela's request. We thought that the aftermath of the last meeting (between Mandela and P.W. Botha) had ex-

The general secretary of the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM), Mr Benny Alexander, said he was confused. "When Mandela met PAC stalwart Mr Japhtha Masemola recently, (Walter) Sisulu said Mandela had no mandate to talk to anyone. "Furthermore, the CDF (Confederation for a Democratic Future) declared at the weekend that this was not the time for talks," Alexander said PAM was not part of the

Twin Pack

R7,99



iWIN Pack

R5,99

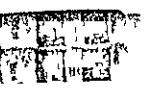


BRAIDING SHEEN

R7.99

REVLON Curl Sense

RA.9



NELSON MANDELA

The executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative For South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday the meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela "is to be strongly welcomed by all South Africans who are committed to negotiation politics". The meeting was a further step in the inevitable release of Mr Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress.

Cheerful Reed out of doldrums, heading south

Staff Reporter
 AFTER a frustrating day with little wind, five of the 13 competitors in the Globe Challenge have come through the notorious doldrums with yet another shuffling of positions.

South African yacht Grubaker, skippered by Bertie Reed and following the most easterly course of the fleet, has dropped to sixth position.

However, a cheerful Reed reported yesterday that the wind had picked up and he was heading south. He said the calm spell had given him time to "catch up on housework" — and to cook a leisurely breakfast.

Excruciatingly Aquitaine is still leading the race but Lada Poch and Fleury Michon have moved into second and third positions respectively.

Generali Concorde has dropped from second to fourth position after being becalmed.

Tutu leads solidarity tour of Crossroads

By GRAHAM UZAMORE
Staff Reporter
ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu, a number of senior priests, UDF and ANC representatives and DP MP Mr Jan van Riek have visited Crossroads to show solidarity with the residents of the troubled township.

Archbishop Tutu yesterday led a tour of Old Crossroads to get first hand accounts of the fighting that occurred in the sprawling township on Sunday night and to inspect the damage.

He was accompanied by recently released long-term political prisoners Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, as well as Ms Cheryl Carolus from the UDF and a number of senior priests.

At the bullet-riddled home of Mr Geoffrey Nongwe, leader of a breakaway faction opposed to the mayor of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Nxobongwana, Archbishop Tutu heard details of Sunday night's carnage in which at least five people were killed, many were injured and scores of homes were burnt down.

Mr Nongwe told of the attack on his home and showed the numerous bullet holes in his house including a room which was occupied by children.

Mr Essa Moosa, the lawyer representing the squatters, produced a plastic bag of shotgun, revolver and rifle shells collected after the shooting.

Archbishop Tutu said he was appalled by what he had heard and seen.

"It is almost as if people are nothing here, they are killed as if you are swatting a fly," he said to the large press contingent.

"I have to express my very deep distress about what has happened here and my solidarity with the people who are seeking justice here in Crossroads."

Archbishop Tutu called on the government as a matter of "absolute urgency" to appoint an inquiry into the role of the police in the events of Sunday night.

ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, who was accompanied by his wife, Alberta, said apartheid was the cause of the trouble.

He said the only way the system could be defeated was through the unity of the oppressed people and in achieving unity, victory would be brought closer.



SISULU VISIT ANC leader Walter Sisulu and his wife Alberta walk hand in hand past a police Casspir after their tour of the strife-torn Crossroads squatter camp yesterday.

Constraint order extended

Staff Reporter
 AN interim interdict forbidding the Crossroads Town Committee, its Mayor, Mr Johnson Nxobongwana, four representatives and six residents from destroying or damaging shacks in the squatter area has been extended in the Supreme Court until next Wednesday.

The applicants were Mr James Gbesele, Mr Jim Skim, Mr Jackson Mirandek, Mrs Alexandra Luke, Mr Nkosana December and Mr Geoffrey Nongwe.

They did not persist with their application that the respondents be directed to repair or re-erect damaged or razed shacks within three days. Mr Gbesele and others brought the urgent application on December 7.

one of Mr Acheson's "handlers"

Station bomber buried as hero

JOHANNESBURG. — A man who died when a bomb he was carrying exploded at Johannesburg railway station has been given a hero's funeral and hailed as a "freedom fighter".

African National Congress flags were draped over the coffin of Prakash Napier and in the church where about 700 mourners were watched by armed police.

Napier, in his mid-20s, died with another man on Monday. Police believe he was carrying a limpet mine which went off accidentally.

They later found an arms cache including 17 limpet mines at the men's home.

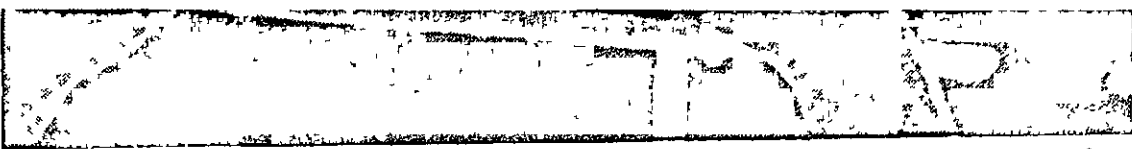
The other man, 23-year-old student Yusef Akhalwaya, was buried on Tuesday in a Muslim ceremony.

Speakers at yesterday's funeral paid tribute to "our fallen heroes" and linked the deaths to the bitter strike by thousands of Sats workers.

Milk deliveries

12645
4/12/89
11A

OS
MI
JO
LY
RE
J
S
e
Y
M
L
M
P
e
M
L
L



Sugar Ray Leonard (left) ducks as Roberto Duran swings at him during the

Star *8/12/89*
Nactu dashes hopes of black unity

By Patrick Laurence *(11A)*

The decision by the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) to withdraw from the Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF) to be held at the University of the Witwatersrand tomorrow, comes as a major blow to the hopes of uniting ideologically disparate black forces in a campaign to end apartheid.

The official reason given by Nactu was the acceptance by the CDF of representatives of political parties in leg-

islative assemblies in the "homelands". Until recently, there was unanimity in black extra-parliamentary circles that there can be no political co-operation with people serving in "homeland" assemblies or black town councils.

But lately the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has changed tack to take account of men like Mr Enos Mabuza of kaNgwane and General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei.

In adopting its new approach, the MDM won over black consciousness organisations, notably Azapo. It failed, however, to convince the Africanists



Restrictions

Turffontein tomorrow: Rest bet — Cr... The Star is being produced under the

114

South 14-19/12/90.

ANC burial for blast victim

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — The exclusive suburb of Lenasia this week paid homage to its first "fallen young hero" at the funeral of 23-year-old Yusuf Akhalwaya.

As the body of the Call of Islam member was lowered into the grave at the Avalon cemetery outside Soweto on Tuesday, the ANC flag was hoisted and the battle hymn of Umkhonto We Sizwe sung.

Akhalwaya and Prakash Napier — both activists — were killed in a bomb blast which rocked Johannesburg hours before.

Napier was cremated on Wednesday afternoon.

The Mass Democratic Movement and its affiliates — the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), the Call of Islam and the Lenasia Youth League — paid homage to the "fallen young heroes."

Akhalwaya, nicknamed "Softie", was a final-year Physical Education student at the University of Witwatersrand until he was suspended on June 16 for trying to protect a fellow student from arrest.

A member of the Call of Islam and the Lenasia Youth League, he leaves behind his wife, Farhana, and his five-month-old baby, Raisa.

Prakash Napier was in his mid-twenties. He joined the Lenasia Youth League (a Sayco affiliate)



Yusuf Akhalwaya

and served as a TIC activist in 1984 during the anti-tricameral election campaign.

In its tribute the MDM stated: "It takes the deaths of these gentle South Africans to remind us of the destruction that the system of apartheid spawns."

"The only reason for their tragic deaths lies in their passionate desire for the creation of a non-racial, democratic South Africa, a society for which they were prepared to give their lives."

The Call of Islam was due to hold a commemorative service for Napier and Akhalwaya at the Hanover Park civic centre on Thursday at 8 00pm.

Timing's the key

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE timing of the release of Nelson Mandela is now the crucial element — not the release itself.

The impression in government and Mass Democratic Movement circles today was that his release had been brought nearer by yesterday's meeting with President De Klerk but that it may not be before the end of the year.

Indications are that it is more likely to be by February or at least in the first part of next year.

The two-hour meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday began at 9am after Mr Mandela was taken from Victor Verster Prison in Paarl. Government officials today declined to give any details of how the meeting went.



A file photograph of Mr Mandela taken before 1953.

The top-level encounter followed several meetings between Mr Mandela and Cabinet ministers recently, especially with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. Both were at yesterday's meeting.

A statement issued afterwards by Mr Coetsee said issues explored included ways of addressing obstacles in the way of meaningful dialogue. Follow-up talks in the new year were envisaged.

Mr Mandela did not directly consult the Mass Democratic Movement just before he made the move to talk to Mr De Klerk but MDM sources said today the meeting was not a complete surprise. Such a possibility had been raised in recent visits to Mr Mandela.

The MDM impression was that Mr Mandela himself did not know when he would be released.

In government circles the concern is to decide on the timing for the release. To be considered is what Mr Mandela would do when he was released and what would happen. The government would not want to give the African National Congress an advantage.

UN debate

MDM sources pointed out that Mr Mandela had made it clear he would subject himself to the discipline of the ANC on his release.

Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Mandela's closest comrade who visited him earlier this week, had not known about the meeting and Mrs Winnie Mandela declined to comment until she saw her husband within the next few days.

Mr Dullah Omar, president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said the timing of the meeting was significant, "taking place just as the debate on apartheid begins at the United Nations. I see this in the same light as the release of the eight security prisoners in October before the Commonwealth conference".

De...

The US government has applauded the meeting, while the British government's welcome was guarded, according to The Argus Foreign Service in Washington and London.

US State Department spokesman Mr Richard Boucher said "dialogue between the government and credible representatives of the black majority" was "the most important first step in the process of change".

London reports wide coverage of the event by all the major national media.

The Foreign Office welcomed the meeting but "would prefer to see dialogue with Mr Mandela as a free man".

● For the first time the Prisons Service today gave permission to publish Mr Mandela's photograph.

REC-5 14/12/89

MANDALA
LATEST
11A

PAM fights against 'racist' image

Soweto *11A*

THE recently-launched Pan-Africanist Movement this week introduced its new president to the media and moved to scotch assertions it was racist and that it wished to "drive the whites into the sea"

Both accusations are often made by political observers against the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress which, politically, is similar to the PAM

14/12/89

Non-racial

"We believe in a non-racial, socialist Azania.

"We only believe in one race - the human race. We don't believe in multi-racialism as that is racism multiplied. There are no plural forms of race here. We all fall under the African race," PAM's first president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said at a meet-the-Press gathering in Johannesburg.

The gathering was held to give the media an opportunity to hear the views of the Transkeian farmer and former Robben Island prisoner

Realism

"In the past we have been called all sorts of names, including racists, simply because we put our emphasis on the return of the land to the rightful owners

"But we are not racists at all. We deal with the realities of the situation," he told reporters

Makwetu said it was clear that 87 percent of the land mass was owned by 15 percent of the population, while 85 percent of the people had a mere 13 percent of the land

Land issue

"If we are serious about liberation, this situation must be reversed. We don't subscribe to the view that the land should be owned by those who work it.

"If one accepts that, then it means that after liberation the white people will still be in control of the resources as they work the vast mass of our country," said Makwetu - Sapa



A SPATE of bomb blasts rocked several main centres in South Africa on December 16 1961 heralding the start of the ANC's armed struggle.

The decision to form a military wing, however, did not come easily to the ANC leadership at the time. Taking up arms it argued had become an historical inevitability for which the Pretoria government was to be blamed.

After decades of moderation, peonitioning the authorities and sending deputations, the ANC changed its non-violent policy after the state responded with bannings and legislation.

The ANC itself was banned in 1960

Peaceful

It had campaigned for justice and self-determination by peaceful means longer than it has waged the armed struggle — for almost 50 years since it was founded in 1912.

Umkhonto's military operations were initially aimed solely at sabotaging government installations, carrying out 200 such attacks within the first 18 months of its existence.

These targets were specifically chosen to avoid casualties. As the struggle intensified, the range of targets was extended to the security forces, with the possibility of civilians being caught in the crossfire.

However, the ANC has maintained that the policy not to select "soft targets" such as supermarkets, cinemas or schools, although in some cases MK soldiers inside the country have waived this policy.

When MK soldiers for instance hit the Sasol installations, elaborate pre-

Fresh debate over 'armed struggle' as MK turns 28

Saturday December 16 marks the 28th anniversary of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). NOEL BRUYNs reviews the 'armed struggle' and its role amid the present debate on negotiations:

cautions were made in the planning so that civilians would not be hurt in the sabotage attack

Despite the South African government's attempts to cut off ANC rear bases by putting pressure on the Frontline states, there is evidence of guerrilla units being based increasingly within the country

This includes the uncovering of military cells in Cape Town, such as the one commanded by convicted Ashley Forbes.

Observers also point to trial evidence that a captured ANC cadre had training in the use of sophisticated weapons, but had never left the country

Five Freedom Forum delegates who met ANC representatives in

Lusaka earlier this year condemned the armed struggle for creating fear among whites, "closing their minds to change"

Township residents reply that whites do not know the greater fear of gun-toting police and soldiers invading their townships

MK's armed struggle has been put into a different light by allegations of SA Police death squads' terrorist tactics made by former security policeman Captain Dirk Coetzee, Butana Nofomela and "Spyker" Tshikalange

Commentators ask whether it is not feasible to suspect that the alleged death squads, using similar weapons to those used by Umkhonto we Sizwe, may have been involved in some murders of which the liberation

movement has been accused.

According to Nofomela's younger brother, Charles, 17, Nofomela always carried an AK-47 in his black briefcase.

Police "unrest" reports often stress the fact that AK-47s or "Russian-made" weapons were used in a murder, implying ANC involvement

The continuation of the ANC's "armed struggle", however, is being freshly debated as the issue of negotiations comes to the fore.

Several newspaper reports in recent months point out a "new thinking" in the Soviet Union, the ANC's main supplier of arms, suggesting it prefers a political negotiated settlement in South Africa

But senior ANC sources in London

and Born informed me emphatically that official Soviet circles had assured the ANC that they would not abandon it.

A position paper issued by the MDM in preparation for last week's Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF), moreover, stated ANC policy was not dependent on political moves in Moscow or the capitals of any other country

Nevertheless, in keeping with the current debate, also the ANC is seriously discussing the issue of a negotiated settlement.

Its NEC in Lusaka has repeatedly reiterated it has never been opposed to such solution to the country's conflicts

But the ANC sees negotiations as part of the general struggle, not as a substitute to its "four pillars", namely the armed struggle, united mass action, the underground and the international isolation of apartheid

Dialogue

The ANC is not interested in talking merely for the sake of dialogue, said a spokesperson

Any discussion has to be seriously meant to end the "tyrannical and murderous system" of apartheid immediately

The ANC in a statement unequivocally rejected "the cynical demand of the Pretoria regime that we should unilaterally abandon or suspend the armed struggle"

Cessation of hostilities by both sides would have to be part of the negotiations, not the demand that one side surrender its arms a precondition for peace talks.

But while the government refuses to accept this perspective, and so long as state president FW de Klerk continues to preach his commitment to the protection of racially-defined "group rights", the fighting will go on

6 hurt as Ermelo violence erupts

PRETORIA. Six policemen were injured, a mayor's home badly damaged in a petrol bomb attack and five people arrested when violence broke out in Wesselton township near Ermelo yesterday, police reported.

The violence erupted when police tried to halt a march to Ermelo by about 10 000 people who were protesting charges against 88 residents for electricity arrears.

The 88 residents were to appear in the Ermelo Magistrate's Court this week.

Police said the march was staged in contravention of an undertaking given by the organisers, the Wesselton Action Committee, on Tuesday. They had been informed during talks that the march would be illegal.

In Wesselton, while other people marched to Ermelo, a mob attacked municipal offices and the mayor's house. The mayor's home was badly damaged when one of two petrol bombs tossed at it exploded. Six people were hurt when police fired on a mob to disperse them. Five people were arrested.

Another 397 people were arrested outside the Ermelo Magistrate's Court after police called in the defence force.

Sapa

Sisulu: Unity the key to peace in Crossroads

Staff Reporter

RELEASED ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, on a tour of the troubled Old Crossroads squatter camp, told residents that unity was only way to prevent violence of the kind that transpired there at the weekend.

Mr Sisulu and his wife Mrs Albertina Sisulu visited the scene of Sunday night's violence — when at least five people were killed and 200 other residents were left homeless — with Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, UDF leaders and DP MP Mr Jan van Eck.

"I warned the people that they must know that those who are greedy are responsible for the trouble," Mr Sisulu said.

Archbishop Tutu said he was appalled by the violence and urged authorities to investigate the alleged role of police in Sunday night's events.

Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, leader of the 14 headmen who broke ties with Crossroads mayor Mr Johnson Nxobongwana earlier this year over corruption allegations, described to the group what happened when his home was attacked.

He said several shots were fired at a bedroom occupied by children.

Archbishop Tutu counted

CHT-TMS 14/12/85

Supreme Court Reporter

AN interim interdict which forbade the Crossroads town committee, its mayor Mr Johnson Nxobongwana, four representatives and six residents from destroying or damaging shacks was yesterday extended in the Supreme Court till next Wednesday.

However, the applicants, Mr James Gabisela, Mr Jim Siki, Mr Jackson Mandeki, Mr Alexandra Lukes, Mr Nkofrey Nongwe, did not persist with their application that the respondents be directed to repair or re-erect damaged or razed shacks within three days.

Mr Gabisela and the other men had brought an urgent application on December 7

17 holes from shots fired at an outside toilet while somebody was inside.

Yesterday the secretary of the Crossroads town committee, Mr Ricky Schelhase, said he would leave early today for the Ciskei where he will have talks with Mr Nxobongwana to discuss the issue of his return.

● Meanwhile Sapa reports that Mr Schelhase yesterday denied that the city's town clerk, treasurer or depart-

ment of engineering had anything to do with the causes of the conflict at the camp.

"Events in Crossroads over the past three months have once again shown how easily a community can be polarised when the traditions of the people become a bone of contention," he said.

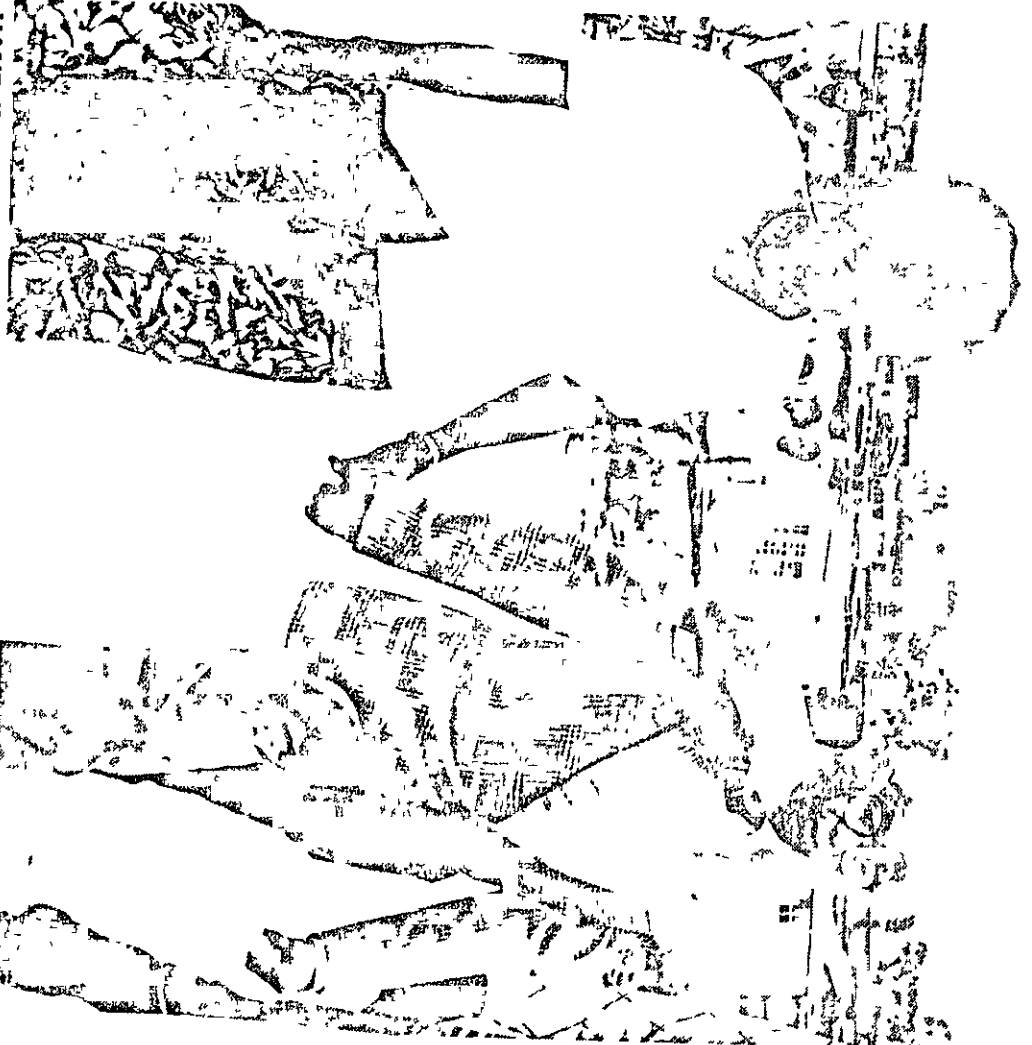
"The smouldering intolerance that exists between those inhabitants who are loyal to Mr Nxobongwana and Mr Nongwe culminated in fatal and tragic consequences over the past weekend when supporters of both groups came to blows."

Mr Schelhase said it had been reported that "mismanagement" and "maladministration" had been the cause of underlying grievances.

"The administration of Crossroads, like any other local authority, is subject to the strict control and supervision of the controller and auditor-general, as well as an annual external audit," he said.

"This administration has been commended by both these bodies for the responsible application of its income and expenditure."

He said Crossroads was one of the few local authorities whose budget covered all its overheads.



HAND-IN-HAND ... Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina walk through the troubled Old Crossroads squatter camp yesterday. They visited the area with Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Western Cape UDF leaders.

Picture: MAURIUS BOSCH

11A
Sowetan
14/12/89

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela does not know why he has not been released along with the other Rivonia trialists and emphatically denies suggestions that his continued imprisonment is by choice.

This news emerged after Tuesday's meeting between Mandela, former fellow-prisoner Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina Mandela met the

Mandela puzzled

Sisulus for three hours. The Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg last weekend was not discussed because of a shortage of time, said advocate Mr Dullah Omar who had lunch with the Sisulus after the meeting.

Omar said a "wide range of issues" had

been discussed. "The most relevant one was Mandela's continued imprisonment. Mandela emphatically denies that he has chosen not to be released now," Omar said.

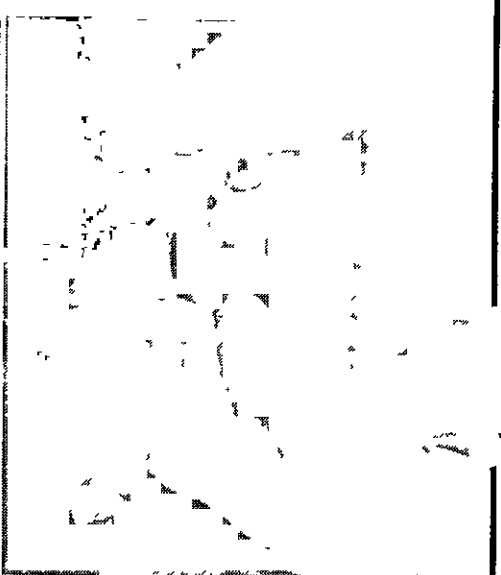
"He says he does not know why he has not been released with the others. He insists that he has the right to be released but is not prepared to beg for his release."

Omar said when he had visited Mandela last week, the same sentiment had been expressed.

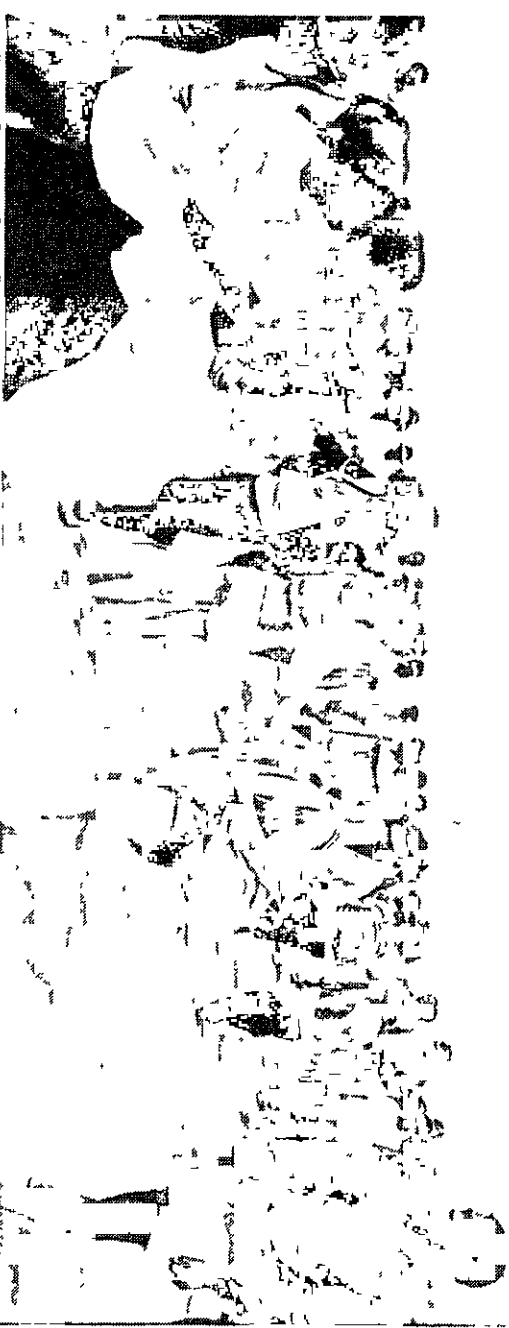
"He told me he would not wait one more minute than was necessary. If he was told to go, he would walk out and leave behind all his belongings for somebody else to collect," Omar said. - Sapa



TEARS: There were a host of tragic events during the year. Above, mourners carry the coffins of Coline Williams and Robbe Waterwitch into the church for their funeral service, and below, SADF and Untag troops lower the bodies of Swapo PLAN soldiers into mass graves in Namibia in April.



TRIUMPH: At the last Swapo rally before the Namibian elections, Swapo leader Sam Nujoma rides to victory.



BEACH PROTEST: White and black alike share the fun of a beach picnic during the defiance campaign.

Triumph and tears

JANUARY

WINNIE Mandela makes the headlines in January when her "football team" bodyguards are accused of being party to the death of a young activist, Stompie Seipei.

Her ordeal ends when three people are arrested for the murder. Nelson Mandela, in a message from Victor Verster prison, pledges support for his embattled wife.

Also in January, South African spy Olivia Forsyth accuses the ANC of mustering detainees in camps in Angola. She makes a dramatic escape from the ANC and flees to Britain.

President P.W. Botha suffers a massive stroke. However, his illness is hushed up before being leaked to the press eight days later. Azapo leader Dr. Abu Baker Asvat

1989 was a year of profound political changes that will set the scene for an acceleration of the liberation struggle in the 1990s.

It was the year of mass defiance, street marches and hunger strikes. The ANC gained in fame, stature and respectability. Namibians voted, and P.W. Botha was kicked off the political stage. The Conference for a Democratic Future presented the greatest challenge to apartheid rule in 30 years.

But not all the news was pleasant: Winnie Mandela got a bad press at the beginning of the year. Pretoria got a much worse one at the end of 1989. It was the year of the death squad scandal, and the cold-blooded killings of David Webster and Anton Lubowski. The state of emergency continues. REHANA ROSSOUW reviews the past 12 months.

APRIL

April begins with a shock to Namibia

JULY

school students take to the streets in action against the police, Water-

The alternative Afrikaans weekly newspaper *Vrye Weekblad* breaks the news of South African "death squads" with claims that the squads have been responsible for the deaths of scores of activists.

DECEMBER

December sees an extraordinary meeting in Paris, with 120 people from inside South African and from across the political spectrum thrashing out ideas on the economy and politics with the ANC.

The year draws to a close with the Conference for a Democratic Future which draws 4 600 delegates from South Africa and the homelands and ends on a high note as organisations pledge to unite and intensify the



FREE: UDF executive member Trevor Manuel is carried on the shoulders of supporters.

PIC. RASHID LOMBARD

FEBRUARY

News leaks from prisons around the country in February that detainees have embarked on a hunger strike to demand their releases.

Within a week, more than 300 detainees join the strike and there are fears for their health.

By the third week, a substantial number of detainees are hospitalised, and a few make dramatic escapes from their hospital beds.

After a month, the government begins to release detainees. Within weeks, the number of detainees drops from 900 to fewer than 100. However, most detainees are re-detained after being released.

MARCH

In March the first United Nations Traditional Assistance Group (Unitag) troops roll down Kaiser Street, Windhoek, to implement Resolution 435. The Namibians view them with mixed reactions.



DEFIANCE: Students take to the streets in action during the defiance campaign.

ures of Uriag and South African troops burying Swapo fighters in mass graves after the massacre of April 1.

Swapo's PLAN fighters who had crossed the border of Angola into Namibia were killed in three days of fighting.

In South Africa, there are scenes of jubilation outside the Rand Supreme Court when labour leader Moses Mayekiso is acquitted of subversion and sedition.

MAY

Worker celebrations on May Day are marred by the assassination of Wit academic David Webster who is gunned down outside his home.

JUNE

During the month of June, thousands of Capetonians join a march from the Baxter Theatre to District Six in support of the Open City Initiative.



CLERGY MARCH: The Dean of the Anglican Church Rev Colin Jones and Archbishop Tutu are stopped by a policewoman when they attempt to march to parliament.

apport 2, 4, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100.

UDF leaders Albertina Sisulu, Curmick Ndlovu, Azar Cachalia and Tinus Mafolo are feted during a tour to the United States and Britain, where they meet Margaret Thatcher at Downing Street.

PW Botha summons Mandela for tea at Tuynhuys for the now famous "tea party." Meanwhile the rest of the national Party bays for his retirement.

The world sees the Mandela family celebrating a reunion and Mandela's 72nd birthday at the Victor Verster prison.

Cape Town activists Robbie Waterwich and Coline Williams die in an explosion near the Athlone Magistrates Court on July 31.

AUGUST

The Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign is launched in Cape Town at a press conference on August 2.

In the weeks that follow, high

10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100.

strikes declare themselves unrestricted at a church service in Hazendal.

On August 20 organisations are declared unbanned at a rally to celebrate the UDF's birthday.

On August 26 an education summit and workers summit map out joint plans of action.

PW Botha finally resigns and FW de Klerk is sworn in as acting-president.

SEPTEMBER

September sees marches and placard demonstrations taking place almost daily in Cape town.

Hundreds are arrested, beaten and teargassed. The marches include delegations of women, lawyers, teachers, students, residents workers, journalists, clergy, squatters, unemployed and rural residents.

On September 6, election day, at least 13 people are killed at the end of a day of barricades and teargas.

Rebel policeman Lieutenant Gregory Rockman makes world headlines as he slams the "wild dogs" in the riot police.

On September 13, 40 000 Capetonians take to the streets of Cape Town in a "march for peace" to mourn the election day deaths. The march kicks off hundreds of similar ones in towns and cities throughout the country.

OCTOBER

South Africa celebrates the release of Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Moselele, Wilton Mkwayi, Andrew Mlangeni and Oscar Mpehla on October 15.

Thousands of people flock to Soccer City on October 29 for the first "ANC rally" since the organisation was banned in the 1960s.

NOVEMBER

In the first week of November, Namibians flock to the polls in the first independent elections, observed by the world. Swapo wins a clear majority but fails to take two-thirds of the seats in the Constituent Assembly.



ANC RALLY: The African National Congress was "unbanned" at the rally at Soccer City held to celebrate the release of the Rivonia trialists.

11A

Strength and unity

Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and Mkhathshwa, MDM leaders Mohamed Valli Moosa, Cyril Ramaphosa and Sydney Mufamadi, and Azapo leaders Khethla Mtembu, Haroon Patel and Sini Moodley

But as the main debates — on negotiations and international pressure — began, the divide between organisations became clearer

It also became clear that the success of the conference would depend on the extent to which the major groupings would be prepared to compromise

Though the conference attracted 4 662 delegates from 2 128 organisations, including diverse groups such as traditional leaders and observers from the Democratic Party, it was clear from the start who the main actors would be

Most of the speakers appeared to have UDF or Azapo links

Walkout

For the UDF contingent, it appeared the main aim of the conference was to ensure the adoption of the "Harare Declaration" of the Organisation of African Unity

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) supporters seemed to want to use the conference to get as close as possible to the centre of the South African political stage

The realisation that the MDM would continue to dominate centre stage — with or without the BC groups — was seen by some MDM supporters as being behind a brief walkout, halfway through the conference, by some delegates of Natal BCM groups

BCM supporters tried to delay adoption of the Harare Declaration by proposing that it needed to be taken back to their structures for discussion.

Some of their supporters, speaking from the floor, condemned it as being an "imperialist document imposed on the people"

UDF speakers defended the document, saying "it comes from the people" and "represents the ANC's position on negotiations"

Supporters of both groups, some of whom had been involved in violent clashes in the past, were restrained throughout the conference, except for a few minutes at the start of the evening session when Azapo supporters began competing against singing MDM supporters

The singing and chanting clash — the first real emotional outburst of the day — ended in part of the crowd shouting "ANC, ANC", while others shouted "BC", "BC"

Dispelled

Fears that this incident would mar the rest of the conference were quickly dispelled when the adoption of resolutions began

Most of the 16 resolutions were adopted without major debate or disagreement, with few people voting against or abstaining. Several "non-controversial" resolutions were adopted unanimously

Despite the problems, none of which appeared to be major, the conference will go down as one of the most historic and significant since the 1955 Congress of the People which was held in Kliptown

In some senses it is regarded as even more significant than that gathering

It represented the first real attempt at unity, however fragile and tentative, between MDM and BCM supporters.

For the MDM group, the conference was successful in that it provided broad endorsement for its already popular political position

It also caused a split between the



NATIONAL ANTHEM: Members of the CDF convening committee sing the national anthem at the conference. They are, from left, Azapo general secretary Haroon Patel, National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, UDF acting national secretary Mohamed Valli and former Azapo president Khethla Mthembu

BCM and its traditional allies, the Africanists, who pulled out of the conference at the last minute

For the BCM groups, dwarfed by the major political developments of the past few years, it provided an opportunity to assert themselves as major actors in South African politics

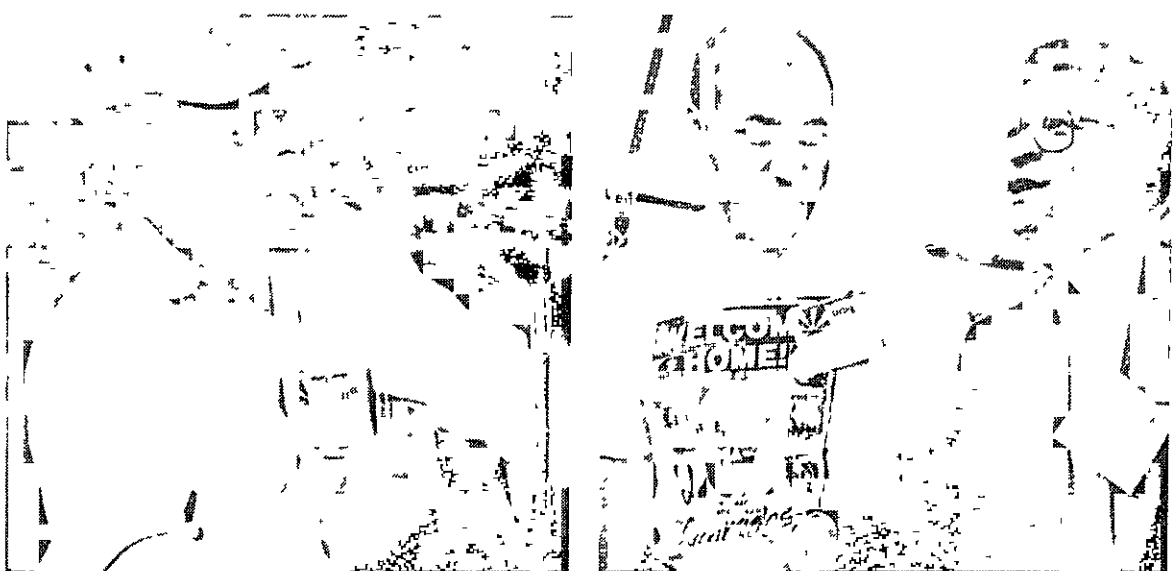
Sisulu's words, in his keynote speech at the beginning of the conference, probably sums up the significance of the conference and the work that still needs to be done

Comparing the conference with the Congress of the People, he said "Our diversity is our strength"

However, he said, "we can't be satisfied with the broadness of this conference. Our aim is to unify our whole society"

Sisulu warned that unity needed to be built in action.

"The history of struggle indicates that unity without action is fragile," he said



UNRESTRICTED: Port Elizabeth youth leader Mkhuseleli Jack, recently unrestricted, speaks on negotiations

BREAK: UDF Western Cape secretary Trevor Manuel and UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak during a break at the conference

Sisulu's challenge to De Klerk

11A South
14-19/12/89

VETERAN African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu spelled out a clear message to State President FW de Klerk at the Conference for a Democratic Future.

Delivering the keynote address at the historic conference, Sisulu, recently released after 26 years' imprisonment, appealed to De Klerk to join the democratic movement

He said the State President's insistence that group rights remain the cornerstone of a new South Africa exposed the government's reform initiative as "hollow"

Addressing the 4 662 delegates, Sisulu said not since the 1955 Congress of the People had so broad an assembly come together

Despite the state of emergency, detentions, assassinations, poisonings and abductions, "we are assembled here in greater numbers than ever before," he said

The large crowd burst into cheers when Sisulu said the state had failed to break resistance to apartheid

"We reiterate our commitment to one person one vote in a united South Africa as the non-negotiable principle upon which the democratic

future will be built," said the ANC stalwart

Looking like a distinguished statesman, Sisulu, speaking slowly but with emphasis, appealed to De Klerk to join the "democratic movement".

"Others from your community have stepped boldly forward and found a home with the democratic movement. We welcomed them," he said

Love

"Like you they love their country and treasure their culture. Unlike you, they have added a love of democracy and of liberty to the things they hold most dear. They have added a love of all their fellow South Africans."

Sisulu urged De Klerk to bring a mandate from those who wanted him to represent them and to join conferences such as the CDF

The State President should come and feel the power of unity and action with the people of South Africa, instead of against them, he added

Sisulu said the same invitation was being extended to those who had long stood besides De Klerk

He challenged De Klerk to recognise the current South African situation for what it was

"Act now so that we may minimise the damage to our people and our land"

He urged the State President to abandon the "Great Indaba" and the "black election" and to substitute it with a democratically elected constituent assembly

"We call on all the people of South Africa who are united in opposition to apartheid to seize the present opportunity to move forward in action, together"

Sisulu urged South Africans to commit themselves to taking mass protest to its highest level in 1990

He said De Klerk's restructuring of the central bodies of power and his curbing of the security establishment had resulted in discontent and cleavage within the apartheid state

Sisulu condemned the government's "so-called reforms" as an attempt to de-escalate the struggle and to end international isolation

"There can be no great beginnings while our patriots remain on Death Row and in prison, while our activists and leaders are in detention and our political organisations are banned," he said

"Our grievance is our exclusion from political power. And our objective is a transfer of power"

"Desegregation of beaches is not a transfer of power. That is the fraud that De Klerk seeks to perpetrate"

Sisulu made a special call to members of the SAP and SADF to recognise that it was "morally imperative to break from the order".

He reiterated a call to rival groups in Natal to cease fighting and to launch mass peace campaigns "so that the meddling of the regime may be exposed"

"We call on workers in the mines, the factories, the farms, in the shops and back-yards, to lead the entire people in a campaign for a living wage and workers' rights," said Sisulu

Access

"We call on our people in the countryside to demand access to the land that lies empty and unused. The land should belong to those who work it"

"We call on our white compatriots to embark on mass action under the slogan 'No to Apartheid'"

"We call on each and every one of our compatriots to join hands in the struggle against press censorship, death squads, political imprisonment and all other forms of oppression," Sisulu said

PICS: BENNY GOOL

ANC will free V. Ramdas

Free soon? FW may also unban ANC

Can fix 14/12/89 (114)

Political Staff

YESTERDAY'S surprise meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela was the first in a series of talks between the two leaders and hastened the formal unbanning of the African National Congress and the release of Mr Mandela.

According to senior government sources last night, the aim of the talks is to shape a negotiating structure with Mr Mandela's help.

Instead of elections to determine black leaders, the government has apparently decided on a pre-negotiation series of meetings with leaders like Mr Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to shape a mechanism in which negotiations can take place.

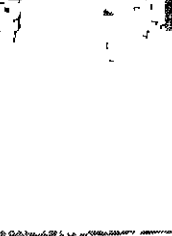
January release?

Reaction to the discussions by both the right-wing and anti-apartheid groups indicated a consensus that the government had now confirmed the key positions of both Mr Mandela and the ANC in the negotiation process.

To page 3

The ANC's London office was reticent, referring comment to its Lusaka headquarters.
● Senior members of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) reacted guardedly to the announcement.
Mr Mandela's closest comrade, Mr Sisulu, said he did not know of the meeting.
"This is news to me," said Mr Sisulu, who visited Mr Mandela earlier this week.
The meeting also seemed to come as a surprise to anti-apartheid activist Mr Murphy Morobe.
"We do not know what they discussed, but we are certain Mandela cannot deviate from the people's long-standing demands," he said.
Few details about the discussions — the first between the two leaders and the first since Mr Mandela's meeting with Mr P Botha five months ago — were disclosed in a statement afterwards by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.
Mr Coetsee and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, were present at the meeting.

Mr De Klerk



was in hiding before the Rivonia trial.
Mr De Klerk was in hiding before the Rivonia trial.
gave extensive coverage to the meeting, its implications and the personalities of both men — including historical footage of an interview with Mr Mandela while he was still not a "free man".
TV and radio news broadcasts move but noted that Mr Mandela the Foreign Office welcomed the ● In London a spokesman for Mr De Klerk's discretion.

Mr Mandela



Transvaal countryside last week its two-day "think tank" in the ary 2, but it is understood that when Parliament opens on February 2, but a source said it was communicated with them in an indirect manner through Mr Mandela and recently-released ANC leaders like Mr Walter Sisulu.
Government sources still believe the ANC leader will be released either late in January or

The government has yet to make a decision on how to include the external ANC in talks, but a source said it was communicating with them in an indirect manner through Mr Mandela and recently-released ANC leaders like Mr Walter Sisulu.

From page 1

Yesterday's meeting in the Tuynhuys, Mr De Klerk's official offices in Cape Town, took place at Mr Mandela's request, according to Mr Coetsee

The government cannot be accused, therefore, of stage-managing it to coincide with the special United Nations meeting on apartheid in New York this week, but it will undoubtedly help those Western countries resisting demands for mandatory sanctions on South Africa

Mr Mandela has not yet commented on Mr Coetsee's statement, although a government spokesman said yesterday he was aware of the contents

In it, Mr Coetsee said "The president welcomed the opportunity since it continued the initiative of his predecessor and also fitted in with Mr De Klerk's programme to consult with the full spectrum of political opinion concerning the mutual future of all South Africans

"Issues that were explored included ways and means to address current obstacles in the way of meaningful dialogue

"Follow-up talks in the New Year are envisaged," Mr Coetsee said.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andriés Treurnicht said he regarded the talks as the "de facto" unbanning of the ANC

"Absurdity"

They were also a serious misunderstanding of whites' right to free survival in SA, he said

The ANC was still a banned organisation and, as far as the CP was concerned, Mr Mandela had no say over the white population or their territory

Dealing with the leader of a "banned terrorist organisation" was an absurdity, Dr Treurnicht added.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said, "This is a very positive development which the DP welcomes

"The fact that Mr Mandela apparently took the initiative in seeking the meeting is in itself important.

"It suggests that Mr Mandela understands what an important role he has to play and how deeply his initial approach will influence in particular white South Africans."

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse commented: "While we welcome the talks with Mr De Klerk and Dr Mandela, it must be born in mind Mr Mandela is still a prisoner and that President De Klerk is part of the government that put him in jail and keeps him there

"He will only be able to meet Mr Mandela man-to-man when Mr Mandela is free," Mr Hendrickse said

The executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative For South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday the meeting "is to be strongly welcomed by all South Africans who are committed to negotiation politics".

The meeting was a further step in the inevitable release of Mr Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress, he said.

Senior UDF spokesman Mr Dullah Omar pointed out that Mr Mandela had emphatically denied, in discussions held the previous day with his former fellow-prisoner Mr Sisulu, that he had chosen not to be released now

● SATV's Network programme last night used a picture of Mr Mandela, who is technically still a prisoner

Activists question right to proceed without mandate

Mandela stuns ANC

by initiating talks

11A Star 14/12/89

By Peter Fabricius and
The Star's Foreign News Service

Black activists are expressing fears that Mr Nelson Mandela may make too many concessions to the Government following his talks yesterday to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk

The meeting has reinforced speculation that Mr Mandela is acting on his own initiative to try to get negotiations going, without consulting or observing stances approved by the ANC or MDM

These views are reflected in news reports in British newspapers today and have been backed by the astonished reaction expressed locally by leading black dissidents

Yesterday's meeting which took place at Mr Mandela's own request seems to have taken the ANC and Mass Democratic Movement by surprise

Mr Mandela's Rivonia trial colleague Mr Walter Sisulu, who visited him on Tuesday said he had not been informed of it by Mr Mandela. It is news to me"

Other MDM leaders also seemed bewildered and disconcerted. Civil rights lawyer Mr Dulla Omar, who also saw Mr Mandela this week said he interpreted the meeting as a 'tactically designed Government move to stave off further sanctions on the eve of the meeting of the UN General Assembly to discuss South Africa

This does not tally with the announcement by the Justice Ministry that the meeting took place at Mr Mandela's request

Government sources have stressed that the Justice statement was made with the knowledge and approval of Mr Mandela

Government sources have been asked by President de Klerk not to interpret or elaborate on it

The *Financial Times* s Patti Waldmeir, in an analysis of the meeting, said that as Mr Mandela's political role has grown so have the fears of black radicals that the 71 year old Mr Mandela may compromise their struggle"

She added that "they have questioned Mr Mandela's right to negotiate without a mandate from his constituency

The Tuynhuys meeting is widely reported in all the major national newspapers in Britain and given prominent coverage on television news programmes

Many of the reports reflected black activists concern that Mr Mandela may be prepared to make too many compromises

Political observers say the meeting is being seen as the opening round in a series of pre-negotiation talks-about-talks with the ANC

They point to the announcement that further talks will take place between the two men in the New Year, as a sign that a process of dialogue has begun

Though the Government has been sworn to silence, the National Party press quoted Government sources today as saying that Mr Mandela had told Mr de Klerk he favoured an internal solution to the South African problem

The British government reacted guardedly. A Foreign Office spokesman said the meeting was welcome, but it would prefer to see dialogue with Mr Mandela as a free man"

The US government has applauded the meeting. State Department spokesman Mr Richard Boucher said "We applaud the meeting. We view the commencement of a dialogue between the Government and credible representatives of the black majority as the most important first step in the process of change

DP co leaders Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall welcomed the meeting. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the Government had not changed its condition that the ANC should abandon violence, yet it was talking to one of the ANC's chief leaders

Two prominent US anti-apartheid leaders, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, and Mr Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House of Representatives Africa sub-committee, have applied for visas to visit South Africa



The meeting between President de Klerk (right) and Mr Mandela (an artist's impression of what he looks like today) took place at the ANC leader's request

American VIPs to visit SA

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A string of high-level Americans, possibly including Secretary of State Mr James Baker, is expected to visit South Africa early next year

Washington sources say senior United States government officials plan to visit South Africa soon. The indications are that Mr Baker will be coming to visit the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and possibly Mr Nelson Mandela and other leaders, as the personal envoy of President George Bush

Mr Bush has, according to anti-apartheid activists in Washington, recently been canvassing opinion in the US capital as to whether or not it would be opportune to invite Mr de Klerk to visit the US in view of excellent progress made by the South African leader in recent months. The activists say he was told in no uncertain terms Mr de Klerk's presence would not be welcomed by them

The US State Department indicated several months ago that Mr Baker would be meeting a series of South African leaders, including politicians and businessmen. Mr Baker was said then to have made southern Africa one of his major priorities for the Bush administration's foreign policy

Two prominent US anti-apartheid leaders, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, and Mr Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House of Representatives Africa sub-committee, have applied for visas to visit South Africa



Menacing - Two Sats workers — one ready for trouble — at Braamfontein yesterday. More than 15 000 workers have been fired during



Cleaning up - Schoolchildren pick up rubbish on the Braamfontein railway line
Picture by Stephen Davimes

Children fill in for absent rail workers

Star 14/12/89

Schoolchildren and clerical workers in the South African Transport Services (Sats) are being used to fill the positions vacated by striking workers. Sats spokesman Mr Frikkie Stevenson said 82 children were presently being employed as casual workers with their parents' approval in safe places where there were security personnel

Many parents approached Sats and asked if we had jobs for their children during the school holidays. Most have just finished school and are waiting to go into the army or start work

"I must stress that their safety is a priority. We are using them to deliver parcels and in cleaning jobs. The Star came across several youngsters picking up litter on the railway lines at Braamfontein Station. They were pleased to be earning money during the holidays

There are also 600 other temporary personnel being employed to fill the gaps

By RYLAND FISHER

AS hundreds of excited UDF supporters sang freedom songs outside the Wits University gymnasium before the start of the Conference for a Democratic Future, a group of youths unfurled a huge Azapo banner.

The UDF supporters, in response, sang with more gusto and began shouting slogans about the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This incident, early last Saturday morning, indicated that the conference was going to be a show of strength for different political groupings, as much as it was meant to be a show of unity.

Appeal

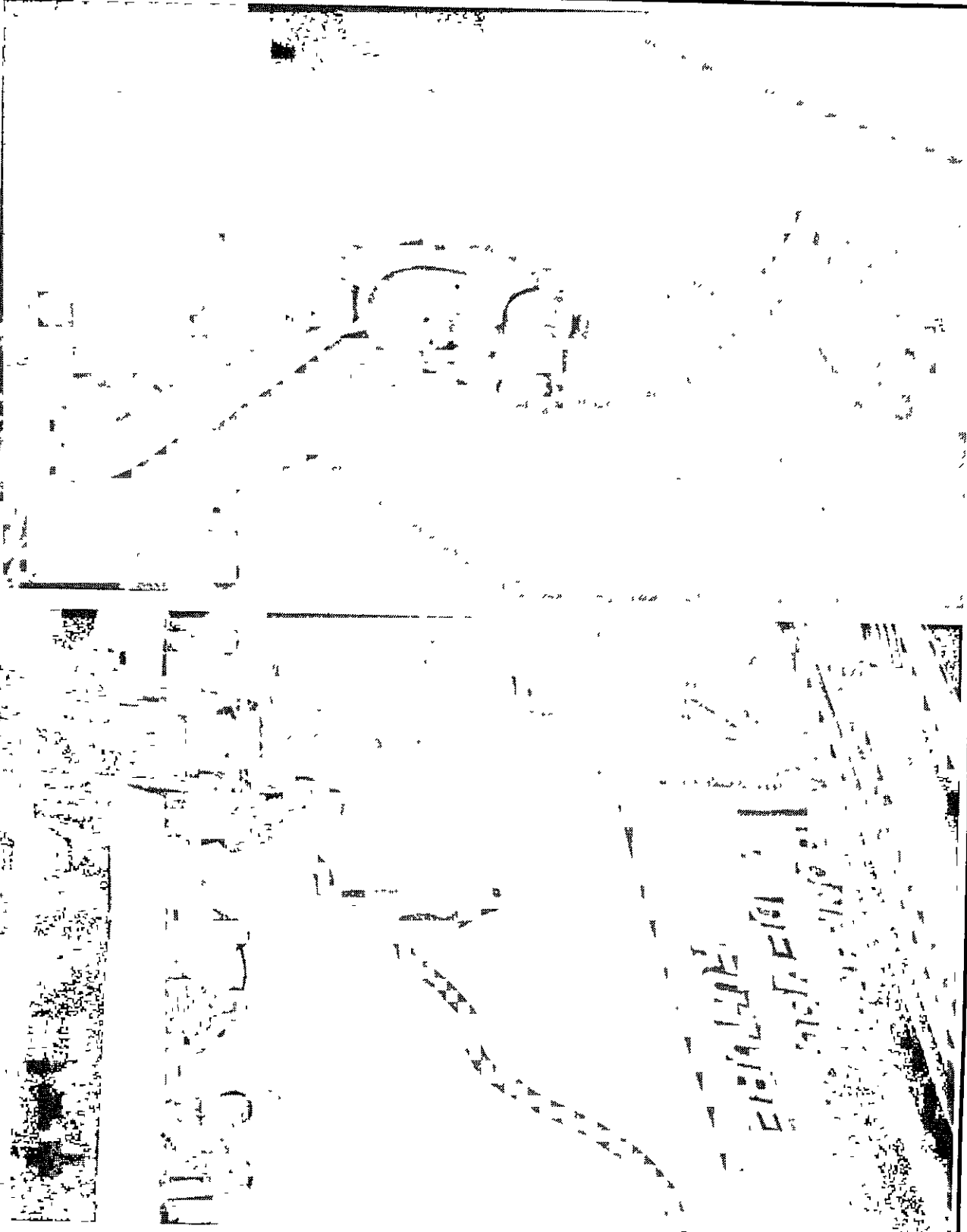
The CDF convening committee, clearly in anticipation of this, appeared to go out of their way to accommodate the groups equally throughout the 13-hour conference.

Father Smailgaliso Mkhathshwa, general secretary of the Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT), set the tone when he opened the historic conference with the traditional "vivas" and "long lives."

He saluted the UDF, ANC, guest speaker Walter Sisulu — and Azapo. The crowd, mainly UDF supporters, seemed to sense this appeal for unity and responded positively and enthusiastically.

This spirit of accommodation was also reflected in the keynote speakers (Sisulu and UCT theologian Jerry Mosaia), the choice of session chairpersons and speakers from the floor.

It was also reflected in the CDF convening committee, which included church leaders Archbishop



POWER: ANC leader Walter Sisulu delivers the keynote address at the conference

OPENING CEREMONY: Father Smailgaliso Mkhathshwa opens the historic Conference for a Democratic Future

Muslims

urge action

on apartheid



By REHANA ROSSOUW

MUSLIM clergy have pledged to intensify the struggle against apartheid and to begin preparing for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Muslim scholars and Imams from throughout the Cape Province last week attended a two-day conference, hosted by the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC).

Papers which were delivered discussed the need for unity in the Muslim community, social problems among Muslims and the issue of negotiations.

Speakers stressed that Muslims should unite and begin preparing for a post-apartheid South Africa

Victories

Delegates were urged to begin discussing the African National Congress' constitutional guidelines and to determine under which circumstances and conditions they should negotiate

Claremont Imam, Hassan Solomon told the conference the issue of negotiations had arisen because of the progress towards a free and democratic South Africa.

"The victories gained by the Mass Democratic Movement on many fronts has led to the crisis in which the government finds itself

"Our task is to intensify this struggle and maintain the initiative while addressing the question of negotiations," the imam said

Meanwhile, this week, the MJC hosted ANC leader Ahmed Kathrada in Cape Town

Kathrada, with MJC president Sheik Nazeem Mohamad, the UDF's Western Cape vice-president Abdullah Omar, Imam Solomons and other muslim clergy, visited the grave of anti-apartheid activist Imam Abdullah Haroun who died in detention.



Clergy of the Muslim Judicial Council took Ahmed Kathrada to visit the grave of Imam Abdullah Haron on Wednesday. Seen at the grave are from left, UDF vice-president Dullah Omar, Hadji Suleiman Bayet, Imam Ali Gierdien, Sheikh Shaheed Satardien, Kathrada, Imam Hassan Solomon and Sheikh Nazeem Mohamed

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

The Star

Star 14/12/89

11A

Mandela: closer to the nitty-gritty?

WHAT precisely are the obstacles to the release of Nelson Mandela? Have unexpected factors arisen to block an event generally seen as imminent? From the guarded news of the ANC leader's meeting with President de Klerk yesterday there is a hint that the release is not likely to come before Christmas, as had been widely predicted this year — and last year. But the official statement says that follow-up talks will "probably" be held in the new year.

In the Ivory Coast Mr de Klerk said there was no longer any question as to whether Mr Mandela would be released, but only a matter of when and under what circumstances. But this kind of thing has been said before. With Mr Mandela still a prisoner and his views emerging only through others, the country is left to wonder and speculate what is holding matters up.

One view is that he would prefer to emerge not into a nebulous political limbo — as did his eight fellow prisoners released in October — but into

a situation where full-scale negotiations are ready to begin. That would imply lifting of the emergency and legalising the ANC, among other things. But a rather different story has emerged lately from associates close to Mr Mandela. Disputing the version that it is for him to set his own timing, they report that he would like to be free immediately.

What is encouraging, at any rate, is that the new President has now come face to face with the man who must play a key role in negotiating the promised "new South Africa". This meeting seems to have been less of a "courtesy visit" than the previous tea-party with President Botha, and much more of a discussion on the nitty-gritty issues.

Something that has also emerged after the initial euphoria over Mr de Klerk is that the gap between the Government and key black leaders remains wide. All South Africans must hope that yesterday's meeting will have done something to narrow it.

IIA ~~IIA~~ wmail 15-20/12/89.

Mandela did tell MDM of FW talks

By GAVIN EVANS

THE Mass Democratic Movement had prior knowledge that jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was about to meet State President FW de Klerk.

Contrary to speculation that the MDM and ANC were "caught by surprise" by the meeting, MDM representatives said they had been told the event was in the pipeline weeks before it took place.

"Soon after his meeting with PW Botha, Mr Mandela raised the possibility of meeting with De Klerk, and we therefore knew it was about to take place, although we did not know the exact date," said MDM representative Murphy Morobe.

He said the MDM was cautious about commenting on the meeting. "We will have to wait for a detailed report from Mr Mandela." Morobe said the MDM was confident Mandela would have articulated the ANC position and said the meeting was "part of the process. We have never had any reason



to question his bona fides. He has always taken his lead from the movement." The ANC has yet to respond to news of the meeting, but has kept in touch with developments.

When Mandela met PW Botha four months ago, the ANC welcomed the event. While Botha's Tuynhuys "tea party" came as virtually the last act of his presidency, De Klerk's marks a major step in an ongoing process of negotiation. Having engaged in discussions with Mandela, De Klerk is likely to open the prison doors within the next few months.

Advocate Dullah Omar, who represents Mandela, stressed the ANC leader wished to be freed immediately, but was "not going to beg for his release".

Wednesday's Tuynhuys meeting was the first encounter between the state president (pictured left) and the ANC leader. Also present were Justice Minister Koble Coetsee and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

● To PAGE 2

MDM knew of Mandela talks

●From PAGE 1

Coetsee said they had discussed "ways and means to address current obstacles in the way of meaningful dialogue"

Phrased differently this amounts to a discussion about what the ANC and the government have termed the "climate for negotiations"

Coetsee added that "follow-up talks in the new year were envisaged" and that their discussion "fitted in with Mr De Klerk's programme to consult with the full spectrum of political opinion concerning the mutual future of all South Africans".

But the meeting between the two represents more than just an item in the state president's diary

According to De Klerk, the meeting was initiated by Mandela, although MDM sources indicate that both par-

ties had put out feelers about the get-together at least a month earlier

It is perhaps significant that the encounter came four days after the Conference for a Democratic Future adopted the Organisation of African Unity's Harare Declaration on negotiations

The declaration states that "discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire".

The catch is these "talks about talks" only begin, according to the declaration, once the climate for negotiations has been created.

IIA ~~IIA~~ wmail 15-20/12/89.



BUSINESS

Soweto people negotiate over power — and end the boycott

ESKOM and the Soweto People's Delegation are in the advanced stages of a negotiation process which could see an end to the four-year boycott of electricity bills and an upgrading of the township's electrical service.

If negotiations succeed, a new independent company established by Eskom with community participation and support would take over the supply of electricity from the Soweto City Council — if the council agreed to grant it the rights of supply.

A permanent consumer structure and direct representation to give consumers a say in the quality and cost of their electricity supply would be part of the deal. In the interim a phase is envisaged whereby the service would be restored while a suitable permanent supply authority is organised.

Consumers are also expected to have an input in this phase.

A technical committee comprising SPD and Eskom Soweto Project representatives has been meeting regularly since August following talks between senior Eskom officials including chief executive Ian Macrae and an SPD delegation which included leaders such as Reverend Frank Chikane, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and Fedraw president Albertina Sisulu. This round of talks has now ended and the SPD is considering Eskom's proposals.

Eskom has set up a subsidiary, Econolec, as the interim vehicle to establish the new system. For the project to be established, Econolec has to negotiate with many community groups and leaders and the city council. But the company has made it clear that it views the SPD as representing the interests of a broad sector of the community and, among others, an important negotiating partner in establishing a new electricity supply service.

An Eskom spokesman says they estimate R100-million will have to be invested over a two-year period to upgrade Soweto's electricity infrastructure and the administrative support system, in addition to the R25-million a year which the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council has committed to capital maintenance and upgrading of the system.

It is intended that the additional funds would come from the Development Bank of South Africa as "soft" (low interest) loans, on a "subordinated" basis — in other words, interest has to be paid only

There's a bright light on Soweto's horizon — Eskom and the city's representatives are negotiating a deal to improve the electricity supply. By HILARY JOFFE and ELAINE COSSER

once the company starts making operating profits.

Eskom projections put the company as breaking even only after 10 years since it will take seven years to cover the debts incurred in the first three years.

Soweto is South Africa's fifth largest domestic user of electricity with 125 000 supply points — so that the vast majority of formal households are electrified. But electricity in the township is costly and subject to frequent blackouts.

In a position paper presented to Eskom earlier this year, the SPD outlined a series of criteria which would have to be met by the new scheme for it to gain the support of Soweto residents. These included:

- Non-racialism
- Exclusion of the Greater Soweto local authorities
- Efficient supply of electricity
- Establishment of a new entity
- Non-profit basis
- Grant finance
- Arrears must be written off
- New tariff structure

The two sides are likely to agree on many of these principles, although some, an Eskom representative stresses, touch on areas in which the electricity corporation is "not a player". He also said Eskom must *ipso facto* recognise the position and functions of the local authority.

A key issue is the SPD's demand that electricity arrears be written off. Eskom has agreed with the delegation that the new company will not take responsibility for Soweto's historical debt. Thus there is no question of it trying to recover past arrears through higher tariffs once residents start paying. But Eskom has stressed writing off the debt is a government decision.

State and provincial officials publicly reject writing off all the arrears, arguing this would be unfair to town-



Albertina Sisulu



Cyril Ramaphosa

ship residents in other townships as well as Soweto who have paid rent and service charges.

The SPD's historic recent meeting with the TPA and the beginnings of a process of SPD province negotiation, may therefore be the essential backdrop for the success of the electricity project.

Eskom and the SPD have also agreed that the new scheme must involve community participation, although the nature of this has not yet been decided.

It could take the form of community representation on the board of the new company but it is more likely that in the short term it would take the form of a some sort of consumer board with which the new company would have.

Another important area of agreement is tariffs. Eskom has agreed that tariffs in Soweto will be no higher than those in Johannesburg.

At this level tariffs will initially not cover the costs of the project. The sides have jointly identified a number of ways in which costs can be reduced to make it viable.

But the affordable tariffs issue touches on a key SPD proposal non-racialism. The delegation has called for Soweto and Johannesburg to be

one city, with a unified tax base.

This is a national constitutional issue — and in Eskom's view it cannot be a player in the political debate that will determine this.

But it is also an economic issue, one which may be vital to the success of the new project in ensuring affordable electricity tariffs.

Eskom can't change the constitution — but it acknowledges that there may be considerable economic advantages for Soweto in having its electricity network linked to Johannesburg's.

Electricity experts say if it were to link the Johannesburg and Soweto systems electricity costs would drop in both areas because the usage pattern would change. Eskom supplies electricity in bulk to the Johannesburg and Soweto councils charging on the basis of the relative pattern of peak-load and base-load usage. If the two grids were linked, this pattern would change such that the total bill would be cut by several million a year.

There appears to be broad agreement between Eskom and the SPD about the quality of service which consumers would find acceptable.

This covers such issues as reliability of supply responses to customer queries or problems, frequency of meter reading and audit meter read-

ings. Around five percent of electricity bills are wrong because of human error or damaged meters, a big problem in Soweto at the moment is that the council insists people pay their accounts and does not do audit readings if they complain.

One issue which Eskom and the SPD still have to sort out is tariffs for the poorest consumers.

The Soweto delegation called for "a new tariff structure involving subsidisation mechanisms designed to address the issues of affordability, basic needs and differential paying capacities."

It is estimated about 3 000 to 4 000 families (about two percent) have formal incomes of R2 500 a year or less and would be hard pressed to pay anything for electricity.

Econolec is opposed to direct subsidisation of the poorest on the grounds that it would be economically unhealthy for the company to run on this basis.

One possible obstacle which has still to be resolved is the role of the black local authorities. For the plan to go ahead the councils of Dobsonville, Diepmeadow and Soweto will have to transfer their responsibility for electricity supply to the new company. But some members within these councils fear a loss of status and the admission of defeat if they allow another party to take over one of their functions. They may also stand to lose financially because councils are graded and their officials remunerated based on their gross turnover, of which electricity supply comprises a major part.

Provincial officials have assured councillors this issue will be attended to. Legal experts have noted that the provincial administrator does not have the power to over-rule a council should it refuse to transfer authority over electricity to Econolec. But they note that in the current political climate this would damage the credibility of the councils which the province is keen to protect.

One other area on which Eskom and the SPD have yet to agree is the eventual structure of the new project.

Econolec has been registered as a "shell" company awaiting the conclusion of negotiations and is intended by Eskom to be a partnership with the community and with private business. Under Eskom's control, the company will arrange the physical upgrading of infrastructure, implement a large scale customer service system and reorganise the accounting system, which is in disarray.

The company will act in an interim capacity as it is not clear what shape the final supply entity will take.

Possible options are electricity supplies could be administered by a non-profit company or by local community-based co-operatives. Eskom would like to see responsibility for the project eventually handed over to the Soweto community.

Eskom's involvement in the Soweto talks is in line with its mission of Electricity for All — in terms of which it wants to see affordable electricity made available to the estimated 60 percent of black South Africans who currently have no access to this. At present many other initiatives are underway around the country.

But it is also an attempt to pre-empt a situation in which Soweto finally runs out of money and Eskom has to cut off the "juice".

The four-year boycott of rent and service charges by Soweto residents has so far not affected Eskom, despite the fact that the township's arrears on electricity are running at between R5-million and R7-million a month. The Transvaal Provincial Administration has been providing bridging finance to cover the debts of the Soweto City Council, which in terms of the Black Local Government Act of 1982 has sole right to supply electricity in the township.

But Soweto's debts are vast — up to R1-billion in total — and the TPA admitted in talks last week with the SPD that it had run out of bridging finance for the Transvaal's townships and this month is drawing from a special fund to cover township debts.

Mandela release on agenda of Chissano talks

PRETORIA — The release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to be on the agenda, with economic co-operation and security matters, when President F W de Klerk meets Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo today

Mr De Klerk will be accompanied on the one-day visit by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Leon Wessels

The talks will be a continuation of discussions between Mr De Klerk and Mr Chissano on July 19

● In Maputo, President Chissano told parliament yesterday that Mr De Klerk's visit would be "beneficial to Mozambique, to the people of South Africa and to the region as a whole"

He said Mozambique felt it had a duty to encourage "sectors within the South African regime who want genuine change"

● JAYNE LA MONT reports from London that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is to "consider" calling on Mr De Klerk to release Mr Mandela before Christmas

Responding to a question in the House of Commons yesterday, Mrs Thatcher told Tory MP Mr Hugh Dykes Mr Mandela's release "would be a very great advance and help bring an end to violence — I will consider doing as you ask" — Sapa-Reuter

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has invited 10 members of the Cosatu central executive committee to meet him next week.

The invitation follows a meeting on Wednesday between Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk, which was initiated by Mr Mandela

In a statement yesterday, Cosatu said the 10 members would meet Mr Mandela in two groups of five

On December 19, a group made up of Mr Chris Dlamini, Mr John Gomomo, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Sydney Mufamadi and Mr Moses Mayekiso will meet Mr Mandela at the prison warden's house at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl where he is confined

Cosatu 10 to meet Mandela
Call Times 15/12/89 110

The second group will consist of Mr Elijah Barayi, Mr Ronald Mofokeng, Mr James Motlatsi, Mr John Ehrentzen and Mr Jay Naidoo

"The agenda of the meeting is open-ended. From our side, we will brief Mr Mandela on our perspective on the current situation, the Conference for a Democratic Future, the anti-Labour Relations Act campaign and other burning issues," the Cosatu statement said

15/12/89
Sowetan (11A) (11A)

Chissano, FW in talks

THE release of Nelson Mandela is expected to be discussed along with the subjects of economic co-operation and security matters when State President F W de Klerk meets Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo today

De Klerk will be accompanied on his one-day visit by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels and senior South African officials

The talks will be a continuation of discussions between De Klerk and Chissano held on July 19 this year

Speculation about the release of ANC leader Mandela - fuelled by a meeting at Tuynhuys between Mandela and De Klerk this week - will almost certainly be raised at today's talks

Cahora Bassa

Other matters, of bilateral interest, such as resuscitating the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme, are expected to also feature at the talks

It will be De Klerk's fifth African trip this year, following his July 19 talks with Chissano, and his visits to Zaire and Zambia in August and to the Ivory Coast earlier this month

At a joint Press conference in July after the two leaders had met in Maputo - when De Klerk was still

National Party leader - Chissano said if there was a definite move away from discrimination in South Africa, the country could become part of a regional group of Southern African countries

He said he believed the "problem of discrimination" would be solved during the term of office of the next South African State President, De Klerk. - Sapa

Mguli burial

In Wednesday's *Sowetan* we incorrectly reported that the funeral of Mrs Nette Deshi Mguli is on Sunday.

The funeral is in fact on Saturday and leaves the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West at 2pm for the Avalon cemetery. Mguli was the widow of the late Rev Mguli, a priest in the Anglican Church

Natal violence: Now it's over to the police

THE government decision to deploy extra security force members in Inanda, Ntuzuma and other Durban townships this week has been welcomed by residents — but it could prove disastrous unless the police act impartially.

The two sides involved in the fighting blame each other, so it is not surprising that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says the culprits are the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the African National Congress.

However, when Deputy Minister of Defence Wynand Breytenbach tells troops in the Durban townships that the violence is caused by the "onslaught" of ANC revolutionaries, the implications are more serious.

If the security forces charged with keeping the peace in the townships, are informed by their bosses that one side in the fighting is to blame, they cannot be expected to act neutrally in policing the trouble spots.

There is also the question of whether the available evidence backs Breytenbach's theories.

Certainly in Ntuzuma and Inanda, the worst hit of the Durban townships since the beginning of the month, the visual evidence is that most of the attacks have come from the squatter settlements where vigilantes, like

The decision this week to move hundreds of policemen into the strife-torn Durban townships has been welcomed by residents. But the police must prove that they can be impartial, reports CARMEL RICKARD

modern day Vikings, sally out in pre-dawn raids to pillage, rape, loot and kill.

Their targets are houses across the invisible border in the "proper townships", where buildings are made of blocks and where electricity and water borne sewerage are available.

It is common knowledge that the raiding parties include many newcomers to the urban areas — people who arrive on the fringes of the city to look for work, without money or security, or even a piece of cardboard over their heads.

They are offered a place to stay on condition they join the raids, and as an incentive are promised the goods they loot. The extorted money they keep, television sets and other electrical goods are sold.

In other areas where this strategy has been used, the deserted houses form a buffer strip between the two sides for a few weeks, but they are soon occupied by erstwhile "raiders",

Over 700 men shifted to Durban

OVER 700 additional security force members have been made available to deal with the unrest in Durban's northern townships. Local residents welcomed the move, saying the political temperature had immediately "cooled".

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte issued a joint statement on Wednesday night saying they had decided to strengthen the forces in Inanda and other northern townships.

When the violence escalated sharply over the weekend, 350 extra security force members were brought in.

But Vlok and Schutte said in addition to these reinforcements another 380 were being made available with immediate effect.

They said the situation had deteriorated considerably over the last few days and

there was serious concern about the continuing unrest. That was why it was decided to bring in a second batch of reinforcements.

They said the situation was being carefully monitored and they appealed for residents to co-operate so the violence would end as soon as possible.

Residents of Inanda's Ohlange area said they welcomed the extra police in the townships and that already the situation had improved.

"We hope they stay at least a month to dampen down the violence," one woman said.

"It was cooler today because there are now many soldiers going up and down in the streets," said another.

"When they are here we do not have trouble — but they must be fair. They must stop whoever is attacking, whatever side they come from."

and a process of colonisation begins.

If Breytenbach were to visit Secun E and F in Ntuzuma he would see scores of sturdily built block houses along the border with the Lindelani shack settlement — most are empty, many are extensively damaged.

He should also ask the people who used to live in these houses, and those security force members who

believe their job is to act impartially even in the townships, who is responsible. He would find "ANC revolutionaries" are not the ones being blamed.

Instead the finger is most often pointed into Lindelani, at the leadership of that community.

Despite the detention powers of the South African government and the

banishment powers of the kwaZulu government, the people blamed in scores of affidavits to lawyers and in statements to the police, continue to sanction — if not to plan — these attacks and raids.

There have also been serious allegations, taken down in statements by the South African Police as well as in affidavits by lawyers, pointing to the involvement of the kwaZulu police with the Lindelani raiders.

These claims are being investigated at top level by the KZP but it could be too late to salvage the reputation of this police force.

That is also the danger for the SAP — one of the many reasons given by unrest monitoring groups for the escalation in the violence is that all sides have lost their faith in the forces of "law and order".

Many people have suffered months — and sometimes years — while the security forces appear unable or unwilling to ensure their safety.

For their own survival these people have learnt not to depend on the forces of law and order.

The deployment of hundreds of extra forces in the townships presents the SAP with what could be a last opportunity to show they are capable of neutral policing.

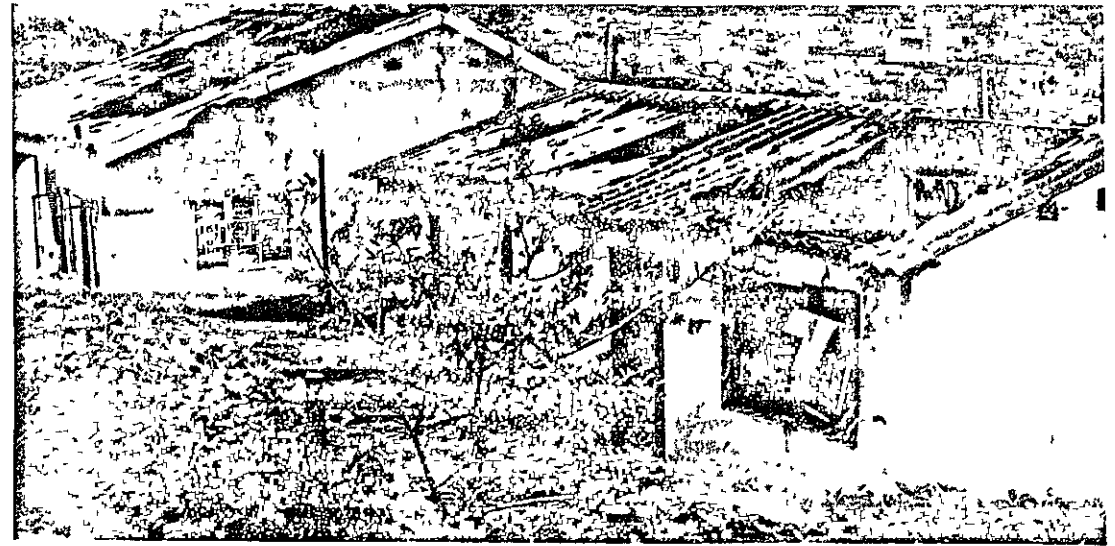
The heroes who emerge from out of the misery

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban
THE violence in Durban's townships over the last week has produced its crop of heroes.

Children risked their lives to bring their younger brothers and sisters out of the firing line. A teenage girl carried two babies out of bullet range, but was struck in the back and is now paralysed for life. A priest turned back a raiding party about to break into the church where women and babies were sheltering, another priest probably saved the lives of a party of canoeists, by placing himself between them and a crowd of heavily armed men.

Many black and white families have also proved Good Samaritans, taking in numbers of refugees and storing the furniture and clothes they were able to rescue from their homes. Church leaders have urged ministers to open their buildings to refugees and asked members of their congregations to give shelter to people made homeless by the violence.

But although the violence has



Houses like these in Mpumalanga — gutted by fire and abandoned — are an increasingly common sight as violence continues in Natal.

Picture CLINT ZASMAN

reached disaster proportions there has been no large scale co-ordinated attempt to help the thousands of displaced people, even with the basics of food and clothing.

The death toll since the beginning of December in the Durban townships stands at about 75. About 200 homes have been destroyed, most by

fire.

Refugees continue to leave the worst-hit areas, sometimes carrying belongings they were able to bring out, sometimes with nothing more than the clothes they were wearing.

The scale of the violence is difficult to imagine — one Indian trader in the Inanda area said that on Monday

morning when he came to work he found eight or nine bodies around his property, in parts of Ntuzuma it takes some effort to find houses which are not damaged or destroyed — row after row of homes with all the windows broken.

The police have a difficult task, and even the additional forces sent in this

week could prove inadequate.

The night of the announcement that over 700 reinforcements had been sent in, residents said 14 houses were burnt in the Amawula area of Inanda, there were fierce attacks by the Sinoyoras in kwaMashu's K section and a number of homes in the Siyanda squatter settlement were set alight.

An article in *Business Day* this week on the Conference for a Democratic Future made me particularly angry

The writer, Charlene Smith, ends it with these paragraphs

"While MDM affiliates will begin to implement the resolutions, the BCM and Azapo have said they still have to discuss conference decisions with their membership before they can give final assent

"They did not directly address journalists' questions as to why their delegates had not been given a mandate to vote on issues

"There is a suspicion within some MDM ranks that BCM and Azapo, which enjoy negligible support, used the CDF as a platform to reach a wide audience and to boost their credibility

"Although the allegations were strongly denied, MDM sources pointed out that a joint Azapo/BCM conference in Johannesburg a fortnight ago did not attract more than 100 people

"I'm not sure who to be angry with, the writer or her shadowy 'MDM sources'

One thing is very clear, she does not know the difference between Azapo and the BCM, and this ignorance suggests she did not ask BCM (Azapo, by the way, is restricted under the emergency regulations) about

Just another game of one upmanship

Superman
Shirley

the allegations against them

When the MDM was convening the conference with the Black Consciousness Movement it at no stage indicated that BCM enjoyed "negligible support", it did not even suggest that it would be giving BCM "a platform to reach a wide audience and to boost its credibility"

Why does this "information" surface after the conference?

These, however, are the least of my gripes, particularly as I hold no brief from BCM. What gets me really angry is the way we blacks treat our liberation struggle

From the tensions during and after the CDF, it is obvious that many treated it as just another game

The CDF was expected to be one of the most significant gatherings in our history because it would be bringing together a broad spectrum of anti-apartheid organisations and hopefully emerging with a program-

me of action that would be supported by all ideological strands in the liberation movement

It had exciting possibilities but in the end it could just as well have been an MDM congress

What went wrong? Our political leaders call ambitious conferences, but do not prepare adequately for them

They refuse to be honest with each other as they grapple with the obstacles to the conferences besides the open agenda, there are other hidden agendas

They forget the common goal as they manoeuvre to get advantages for their respective organisations at the expense of the rest

That is the sad story behind the failure of the CDF

Right from the beginning BCM and other organisations like the Pan Africanist Movement, the New Unity Movement and the Cape Action League felt uncomfortable with the CDF because they saw it as a Charterist plan to swallow them, to get them to endorse programmes that

they had not helped to draw up

Many among these organisations argued, among themselves, that the CDF was meant to endorse the Harare Declaration on negotiations. These fears were not brought into the open as the organisations prepared for the conference

The MDM itself did not adequately question the wisdom of bringing the Harare Declaration to the conference. The document has been adopted by the Organisation of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa and has been pre-

not adequately questioned the wisdom of bringing the Harare Declaration to the conference. The document has been adopted by the Organisation of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa and has been pre-

Again, the question of who should participate was another glaring example of people getting into discussions with set

Two interpretations of this declaration emerged the MDM on the one hand believed that it allowed people like KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and Inyangza, Major-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei and the Seoposengwe Party in Bophuthatswana to participate. Nacu and the BCM on the other felt it did not allow them because they were not in deed committed to the destruction of apartheid structures. If they were, they would be pulling out of the structures now

Up to the eve of the conference nothing was done to solve this problem. BCM went into the conference ready to walk out if "collaborators" were allowed to participate

BCM delegates have now taken the "diplomatic" way out by saying they are going to discuss the resolutions with their principals

In the end the CDF was another game of one-upmanship and sadly another opportunity lost

PERSPECTIVE



they had not helped to draw up

Many among these organisations argued, among themselves, that the CDF was meant to endorse the Harare Declaration on negotiations. These fears were not brought into the open as the organisations prepared for the conference

Once a document has taken that route, the chances of amending it are very slim indeed and it would hardly be politic for the CDF to reject it

An internal and non-secretarian document on negotiations should have been solicited at the conference. Obviously, it would have conceded in many areas with the Harare Declaration

Again, the question of who should participate was another glaring example of people getting into discussions with set

Two interpretations of this declaration emerged the MDM on the one hand believed that it allowed people like KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and Inyangza, Major-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei and the Seoposengwe Party in Bophuthatswana to participate. Nacu and the BCM on the other felt it did not allow them because they were not in deed committed to the destruction of apartheid structures. If they were, they would be pulling out of the structures now

Up to the eve of the conference nothing was done to solve this problem. BCM went into the conference ready to walk out if "collaborators" were allowed to participate

BCM delegates have now taken the "diplomatic" way out by saying they are going to discuss the resolutions with their principals

In the end the CDF was another game of one-upmanship and sadly another opportunity lost

Again, the question of who should participate was another glaring example of people getting into discussions with set

Two interpretations of this declaration emerged the MDM on the one hand believed that it allowed people like KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and Inyangza, Major-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei and the Seoposengwe Party in Bophuthatswana to participate. Nacu and the BCM on the other felt it did not allow them because they were not in deed committed to the destruction of apartheid structures. If they were, they would be pulling out of the structures now

Up to the eve of the conference nothing was done to solve this problem. BCM went into the conference ready to walk out if "collaborators" were allowed to participate

BCM delegates have now taken the "diplomatic" way out by saying they are going to discuss the resolutions with their principals

In the end the CDF was another game of one-upmanship and sadly another opportunity lost

Again, the question of who should participate was another glaring example of people getting into discussions with set

Agreed

In the end it was agreed that in addition to the perspective participants should also subscribe to a declaration "to be associated both in principle and deed with the oppressed and exploited, and be committed to the destruction of all apartheid structures, to a process of commitment (sic) to the unification of our country, to commit ourselves, our organisational structures and the people of this country to mass action for the total eradication of oppression and exploitation"

Solve

Up to the eve of the conference nothing was done to solve this problem. BCM went into the conference ready to walk out if "collaborators" were allowed to participate

BCM delegates have now taken the "diplomatic" way out by saying they are going to discuss the resolutions with their principals

In the end the CDF was another game of one-upmanship and sadly another opportunity lost

Again, the question of who should participate was another glaring example of people getting into discussions with set

Two interpretations of this declaration emerged the MDM on the one hand believed that it allowed people like KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and Inyangza, Major-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei and the Seoposengwe Party in Bophuthatswana to participate. Nacu and the BCM on the other felt it did not allow them because they were not in deed committed to the destruction of apartheid structures. If they were, they would be pulling out of the structures now

Up to the eve of the conference nothing was done to solve this problem. BCM went into the conference ready to walk out if "collaborators" were allowed to participate

BCM delegates have now taken the "diplomatic" way out by saying they are going to discuss the resolutions with their principals

In the end the CDF was another game of one-upmanship and sadly another opportunity lost

Again, the question of who should participate was another glaring example of people getting into discussions with set

Two interpretations of this declaration emerged the MDM on the one hand believed that it allowed people like KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and Inyangza, Major-General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei and the Seoposengwe Party in Bophuthatswana to participate. Nacu and the BCM on the other felt it did not allow them because they were not in deed committed to the destruction of apartheid structures. If they were, they would be pulling out of the structures now

Up to the eve of the conference nothing was done to solve this problem. BCM went into the conference ready to walk out if "collaborators" were allowed to participate

Zulu split

11A

Ever heard of Contralesa? It's a name very familiar now in Natal's rural areas, once largely sheltered from the violence which swept through black urban townships in the mid-Eighties, but now a very different place (*Current Affairs* December 8)

For a number of years, the KwaZulu-based Inkatha movement led by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi held sway in rural KwaZulu-Natal. With a network of traditional tribal chiefs and *indunas*, mostly loyal to the Zulu King and Inkatha, the rural areas seemed relatively stable — from the outside.

Inkatha is still the dominant force but just over two years ago the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) was formed — and is attracting support.

A measure of its success may be gleaned from the vitriolic verbal attacks on it and, especially, its Zulu members, by Buthelezi.

The most recent tongue-lashing came from Ulundi this week when he accused the organisation of trying to sow discord between KwaZulu and Inkatha officials. The subject of Buthelezi's anger was one of the most senior members of the Zulu royal family, Prince Mcwayizemi Zulu, who joined Contralesa this year. This week Buthelezi accused him of using "ANC platforms" to further the ANC-Cosatu-UDF "vendetta" against Inkatha.

Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, a tribal chief from the Maqongqo region near Maritzburg — elected president of Contralesa in June — has also been sharply rebuked.

Always something of a maverick in the strictly disciplined context of KwaZulu politics, Maphumulo was previously known as a chief who walked a tight neutral line and tried to end the violence which has plagued the Maritzburg area for so long. Since becoming Contralesa's head he has been, unofficially, stripped of his chieftainship, isolated by Ulundi and told to "go to hell" by Buthelezi.

Buthelezi has claimed, on at least two occasions, that Contralesa was formed under the guidance of the ANC to be "an ANC spear against KwaZulu's unity and against my leadership."

Not so, says Contralesa executive member Samson Ndou: "I was one of the founder members of this organisation and the ANC had nothing to do with it. Of course we have been to visit the ANC-in-exile since and know they approve of our structure, but they were not responsible for the birth of Contralesa."

According to Ndou, Contralesa had its genesis in KwaNdebele in 1985-1986 when a band of traditional chiefs and "sub-chiefs" were forced to leave the homeland. He says a number of these leaders scattered over the Transvaal, where they began to talk to UDF organisers. "There was dialogue between the displaced traditional leaders and the UDF, and we finally agreed that a structure was needed to represent chiefs and sub-chiefs outside the homelands system." Contralesa was formed in September 1987 and affiliated to the UDF, which is probably the main reason why it is not liked in Ulundi.

Soon after its formation most of Contralesa's executive was detained along with other UDF leaders, but the organisation was revived in April last year. About 500 members are claimed — all tribal chiefs or sub-chiefs. Wider support, Ndou says, is impossible to estimate.

Maphumulo is a second reason for Buthelezi's dislike of Contralesa. He is a KwaZulu chief and should be answerable only to Ulundi.

A third reason could be Contralesa's inclusion in all MDM activities, ranging from October's nationwide political rallies to the welcoming ceremonies for released ANC prisoners. Both Buthelezi and King Zwelithini have made it clear (*Current Affairs* November 24) that they and the Zulu nation have been insulted by being left out of these events.

Ndou says there is no hostility towards Buthelezi from his organisation. "I personally think he approves of the principle of Contralesa, but does not support it because it did not come from his kraal. We are sorry he sees us as a threat to Inkatha. He would be welcome to join. Contralesa is certainly not hostile to him — we hope one day he will reconsider his position."

It is perhaps ironic that an organisation born out of anti-independence feelings should get so much flak — and at the same time so much publicity — from a homeland that refuses to accept independence. But what Contralesa probably most reveals is one more example of the collapsing homeland structure.

mail 15/12/89.

1927 Fmail 15/12/89.



ire ... singing the anthem

changes, he is responding to the situation on the ground created by our people. Thus he opens the beaches after our people have already done so; and he is going to unban the ANC, but we've done so already."

The conference further "sends a very clear message to De Klerk rejecting his idea of a great indaba, as well as a black election, to choose leaders."

"He can't escape our demand for a constituent assembly based on one person, one vote." We'll see.

SATS STRIKE ~~11A~~ 11A

Season of ill will

In the end, the Sats strike will probably see the SA Railway and Harbour Workers' Union negotiating simply to regain the jobs of about 12 000 fired members.

If so, it will mean that a second major strike by a Cosatu-affiliated union will have

proved almost futile. It has achieved little more than economic hardship, chaos, pain and the loss of life. The eight-week Breweries strike ended recently after the Mass Democratic Movement intervened, withdrawing its support for 5 500 striking Food & Allied Workers' Union members, and effectively ending a somewhat pointless strike and beer boycott that fizzled out.

The strikers got no more money than the company offered and even conceded to waive an Appeal Court ruling that overtime work was voluntary. At least eight people died.

Will the Sats strike echo this? Sats certainly won't be granting a wage increase — it already did so after negotiations in June with 12 unions representing 130 000 out of 177 000 employees (The union on strike says it represents 45 000 employees but Sats' figures show only 22 500 are involved.)

A union spokesman says the violence surrounding the six-week strike has claimed the lives of four unionists while 12 have been seriously injured and more than 100 suffered minor injuries.

The spokesman says that "every day" union leaders call on members not to compromise strikers' discipline and the chances of negotiation. He accuses the police of supporting vigilantes who have attacked strikers and travellers.

Sats, like SAB, believes its increases are generous. Spokesman Alan Lubbe says they averaged 10% with "the general worker" getting up to 27%.

The union, meanwhile, has begun a climb-down on wage demands. Spokesman Elliot Sogoni says it has decided to make its demand for R1 500 a month (up from a R600 minimum) flexible — which means that it will take less.

The MDM is also poised to intervene again though, at its Conference for a Democratic Future at the weekend, it resolved to support any union opposing privatisation for fear of lay offs.

Recognition of the union, originally an issue, is now also apparently history. It has applied to register — 14 months after Sats got the union to sign an agreement that it would do so, and proposed to recognise the union on a regional level on condition it had more than 40% representation.

"For some reason they don't want to follow the standard path and register like most of the Cosatu unions have done," Lubbe says. He suggests the union wants "a shortcut to recognition."

Sogoni says the union still wants Sats to grant maternity leave for the "lady comrades," to negotiate a grievance and retrenchment procedure, and provide better safety measures.

All this at a cost of seven deaths, hundreds of injuries, R20m in lost pay, R20m-worth of torched railway coaches, the derailing of two goods trains and the indirect costs of at least three bomb blasts, one of which killed a passer-by.

Sogoni says the union is prepared to return to work immediately but Sats must agree to reinstate strikers and not use its disciplinary procedure against them. Lubbe says Sats has

already proposed arbitration — with the mutually agreed arbitrator's decision as final — but that those who used intimidation and harassment are still to be subjected to investigation.

Sats, meanwhile, says it has felt the effects of the strike but that all main lines and services are operating adequately. It adds this should be maintained over the Christmas holiday period.

Mass rhetoric (11A)

The self-styled Mass Democratic Movement's Conference for a Democratic Future held at Wits last weekend was remarkably well-attended. There were 4 600 delegates of all races from 2 100 organisations claiming to represent 15m people. Yet it was something of an anti-climax.

In view of its billing and the expectations created, the event ended up a bit muddled. This is symbolised, perhaps, by the "erroneous" resolution, later retracted, which "rejected capitalism and free markets as a solution to SA economic problems." However,

Final 15/12/89³¹

Keynote speaker Walter Sisulu, on the other hand, went out of his way to call for unity and negotiation — once certain pre-conditions, like the repeal of apartheid statutes and the release of political prisoners, have been met.

The BCM's Jerry Mosala delivered an address replete with quotations from Marx, Hegel and Malcolm X that must have had the two visiting Soviet academics (guests of Idasa), who were seated on the platform, cringing. Mosala railed against capitalism and imperialism, saying the choice facing Africa was "socialism or barbarism." He effectively put forward an Africanist position by emphasising the "land question" and stating that "no negotiation is possible without the transfer of power." In the end, Black Consciousness delegates withheld their en-

FINANCIAL MAIL DECEMBER 15 1989

that blunder may at least signify the start of a long-overdue re-examination by the MDM of its heritage of loyalty to socialism, which its East Bloc inventors can't jettison fast enough. For the record, though, the conference *did* reject privatisation and deregulation.

To view the conference in the same light as the 1955 Congress of the People, which drew up the Freedom Charter, would be stretching the comparison. Its aim was basically two-fold: to assert, and achieve maximum unity around, the MDM position on negotiations as set out in the OAU document drawn up earlier this year by the ANC, UDF and Cosatu, and to expand and extend the programme of mass action to end apartheid.

The latter was done — at least on paper, with the number of *pro forma* resolutions filling a fax no fewer than 9m long. Together they promise to make 1990 a year of mass defiance campaigns against apartheid institutions, though whether this achieves the heights (let alone the results) of eastern European dissidence of recent months remains to be seen.

The conference called for a constituent assembly as its preferred forum for talks on a new constitution.

Whether more unity among organisations was achieved must be doubted. For one thing, Inkatha was absent. The organisers say everyone was invited to apply to attend and Inkatha (due to hold its own rally in Soweto this weekend) didn't. True, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), which includes Azapo, did attend, thereby appearing to underline the rift between itself and the Africanists. The latter completely spurns the idea of negotiations, preferring, instead, the slogan "One settler, one bullet."

It remains to be seen whether those affiliates of the Africanist labour federation, Nactu, which did attend will be expelled — especially after the resignation of Nactu general secretary Phiroshaw Camay (who attended the conference) the previous week. While Black Consciousness speakers did not actually slam the door on negotiation, they seemed (to quote a Democratic Party observer at the event) to go out of their way to place obstacles in its path.

(11A) Final 15/12/89



Towards a democratic future ... singing the anthem

dorsement of the MDM's negotiating strategy until properly mandated to do so.

The conference's real significance, according to a leading organiser, was that it was the first time since 1955 that such a broad range of organisations had come together; that it endorsed the OAU document on negotiations, that it laid the basis for a far wider defiance campaign next year; and that it asserted the MDM's dominance as the prime anti-apartheid organisation, reducing government's ability to manoeuvre.

It was not the conference's aim to spell out a vision of a post-apartheid society — rather to chart the strategic direction the struggle should take. Nor, it is claimed, was there any intention of not allowing a diversity of views to be expressed.

An MDM spokesman says "The Conference for a Democratic Future was held to discuss the issue of negotiation and, more, to establish a basis for unity. The theme was action for a democratic future. It's clear that F W de Klerk is being forced to make

changes; he is responding to the situation on the ground created by our people. Thus he opens the beaches after our people have already done so; and he is going to unban the ANC, but we've done so already."

The conference further "sends a very clear message to De Klerk rejecting his idea of a great indaba, as well as a black election, to choose leaders."

"He can't escape our demand for a constituent assembly based on one person, one vote." We'll see.

heard the
neighbours
is to get
as of the
and the
ced the
Thabo
Mabafeng

week got
report
at he had
still
port
gements
made

NG



strengthening
our hair with

Mandela is to meet Cosatu

19/12/89 Soweto 117A

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has invited ten members of the Cosatu central committee to meet him at his Victor Verster Prison quarters next week

Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sydney Mufamadi yesterday said the agenda would be "open-ended" and that the federation's delega-

By THEMBA MOLEFE

tion would brief Mandela on their perspective, the current situation, the Conference for a Democratic Future, the anti-Labour Relations Act campaign and "other burning issues"

The first group which will meet Mandela on December 19 will comprise Mr Chris Dlamini, Mr John Gomomo, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mufamadi

and Mr Moses Mayekiso. The second group will meet the ANC leader on December 22. It consists of Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi, general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, Mr James Mollatsi, Mr Ronald Mofokeng and Mr John Erentzen

The meetings follow discussions between Mandela and the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, at Tuynhuys on Wednesday

Former ANC general secretary Mr Walter Sisulu met Mandela at Victor Verster on Monday

Blind house

A 45-YEAR-OLD blind man is left out in the cold as a result of a squabble. The Soweto Council ordered him out of the house occupied with his father's life.

J.R. Khawe Ice Cream

GARAGE & 2 ROOMS

11A
15/2/89
11A

NATAL VIOLENCE

No rural ride

Natal's political war has shifted from big townships to rural areas in one of the bloodiest weeks yet seen

"I hate saying it, but it's almost as if the fight has been decided in the townships," says Roy Ainslie, head of the DP unrest monitoring group

Deaths are still being counted but it seems that more people have died in the past few weeks than at any other time since monitoring started 30 months ago

Though a tense truce seems to have been reached in Mpumalanga, flashpoint of last week's conflict where scores died, Ainslie believes the violence has not abated and will probably continue during Christmas

This week the conflict shifted to other rural areas, including Inchanga and Cato Ridge. Business felt the full effect of the fighting on Monday when the region's industrial hub of Hammarsdale, Pinetown and New Germany had an almost total stayaway

The protest, which has forced many companies to extend production time up to a week into the traditional Christmas holidays, was called to mourn those killed at Mpumalanga, to protest at alleged police complicity in the violence, and to force organised commerce and industry to do more to try to stop the fighting

Ainslie says the rise in violence, which he traces to the collapse of peace talks between Inkatha and Cosatu-UDF groups towards the middle of the year, is for all the old reasons, only now they are more intense

These include increased rivalry between Inkatha and the UDF, economic conditions which have led to the collapse of supporting services and the social fabric, the "ambivalent role of the security forces," and the unchallenged actions of vigilante groups and hit squads in the rural townships

A new and complicating factor is the Congress of Traditional Leaders, a tribally based movement gaining support and incorporating its followers into the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). This congress draws from the same support base and is in direct competition with Inkatha, particularly in rural areas.

A number of statements by Inkatha's central committee, and a recent mass rally in Durban, which appealed to Zulu tradition and criticised the MDM for excluding the Zulu King and Chief Minister from rallies (*Current Affairs*, November 24), seems to have raised inflamed feelings

DP MP Pierre Cronje sees a more immediate spark, however, to last week's violence in Mpumalanga. He puts it down to the deaths of two policemen, killed by three house-breaking suspects in the neighbouring industrial area of Hammarsdale two weeks ago. "They were killed in what was purely a criminal incident but a new cycle started with that. They (police) just sailed into UDF

areas in Mpumalanga in full, bloody force. I started getting calls from the township saying police had taken over."

It appears that vigilante groups and traditional *impis* took advantage of the situation and moved in behind the police. There have been consistent reports of the SAP siding with Inkatha in the past but this time they were detailed in more than 30 affidavits presented to the Supreme Court in Durban.

Some of the allegations are horrific. They include accounts by mothers of their children, one aged six, being shot dead.

This week lawyers were preparing civil claims against the SAP which could amount to more than R10m. Apart from the deaths, up to 1 800 homes were destroyed in the latest violence.

Police were moving out of the township this week as the SADF moved in — a move supported by many residents, who say the army takes a more neutral position.

Cronje also found himself subjected to alleged police violence at the weekend when he intervened between police and people attending a rally organised by the tribal congress in Edendale outside Maritzburg.

He has laid charges against a policeman ■

APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS AND HUNGER STRIKES
 SEVEN people are currently being held in detention without trial under the Emergency regulations, according to the Human Rights Commission. Figures for those held under the Internal Security Act and the "homelands" security legislation are not available.

Four of the seven are activists who were acquitted in the Mayekiso treason trial. Paper Printing and Allied Workers Union general secretary Siphon Kubheka, 36, and Alexander Action Committee vice-chairperson Paul Tshabalala, 34, Alexander Civic Organisation general secretary organiser Mzwandile Mayekiso, 26, and the Civic Organisation general secretary Richard Mdakane, 31. They have all been on hunger strike since November 30. Tshabalala is currently being held at the Bloemfontein General Hospital, suffering from an ulcer, dehydration and depression. Mayekiso is being held at Petonomi Hospital in Bloemfontein while Mdakane and Kubheka are being held at Grootvlei Prison in Bloemfontein.

The other three detainees are Natal activists Sibusiso Zondi, Muzwakhe Nxumalo and Bongani Zikalala.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS RESTRICTION ORDERS
 THERE are 577 people restricted under the Emergency regulations, according to the Human Rights Commission. Since December 6 1989 a further six people have had their restriction orders revoked, bringing the total number of revoked orders to 81. The people come from the following areas: PWV (50), Eastern Cape (20), Northern Transvaal (eight), Natal (two) and Free State (one).

LAWSUITS AGAINST THE POLICE
 A TOTAL of R3,45 million was paid out by the South African Police to claimants in the 1987/88 financial year. In the previous financial year they paid out R2,499. The number of successful claimants rose from 288 in 1986/7 to 456 in 1987/8.

In 1987/8 R521 650 went to victims of unlawful arrest, R1 737 632 to those who sustained injuries during police action in unrest situations and R593 124 to those who sustained injuries during the course of "normal police action".

In 1987 171 lawsuits were brought against the minister of law and order, of which 145 were settled out of court, two were settled in favour of the claimants and costs, three were abandoned and 21 cases were withdrawn. R351 032 was paid out of court settlements.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE
 SAUL BATZOFIN, 30, End Conscription Campaign leader, was jailed for 18 months on April 12 this year, after being convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court of refusing to do a one month South African Defence Force camp course. Batzofin, a career development officer for Liberty Life, first became politically active in ECC four years ago and later served on the organisation's Johannesburg executive. After completing a Business Economics degree at Wits University, he did two years military service — most of it as a corporal in Namibia.

During his trial he said his initial misgivings arose when he witnessed SADF members assaulting civilians in Owambo. After completing six army camps he came into contact with black township residents and "came to see that the SADF was being used as part of a repressive strategy to uphold the apartheid system".

Batzofin was one of the 143 conscientious objectors who publicly refused to serve in the SADF in August last year.

From February 1990 conscripts will serve one year plus a maximum of 10 months in camps. Batzofin, who has completed a total of three years military service, has 10 months of his 18 month sentence to serve at Zonderwater Prison near Durban. He is currently completing a post graduate degree through Unisa.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Not for distribution and importation:

- for South Africa — film, Danger USA — film, Song of the Spear — film, Fever USA — film, poster depicting naked black woman covering her public area with a towel (unstated), poster depicting naked woman reclining on a striped towel with one breast visible in profile (unstated), photograph of a nude couple — front and shoulder view — in embrace — no 11874 (Verkerke GMBH)
- Play — Creating Romance in Everyday Life (William Betcher, MD — for persons under 18)

WORM'S EYE | Steven Friedman is on holiday. His column will resume in January.

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons until 22 December 1989 for appointment to the following post:

School of Education Teaching and Curriculum Senior Lecturer/ Lecturer

Applicants must hold at least a Master's degree in Education with an emphasis on Curriculum Development as it affects national development and the non-formal aspects of education. In addition, candidates must have a strong background in either the Economic Sciences or the Liberal Arts. Teaching experience at tertiary level is highly recommended. Knowledge of Micro-teaching and the preparation and use of instructional materials will be a further advantage.

SALARIES
 Senior Lecturer R34 716 x R1 908 — R44 256 x R1 956 — R48 168 x R1 992 — R50 160
 Lecturer R26 352 x R1 548 — R27 900 x R1 704 — R34 716 x R1 908 — R44 256 x R1 956 — R46 212

In addition to salary, the University offers a 13th cheque, membership of the pension, group life and medical aid schemes, education and housing subsidies, removal allowance and generous leave benefits. The appointment may be on contract or permanent terms.

Applications with a detailed CV should be sent to The Assistant Registrar (Staffing), University of Bophuthatswana, PO Box 83, Rooigrond 2743, tel. (0140) 21171 ext 2004, from whom application forms and further particulars may be obtained.

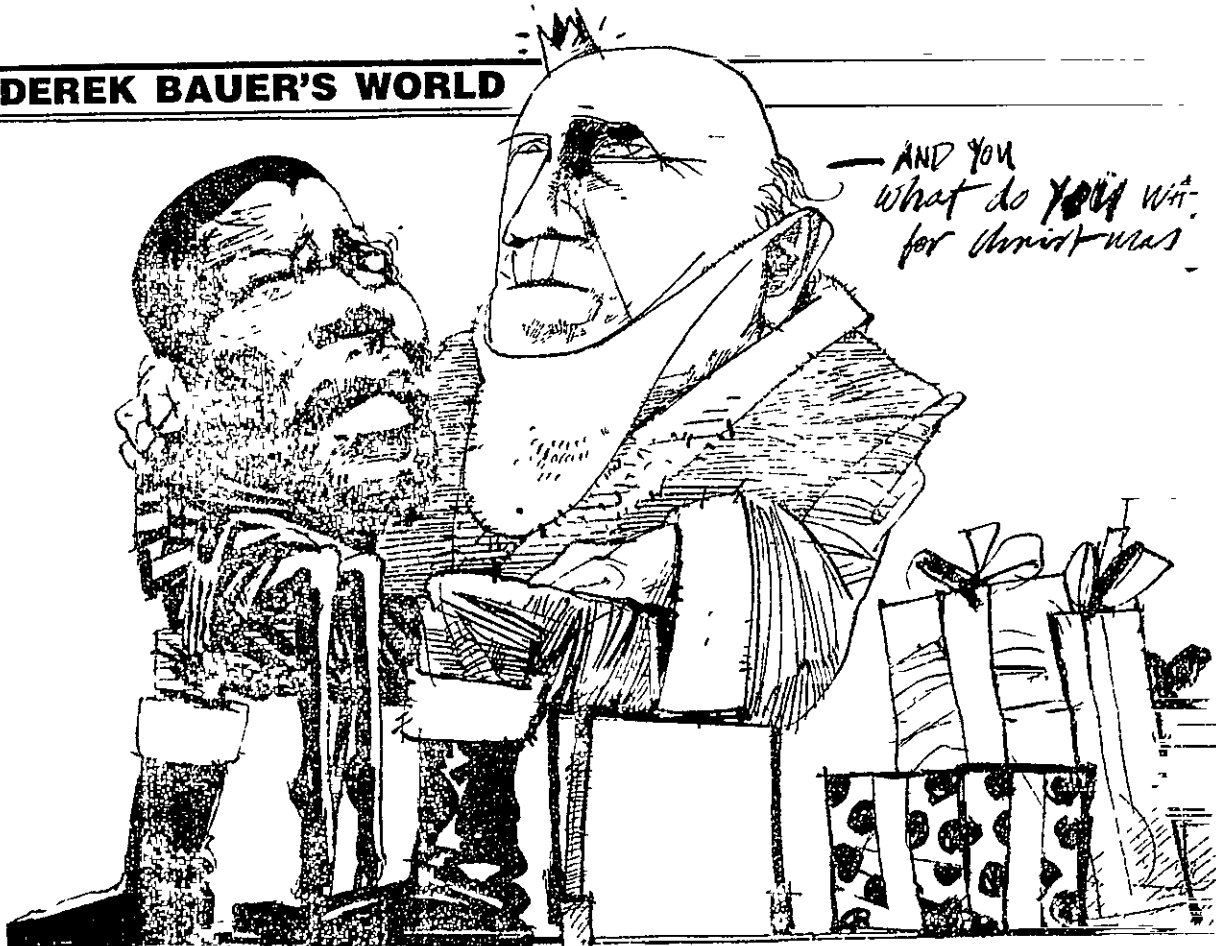
The University reserves the right not to make an appointment or to appoint at a lower or higher level. No correspondence and/or representation will be entered into after the official results of the interview have been released.



**University of
Bophuthatswana**

Klerck & McCormac Recruitment 32347

DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



LETTERS

MAJOR-GENERAL Herman Stadler, police public relations chief, must have a short memory.

Last week he criticised the "trial by media" of 11 SAP members named in hit squad allegations. "There is no use in having this matter investigated in the media," he said. "Everyone is innocent until proven guilty and at this stage there are only allegations, but no hard evidence." (*The Star* November 27 1989)

Funny how the police and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok overlooked this while feeding alleged ANC bomber Hein Grosskopf to the media not so long ago.

At least there is a *prima facie* corroborated case against the SAP 11, which there wasn't against Grosskopf.

If the press had not reported the hit squad story, wouldn't the allegations have been swept under the carpet of another departmental enquiry? — **Jeremy Clark, Oaklands, Johannesburg**

REVIEWING some harmless thriller (*Black Rain*, *Weekly Mail* December 1-7 1989) Fabius Burger is off again into agitprop sarcasm "apple-pie America American imperialist know-how" etc, etc.

How old is your critic? Is he still into beads and Baez — or even drainpipes and the Beatles? Will someone tell him that the Cold War is over, and that he has lost it. All over the world, "bourgeois democracy" is advancing, not retreating. "The people" have shown their preference for it, from Santiago via Windhoek to Peking. Even Joe Slovo, the 110-year-old Stalinist, has mutated into a social democrat (prime object of the loathing of Lenin).

The SACP now talks about "the commanding heights of the economy" — a phrase lifted from the British Labour Party under Harold Wilson 20 years ago.

Even this time-zone is too advanced for cultural worker F Burger.

Aren't any of your other readers bored with his dated anti-American robotics? He calls *Black Rain* "clichéd, predictable." What was *that*? Listen to who's talking! — **MM Carlin, Plumstead, Cape Town**

CONSCIENTIOUS objectors who have been imprisoned for their refusal to serve in the SADF should be released immediately.

An alternative non-military form of national service is only available to people whose religious convictions preclude them from serving in any army. This excludes the majority of conscientious objectors, whose objections are based on wider religious, moral or political grounds.

The six year mandatory prison sentences handed down to conscientious objectors who do not qualify as religious objectors are the longest prison sentences given to any conscientious

Trial by the media: Who decides who is excluded?

objector in the world during the last 15 years.

In a political climate of:

- a peaceful political resolution to the conflict in Namibia,
- the release of political prisoners who are committed to peace, particularly the Rivonia trialists, and
- the increasing recognition that peace will only come about through negotiations and an accommodation of the political aspirations of the majority of South Africa's population, such a harsh stance on conscientious objectors does not make sense.

It is therefore imperative that Charles Bester, David Bruce and Saul Batzofin, all of whom have been imprisoned for refusing to serve in the SADF, be immediately released pending the Van Loggerenberg Committee's investigation into alternative service.

All objectors should be given the opportunity of rendering a meaningful and equitable non-military form of national service — **Rolfe Eberhard, Camps Bay, Cape Town**

I AM writing this letter to comment on the article "Who's hurt the big guys or the little" (*Weekly Mail* November 24 - 30 1989).

Part of the article states "Black consumers have been asked to stop drinking beer." As an expatriate living and working in Swaziland and who is planning on visiting South Africa, what course am I to take in regard to this boycott? I have always been involved with the labour movement and have tried to respect labour boycotts when asked to do so — in fact for a long time I had to forgo my favourite beer.

So now I am in a quandary. There is a bitter labour dispute occurring and a boycott has been called and I feel an obligation to respect the action taken, but your paper has reported that participation in that boycott has been asked for on the basis of race.

Am I supposed to be drinking beer or not, and if not, why was my possible participation ignored by a pointed refer-

ence to "black consumers" — Concerned, Swaziland
 ■ The beer boycott, which two weeks ago, was aimed at whites.

PRESIDENT FW Klerk's announcement the call-up has been welcomed. It has correctly been welcomed.

What hasn't been sufficiently emphasised is that less this leads to a legislative change, conscientious objectors will not benefit from change. If a conscript called up to do his initial 100 days of service in February 1990, and refuses to

he will still face six years imprisonment. The reason is that the amendment has not yet been incorporated into the Defence Act.

Eight months ago Defence Minister Magnus Malan announced that military camp obligations would be cut from 300 days to 300 days, but because this was not incorporated into legislation it is no relief for present or future objectors.

The same situation applies to military objectors who, under the current dispensation, will still be required to do years of community service under the Department of Manpower — 3,400 hours maximum total period of military service (including the camp requirement).

The change also has no legal implication for objectors already convicted (Ivan Toms, David Bruce, Charles Bester and Saul Batzofin). Unless Klerk acts to reduce their sentences, Bruce and Bester will be required to complete their six-year jail sentences.

The Democratic Party, anti-groups and others concerned with the negative effects of conscription in South Africa need to maintain their pressure on the government to introduce legislative change in order that objectors benefit from the new dispensation. — **John Evans, Oranjezicht, Cape Town**

PETER JOHNSTON'S "solution" to the elephant and ivory question (*Weekly Mail*, December 1-7) is paradoxical and naive.

The solution I have in mind is twofold: a) granting elephants the status of endangered species but of no subjects, on whose behalf legal action could be made by the relevant, respectable authorities, and b) a total ban on the import and export but not possession of ivory.

In this respect, Johnston's idea of an "ivory tower" merits consideration, a deadline for the surrender of any made of ivory set as soon as possible.

The ivory trade differs from the cocaine racket in at least one respect: cocaine will always have consumers. A total ban on cocaine could never reduce trade or possession of it, economically unviable, since it could never be replaced as an investment. Ivory is different in that a diminishing or existing market value would render it useless commodity. — **Kai Morris, Windsor West Randburg**

Address letters to Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, Box 260425, Excom 2023. Shorter letters will be given preference. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for clarity or space.

THE WEEKEND'S CONFERENCE BROUGHT TOGETHER DELEGATES FROM 2 000 GROUPS...

SATURDAY'S Conference for a Democratic Future was an event with a fine line between winners and losers

What emerged was a situation where each of the major players, and those watching from the sidelines, could justifiably claim to have scored. But few are likely to have gone home with a sense of total victory.

For the CDF's main sponsor, the Mass Democratic Movement, a prime concern was the adoption of the Organisation of African Unity's Harare Declaration on negotiations, combined with a call to work towards a constituent assembly where a new constitution for South Africa would be drawn up.

This motion was seen as important in helping ease the passage of the declaration through the United Nations General Assembly next week.

After a heated debate, which threatened to tear the conference apart, this was achieved — but not without qualifications.

The Black Consciousness Move-

Treading the delicate line between triumph and failure

ment announced it regarded this motion as a recommendation, despite the fact that only a handful of its members opposed it or abstained.

Equally significant for the MDM was the conference provided the incentive to engage in discussions on negotiations, sanctions and related issues.

"This was a very important game," said MDM representative Murphy Morobe. "We reached united positions through very thorough discussions at a grassroots level."

Eastern Cape and Border MDM representatives, for example, say the process involved not only each of the MDM affiliates but a range of groups and individuals such as traders and

The weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future packed in twice as many delegates as expected and achieved its major objectives. But none of the players could have gone home with a sense that the day had gone smoothly ...
By GAVIN EVANS

sporting personalities

But the key aim — of creating unity in action across a broad spectrum of anti-apartheid attitudes — can hardly be said to have been completely fulfilled.

For a start the thrust of the debate

was between the two major protagonists — MDM and BCM. Its tone and content led to a situation where most of the "middle ground" delegates were passive observers.

There were isolated public contributions from representatives of the Black Sash, Five Freedoms Forum, Earthlife South Africa, and others but in general it was a two-sided process.

A major problem was that the 5 000 delegates from more than 2 000 organisations were almost double the initial target.

Afterwards MDM delegates acknowledged the occasion had done little to forge stronger links with non-BCM groups.

Certainly the effect of the much-

publicised motion calling for the "occupation of the JSE" may require some undoing among business nervous about their future.

There are also few from the MDM who would claim the event helped strengthen their alliance with the BCM camp.

Several participants said the gap between "homeland" representatives and the BCM groups was too wide a bridge — and that in future they would proceed more cautiously drawing in BCM groups.

While motions defining policy on key issues like sanctions, a living wage and defiance campaigns, a national health system and work among black soldiers and policemen were passed, these felt short of a cohesive programme of action.

For the BCM an important game was the conference served to boost a profile which had previously been flagging. Two months ago its "Biko Day" celebrations and stayaway failed to attract a mass following, and it was pushed into the background through the MDM's defiance campaign.

But through the CDF the BCM succeeded in playing to a national and international stage for the first time since its anti-Kennedy demonstrations four years ago.

Whatever the realities in terms of grassroots support the conference process ensured that the BCM portrayed an image of being an anti-apartheid factor approaching an equal footing to the MDM.

But it was this renewed profile which could contribute to hard times for the BCM in future.

One overseas diplomat noted afterwards that in the context of their militant left-wing rhetoric "they'll find it extremely difficult to attract foreign funding from now on".

But perhaps more significantly the conference exposed differences within the movement. Some of these centred around the movement's relationship with the Pan Africanist Movement.

PAM's decision to stay out of the conference was dutifully followed by the National Council of Trade Unions. But this in turn led to a major division between black consciousness supporters and Africanists, with several of Nactu's affiliate unions open to attend the conference.

At the same time, however, members of the BCM delegation were heard chanting "PAC PAC" and other slogans, and in the speeches several BCM delegates pro-PAC sentiments were not disguised.

Equally visible were the tensions between the BCM representatives on the CDF steering committee and some rank and file members which focused on the issue of negotiations.

According to MDM delegates on the steering committee, they had informed their BCM counterparts that they would be proposing the adoption of the Harare Declaration "over two weeks before the conference".

"We had detailed discussions and they agreed it did not conflict with their views, and told us the motion would be supported by their members," said Morobe.

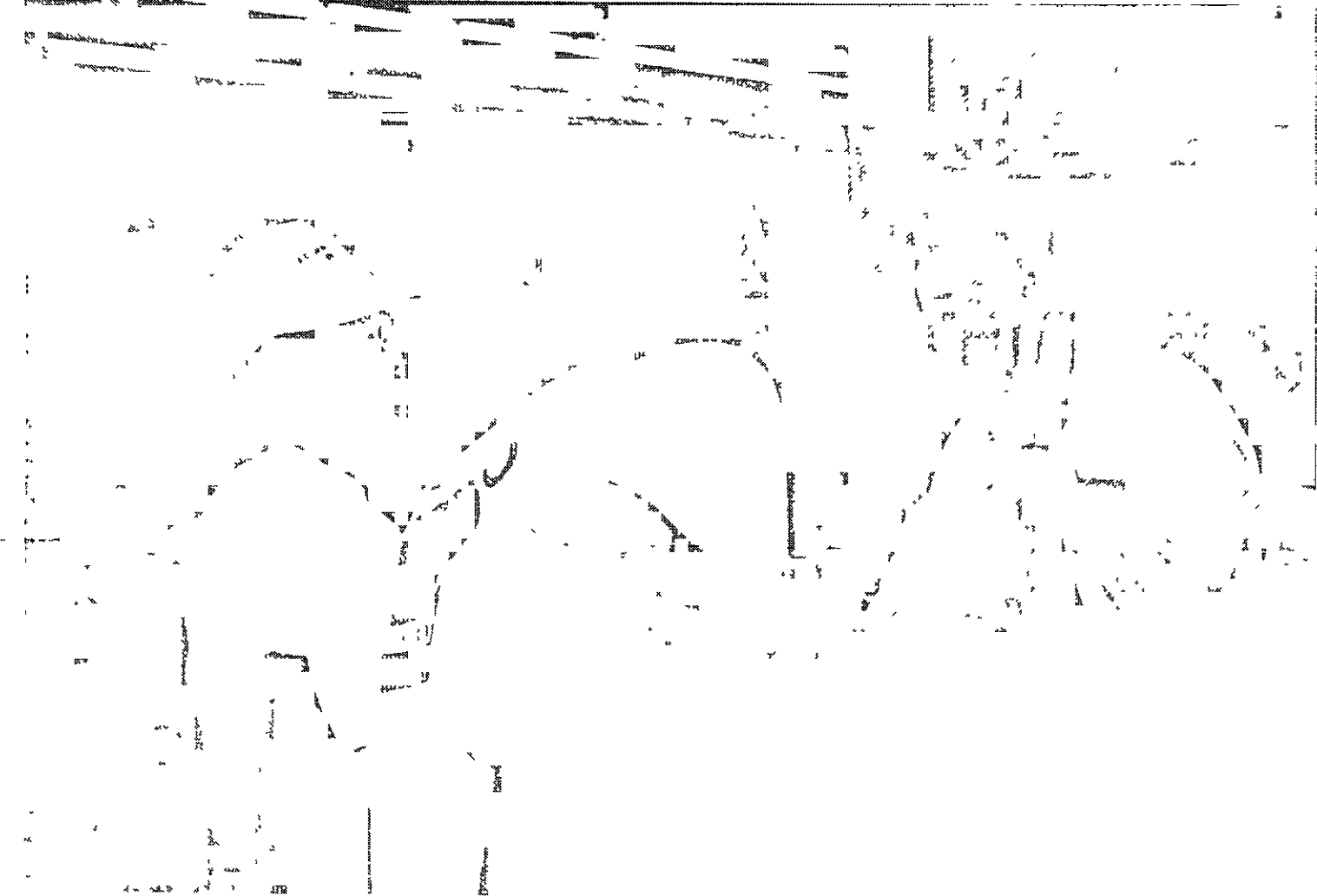
However, during the conference several BCM delegates said they had not seen or discussed the document and therefore could not adopt it.

During the debate a far left group called the "Frank Talk Editorial Collective" and the Natal BCM contingent walked out of the conference. But several of the Natal BCM delegates returned after a supper caucus in which "open hostilities broke out", said one BCM delegate.

The third party involved in the conference was the one against whom all the venom was directed.

The state survived the gathering intact, and was able to claim kudos in allowing the event to go ahead.

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer noted that the conference "should be seen as part of the normalising of the political process initiated by the government in the past few months", and gloated that it had not "fully-succeeded" in uniting the views of "so-called anti-apartheid groups".



Delegates at the Conference for a Democratic Future held at Wits University this weekend ponder the vital issues of the times

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

UNITY was seriously threatened at last weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future when a draft resolution was tabled proposing the adoption of the Harare Declaration on Southern Africa.

The Mass Democratic Movement accepted the proposal as binding. The Black Consciousness Movement and its allies announced that "while it was the MDM's democratic right to adopt the document", they reserved the right to take it back to their constituencies for discussion.

Although negotiation was the most important item on the CDF agenda, the BCM said it had been informed only days before the conference was scheduled that the declaration would be raised. "Many organisations did not have an opportunity to debate and discuss the document, therefore it can only be seen as a recommendation to be discussed," said a BCM representative.

This issue, as well as fundamental objections to the document, were not raised at the CDF gathering because the BCM did not want to disrupt the unity conference, its representative said this week.

In terms of the declaration, which has been accepted by the African National Congress, the government should release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally, lift restrictions on all banned organisations and persons, remove troops from the townships, lift the State of Emergen-

We had no time to talk about Harare, says BCM

Black consciousness groups say they were not given enough time to discuss the Harare Declaration — and that they object to sections of it
By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

cy, repeal repressive legislation and put an end to political trials and executions. Such measures, it says, are conducive to free discussions.

The document also says a "mutually binding ceasefire" between the liberation movement and the government should be reached. Negotiations should follow with a view to adopting a new constitution. Parties should agree on the format of an interim government to supervise the planning and adoption of a new constitution.

The BCM and allied organisations — including the eight National Council of Trade Union affiliates that attended the conference and Action Youth and its formations representing about 50 percent of the CDF delegates — say they rejected the document because "it went against their policies and principles".

These organisations did, however,

endorse the spirit of the declaration to end apartheid and commended the African states for their efforts, said a representative.

But, as Action Youth representative Salim Vally said, "We inside the country must be our own liberators. We need to form our own views on the constitution and process by which we attain liberation."

MDM representative Moses Mayekiso said "The Cosatu (Congress of South African Trade Unions) resolution on negotiations is incorporated in the declaration, showing that people inside the country have had a say in it."

"When the document was adopted in Harare the MDM was there to witness and urge African countries that this is our document supporting our aspirations."

A BCM representative said this assertion seemed to confirm the BCM's suspicion that the OAU was talking about one political movement, the ANC, when it mentioned the "liberation movement" in the document — ignoring the Africanist, black consciousness and unity movement groupings.

Signs of black unity — and sharp divisions

By PATRICK LAURENCE in Johannesburg

AMGUS
15/12/89
11A

THE first phase in the most ambitious attempt to unite South Africa's extra-parliamentary forces is over. How successful was it?

The Conference for a Democratic

ANALYSIS

Future (CDF), held after months of planning, brought together activists from two major anti-apartheid blocs. They were killing one another in a gruesome internecine feud only a few years ago. To that extent the conference was immensely successful.

But at the same time the CDF revealed that major political cleavages still divide the black community and seriously hamper its long quest to end minority rule.

Competing

Excluding the outlawed African National Congress and the proscribed Pan-Africanist Congress, four competing alliances can be identified: the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) and Inkatha.

Two, the MDM and the BCM, were co-convenors of, and therefore were major

participants, in the conference. Debate there served to highlight differences as well as identify points of agreement.

The question of whether to negotiate with President De Klerk's government — and, if so, under what conditions — provoked sharp exchanges.

The conference ended without any conclusive

agreement. The MDM delegates adopted the OAU-approved Harare Declaration while their BCM comrades agreed only to take it to their grassroots supporters for discussion.

The PAM and Inkatha were not invited to act as convenors. They were too proud, or too suspicious of chicanery, to apply to send delegates. Their common exclusion, however, did not bridge the gulf between them.

Forces

These divisions are no less important to the future of South Africa than the differences crystallising in the white community in the terminal stage of apartheid. It is thus pertinent to look more closely at the black organisations marshalling their forces for what they hope will be the coup d' grace to the apartheid order.

The MDM is ideologically aligned but organisationally independent of the ANC. It accepts the Freedom Charter, a South African Magna Carta which declares in part "South Africa belongs to all that live it, black and white." Its adherents are known as Charterists.

Alliance

The MDM has two major components: the United Democratic Front, a nation-wide alliance of hundreds of organisations, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the largest federation of South African trade unions.

It is a relative newcomer to the political arena. The MDM per se only surfaced in February, the United Democratic Front was formed in 1983, and Cosatu in 1985. But its ideological roots go back a long way, with those of the ANC.

Taking account of its ideological links with the ANC and thus with the jailed Mr

Nelson Mandela, it is probably better able to mobilise on a nation-wide basis than any of its rivals. Its defiance campaign — formally launched in August but inspired by hunger striking detainees several months before — helped it to re-assert its presence after being shackled by fiat under the state of emergency.

Resistance

The BCM traces its origins to the late 1960s when resistance to apartheid was at a low ebb. After the ANC and PAC were crushed in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960, black consciousness emerged as an independent and unifying force.

It inspired a young generation of black people. They, in turn, through their refusal to bow before apartheid state, inspired their often demoralised parents. Under the genius of Steve Biko, black consciousness nourished a black renaissance of resistance. It insisted that black men should control their own destiny, popularising its doctrine under the slogan "Black man, you are on your own."

Crises

After the death in detention of Biko, the BCM faced four separate crises. It was twice shackled by a state crackdown, once in 1977 and again in February 1988, it suffered two "exoduses" from its ranks after the Soweto student revolt of 1976-77, first with the revival of the ANC and its allied Charterist organisations and then, more recently, with the resurgence of the Africanists.

These crises led some observers to conclude that the BCM had been "co-opted" by the Charterists. During last weekend's conference, however, the BCM exhibited a vibrant independence.

The PAM is an infant organisation. It was formed less

than a month ago. Africanism, however, has been resurfacing steadily for the last three years. It has a proud tradition. Several contemporary ANC leaders were once Africanists.

The regrouping Africanists are mobilising in the townships. Their primary emphasis is on the return of the land to the indigenous people. Africanists have much in common ideologically with the BCM, including the belief that black people — rather than white liberals or leftists — should control the liberation forces.

Inkatha, in alliance with the United Workers Union of South Africa, remains a major player in the political arena. Its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is a tough and resilient man. He has proved over and over again that it is in perilous to dismiss or ignore him.

Chief Buthelezi's response to Inkatha's exclusion from the CDF is typically combative: he will hold a rally in Soweto, an area where Inkatha support is presumed to have dwindled in recent years.

Inkatha once enjoyed cordial and even fraternal relations with the ANC, indicating an ideological overlap which ANC men are now loath to admit. In the last decade, however, relations have steadily deteriorated. Today Inkatha loyalists and Charterists are locked in a murderous struggle for supremacy in Natal.

Overall, the strife and rivalry in the black community recalls Mr Mandela's comments in a letter to Chief Buthelezi: "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it become so crucial for our people to speak with one voice and to pool their efforts."

ANC stand on peaceful settlement outlined

Mandela gave P W document on talks

(11A) Stan 15/12/89

CAPE TOWN — Mr Nelson Mandela handed a document outlining the ANC's standpoint on a peaceful settlement in South Africa to the Government when he met former State President P W Botha on July 5.

This emerged yesterday from sources close to the jailed ANC leader. They had previously kept secret the handing over of the 10-page document.

However, it is being speculated that the contents of the document were discussed at Wednesday's meeting between Mr Mandela and State President Mr F W de Klerk

It is reported from London that British premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher wants Mr Mandela freed as soon as possible — perhaps before Christmas

Mrs Thatcher told the House of Commons yesterday that she would consider calling on Mr de Klerk to release Mr Mandela within the next 10 days

She said Mr Mandela's release would be a "very great advance" which would bring violence to an end and see the start of negotiations on a constitution for all the people of South Africa. She welcomed Tuesday's historic meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk at Tuynhuys.

Sources close to Mr Mandela confirmed yesterday that he gave the document to Mr Botha at their meeting in Tuynhuys.

Consultation

"I do know now that a certain document was presented to Mr P W Botha. It was a document that outlined the policy of the ANC and its stand on the question of negotiations," one source said

"Mr Mandela drew it up himself and, of course, in consultation with his colleagues inside"

● Sapa reports that Mr Mandela has invited 10 members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions central executive committee to meet him next week, the labour federation said yesterday

Cosatu members will meet Mr Mandela in two groups, Cosatu said

On December 19, a group made up of Mr Chris Dlamini, Mr John Gomomo, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Sydney Mufamadi and Mr Moses Mayekiso will meet the jailed ANC leader at his prison warder's house at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl in the Cape.

The second group to meet Mr Mandela on December 22 consists of Mr Elijah Barayi, Mr Ronald Mofokeng, Mr James Motlatsi, Mr John Ehrentzen and Mr Jay Naidoo

The agenda of the meeting will be open-ended, according to Cosatu "From our side we will brief Comrade Mandela on our perspective on the current situation, the CDF, the anti-LRA campaign and other burning issues," a Cosatu statement said — Own Correspondent and The Star's London Bureau

In the townships rival groups marshal forces

11A

15/12/89

Star

The first phase in the most ambitious attempt to unite South Africa's extra-parliamentary forces is over

The Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF), held last weekend after months of planning, brought together activists from two major anti-apartheid blocs. They were killing one another in a gruesome internecine feud only a few years ago. To that extent the conference was immensely successful.

But at the same time the CDF revealed that major political cleavages still divide the black community and seriously hamper its long quest to end minority rule.

Excluding the outlawed African National Congress and the proscribed Pan-Africanist Congress, four competing alliances can be identified: the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM) and Inkatha.

The MDM and the BCM, were co-conveners of, and therefore major participants in, the conference, debate there served to highlight differences as well as identify points of agreement.

The question of whether to negotiate with President de Klerk's Government — and, if so, under what conditions — provoked sharp exchanges. The conference ended without conclusive agreement, the MDM delegates adopted the OAU-approved Harare Declaration while the BCM agreed only to take it to its grassroots supporters for discussion.

The PAM and Inkatha were not invited to act as conveners. They were too proud, or too suspicious of chicanery, to apply to send delegates. Their common exclusion, however, did not bridge the gulf between them.

These divisions are no less important to the future of South Africa than the differences crystallising in the white community in the terminal stage of apartheid. It is thus pertinent to look more closely at the black organisations marshalling

PATRICK LAURENCE assesses the various organisations which participated in last weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg, and the value of the meeting

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... cannot be ignored.

their forces for what they hope will be the coup de grace to the apartheid order.

The MDM is ideologically aligned but organisationally independent of the ANC. It accepts the Freedom Charter, a South African Magna Carta which declares in part "South Africa belongs to all that live in it, black and white". Its adherents are known as Charterists.

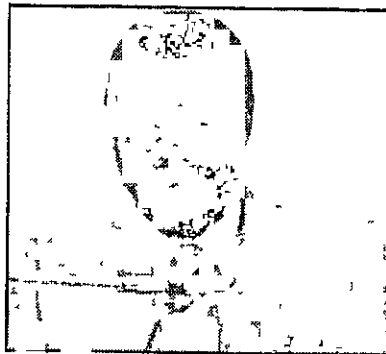
The MDM has two major components: the United Democratic Front, a nationwide alliance of hundreds of organisations, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the largest federation of SA trade unions.

Able to mobilise

It is a relative newcomer to the political arena: the MDM first surfaced in February, the United Democratic Front was formed in 1983, and the Congress of SA Trade Unions in 1985. Its ideological roots go back a long way with those of the ANC.

Taking account of its ideological links with the ANC and thus with the jailed Mr Nelson Mandela, it is better able to mobilise on a nationwide basis than any of its rivals. Its defiance campaign — launched in August but inspired by hunger striking detainees several months before — helped it to re-assert its presence after being shackled under the state of emergency.

The BCM traces its origins to the late 1960s when resistance to apartheid was at a low ebb. After the ANC and PAC were crushed in the



wake of the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960, black consciousness emerged as an independent and unifying force.

It inspired a young generation of black people, they, in turn, through their refusal to bow before apartheid, inspired their often demoralised parents. Under the genius of Steve Biko, Black Consciousness nourished a black renaissance of resistance. It insisted that blacks should control their own destiny, under the slogan "Black man, you are on your own".

After the death in detention of Biko, the BCM faced four separate crises: it was twice shackled by a State crack-down, once in 1977 and again in February 1988, it suffered two "exoduses" from its ranks after the Soweto student revolt of 1976-77, first with the revival of the ANC and its allied Charterist organisations and then, more recently, with the resurgence of the Africanists.

These crises led some observers to conclude that the BCM had been marginalised and that it had been "co-opted" by the Charterists. During last weekend's conference, however, the BCM exhibited a vibrant independence, its delegates refused to be "rail-roaded" into endorsing Charterist positions.

BCM leaders are confident that the BCM has a major role to play in the 1990s.

The PAM is an infant organisation. It was formed less than a month ago. Africanism, however, has been re-surfacing steadily for the past three years. It has a proud tradition. Its founding fathers in-

clude some of the great names in the history of African nationalism: A.P. Mda, Anton Lembede and Robert Sobukwe. Several contemporary ANC leaders were once Africanists, not least Mr Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu.

The regrouping Africanists are mobilising in the townships, their primary emphasis is on the return of the land to the indigenous people or, as they often put it, "sons and daughters of the soil". Africanists have much in common ideologically with the BCM, including the belief that black people — rather than white liberals or leftists — should control the liberation forces.

Inkatha, in alliance with the United Workers Union of SA, remains a major player in the political arena. Its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is tough and resilient. He has proved over and over again that it is perilous to ignore him.

Typically combative

Chief Buthelezi's response to Inkatha's exclusion from the CDF is typically combative: he will hold a rally in Soweto, an area where Inkatha support is presumed to have dwindled to minuscule proportions.

It is reminiscent of his reaction to the MDM rally in Soweto at the end of October: to welcome back eight released ANC prisoners, he organised a mammoth counter-rally at King's Park in Durban.

Inkatha once enjoyed cordial and even fraternal relations with the ANC, indicating an ideological overlap which ANC men are now loath to admit. In the last decade, however, relations have deteriorated, today Inkatha loyalists and Charterists are locked in a murderous struggle for supremacy in Natal.

Overall, the strife and rivalry in the black community recalls Mr Mandela's comments in a letter to Chief Buthelezi: "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it become so crucial for our people to speak with one voice and to pool their efforts."

News in Brief

BUSES have been arranged to transport people who wish to attend the rally to be addressed by recently released PAC leader Mr Japhtha Masemola at the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, tomorrow.

The buses will leave from Lekton House in Wanderers Street, Johannesburg, at 8am

Adults will pay R10 each and scholars will travel free.

THE Vosloorus Crisis Committee will hold a meeting tomorrow at the local Roman Catholic Church at 12 noon.

The meeting will discuss, among other things, the high electricity bills and the lack of public transport

Recently released ANC leader Mr Ehas Motsoaledi will address the meeting

MRS Elizabeth Motaung of 1291 Moletsane, Soweto, who died after a long illness, will be buried on Sunday at Avalon cemetery at 1pm.

A funeral service will be held at her home at 11am

11A

15/12/89

Soweto

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

w/c AM64S 16/12/89
'Now Mandela can be freed'

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Community leaders and legal experts have reacted with euphoria to the release of five Delmas treason trialists, saying the last obstacle to the release of Mr Nelson Mandela has now been removed.

Hundreds of chanting toy-toying supporters thronged the departure hall of DF Malan Airport yesterday afternoon to welcome the five, who were freed from Robben Island prison after their convictions and sentences were set aside by the Appeal Court.

Longest trial

The five — Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Popo Molefe, general secretary, Mr Moss Chikane, a former UDF executive member, Mr Tom Manthata, a field worker with the South African Council of Churches and Mr Gcinuzi Mallindi, of the Vaal Civic Association — were sentenced to between five and 12 years after South Africa's longest treason trial, which lasted 37 months.

Professor John Dugard of the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies said he was delighted but not surprised at the news that their appeal had succeeded.

"It seemed obvious to me that the judge in this case had acted irregularly in dismissing (assessor Dr W A) Joubert. Many lives have been wasted as a result of this and the taxpayer had to bear the burden of a long trial."

Professor Dugard said the Delmas trialists would be able to play an important role in political events of the future.

"And," he said, "now that they are out, the last obstacle has been removed in the way of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela."

Mr Walter Sisulu, the ANC leader who was also released only recently, said the news was exciting. "I have been so depressed by the whole case of Delmas, but at last justice has been done. The reason they were kept so long was merely to punish them without sentencing them."

Welcome home

He said the Delmas trialists were held in high regard by many people. "These people will have the same welcome we had," he said, referring to his own release and that of seven fellow political prisoners.

The Canadian ambassador, Mr Ronald MacLean, said in a statement that the setting aside of the conviction had been one of the "best Christmas presents imaginable".

The legal team's success in having the convictions overturned was a milestone not only for human rights and the rule of law but for those seeking a just, non-racial and democratic South Africa, he said.

The director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Curran, said the Appeal Court's decision was an exciting victory for human rights in South Africa.

Trial costs

This judgment will undoubtedly begin to restore the credibility of the South African judiciary. It destroys the perception which many have that judges are agents of the system.

On the other hand, we call upon the State to inform the citizens of this country how much of our hard earned money was spent on this abortive prosecution and many years of blundering incompetence.

A spokesman for the Mass Democratic Movement, Mr Murphy Morobe said: "The United Democratic Front has always maintained this trial should never have taken place."

"It confirms our view that the State was acting in a vindictive manner and trying to find an excuse to stop the events of 1984."

Dressed in shabby blue jackets, black slacks, khaki shirts and boots the men were taken from Robben Island yesterday afternoon to the airport, where they were to catch a flight to Johannesburg.

Principles the same

They were met by a huge crowd of chanting supporters which included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, his wife Leah and members of the UDF and its affiliates in the Western Cape.

The men were hoisted shoulder-high amid shouts of "Viva ANC".

Mr Lekota said at a brief Press conference that though they were happy to be free, they had wasted four and a half years of their lives in prison and were unrepentant.

"The impression should not be created that prison has changed those principles that led to our imprisonment."

"Those we held when we formed the UDF at Mitchell's Plain in 1983 still remain valid. Those principles have been highlighted by events in Namibia which make us more determined."

Archbishop Tutu said the release of the men was a sign "that we are winning the struggle".

"We knew justice would ultimately prevail. We know we are unstoppable and we are very proud of you," he said.



Hundreds of supporters — including Archbishop Desmond Tutu — ululated, hugged and kissed five Delmas treason trialists who were released from Robben Island yesterday. With the are the five — from left, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr "Terror" Lekota, Mr Tom Manthata, Mr Gcinuzi Lindi and Mr Moss Chikane. In front is UDF Western Cape executive member Mr Trevor

Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend

Drug No 2 gunned down

BOGOTA — The Colombian government has scored its biggest victory in the four month old drug war by killing Jose Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha, called the number two man in the powerful Medellin cocaine cartel.

Rodriguez Gacha, his 17-year-old son, Freddy, and 15 people believed to be bodyguards were killed in a shootout yesterday in a rural area near Tolu a city on the Caribbean coast 600km north of the capital Bogota police said.

Rodriguez Gacha, 42, known as "the Mexican" for his love of popular Mexican culture was considered by police to be one of the main organisers of the wave of terror attacks in Colombia since the drug war began including a truck bomb at tack last week which killed 63 people and wounded 653.

In Washington chief US drug fighter William Bennett said he had spoken by telephone to Colombian President Virgilio Barco, who confirmed Rodriguez Gacha's death.

"President Barco told me



Rodriguez Gacha

that this operation is very important psychologically for the Colombian people. The Colombian effort against the cartel has been a difficult one they have many hideouts and many people helping them.

But President Barco believes that doubts about the Colombian government's resolve

and ability to defeat the cartel should now recede. Rodriguez Gacha, President Barco said, was a significant man — a man who had killed many innocent men, women and children," Mr Bennett said.

Rodriguez Gacha and Medellin cartel chief Pablo Escobar were the two most wanted men in Colombia. Rewards equaling about R700 000 were offered for information leading to their capture.

Key role

Rodriguez Gacha faced at least three US indictments and was among the "dozen most wanted" sought for extradition to stand trial in the United States.

General Miguel Angel Maza Marquez, head of the country's security and intelligence agency, told a news conference yesterday that Rodriguez Gacha was the number two leader of the Medellin cartel. "The country has different characteristics now than before," he said.

Maza Marquez, who blamed Rodriguez Gacha Escobar for organising truck bombing on December 11, 1987, as an attempt on his life, Rodriguez Gacha played a role in hiring foreign narries to train private for the cartels.

Frustration

Rodriguez Gacha was first cartel leader to be captured since the agreement on August 18 last year sweeping anti-drugs and the cocaine barons in declared "total war" on the Colombian establishment.

There was no immediate explanation about why Rodriguez Gacha was not seized alive.

Police sources had used their frustration after another Medellin drug on Jorge Luis Ochoa on November 21, 1987, only to him freed on a legal technicality a month later. The was widely believed to be intimidated or bribed Sapa AP.

Treason trial five are freed

BLOEMFONTEIN — South Africa's longest treason trial reached a dramatic climax yesterday when the Appeal Court here quashed the convictions of five men — three of them leaders of the United Democratic Front — and set their sentences aside.

The five who stepped into freedom yesterday were Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Popo Molefe, UDF general-secretary, Mr Moses "Moss" Chikane, former UDF executive member, Mr Tom Manthata, a senior field worker with the SA Council of Churches, and Mr Geinu Muzi Malindi, a member of the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association.

The Appeal Court upheld an application by defence counsel for the convictions to be quashed and for the sentences to be set aside.

The appeal concerned the controversial dismissal by the trial judge, Mr Justice Kees van Dijkhorst, of one of his assessors, Dr W A Joubert, on the grounds that Dr Joubert had signed the UDF's "million signature campaign" — protesting against the tricameral Parliament — and was thus not in a position to act as an impartial assessor.

'Incapacity'

Counsel for the five men — and six of their co-accused who were given suspended sentences — argued the dismissal of Dr Joubert was unlawful and unfair.

They contended it was unlawful because it was in contravention of the Criminal Procedure Act — which states that an assessor can only be dismissed if he "becomes unable to act" due to physical or mental incapacity — and unfair because neither Dr Joubert nor the accused were granted an opportunity to put forward their arguments.

The Chief Justice, Mr Justice Corbett, with the concurrence of Mr Justice Botha, Mr Justice Smalberger, Mr Justice Kumleben and Mr Justice Nicholas (Acting Judge of Appeal) yesterday upheld one special entry on the trial record of Mr Malindi, who had been convicted by Mr

Drama as Appeal Court quashes convictions

Justice van Dijkhorst in November 1988.

The Chief Justice found the first of the four special entries, which formed grounds for the appeal, was well-founded and the trial judge was not entitled, in the circumstances, to exercise the power granted to him by Section 147 (1) of the Criminal Procedure Act to rule Dr Joubert was unable to act as assessor.

It necessarily followed the trial judge did not have the power to direct that the trial proceed before himself and the remaining assessor, Mr W F Krugel.

Since the five men were freed on a technicality, they can in theory be arrested and recharged, a process which would involve another long treason trial.

Legal observers, however, are fairly confident the state will not press charges.

The judgment at 10am yesterday is a sequel to the preliminary appeal heard on November 27 this year.

In the November hearing, Mr A Chaskalson, counsel for the defence, submitted the grounds for Dr Joubert's recusal existed before the start of the trial.

Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst originally jailed Mr Molefe for 10 years and Mr Lekota for 12.

Jailed with them for periods of five to 10 years were Mr Chikane, Mr Malindi and Mr Manthata.

Six other Vaal activists were given suspended sentences and their movements and political activities severely restricted.

The Appeal Court found that the only suggested source of such

power was Section 147 (1) and it was under that sub-section that the trial court purported to act.

This power was not available to the trial judge and it followed that contrary to the wishes of the appellant, the trial proceeded to conviction and sentence before an improperly-constituted court.

This conclusion rendered consideration of the other special entries strictly unnecessary, Mr Justice Corbett said.

He said, however, that two of the other entries raised procedural issues of some importance.

The judge presiding in a criminal court should not make rules or give directions in regard to the trial that affect the interests of the parties without affording them the opportunity to be heard.

Accordingly, where a judge acting in terms of Section 147 has found that an assessor has become unable to act as such, it is incumbent on him to hear the parties on the question as to the further conduct of the proceedings.

Deprived

More particularly, the parties should be heard as to whether he should direct that the trial proceed before the remaining members of the court or that the trial start anew and that a new assessor be appointed.

The importance to an accused person to be tried by a properly-constituted court had already been noted and such persons should not be deprived of this advantage, the Appeal Court found.

In the present case the trial had been proceeding for a long time when the decision to invoke Section 147 was made and there were certain manifest disadvantages to a new trial.

Mr Justice Corbett said that a new trial may well have been the accused's preference, and it could make no difference in principle whether the trial was 17 months old (as was the case in the Delmas trial), or one day old, as regards the actual decision of the judge that an assessor had become unable to act as such.

He said it was important to point out that the parties were entitled to be heard before the decisions were taken — Sapa

TIDE TURNS FOR 'MR CROSSROADS'

15/16/1985 16/12/85 (11/11)

By GRAHAM LIZAMORE
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE fortunes of the people of Crossroads are inextricably linked with those of Johnson Ngxobongwana.

In the early Seventies, when migrant workers from the Ciskei and Transkei moved to the area called Crossroads about 15 kilometres from Cape Town, it was Johnson Ngxobongwana who became the leader of the small, destitute huddle of squatters.

In time other leaders or headmen moved into the area, bringing their followers. Most, but not all, accepted Ngxobongwana as their spokesman.

Over the next decade thousands of wood and iron stacks mushroomed on the featureless grey sand of the Cape Flats and by 1989 Crossroads had grown into a sprawling shanty city of about 80 000 people.

Ngxobongwana had become the leading player on the Crossroads stage, where people were often at war with themselves as well as the Government.

In 1978 Ngxobongwana locked horns with the authorities when the decision was made that the Western Cape Administration Board (WCAB) should take control of Crossroads from the divisional council.

It was to be the first of many confrontations between him and government bodies.

That same year Ngxobongwana was arrested at an illegal gathering because he was the "unofficial mayor" and had addressed a meeting to raise money to bury a man allegedly shot by police.

In 1980 he claimed R2 000 damages from the police for allegedly assaulting him. The case against the police was dismissed with costs.

That same year Ngxobongwana was in the news again when he called for Crossroads to be administered by blacks.

"I hope that Crossroads is the way to freedom for the black man in South Africa," he said.

HE warned the government to co-operate — or have the people of Crossroads also refuse to co-operate.

Six months later he was arrested and, with five others, charged with public violence, arson, intimidation and incitement to murder.

A witness told the court Ngxobongwana had said at a meeting attended by about 500 squatters that he would consider a position in government similar to that of their President P W Botha.

He was alleged to have told people not to pay rent until rents were reduced and that his dogs

would bite the followers of a rival squatter leader and "suck their blood". His dogs would bite anyone who did not follow him and even the dogs' fleas would bite them.

Over the following years Ngxobongwana increased his hold over people in Crossroads. A government proposal to move squatters to Khayelitsha did not meet with his approval because, he felt, it would undermine his power.

By that time he had become so powerful that his "committees" could even bar police and WCAB officials from the area. He warned the authorities to expect "big trouble" if they tried to move the squatters by force.

At a meeting in 1983, attended by UDF leader Mr Oscar Mpetha, Ngxobongwana again warned the government not to force people to leave Crossroads.

He said the government was dreaming if it thought blacks would leave the Western Cape here," he said.

"We will not leave. We will die and be buried here."

The people did not leave, but many did die. In the same crowd that gave Ngxobongwana and Mpetha a tumultuous welcome as Mrs Alexandra "Mama" Luke, who said, "Crossroads people look on this gathering as a day of peace."

And many residents must have felt Ngxobongwana was worthy of support because in November 1983 at a ceremony attended by representatives of the Transkei and Ciskei governments, he was given a new car by the "community" for "community business".

Residents had "donated" between R2 and R10 each in appreciation of the work he had done for the community over the years.

BUT six years later, Mama Luke is mobilising discontented people against Ngxobongwana for allegedly abusing his position as "mayor". Allegations were that his supporters were collecting money on a regular basis from the squatters for "official" functions, for vehicles, for trips into town, and even for a mayoral chain.

Squatters allege: "You pay or you wake up to find your house burning."

Mama Luke's humble home was destroyed by fire.

There was persistent unrest as Ngxobongwana sought to retain power and by 1984 it appeared that a "marriage of convenience" had been struck by Ngxobongwana and the Western Cape Administration Board.

This "marriage" became particularly useful after the '85 and '86 "wars" between Witdoeke and UDF/ANC-aligned Comrades.

Ngxobongwana's opponents alleged he was being propped up by police, who possibly found it convenient to have a conservative like him in Crossroads to control UDF supporters.

His "unofficial mayor" status was "legitimised" in 1986. But in October the following year he was removed as mayor by the Supreme Court, on a technicality.

In 1988 he and his seven councillors were elected "unopposed" after the countrywide municipal elections — although not a vote was cast in Crossroads.

In September this year he was again reinstated, this time by the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw.

But retaining control over Crossroads wasn't easy, and Ngxobongwana has had to deal with at least seven attempted coups and several assassination attempts.

This year, 14 of the 19 headmen who made up the Crossroads Committee broke away to form a faction that directly challenged him.

Under the leadership of Mr Geoffrey Nongwe, they have levelled charges of corruption and exploitation against him and his remaining committee members.

Police are investigating charges that Ngxobongwana might be linked with the disappearance of about R250 000 contributed by squatters to a housing fund for new homes.

Some new homes have been built and squatters are seething with anger as "outsiders" who have not contributed to the fund buy them.

LAST Sunday night Ngxobongwana's alleged supporters went on a rampage in Crossroads, killing at least five people, maiming scores and leaving hundreds homeless.

But those close to Ngxobongwana, while admitting he is ambitious and dictatorial, say he is simply manifesting a cultural tradition among black people a sort of "renewal into Caesar".

A government official who has worked closely with Ngxobongwana for the past 15 years said he was a very capable leader and a very strong character — a people's man.

He has struggled a lot and been put in jail four times on trumped up charges and harassed by police. He has been branded a terrorist and a communist and now as a government lackey — but he has survived it all," the official said.

According to the official he has played a significant part in improving living conditions in the township.

"These people live the misery and hardship of a poverty stricken community. Crossroads can't wait winter after winter, summer after summer and south easter after south easter for the grand politics of F W de Klerk and company to sort itself out. Johnson Ngxobongwana has played a very important part in improving living conditions here."

But Ngxobongwana's role in the destiny of Crossroads might be coming to an end.

For almost four months he has been in the Ciskei on "private business" at a time of increasing violence among the squatters.

It is also a time when South Africa's new president is "legitimising" the ANC and finding the continuing violence in Crossroads embarrassing.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, on a tour of the battle scarred township this week, said he was appalled at what he had seen and heard and called for an urgent inquiry into alleged police involvement in the fighting.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Mama Luke tour Crossroads after the fighting on Sunday.

DEPUTY Minister Roelf Meyer's complaints about last weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future are quaint, if not mis-directed Mr Meyer observed that the outcome of the anti-apartheid jamboree at Wits was a "takeover by the Mass Democratic Movement" characterised by "stale rhetoric"

As regards the latter point, Mr Meyer and his party know what they are talking about They have fine-tuned the meaningless phrase ("reform", "power-sharing", etc) to a point of perfection

His first objection about MDM domination is more alarming? What would he have preferred? Would it have been more significant if the range of Black Consciousness organisations present had established an ascendancy?

Sitting with my DP colleagues, corralled on a balcony with other assorted observers, our sidelined status merely emphasised the yawning chasm between the various participants

Crusade

The momentous build-up to the conference and the accompanying media-hype was remarkable Organisers proclaimed it would be "the most significant event since Khlptown" where the first Freedom Charter was published in 1955 It promised to unite anti-apartheid forces with new purpose and innovative strategies

Certainly there was fire-and-brimstone rhetoric, accompanying a dizzy cascade of resolutions which promised "mass action", "a decade of defiance" and "an intensified struggle" Noteworthy, however, was the subsequent retraction of the "call on our people to reject capitalism and the free market"

However, the conference flattered only to deceive The unity was physical rather than coherent It was no small achievement for the Charterist/MDM and Workerist/Black Consciousness groups to arrange the meeting jointly But any alliance around a set of coherent principles or ideology seemed entirely missing

ANC wise man Walter Sisulu and Azapo executive member Jerry Mosala were from different or-

An idea
whose
time is
now up

by Tony Leon

MP for Houghton, who attended the Conference for a Democratic Future

bits There were few points of coincidence between them, save for ritualistic system-bashing and outpourings of rage against the apartheid state

Sisulu's address touched all the bases of the real world While he might not agree with the changes in Eastern Europe, the initiatives of F W de Klerk and the role of international pressure he at least acknowledged their existence

Mosala's oration was a flight of political fancy "Capitalism", "Western imperialism" and "negotiations" were simply dismissed as an evil trade which hindered, rather than advanced, the struggle Aside from rubbishing the tenets of liberal democracy, his approving references to the socialist pantheon from Karl Marx right through to Malcolm X merely underscored the Leninist notion that "all oppressive phenomena are linked the whole system is rotten, needing to be replaced"

The delegates clearly gave their hearts, if not their minds, to Sisulu rather than Mosala However, the mention of the Soviet Union, and the presence of a Soviet academic at the conference, drew throaty roars of approval from the assembly There is nothing new in this response

The "Welcome Home" rally for the Rivonia prisoners saw Soccer City in Soweto festooned with a

hammer and sickle banner which fluttered, like freedom's own flag, as the emblem of liberation in South Africa Subsequently, certain ANC leaders have spoken approvingly of "scientific socialism" or have confirmed their allegiance to the SA Communist Party

So while Europe is engulfed by a human tidal wave which has torn down the Iron Curtain in weeks, if not months, our national liberation appears to be marching to the beat of a different drummer

But circumstances here are different for nearly 40 years the Government has branded most of its opponents as "communists" It has enacted legislation aimed at the "Suppression of Communism", even though most of those caught in the net of that Act, and subsequent legislation, have been nothing of the kind.

Failure

The deliberate blurring of the lines between liberal, even radical, dissenters who remain committed to freedom, and hard-line Marxists who have no such commitment, has been handy for white elections But its (no doubt unintended) consequence has been different: nothing less than the assumption, held by many, that if communism is such an effective — indeed, monstrous — enemy of apartheid, it must have great merit.

The Government, though, can be creative As it inches towards the legalisation of the ANC it should simultaneously decriminalise, and demystify, communism Communism, and its socialist variants, needs to be brought into the mainstream political debate. The contradiction evident from its collapse and failure must be answered by its adherents

Only then can meaningful realignment occur, and the vision of freedom under the rule of law be contrasted with the "virtue" of the centralised state and its dead hand of control over every nook and cranny of daily life

Perhaps we are closer to normalising and realigning our politics than we think Twenty-five years ago this was unthinkable — but that was the time when Nikita Krushchev (remember him?) said that communism would overtake the capitalist world — by 1990!

Joy and cheers as UDF men go free

Star 16/12/89

Lawyers welcome
release as victory
for human rights

STAFF REPORTERS and SABA

SOUTH Africa's newly released political prisoners stepped into a joyous, nearly hysterical welcome at Jan Smuts Airport last night.

Chanting crowds greeted the men with cries of "Long live UDF, long live." There were special chants for each of the five men who were freed after the Appeal Court quashed their convictions and set aside their sentences earlier yesterday.

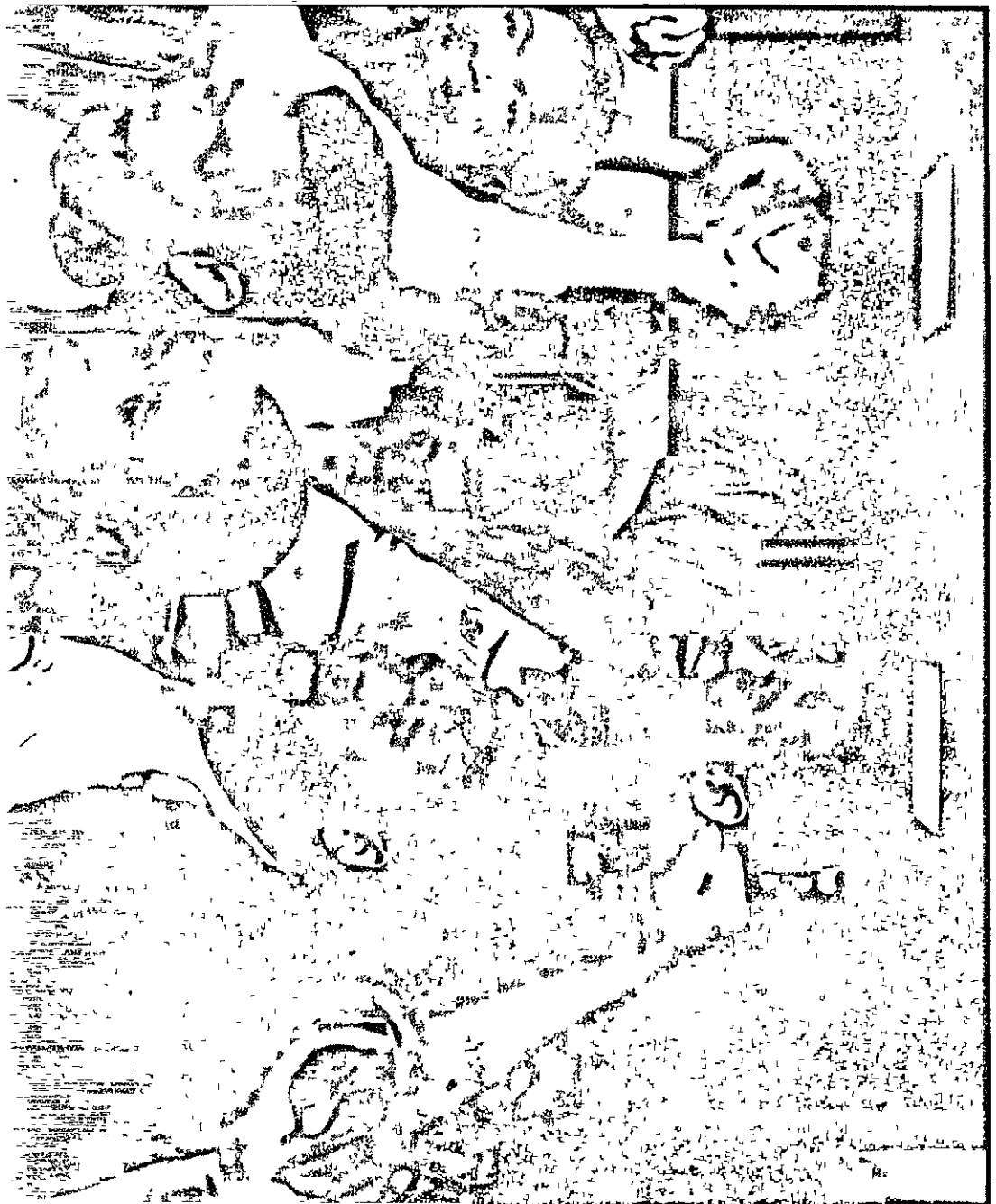
"There is no man like terror," the crowd shouted in praise of Mr. "Terror" Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF.

Similar slogans of praise were attached to the names of the remaining four men. Mr Popo Molele, general secretary of the UDF, Mr Moss Chikane, a former executive member of the UDF, Mr Tom Mankhata, a senior field worker with the SA Council of churches, and Mr Gennunza Mahindu, of the Vaal Civic Association.

Patience snapped

Police initially adopted a low profile and were patient. Afterwards, however, their patience snapped when the swirling, singing crowds failed to leave the airport quickly enough.

Dogs were used to drive the crowds out and to disperse them. A woman was bitten on the upper thigh. Cameras were confiscated and at least one journalist arrested for allegedly photographing a "policeman on duty".



Delmas

THE BUREAU

we had "

A spokesman for the Mass Democratic Movement, Mr Murphy Morobe, said "The United Democratic Front has always maintained this trial should never have taken place

"It confirms our view that the State was acting in a vindictive manner and trying to find an excuse to stop the events of 1984

"The ball is now squarely in the State's court and the UDF has always acted responsibly

"Our movement can only benefit greatly from this decision"

Mr Morobe, who has filled the position of acting-publicity secretary of the UDF since Mr Patrick Lekoto was arrested, said he was looking forward to the men rejoining him in the struggle against apartheid

The director of the Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Curran said the Appeal Court's decision was an exciting victory for human rights in South Africa

"This judgment will undoubtedly begin to restore the credibility of the South African judiciary and it destroys the perception which many have that judges are agents of the system

"On the other hand, we call upon the State to inform the citizens of this country how much of our hard-earned money was spent on this abortive prosecution and many years of blundering incompetence"

Professor John Dugard of the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies said he was delighted but not surprised at the news

"It seemed obvious to me that the judge in this case had acted irregularly in dismissing assessor Dr WA Joubert

"Many years have been wasted as a result of this and the taxpayer has to bear the burden for a long trial"

He said the blame did not lie squarely at the door of the judge, who made the error, but also on the prosecution for not helping the judge to correct the error

Professor Dugard said the Delmas ac-

cused would be able to play an important role in political events of the future

"Now that they are out, the last obstacle has been removed in the way of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela"

A fellow Delmas treason accused, Mr Thabiso Ratsomo, who was acquitted in November last year, said he was speechless and delighted at the decision

A spokesman for the Federation of Transvaal Women (Feddraw), said it was the end of a "long nightmare", and the organisation welcomed the men back

The setting aside of the conviction of the Delmas treason accused has been one of the "best Christmas presents imaginable", the Canadian Ambassador, Mr Ronald MacLean, said in a statement yesterday

The Appellate Division's decision to uphold the appeal in the Delmas treason accused was an "excellent victory" for human rights in South Africa, Lawyers for Human Rights said yesterday

LHR encouraged the appeal bench to continue to make their contribution towards creating an atmosphere for political negotiation in South Africa

LHR also appealed to the State to inform South Africans how much of the taxpayers' money was spent "on this abortive prosecution which took years of blundering incompetence to achieve nothing but red faces"

Welcomed

The South African Catholic Bishops Conference has welcomed the release of the men

The SACBC reiterated its call to the authorities to stop all political detentions and release those detained

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Reverend Frank Chikane, welcomed the release of the five in particular, SACC staff member, Mr Manthata

"We have always believed in their innocence and events have proved that their conviction and sentencing were examples of the grave miscarriage of justice which the apartheid courts of South Africa hand down," he said

16/12/89
Star
11A

Star 16/12/89

UDF men go free



FREE Mr Jerry Manthata, one of the accused in the Delmas treason trial who was released from Robben Island, was carried shoulder high by jubilant supporters at D F Malan Airport yesterday

Lawyers welcome release as victory for human rights

STAFF REPORTERS and SAPA

SOUTH Africa's newly released political prisoners stepped into a joyous, nearly hysterical welcome at Jan Smuts Airport last night

Chanting crowds greeted the men with cries of 'Long live UDF long live'. There were special chants for each of the five men who were freed after the Appeal Court quashed their convictions and set aside their sentences earlier yesterday.

"There is no man like Terror" the crowd shouted in praise of Mr 'Terror' Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF.

Similar slogans of praise were attached to the names of the remaining four men: Mr Popo Molefe, general secretary of the UDF, Mr Moss Chikane, a former executive member of the UDF, Mr Tom Manthata, a senior field worker with the SA Council of churches, and Mr Geinumuzi Mahindi, of the Vaal Civic Association.

Patience snapped

Police initially adopted a low profile and were patient.

Afterwards, however, their patience snapped when the swirling, singing crowds failed to leave the airport quickly enough.

Dogs were used to drive the crowds out and to disperse them. A woman was bitten on the upper thigh. Cameras were confiscated and at least one journalist arrested for allegedly photographing a policeman on duty.

A little over a year ago the men had been sent to jail on Robben Island for between five and 12 years, having first appeared in court in mid-1985.

The men returning to freedom did not make any political statements.

Mr Lekota told Saturday Star that would come later. He was, as always, a disciplined member of the UDF.

All five men were sweating profusely, partly because of the tension — which was electric — and partly because they were embraced again and again.

Mr Molefe's glasses kept falling from his nose as he was jostled by one exuberant admirer after another. His back was covered in sweat.

Carried shoulder-high

Mr Molefe exchanged jokes with veteran journalist Henne Serfontein about how he had got this working for the boers' in prison. Mr Serfontein is Afrikaans speaking.

The men were carried shoulder-high out of the airport en route to a party where they would celebrate in a more relaxed fashion.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, a leading member of the Mass Democratic Movement, had a narrow escape last night.

He tried to stop a car to clear a path for the freed men.

The irate motorist drove on and Mr Ramaphosa had to side step nimbly to save his life. He was remarkably cool for a man who was close to serious injury as a consequence of the motorist's impatience.

Community leaders and legal experts were euphoric yesterday at the news of the decision to uphold the appeal of the five Delmas treason accused.

Recently released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu said it was very exciting.

"I have been so depressed by the whole case of Delmas, but at last justice has been done."

"The reason they were kept so long was merely to punish them without sentencing them."

"We welcome these chaps home."

Asked what the effect the release would have on community organisations, Mr Sisulu said: "The spirit is already very high, this will stimulate things further."

He added the Delmas accused were held in high regard by many people.

"These people will have the same welcome."

Denard stays in SA while his future is decided

COLONEL Bob Denard and possibly some of his mercenary associates are to remain in South Africa until their future has been decided pending the outcome of further discussions between the French government and South Africa.

This was announced by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport last night.

"I want to stress that neither I nor my government wanted them here. We were reluctant because South Africa would be seen to be supporting mercenaries," said Mr Botha, shortly after arriving from yesterday's talks he and President F W de Klerk held with Mozambique's President, Joaquim Chissano.

Colonel Denard and 21 other French mercenaries flew into Jan Smuts at exactly 17h30 yesterday. They were transported on two planes supplied by South Africa. Most were wearing greens and had to be disarmed by customs officials, according to a Foreign Affairs spokesman.

Colonel Denard formed a presidential guard on the Comoros Island and installed President Ahmed Abdallah after a coup

PAT DEVEREAUX

more than 10 years ago. The President was recently assassinated. After a week of tension about the mercenaries' position authority on the island was officially handed over to French officials in a brief ceremony yesterday morning.

"Our main concern was to get them off the island and free the Comoros of the mercenaries. It was only when the Comoran authorities pleaded with us to take him that we agreed," said Mr Botha.

He added that most of the mercenaries — all French citizens — would be kept in transit and fly back to Europe and then on to Paris within the next 48 hours. He refused to speculate on how many would remain with Colonel Denard.

Mr Botha skirted queries on where Colonel Denard was being held in custody and would only say "He is in South Africa."

Pressed on whether Colonel Denard would remain in South Africa, Mr Botha said "I have not met him. He is not my citizen. We only agreed to help the people of the Comoros. How can it be an embar-

assment for us if we were requested to do this in consultation with the French and Comoran authorities?"

He said that any person given temporary sojourn in South Africa would have to comply with South African law. He later added that the Government would not allow the media access to Colonel Denard or his men.

On rumours that Colonel Denard has property in Durban, Mr Botha said he could not say whether this was true but anyone could own property in South Africa.

Earlier Foreign Affairs official Mr Dries Venter said the mercenaries were not accompanied by family members and Mr Denard's wife and two children had already left the island and been flown to Paris.

Asked whether South Africa would continue supplying foreign aid to the Comoros and whether the South African Government had paid the late President Abdullah's personal guards, Mr Botha said "The president was a personal friend of mine and requested my assistance to get the mercenaries off the island. It is a great tragedy that I could only comply after his death."

2 boys die in ice — while 20 bystanders watch

TWO boys — aged seven and eight — died in icy water yesterday as 20 bystanders who watched passively as three boys struggled for their lives after falling through ice covering a shallow lake at the show-Olympic Park.

Two of the boys — aged seven and eight — died in icy water.

The third, aged five, died later in a Munich hospital's intensive care ward. He never regained consciousness.

Doctors say all could have survived if they had been dragged from the lake sooner.

At least 20 people were at the lakeside when the boys fell through the ice, but not one spectator set in the water. One man raced for help, but it was

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

more than 20 minutes before firemen and an ambulance arrived.

By then the three boys were trapped under the ice. Two uniformed members of the security service which guards the Olympic Park and its installations were among the bystanders who shrank from wading into the shallow water to help.

The lake is 1.7 m deep in the middle, but the boys broke through the ice at a point where the water is only 1.3 m deep.

Urged on by Munich's mayor, Mr Georg Kronawitter — who placed a large advertisement in news

papers expressing his horror at the incident — police have launched a determined search for the people who failed to help.

By yesterday, 12 had been traced. They face charges of 'failing to offer assistance to those in peril' which is punishable by a sentence of up to 12 months jail.

Two leading psychiatrists came forward with explanations for the passivity of the bystanders.

In a crowd, each individual waits for the other to take action. In the end, no one acts, said one.

The other blamed it on television. "Dramatic scenes like this are seen every evening on TV. When it occurs in real life, no one can accept that this time it's actually happening."

TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O

Christmas cheers for Joseph and Mandela

PAT DEVEREAUX

VETERAN human rights activist Mrs Helen Joseph has been given a Christmas present by the South African Government

She has finally — after 26 years and at least eight refusals — been granted permission to visit jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela

Mrs Joseph will be flying to Cape Town to visit her long-standing friend at Victor Verster Prison on Thursday December 21

Close friends of the 84-year-old activist — who is a listed person and cannot be quoted — said this week she was very excited and regarded the pre-Christmas visit as a major personal victory

16/12/89
Star **Wheelchair**

"She will be allowed to spend a couple of hours with him," said a friend

The wheelchair-bound Mrs Joseph has for more than 30 years been active in resistance politics since her early involvement with the Congress of Democrats in 1950s

She suffered a stroke about 18 months ago which has left her slightly disabled. However, she is still active and able to address meetings

Mrs Joseph was a founder member of the Federation of South African Women

In 1956 she was one of the women who led 20 000 women in their march to Pretoria's Union Buildings in an anti-pass demonstration

Mrs Joseph has received international praise for her stoicism and courage — in her own life and for her outspoken criticism of the South African authorities — despite years of banings and house arrest.



COMRADE IN ARMS. Mrs Helen Joseph, active in resistance politics for 30 years, is supported by Mrs Winnie Mandela during her 83rd birthday party in 1988

Delmas rulings boosts UDF

PATRICK LAURENCE

SOUTH Africa's longest treason trial came to a dramatic climax yesterday when five men shed their prison uniforms on Robben Island and boarded a ferry for Cape Town as free men.

Only hours before, the Chief Justice, Mr Justice M M Corbett, delivered a 50-page judgment upholding their appeal and setting aside their convictions. Four Appeal Court judges concurred.

The judgment freed the South African press to disclose details of heated exchanges between the original trial judge, Mr Justice K van Dykhorst, and one of his assessors. Their fierce quarrel included mutual accusations of political bias and involved a wager for a bottle of whisky.

The judgment — which came just over a year after the men were sent to jail — was a major boost for the United Democratic Front (UDF), one of South Africa's premier extra-parliamentary opposition forces. It negated the controversial finding of Mr Justice van Dykhorst that the UDF was established as a front by the outlawed African National Congress to make South Africa ungovernable. As important, however, it released two of the UDF's ablest and highest-ranking men — Mr Patrick Lekota, its publicity

secretary, and Mr Popo Molefe, its general secretary.

The three men freed with them yesterday were Mr Moss Cikhane, a former executive member of the UDF in the Transvaal, Mr Tom Manthata, a senior field worker with the South African Council of Churches, and Mr Gelnammuzi Malindi, a member of a UDF affiliate organisation, the Vaal Civic Association.

As they were freed on a procedural issue, the men — all strong foes of apartheid — could theoretically be re-arrested and re-charged.

Legal observers were, however, confident that the State would shy away from that option, given the length of the original trial — three years — and the new climate of reconciliation encouraged by President de Klerk.

Assessor dismissed

Their appeal focused on the dismissal by the trial judge of Dr W A Joubert, one of the two assessors appointed to preside over the trial. He was dismissed after the trial had been in process for 15 months. The appointment of assessors is obligatory under South Africa law where the death sentence may be imposed. Treason is a capital offence.

Counsel for the five men — and for six of their co-accused who were found guilty by Mr Justice van Dykhorst of terrorism but given suspended sentences — contended that the dismissal of Dr Joubert was in contravention of the law and unfair.

Fight between trial judge and assessor open to scrutiny

The trial judge dismissed Dr Joubert after he learnt that Dr Joubert has signed the UDF's million-signature campaign against South Africa's tri-racial parliament (which excludes black people) and associated laws inspired by apartheid.

He did so without giving either Dr Joubert or the accused an opportunity to state their case.

In his judgment yesterday, Mr Justice Corbett found that the trial judge did not have the power to dismiss Dr Joubert or to order the trial to proceed without him.

The relevant law, the Criminal Procedure Act, states that a judge may order a trial to proceed without an assessor if the assessor either dies or "becomes unable to act as assessor at any time during the trial".

The Chief Justice found that "unable to act" meant physically unable to act, either through illness or through, say, "indefinite detention here or in a foreign country".

It did not include, he ruled, Dr Joubert's alleged lack of impartiality.

If the trial judge was convinced that Dr Joubert's signing of the UDF million-signature campaign compromised his impartiality as an assessor in a political trial, he ought to have sought his recusal, the Chief Justice found.

Neither Dr Joubert nor the accused considered his signing of the UDF petition grounds for recusal. At one stage during the trial, counsel for defence alleged that if Dr Joubert was dismissed for alleged bias, then the second assessor, Dr W P Krugel, a member of the Afrikaner Broederbond, should also recuse himself.

The Chief Justice found that the trial judge had erred in not allowing either Dr Joubert or the accused to put their case on his decision to dismiss Dr Joubert.

Chance to be heard

In general... the judge presiding in a criminal court should not make rulings or give directions "in regard to the trial affecting the interests of the parties without affording the parties an opportunity to be heard."

The rule of fairness expressed in the maxim *audi alteram partem*... is virtually axiomatic in the proceedings of a court of law.

Mr Justice Corbett referred to the heated exchanges between Mr Justice van Dykhorst and Dr Joubert, ascribing them to the "tensions which had built up in the course of a long, wearying and politically charged trial".

He added, "I have no doubt that in the sober light of retrospect the protagonists in that confrontation sincerely regret some of the things that were said."

During the course of the trial Dr Joubert made three sworn statements. The trial judge, however, ruled that one paragraph of the second statement and the whole of the third statement were inadmissible. They can now be published however as they form part of the record of appeal.

In the third report Dr Joubert responded to a statement by the judge that he, Dr Joubert, appeared to "doze off". He labelled the remark "spiteful and cruel" explaining that he was blind in one eye and, consequently, had to rest his eyes by leaning back.

Dr Joubert alleged that the judge and Dr Krugel were "sympathetic in their personal approach to key aspects of government policy and adverse to any criticism of it."

One sign of their purported bias was an assertion by the judge during the trial that the "defence could not and would not take the risk of placing the accused on oath to give evidence on their own behalf".

The judge, Dr Joubert said, was so sure of his contention that he "informally bet me a bottle of whisky that none of the accused would give evidence". When the box Dr Joubert was given a bottle of whisky through the kind offices of the judge's registrar.

11A

Star 16/12/89

Framework for progress

UN in unique pact on guidelines for SA

THE impact of last weekend's Conference for a Democratic Future — attended by 4 600 delegates claiming to represent up to 15 million Africans — has already had major international repercussions.

A Declaration Against Apartheid — based on the Organisation of African Unity's Harare Declaration setting out minimum guidelines for the process of negotiations in South Africa and backed unanimously by the CDF — was adopted on Thursday by the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

This was the first time that all UN members, including South Africa's trading partners, have

agreed on a framework of guidelines and principles they hoped South Africa would follow to achieve a non-racial, democratic future.

A major achievement of the CDF, according to conference participants, was the outright support for the MDM's position on negotiations. The main point in the OAU Harare document, drawn up earlier this year by the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions, is that the present Government must establish the necessary conditions for negotiations to make for negotiations to be successful.

Some of the pre-conditions for negotiations outlined in the document include the release of political prisoners, universal franchise and unbanning of political organisations such as the ANC.

The CDF also called for "maximum unity of anti-apartheid forces and

the international community to intensify its efforts to isolate the De Klerk government".

Opening this week's UN debate on the Declaration Against Apartheid document, UN General Secretary Dr Perez de Cuellar said recent developments in South Africa provided grounds for guarded optimism that peaceful and fundamental change was now possible.

But Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha yesterday lashed out at the UN's adoption of the Declaration against Apartheid document, claiming it was "flawed and unacceptable to the South African

Government".

Describing it as "bizarre, coming at a time when the SA Government was moving rapidly and resolutely towards creating a climate for negotiations", Mr Botha said in a statement, the declaration adopted by a special session of the UN's General Assembly sought to "prescribe to South Africa what form its constitution should take."

He said it was unacceptable to the SA Government because it sought to endorse negotiating positions of one probable party alone, of many whose participation in the elaboration of a new constitution for South Africa would be essential.

Far-reaching steps were being taken, Mr Botha said, to create a climate for negotiations from which would emerge a democratic political system in which none would have the right to govern others without their consent.

The Government was irrevocably committed to a dispensation in which individual and minority rights were protected and all were equal before the law.

Meanwhile anti-apartheid leaders and groups have backed the UN's adoption of the Decla-

tion Against Apartheid.

Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission is expected to return to South Africa today after presenting extensive evidence on repression in this country — including that of hit-squad activity — to the UN Assembly.

Eastern Cape MDM official, Mr Mkhussell Jack, a key mover at the conference, said yesterday: "One of the achievements of the conference was that the people at grassroots level have participated in shaping the document on negotiations passed by the UN this week. Combined with a call to work towards a constituent assembly where a new South African constitution can be drawn up — we now have a strong mandate to negotiate in a way that will clearly be laid at F W de Klerk's door. He now has to put substance to his rhetoric."

"On another level conference delegates have vowed to end apartheid. We in the Eastern Cape are much stronger now as we have overcome the negative effects of the state of emergency," said Mr Jack.

Five Freedoms Forum Publicity Secretary, Ms Gael Neke said "The UN document provides a reasonable framework for progress towards negotiations in South Africa.

"The time has come for the Government to recognise that the entire international community is joining with the majority inside South Africa in the same calls to end apartheid, to remove the obstacles to negotiation and to bring about fundamental change.

"The challenge is clearly being laid at F W de Klerk's door. He now has to put substance to his rhetoric."

Vigil at Mandela's prison

A CHURCH service and vigil will be held outside the gates of Victor Verster prison in Paarl tomorrow for Mr Nelson Mandela who has spent 25 years in prison

And tomorrow at 8 pm all "freedom-loving people" are asked to blow their hooters, to ring church bells or to light a candle from 8 to 8 30 pm in commemoration of those who, because of their opposition to apartheid, will not be with their families at Christmas

SUE VALENTINE



The MDM has also drawn attention to the plight of Mrs Evelina de Bruin (53), one of the Uppington 13 and the only woman prisoner on death row. The court has refused to give Mrs de Bruin bail while she waits for her appeal. She suffers from arthritis and heart disease, is kept alone and cannot read or write to pass the time.

Freed five: 'We are not bitter'

CAF
Ting
16/12/89
114
①
②

THE five Delmas trialists released from Robben Island are not bitter about the four years they spent in prison.

Senior United Democratic Front leaders Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Mr Popo Molofe and Mr Moss Chikane, and SA Council of Churches official Mr Tom Manthata, and member of the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association Mr Geina Malindi were released after the Appeal Court yesterday overturned their convictions for treason and ordered their release.

Speaking in the city before leaving for Johannesburg, a jubilant Mr Lekota said: "We understand that in the struggle some sacrifices had to be made. If some came our way we accepted them as unavoidable."

However, he and his four fellow trialists remained committed to the UDF's ideals.

For the future, Mr Lekota said the trialists had "nothing special on the agenda" and they would take their cue from the UDF.

He demanded the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela, saying: "Without the key man this country's questions cannot be solved."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu was among a crowd of about 100 who welcomed the five trialists, sentenced in November 1988 after what is believed to be the longest trial in South African history, lasting 37 months.

A strong press contingent and about 70 toy-toy supporters were at first left disappointed in Cape Town harbour when the trialists failed to arrive on the expected Robben Island ferry around 4pm.

But within a short time news spread that the trialists had been dropped off elsewhere in the harbour. The crowd found them at the Western Province

Council of Churches' Cowley House and the five were given a rousing welcome.

In an emotion-charged scene, the trialists embraced friends and relatives before being whisked off to D F Malan airport to fly to Johannesburg. The group gathered in the departures hall at the airport and were accompanied by a singing and dancing crowd to the boarding gate.

The five arrived at Jan Smuts airport to an enthusiastic welcome from about 450 chanting and dancing supporters, who included SACC secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, UDF official Mr Yusuf Surtee and Dr Allan Boesak, who had just arrived from a New York flight.

While the group was leaving the departure hall minor scuffles broke out and a lawyer, Ms Caroline Nichols, was detained and film confiscated from international freelance photographer Mr Herbert Mabusa and Sunday Times photographer Mr Joe Sepple.

Police with dogs patrolled the driveway area outside Jan Smuts airport and a number of the welcoming committee members were bitten.

In reaction to the release yesterday, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) welcomed the Appellate Division's decision, but slammed the trial as "an abortive prosecution which took years of blundering incompetence to achieve nothing but red faces" — Staff Reporter and Sapa-Reuter-AP

P.T.O



FREE . . . The five Delmas treason trialists, from left, former UDF executive member Mr Moses "Moss" Chikane, UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF general-secretary Mr Popo Molefe, SA Council of Churches senior field-worker Mr Tom Mantlata and Mr Gcinu Muzi Majindi, a member of the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association. The five were photographed during an impromptu press conference at Cowley House soon after their release.

Picture: GLENN SHERBATT

Press 17/12/89 11A

Buthelezi gives details of govt 'Freedom Charter'

By CONNIE MOLUSI

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday disclosed details of a document in which the government spells out its own "Freedom Charter" for a future free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The document, it is reported, in the form of a letter from Foreign Minister Pik Botha to UN chief Perez de Cuellar, sets out the government's formula for "a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system".

Addressing a mass rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto, Buthelezi called on State President FW de Klerk to convert the document into a statement of intent as a basis for discussion and amendment by black and white leaders.

It could serve as the basis of a start to black-white negotiations. The existence of the document underscored

the need for black unity, Buthelezi said, and "screamed out" for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela so that he could comment on it.

Negotiations about a future South Africa would not get under way until Mandela was released.

After quoting from the letter Buthelezi made it clear he still saw the doc-

ument as a "unilateral declaration by a white government trying to maintain the supremacy of a white political party". It also had certain flaws, he said.

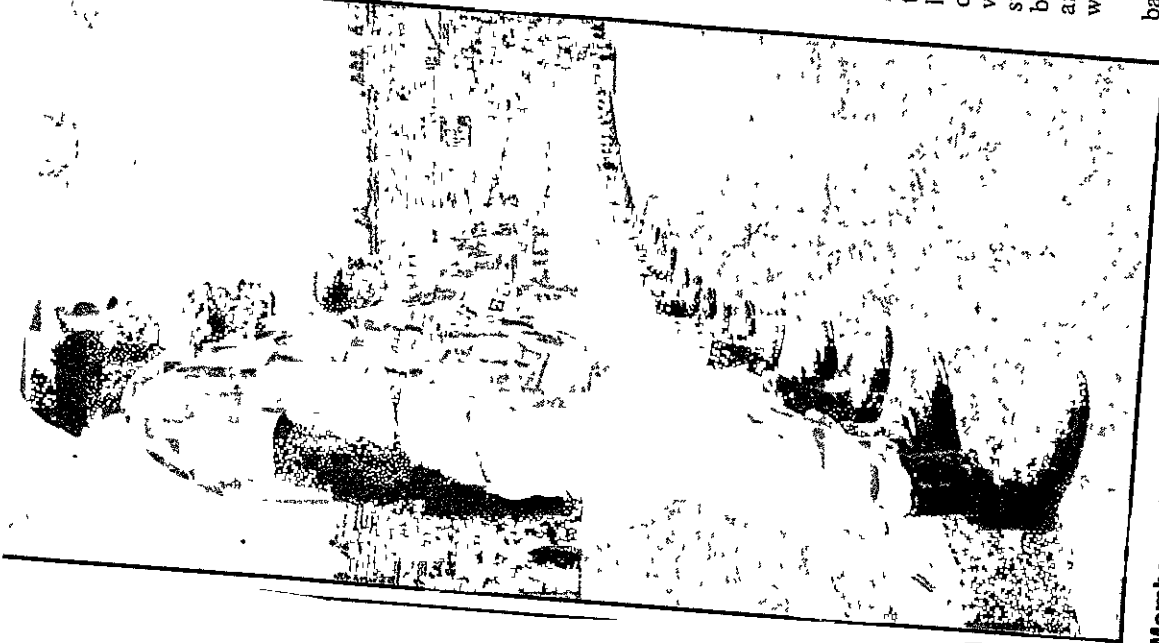
The Group Areas Act was not mentioned, nor was the question of universal adult franchise and there was a suspicious mention of freedom of "dissociation".

Moroccan prefers older human flesh

A MOROCCAN man who has revealed he eats human flesh claims teenagers and children are tasteless and he prefers his "meals" to be older than 25... "the older the better".

Hitler Sharin, 38, said he acquired his taste for human flesh during military service in Morocco when, he claimed, he used to shoot people before eating them. Sharin said he left Morocco in 1975, was arrested by SA Police in Cape Town on arms charges and served a 15-year jail term.

Early this year, Sharin went to Swaziland where he was promptly arrested for having ammunition and was jailed for six months. A police spokesman confirmed receiving complaints about the man's claims. Police have ordered an investigation. - Sapa



Members of Inkatha's Youth Brigade stand at attention during yesterday's rally.

Huge welcome for PAC leader

By SANDILE MEMELA

A CROWD of over 3 000 – most of them youths from the MDM and PAM – packed Atteridgeville's Super Stadium for the welcome home rally for PAC stalwart Japhta Masemola yesterday

The rally went ahead despite a strong presence of troops and riot police

The Rev Stanley Mogoba, Presiding Bishop of

11A
CROSS
17/12/89
the Methodist Church of South Africa, made a call for unity in his opening prayer

"We cannot achieve anything without unity
"This unity should be of no other price except principled unity"

The programme had earlier been disrupted for about 15 minutes when the crowds broke into frenzied excitement as Masemola arrived

Masemola then called for unity among all political organisations where their ideologies were not in conflict

He also spoke of his meeting with Nelson Mandela, which he said was no more than a social visit, and included Mandela showing him correspondence between himself and the government

Masemola dismissed reports that his visit to

Mandela was aimed at forging links between the ANC and PAC

On the question of negotiations, Masemola said the result of negotiations could only be concessions
"Negotiations will fail

"We cannot negotiate, when the results have been pre-determined, its only when the government is on its knees that it will negotiate and that stage has not yet been reached"

Rumours of split not true

THE MDM has dismissed reports about splits in its ranks following Nelson Mandela's meeting with President FW de Klerk on Wednesday.

This was said in a statement released after UDF and Cosatu leaders met Walter Sisulu and other released ANC veterans on Friday to discuss the issue.

"Nelson Mandela is a loyal member of the ANC and is answerable to it. He is a tried and tested leader of the ANC and the MDM. Suggestions that Mandela is acting on his own are untrue."

"We in the MDM reaffirm our unwavering confidence in his political leadership," said the MDM statement.

"Mandela made it clear his meeting with De Klerk does not constitute negotiation with the government."

"He insists negotiations can only take place between the government and the ANC in Lusaka."

side

Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN

to the Mass
Spearheading t
AWB member

Delmas trial trio visited Mandela

By CAROL KERRIGAN

THREE of the Delmas Five who were released from prison on Friday were recently whisked away from their cells on Robben Island for a surprise meeting with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela

The men, whose conviction on terrorism charges was overturned by the Appeal Court this week, were the latest in a long line of anti-apartheid leaders who have had meetings with Mr Mandela at his Victor Verster Prison home in Paarl.

They revealed yesterday that Mr Mandela had meetings with prisoners for between three and five hours at Victor Verster

The five, who were freed by the Appeal Court on Fri-

day after spending four-and-a-half years in jail on treason charges, received a rousing welcome at Jan Smuts Airport on Friday night

Mr "Terror" Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Popo Molefe, the movement's general secretary, Mr Moss Chikane, a former executive member, Mr Tom Manthata of the SA Council of Churches and Mr Gcina Malindi, of the Vaal Civic Association, were held aloft by a chanting, jubilant 300-strong crowd after their release

After a night of non-stop celebrations to mark their Christmas homecoming, Mr Lekota said in an interview that he, Mr Molefe and Mr

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

his
en
of
ar-
sh-
an
e
ns
ys
re-
ng
nd
ve

he
en
er
le-
ng

his
'n-
le
he

ts,
er
nd

Times

WAS MINE BLAST VICTIM A DEFECTOR FROM ANC?

S/7/2001 7/12/57

POLICE have refused to comment on information that a top ANC defector was the fourth victim of a limpet mine blast which also killed three policemen near Port Elizabeth this week

Pretoria liaison officer Colonel Steve van Rooyen said the name of the man, described as "an informant", would remain a secret "to prevent his family from being targeted" (S)

Claims that the man — who died when the police vehicle was destroyed on a lonely road 25km from the city on Thursday night — re-

By BILL KRIGE

ceived military training in Cuba and defected in 1982, could not be confirmed

The dead policemen are Warrant-Officer G Mgoduka, Detective-Sergeant A T Faku and Constable D Mapipa

The mine has been identified as of Soviet manufacture (HA)

It was the second killer blast within days, following the death of two Lenasia men at Johannesburg's railway station on Monday night

One of them was Mr Yusuf Akhalwaya, 23, a fourth-year Witwatersrand University physical education student and a relative by marriage of ANC leader Mr Ahmed Kathrada, freed recently after 26 years in jail

He and the other dead man, Mr Prakash Napier, 23, have reportedly been acting as bodyguards to Mr Kathrada

Their death led to the discovery by police of a huge arms cache at a house in Lenasia. It included 17 limpet mines, two AK-47 assault rifles, detonators, pistols and ammunition

DELMAS

NOT BIT

Cross 17/12/89

THE five Delmas trialists released on Friday after spending four years in jail refuse to be bitter

The five are UDF publicity secretary Terror Lekota, the organisation's general secretary, Popo Molefe, Vaal Civic Association official Gina Malindi, senior SACC fieldworker Tom Manthata and former UDF executive Moss Chikane

Speaking in Johannesburg yesterday, Molefe said "We are not bitter about the system. When you get into the struggle there are penalties one must expect. We have paid that price."

"What is disgusting is that it was clear from the outset that the State had no case against us. It was only the prejudices of those who are entrusted with upholding justice."

"It cost us a lot, including separation from our families and their harassment."

Lekota said "Somehow we knew we would not have to serve the full sentences. We trusted our people to put pressure on the government."

Both men said all they needed now was a "good rest" and to be with their families.

"Our family life has been disrupted. We will go back to politics as soon as we have sorted out our problems," they said.

The once burly Lekota, a former professional soccer player, has lost weight. "But I hope to pick up soon," he said with a laugh.

Molefe is now wearing spectacles. "My eyesight was gradually failing. I put this down to tension during our marathon trial," he said.

The Appeal Court decision to uphold an appeal by the Delmas trialists has thrown the spotlight on the trial judge.

Judge K van Dijkhorst refused to recuse himself and restart the trial of the 19 Delmas accused after he dismissed assessor Dr Willem Joubert.

The dismissal followed the court's discovery that Joubert earlier signed the UDF's Million Signature Campaign against the tricameral parliament.

This week the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein ruled Van Dijkhorst erred by refusing to restart the trial.

The judgment said a judge presiding in a criminal court should not give directions in regard to the trial that affect the interests of the parties without giving them the opportunity to be heard.

He was also criticised for making a ruling on Joubert without giving him or the accused an opportunity to state their case.

The accused were sentenced to terms ranging from five to 12 years for treason.

After Joubert's dismissal, the 19 accused submitted an affidavit in which they said Van Dijkhorst and the other assessor, WF Krugel, were hostile towards them.

More pictures Page 4

Judge slated for his rulings in long trial

11A
320



A happy moment as released Delmas trialists Terror Lekota (left) and Popo Molefe

Talks about talks?

BY DRIES van HEERDEN
and DAVID JACKSON

TALKS about talks between the Government and the ANC have — to all intents and purposes — already started, political observers say.

They see them as a preliminary to serious negotiations about a new political dispensation

This week's unexpected meeting between President F W de Klerk and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela is the clearest indication yet that the Government regards ANC participation in future negotiations as vitally important

The meeting follows close on the heels of a series of talks between Mr Mandela and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee which preceded the ANC

S/Tuesday 17/12/89
Mandela meeting

With FW could spark a serious indaba with ANC

leader and former President P W Botha

Both Mr Coetsee and Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen attended Wednesday's talks in Tynhuys

Senior ANC sources in Lusaka this week denied speculation that a rift was opening up between the exiled leadership and Mr Mandela. They admitted the timing of the meeting took them by surprise, but said they knew such an encounter was on the cards

Struggle

According to the ANC, there can be no question of Mr Mandela "negotiating on his own" with the Government

He explained ANC policy to both Mr Botha and Mr De Klerk. He told them about the history of the ANC and why we decided to embark on the armed struggle", said a spokesman.

Yesterday, MDM spokesman Cyril Ramaphosa said reports about a rift were "incorrect and misleading"

veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph has been granted a visit on Thursday

Government sources said the De Klerk-Mandela meeting was an indication of how serious the Government is to engage all groups "committed to a peaceful future" in negotiations.

These are early days but at least the various actors on the scene are now starting to sort themselves out," one source said

The major question still facing the Government is when to release Mr Mandela after 25 years in jail.

The timing will be of vital importance because it will be seen — internally, in Lusaka and abroad — as a signal by the Government that it is ready to start serious negotiations

Condition

The ANC also insists that Mr Mandela should not be freed in a vacuum — it believes his release should coincide with a lifting of the restrictions imposed on the ANC, allowing it to operate legally.

The release of Mr Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC has been set down by the exiled organisation as a precondition to negotiations.

The precondition was also contained in the Harare Declaration adopted by the Organisation for African Unity, which was endorsed this week by the United Nations General Assembly

114
2023
2024

Activist refused bail

CP Correspondent



C.P. Press 17/12/89
A PORT Elizabeth activist, sentenced to three years' jail, has had his bail application turned down despite four others sentenced for the same offence being granted bail.

Two weeks ago Lizo Pityana, Lauretta Mengezeleli, Mxolisi Dyasi and Mzwonga Wellem were granted R1 000 bail each at Grahamstown Supreme Court, pending appeals against their sentences.

Vuyo Kwinana, sentenced to an effective three years' jail, last week applied to the Regional Court for bail. After magistrate C Fouche turned down his application, his lawyers appealed against the decision.

The Grahamstown Supreme Court on Friday turned down Kwinana's application after the judge said he was not convinced Kwinana would not abscond.

Pityana - exiled ANC member and Saso founder-member Barney Pityana's brother - Mengezeleli and Dyasi were sentenced to an effective two years in jail, while Willem was given a three-year jail sentence after being convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC.

The five are part of a group of 11 Port Elizabeth residents arrested in 1987. They were charged with the attempted murder of a number of municipal policemen, helping ANC members and of planting a bomb on a Port Elizabeth bus.

(11A) City Press 17/12/89

Smears 'out for Africanists'

I AM responding to the letter published in *City Press* of December 3 by a so-called "concerned Africanist" from Inanda

This self-proclaimed Africanist needs to undergo intensive re-education on PAC ideology

The Pan-Africanists do not denigrate black people on the grounds of different ideologies. The founder of PAC, Dr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, did not engage in futile smears like this "concerned Africanist" is doing.

Even today, under the leadership of Dr Zeph Mothopeng, the PAC has never vilified other groups

I hold the PAC in high esteem for seeking to liberate us from a slave mentality. It has tirelessly endeavoured to instil in us a sense of patriotism and confidence without resorting to mudslinging.

I strongly condemn "concerned Africanist" for unwittingly tarnishing the image of the PAC

He does well to remain unknown and faceless as he is dividing people when unity is what we want. "Concerned Africanist" does not have the facts to prove his claim that Mr Shange is a sell-out. He is making serious allegations that do not serve the black cause. Such allegations create polarisation among black organisations. This has been proved by the violence that has engulfed the Maritzburg area. — Nxumalo Abednego, University of Zululand, KwaDlangezwa

■ PEOPLE'S PRESS

Where City Press
readers speak out

Preference will be given to
short, neatly written or
typed letters. While pen
names may be used, all
letters must include writ-
er's full name and address



The Editor
PO BOX 57473
Springfield
2137

Why the Pam pulled out of CDF indaba

(11A) Press 17/12/89
REGARDING the recent Conference for a Democratic Future, your editorial comment (*City Press* December 10) states: "The pull-out by Pan Africanists adversely affected the purpose of the conference.

"We do not accept the reasons given by Africanist spokesman Cunningham Ngcukana for pulling out of the conference. People are tired of the so-called leaders who look after their own interests in the name of the struggle at the expense of the masses."

But may I point out, Sir, that Cunningham Ngcukana clearly states that the conveners of the conference refused to allow the Pan Africanist Movement on the convening committee. Why? Do they secretly fear Pam? Or did they expect Pam to attend as underdogs? Also, why include Bantustan puppets in the CDF?

On the question of negotiations with the settler regime – how long have we had talks and no liberation? What we want is the handover of power to the black masses.

The OAU and the UN cannot decide for us how to work out a strategy for our liberation. They can only offer meaningful suggestions to the indigenous people of Azania.

To quote Mangaliso Sobukwe "Africa for Africans. Tomorrow the United States of Africa?"
– Sechaba A Maepa, Pinville.

■ PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

The CDF missed a great opportunity

JUDGING from reports about decisions taken at the Conference for a Democratic Future, it looks as if this conference failed to exploit a big opportunity, says *Die Burger* in an editorial

Instead of constructive contributions about how a new, prosperous South Africa should be built together, the conference was dominated by the revolutionary rhetoric of the past

The conference accepted the OAU's Harare Declaration about how South Africa should change. In essence it is a summary of the ANC's policy of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state, and an insistence on more sanctions

In some leftist circles much is made of the resounding success of the conference. It is pointed out that 4 600 delegates from more than 2 000 anti-apartheid organisations were present. But that does not give the full picture at all, says *Die Burger*

It was not at all a case of South

Africa's people of colour unanimously indicating what type of future they want for the country. On the contrary, a new Pan-Africanist movement did not want to attend because of "differences of principle". Inkatha, of the Zulus, the largest black nation, was not invited

What is amazing nowadays is that the ANC and its most important allies, like the UDF and Cosatu, apparently do not understand they are clinging to a worn-out ideology

While communism and socialism are collapsing in Europe, and while there is no proof in Africa that it could succeed, it is still presented here as the great solution to South Africa's problems

The Harare document was meant to be an answer to President de Klerk's initiatives. But the process of liberation which has caught fire in Eastern Europe destroys the ANC's arguments, and it has nothing which could replace the old rhetoric

11A

17/12/89

C. Pross

THE EVENTS WHICH SHAPED THE DECADE...

PIPES OF PEACE

111A
Press 5/12/89
C 7/12/89

The year Tutu followed in Luthuli's footsteps

SANDILE MEMELA

THE 1980s saw Archbishop Desmond Tutu become the second South African recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize

Tutu, then 52, had been nominated for the prize several times before

On receiving the prestigious award on December 10, 1984, in Oslo, Norway, he said the prize was "a corporate award" given to him on behalf of all those committed to ending apartheid in South Africa

The award, established by the Swedish inventor of dynamite Dr Alfred Nobel, is awarded annually to a person or people who make the greatest contribution to mankind

Tutu, then still a bishop of the Anglican Church, said he was proud

to follow in the footsteps of the only other South African Nobel Prize winner, Chief Albert Luthuli, who won the award in 1961

The ceremony, at Oslo University's Aula Ceremonial Hall, was interrupted by a bomb scare. Dignitaries fled out of the hall and returned when police gave the all clear

Among those who attended the presentation of the R300 000 that goes with the prize were Norwegian Prime Minister Kaare Willoch and members of his government, and King Olav.

Tutu was accompanied by his wife, Leah, and two daughters, Naomi and Mpho

Representatives of the SA Council of Churches, among them Tom Mantsata, Dan Vaughan and Mmule Mpakanyane, also attended the ceremony.



1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Mphlo Tutu.

The decade that was...

Birth of UDF

Was milestone

THE political crescendo in the country reached a high note with the birth of the United Democratic Front in August 1983

More than 10 000 activists descended on Athlone to witness the birth of this large non-racial political organisation

The aim of the UDF was to achieve maximum unity among "all democratic, peace-loving people", because the main thrust of government plans was to divide people while continuing to smother apartheid

The body was specifically formed to oppose the new constitution and the Koozhoof Bills - the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill the Black Communities Development Bill and the Black Local Authorities Bill - the last two of which are now law

Later in August, the UDF was launched nationally when 1 000 delegates, representing some 575 organisations, met at Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town

The UDF conference adopted a declaration which stated as its aim the creation of a united, democratic SA, free of bantustans, group areas and based on the will of the people

The UDF began its political life by launching the Million Signature Campaign against the government's reform package. It went on to play a significant role in the rent boycotts, consumer boycotts and a boycott of

last year's general election

When the UDF turned five in 1988, it had irrevocably transformed the face of South African politics. Its impact on the socio-political scene was so profound that in 1988 it was declared an "affected organisation"

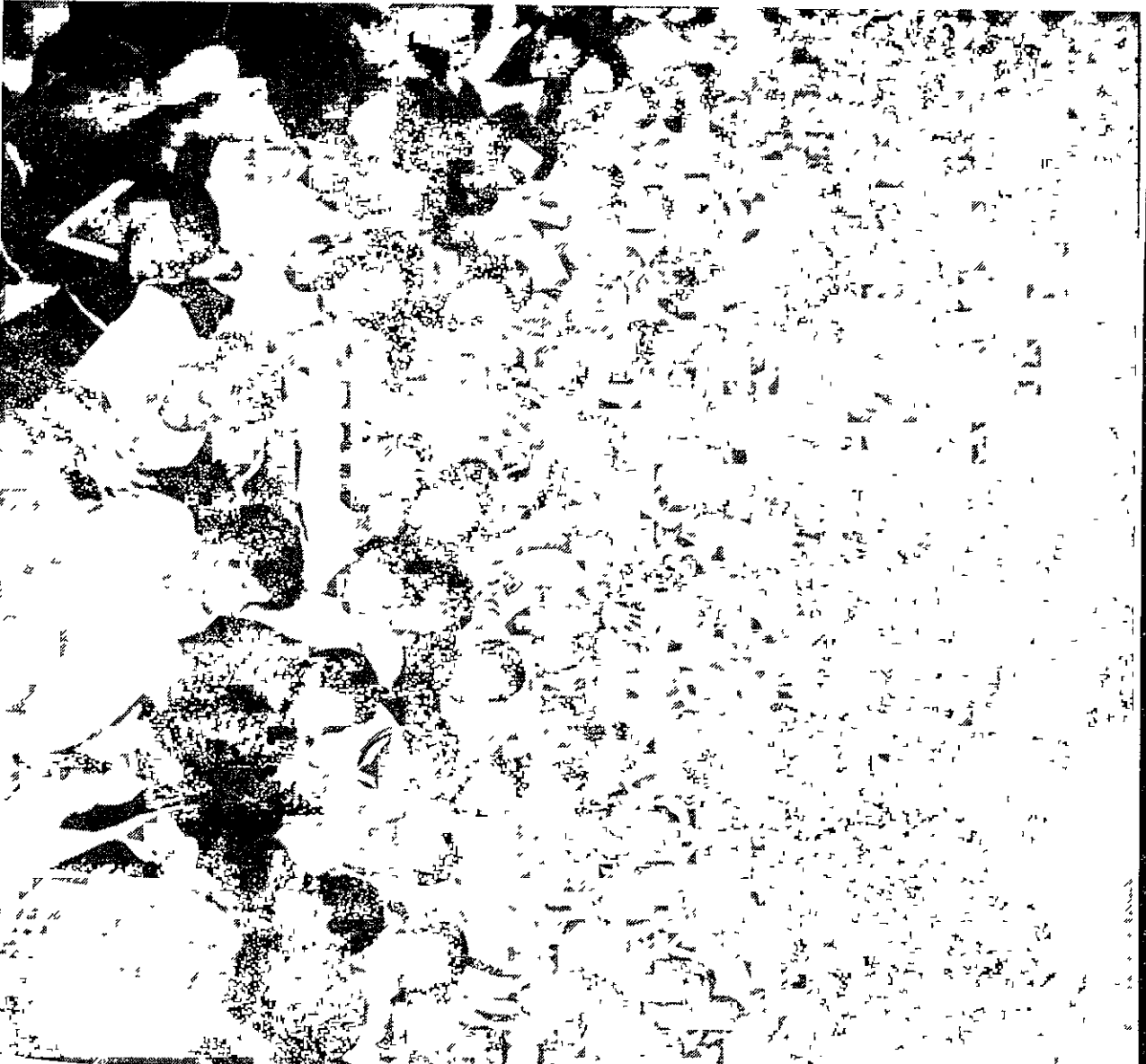
This literally meant that it was an offence to "promote the image or esteem" of the UDF under the severe restriction imposed in February 1988

Despite the fact that it has been effectively closed, the organisation's political legacy lives on and has given birth to a range of organisations supporting the broad mass democratic movement

A whole range of official action has been employed against members of the organisation since its inception. Its activities have also led to so-called black-on-black violence, such as the ongoing Inkatha-UDF war in Maritzburg

The 80s saw the UDF spread its message of opposition to apartheid to America when its delegation met President George Bush in Washington in July 1989

The delegation was invited as part of the process of broad consultation with leaders of the people in South Africa. This indicated a milestone in the organisation's struggle against apartheid, as it was the first time an anti-apartheid organisation from South Africa had visited the White House



Thousands of people gather in Cape Town for the fourth anniversary of the birth of the UDF, which had by then established itself in the political life of most South Africans.

CP Press 12/12/89

THE DELMAS RELEASES

11A (Cross 17/12/89)



Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu was among the hordes of excited well-wishers who rallied around the five Delmas trialists in Cape Town on Friday to celebrate their release.

With him is one of the freed men, United Democratic Front publicity secretary Terror Lekota. The five men were released after an appeal court in Bloemfontein ruled that the trial judge misdirected himself by refusing to restart the trial after dismissing one of his assessors.



Just before he embarked on a flight to Johannesburg, Terror Lekota took time out to address scores of supporters at the DF Malan Airport in Cape Town. It was his first public speech since the Delmas trial started in mid-1985.



Released Delmas trialist Moss Chikane was hoisted shoulder-high by well-wishers. He was released with Terror Lekota; former UDF general secretary Popo Molefe; senior SACC fieldworker Tom Manthata, and Vaal Civic Association member Gcimumuzi Malindi.

Kathrada tribute to 2 ANC 'fallen heroes'

LENASIA — Freed African National Congress leaders Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Elias Motsoaledi were among 1400 people who paid tribute to Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres Mr Prakash Napier and Mr Yusuf Akhalwaya, who were killed in a bomb blast at the Johannesburg station this week.

Together with released Delmas trialist Mr Geynumuzi Malindi, they were given a rousing welcome at a prayer meeting in Lenasia on Saturday.

Mr Kathrada, who, like other speakers, referred to Mr Napier and Mr Akhalwaya as "fallen heroes", said the media had referred to the two young men as his "bodyguards". They were more than this, he said. They were his "comrades" and had become "members of my family".

A representative from the SA Railway and Harbour Workers' Union said Mr Napier and Mr Akhalwaya had "set free" the spirit of striking railways workers.

"The strike of railway workers has gone beyond employer and employee to a challenge of state power," he added — Sapa

Hendrickse and LP in row over secret funds debacle

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse yesterday refused to discuss weekend suggestions of a serious threat to his leadership over a party funds debacle

A Sunday newspaper report claimed that his 11-year-old leadership could come under the most serious threat since the party joined the tri-cameral parliament in 1984

Speaking through his wife at his Uitenhage

home, Mr Hendrickse said that he did not speak to reporters on Sundays

"You can get him in the early morning," Mrs Hendrickse said

In the Sunday report, LP funds trustee Mr Roy Williams claimed that Mr Hendrickse had declined to say who had donated R250 000 to the party and why payments of R10 000 each had been made to himself and party secretary Mr Abe Williams

A further amount of

R30 000 was paid into Mr Hendrickse's discretionary fund

Mr Roy Williams has threatened civil court actions to find the source of the payment and the reasons for the payouts

In a statement to the newspaper which published the story, Mr Hendrickse said it was party policy not to divulge the source of funds

"The LP, along with other parties, is sensitive to a donor's wish for anonymity"

W 114
CMT
7/12/84

Service appeals to Cosatu adage

18/12/89
Sowetan
11A

THE ANC and PAC are waging the struggle against apartheid from outside the country's borders and it is up to the people within the country to mobilise against the evil system

This was the message at a Heroes Day service to commemorate the fallen victims of "the terror machinery of the apartheid regime" held in Daveyton at the weekend

Addressing a small crowd in the Lutheran Church, local leaders hailed the likes of Dulcie September - killed in an

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

attack on ANC offices in Paris - Griffiths Mxenge, Sicelo Dhlomo and Stanza Bopape, whose mysterious disappearance late last year has prompted speculation that he is dead

Peaceful

"These people were dying while Government leaders talk about reform and reconciliation," a local leader said

The MDM declared

December 16 Heroes Day, which co-incides with the formation of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe "We must also remember that the ANC and PAC chose to wage a military struggle after all the peaceful legal channels were blocked by the Government," the speaker said

Mr Jackson Mthembu from the MDM arrived later in the day and told the gathering about the advances made in the organisation, about Friday's release of the

Delams treason trialists Mr Terror Lekota, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Gcina Malindi and Mr Tom Manthatha and the MDM's stance on talks about negotiations

A Daveyton Civic Association executive said people should borrow an adage from Cosatu and "consolidate, educate and liberate" themselves

The address went ahead despite a visit by police earlier in the day who photographed the church building, a Sowetan crew and vehicle, and took with

them a copy of the latest *Learn and Teach* magazine

Three shot dead

MARITZBURG - Two 18-year-old youths were shot dead in a mini-bus in Msini Road, Imbali near Maritzburg and a 65-year-old man was shot dead in a separate incident also in Imbali on Monday

The young men were sitting in the back seat when were shot through an open window. A man has been arrested

Extreme right-wing introduced



Advocate Dikgang Moseneke in discussion with a police captain during the rally to welcome home Pan Africanist Congress stalwart Mr Japhta Masemola at the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, at the weekend. The rally went off smoothly and no incidents were reported

Pic MBUZENI ZULU

Sowetan 18/12/89

Home again 11A

From Page 1

regret the long stay in prison because the objectives set by the UDF at its inception in 1983 are still valid and some victories have been won

"Some of our recognised leaders have been released and today Namibia is waiting for its democratic constitution.

"However, there are still hundreds of our comrades left on the Island and a prominent leader of our struggle, Mr Nelson Mandela, is still in prison.

"Now that we have been released we will continue with our contribution towards a just and free South Africa."

Lekota was sentenced to 12 years' jail, Molefe and Chikane (10 years), Manthata (six) and Malindi (five).

The Appeal Court's decision to acquit the five is a sequel to a preliminary appeal heard on November 27.

At that hearing, defence lawyer Mr A Chakalson submitted that grounds for the recusal of Mr W A Joubert existed before the start of the trial.

Joubert, one of the assessors, was dismissed by the trial judge, Mr Justice Kees van Dykhorst, because he had signed the UDF's "million signature campaign" to protest against the tricameral parliament

H O M E A G A I N 11A

Sowetan 18/12/89

MASS Democratic Movement supporters gave the five Delmas treason trialists released from Robben Island a rousing welcome home at D F Malan Airport, Cape Town, on Friday afternoon.

The Appeal Court overturned their convictions and sentences earlier in the day. Policemen and tourists watched as chanting and



Tom Manthata is saluted by an admirer soon after his release from Robben Island

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

dancing members welcomed United Democratic Front general secretary Mr Popo Molefe, publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, former UDF Transvaal secretary Mr Moses "Moss" Chikane, South African Council of Churches field worker Mr Tom Manthata, and a member of the UDF affiliated Vaal Civic Association, Mr Genumuzi "Gena" Malindi.

The five who were released from Robben Island, said they were not bitter about the four and a half years they had spent in prison.

For 45 minutes the crowds ululated, danced the toyi toyi and chanted "ANC ANC" as they threw themselves at the released five who were still in their prison uniforms.

Welcome party

The welcoming party was led by Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Tutu seemed to be at a loss for words as he locked Molefe in a bear hug and jumped up and down screaming "Popo Popo Popo" at the top of his voice.

The Archbishop later said "The release is a sign that we are winning."

"It shows that our struggle is just and noble and that it will eventually prevail. We have always said justice would prevail one day and this is the beginning."

In his public address Lekota said "Today we count four and a half years since we left the ranks of our people."

"The time lost cannot be regained but we do not

• To page 2

11A Sowetan 18/12/89

Hometown Welcome

ONE of the United Democratic Front leaders released from Robben Island on Friday, Mr Moss Chikane, was given a rousing welcome in Mamelodi yesterday.

Chikane, former executive member of the UDF, was hoisted shoulder-high by jubilant activists during his first public appearance at the Mamelodi Community Centre.

Unity

The five were sentenced to terms ranging from five to 12 years for treason.

Chikane told residents that there was no way they could resolve their problems except through unity. He urged them to do away with ideological

Chikane, UDF publicity secretary Patrick

differences when dealing with matters of interest to the community.

He said the four and half years he spent in jail had not been in vain. As a prisoner, he said he had learnt the power which unity played among prisoners.

"I am happy to be back with my people and to find them still fighting against the same injustices we fought before being sent to jail," he said.

He pledged his continued support to the struggle for liberation.

Speaker after speaker criticised the Mamelodi City Council for its failure to address the local community's problems.

The meeting heard that the council was continuing to victimise residents who were unable to settle their rental arrears.

Community worker Mr Nyobo Malefo said the council had acted in violation of their undertaking not to act against residents while investigations were proceeding.

Mamelodi residents are complaining about irregular and faulty water, electricity meter readings and overcharges.

They resolved that a letter be written to the Transvaal Provincial Administration to arrange for a meeting. It was stressed that the TPA be made aware of the council's



A jubilant Patrick "Terror" Lekota after his release on Friday.

failure to resolve the matter "due to its powerlessness".



Mr Moss Chikane, former Transvaal secretary of the United Democratic Front, is second from left, being welcomed by a well-wisher at a welcome in Mamelodi over the weekend. He is one of the four UDF men who were released on Friday.

IMPROVE YOUR FAMILY'S LIFESTYLE

Fallen youths saluted on dual holiday

FREED African National Congress leaders Ahmed Kathrada and Elias Motsoaledi were among 1400 people who paid tribute to Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, Prakash Napier and Yusuf Akhalwaya, who were killed in a bomb blast at the Johannesburg station this week.

Together with Delmas trialist Gcinumuzi Mahindi, who was released on Friday following an Appeal Court decision, they were given a rousing welcome at a prayer meeting organised by the Lenasia Youth League and several other organisations in Lenasia at the weekend.

Speakers pointed out that while Afrikaners were observing the Day of the Vow, Saturday was also the 28th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

There was no visible security force presence around the Nurul Islam Hall, where the meeting was held.

Soyez...
Bodyguards (11A)

Kathrada, who like other speakers referred to Napier and Akhalwaya as "fallen heroes", said he was in Cape Town when he heard of their deaths.

The media, he said, had referred to the two young men as his "bodyguards". "But they were more than my bodyguards - they were my comrades."

He said Napier and Akhalwaya had become "members of my family".

Speakers included representatives of the Call of Islam, Lenasia Youth League, South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union, the Lenasia Women's Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress and the Postal and Telecommunications Workers' Union.

Spirit

A large number of organisations, including the ANC, sent messages of tribute.

The Sarhwi representative said Napier and Akhalwaya had "set free" the spirit of striking railways workers.

The workers, he added, were "engaged in a life and death struggle" against the SA Transport Service which, he said, had more power than any private employer.

He accused Sats of taking violent action against Sarhwi members.

"People have questioned what comrades Yusuf and Prakash achieved. But the strike of railways' workers has gone beyond employer and employee. It has gone on to a challenge of state power."

The TIC's publicity secretary, Mr Firoz Cachalia, said that on the Day of the Vow, the State President Mr F W de Klerk and his supporters were "celebrating violence".

He said "minority rule and apartheid rely on violence". - Sapa.

MDM is behind Nelson Mandela

18/12/89

(114)

Sowetan

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Mass Democratic Movement on Saturday reaffirmed its "unwavering confidence" in jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and quashed speculation there was a split in the movement following Mandela's meeting with State President F W de Klerk

There have been reports Mr Mandela had not informed the MDM he would meet Mr de Klerk

Leaders of the UDF, Cosatu and recently released ANC leaders, including Mr Walter Sisulu, met on Friday to discuss issues surrounding the meeting, the MDM said in a statement

We in the MDM reaffirm our unwavering confidence in his political leadership. Our support in this regard is unqualified, the statement said

Reports

It added that speculative reports there was a split within the ranks of the MDM following the de Klerk-Mandela meeting +are incorrect and misleading+

It branded +untrue and mischievous+ reports Mr Mandela was acting on his own

+Nelson Mandela is a loyal member of the ANC and is answerable to it. He is a tried and tested leader of the ANC and MDM +

The movement said Mr Mandela had made it clear that his meeting with Mr de Klerk +does not in any way constitute negotiations with the government.

+He insists that negotiations can only take place between the government and the ANC +

It said Mr Mandela sees his role as a +facilitator+ of negotiations bet-

ween the South African Government and the ANC

+In this regard he enjoys the full support and backing of the ANC which he has fully kept informed,+ it added

Meeting

The statement said Mr Mandela was informed he would meet Mr de Klerk a day before, on December 12.

The MDM meeting on Friday also resolved to intensify the mass campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of Mr Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC.

Mandela to meet union delegations this week

By JOHN YELD, Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela is to meet two high-powered Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) delegations in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison this week.

But there is no direct connection between these visits and Mr Mandela's meeting with President De Klerk last week, according to Mr Dullah Omar, city advocate and United Democratic Front Western Cape vice-president.

Mr Omar, who visited Mr Mandela for three hours on Friday, said in a statement that Mr Mandela had applied to the authorities to see the Cosatu representatives "long before" his meeting with Mr De Klerk.

TWO GROUPS

"There is no direct connection between the meeting with (Mr) De Klerk and the visit by the Cosatu delegation," he said.

The Cosatu officials will meet Mr Mandela in two groups of five tomorrow and on Friday.

Tomorrow's group consists of Mr Chris Dlamini, president of the Food and Allied Workers' Union; Cosatu second vice-president Mr John Gomomo, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers and a leading figure in the Mass Democratic Movement; Mr Sydney Mufamadi, Cosatu assistant

general secretary, and Mr Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers.

Mr Omar said Mr Mandela had reaffirmed that he did not know when he would be released and was "emphatic" that his release was not in his own hands.

"The keys are in the hands of the government and as soon as they unlock the doors of his prison he will leave without a moment's waste of time ...

"WILL NOT BEG"

"Mr Mandela again repeated that while he is entitled to be released without delay, he is not prepared to beg for his release or to plead for his own cause," Mr Omar said.

● Mr Mandela did request the meeting with Mr De Klerk.

This was pointed out by Mr Omar after an incorrect report in Weekend Argus

Mr Omar said that at a Press conference he had clearly stated that the meeting with the President was at Mr Mandela's request.

He pointed out that the timing was not in Mr Mandela's hands and Mr Mandela had been told about it only the afternoon before.

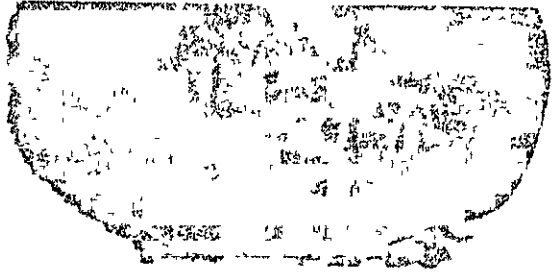
Because of this Mr Mandela had not been able to tell recently released ANC leaders Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Ahmed Kathrada that the meeting was due to take place on the 13th.

18/12/89

Cape Times, Monday, Dece

Molefe sees changes

11A



Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Former UDF general-secretary Mr Popo Molefe, released from Robben Island on Friday, said yesterday he perceived very dramatic changes in South Africa in the nearly five years since his arrest

Mr Molefe was freed, together with Mr "Terror" Lekota, Mr Moss Chikane, Mr Tom Mathatha and Mr Gcinumuzi Malindi after the Appeal Court overturned the convictions and set aside sentences passed by Mr Justice van Dijkhorst in the lengthy Delmas treason trial

The most striking change, Mr Molefe said, was the growing strength of 'our movement', which had survived government attempts to smash it in the mid-1980s and had made tremendous advances

The second change was the new regime of President F W de Klerk, who was far more sophisticated than his predecessor and more sensitive to local and international pressures

Mr Molefe said he was looking forward to fully participating in the activities of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM)

His first priority, though, was to remedy his "disorganised personal life particularly re-establishing family relationships, including that with his daughter, born only a month before his arrest

Mr Molefe said the most important part of the consolidation of the anti-apartheid organisation was the establishment of Cosatu and its alliance with the UDF

Cosatu had been a very powerful unifying force and had contributed greatly to "enhancing the quality of the struggle and its leadership". The birth of youth and

women's organisations had also been important.

Mr Molefe said the released men had returned to a situation where government strategy had failed. It had now lost the initiative in defining the direction of change and was merely responding to pressures

He said the actions and plans of the more sophisticated Mr De Klerk may buy time. But, he said, his limited understanding of the MDM/ANC suggested these organisations were capable of adopting a sufficiently flexible response to government's negotiation initiatives

"Our organisations have set out in the Harare Declaration very reasonable pre-conditions for talks. They are likely to be flexible in this respect but will not be flexible about our birthright — full participation in governing our country

FREED TRIALIST
Mr Popo Molefe

Plea to youth from released leader

Be disciplined, we don't want violence

12/12/89

Shaw

(1/1A)

By Jovial Rantao

Mr Popo Molefe, general secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and one of the recently-released "Delmas Five", urged youth in Soweto at the weekend to maintain discipline within the national democratic structures

Mr Molefe was called upon to address a crowd of well-wishers who had gathered at his aunt's house in Emden, Soweto, to welcome him back from prison

"We won't tolerate violent acts which would discredit the movement," Mr Molefe said

Mr Tom Mantlata, Mr Peter "Terror" Lekota and Mr Moss Chikane were released from Robben Island on Friday after the Appeal Court overturned their convictions

Hours after their release they pledged to contribute to the national struggle for freedom as they had done before being jailed

Senior officials said the five would soon return to their positions in the MDM

In an interview with The Star in Johannesburg, Mr Molefe, who has lost a considerable amount of weight, said they always felt that they would be released though they did not know when

He described the three days since his release from Robben Island as hectic

"We've been meeting different groups of people and the media, and haven't had time to rest," Mr Molefe said, adding that he was surprised at the consciousness among the people, especially the youth

Met Mandela

Mr Molefe and two others had a chance to meet jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at the Victor Venster Prison

Mr Molefe will spend his first Christmas in five years at home with his wife, Phinda, and their daughter, Tina

"It's a nice feeling to share jokes and drinks with friends and family members," he added

Regarding his immediate plans, he said there was much re-organisation and consultation to be done

"For us to be in touch with the latest dynamics, we need to consult our comrades"

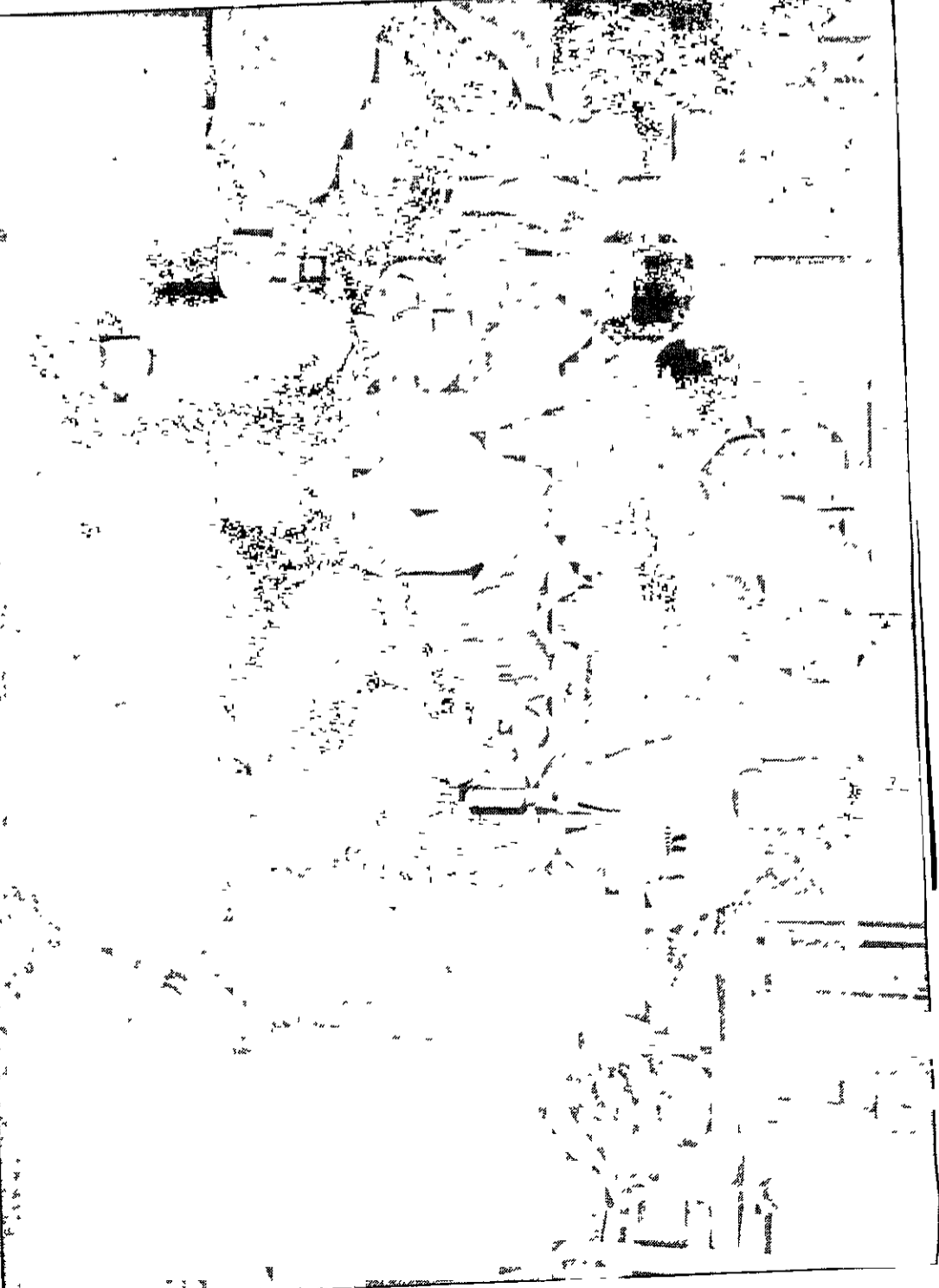
Declaring his unbroken commitment to the struggle for a nonracial and democratic South Africa, he said he was not sure in which capacity he would be welcomed into the UDF

"I will be guided by the organisation"

Mr Malindi of the Vaal Civic Association, whose 11-week-old daughter, Lindiwe, was born while he was in prison, said: "It's a great feeling to be out and be re-united with my family, friends and relatives"

Speaking from his house in Mayfair before he went to his mother's house in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle, Mr Malindi said for some of them it was still like a dream

"One does not believe that one is released. The whole drama just overwhelmed us," said Mr Malindi, who was out on bail for 16 months before he was sentenced



Happy reunion . . . two of the recently released "Delmas Five" gathered with family members in Mayfair, Johannesburg, yesterday

Back Row: (left to right) Mrs Phinda Molefe, Ms Nthabiseng Molahlewe, Ms Julia de Bruin, Mr Vincent Mokane and Mr Simon Nkole (who was acquitted during the trial). Front Row: (left to right) Mr Popo Molefe, holding Palosa, Mr Geina Malindi, holding his daughter, Lindiwe, Ms Thabile Malindi (Mr Malindi's sister) and Mr Thabiso Ratsomo (also acquitted)

Picture by Herbert Mabuza

CAP 794
18/2/89

Buthelezi discloses govt's 'Charter'

JOHANNESBURG — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has disclosed details of a remarkable document in which the government spells out its own "Freedom Charter" for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The document, in the form of a letter from Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha to UN chief Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuellar, sets out the government's formula for "a new South Africa, based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system".

Addressing a mass rally in Soweto, on Saturday, the Inkatha leader called on President F. W. de Klerk to convert the document into a statement of intent as a basis for discussion and amendment by black and white leaders.

He said the document "screamed out" for the immediate release of Mr. Nelson Mandela so that he could also comment on it.

Chief Buthelezi said the document had flaws. The Group Areas Act was not mentioned, nor was the question of universal adult franchise, and there was suspicious mention of freedom of "disassociation".

— Sapa

No Xmas for Mandela

One of the sons of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, does not think his father will be "home" for Christmas, nor is he likely to be released this year.

Speaking from his Cofimvaba home near Umtata, Mr Makgatho Mandela, elder son to the ANC leader's first wife, Evelyn, said on Sunday that the official version of

his father keeping himself jailed was untrue.

"The government is keeping my father in jail because, as far as he was concerned, he would have long loved to be re-

leased," he said

He also revealed his father had no plans to stay in the house built for the Mandelas in Soweto - Sapa

11/12
8/12/89
Sapa

No negotiations yet, says PAC stalwart

11A

Star 12/12/89
Pretoria Correspondent

Pan Africanist Congress stalwart Mr Jeff Masemola said this weekend that a negotiated settlement was not the way to realise the aspirations of black South Africans.

He told a 3 000-strong crowd at the Atteridgeville Stadium that whites had taken the country at gunpoint "There was no mention of negotiations then," he said

"But now they fear we will topple the white government, now they want negotiations," he said.

He said elsewhere in Africa colonialists had gone to the negotiation table only when they were on their knees and, as that stage had not yet been reached in South Africa, the time was not ripe for negotiations

The masses had to decide on a

course of action, because the "boertjies" would give them control of the country only over their dead bodies, he said

"We are free to use whatever method we choose — including armed struggle — to obtain our goals," he said

Referring to the scrapping of some apartheid laws, Mr Masemola told cheering supporters "These were not reforms — they were mere concessions

"The Pretoria government has said time and again that one man, one vote, will not be applicable in this country"

Mr Masemola dismissed press reports that the PAC was on the brink of uniting with the ANC.

"My recent visit to jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was of a social nature," he said

'Willing or not, black, white on common road'

(11R) Staff Reporter
Stow 12/12/89

Whites in South Africa will go into the future with blacks whether they do so willingly, kicking and screaming in protest or battered by the consequences of a racist refusal to take the black hand of friendship, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Saturday.

In a speech lasting almost three hours in the sweltering heat of Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre, Chief Buthelezi told the crowd of 3 000 that white politics had nowhere else to go except into the future with blacks.

He disclosed details of a document in which the Nationalist Government spells out its own "freedom charter" for a free, democratic and nonracial future in South Africa.

The document, in the form of a letter from Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha to UN chief Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, sets out the formula for "a new South Africa based on a free and equitable constitutional, social and economic system".

Chief Buthelezi called on President de Klerk to convert the document into a statement of intent as a basis for discussion and amendment by black and white leaders.

Not only did its existence underscore the need for black unity, it "screamed out" for the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela so that he, like others, could comment on it.

Chief Buthelezi said he would not under any circumstances negotiate the future of South Africa with the Government until Mr Mandela was released.

Time not right for talks yet,^{11/19} ^{CAL} ^{T. J. S.} ^{12/12/89} says PAC leader

PRETORIA — Now is not the right time for negotiations because the government is not on its knees yet, recently-released Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Japhta Masemola said in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on Saturday

Addressing several thousand people at a "welcome home rally" for him at Super Stadium, Mr Masemola said that elsewhere in Africa colonialists had only gone to the negotiation table once they had been on their knees

Mr Masemola said negotiations would fail because the government would grant certain concessions, such as the right to cross-colour marriages and allowing blacks to eat in restaurants, but would never give blacks the country

"They say it will happen over their dead bodies, and you know what they mean by that"

Mr Masemola said "When the Boertjes took our land there was nothing like negotiations — now they speak of negotiations"

Police stop activists

Southern

19/12/89

11A

POLICE set up a road-block on Sunday evening to prevent 1 000 activists, including Winnie Mandela, from staging a candlelight vigil outside the prison where black leader Mr Nelson Mandela is held

The demonstrators travelling in 10 buses and about 50 cars were stopped by police about a kilometre outside Victor

Verster Prison where Mandela lives in a suburban-style staff house

Police gave Winnie Mandela permission to visit her husband but she declined after learning the other demonstrators would not be allowed to hold their vigil at the prison's front gate

A magistrate turned down an application for

the demonstration because it was not submitted the required five days in advance

Demo

The demonstrators called for the immediate release of Mandela and all others they considered political prisoners

After reaching the roadblock, the activists

sang freedom songs at the side of the road, then held a meeting in the nearby town of Paarl. No incidents were reported

Mandela, the country's best known black leader, has been imprisoned for more than 27 years and is serving a life sentence for sabotage and plotting to overthrow the government

His release is widely

expected within weeks

The ANC leader met President F W de Klerk at his office last Wednesday to discuss the prospects for opening black-white political negotiations

All black leaders, even those who are rivals of the ANC, say Mandela must be released before any talks with the Government can begin

Thatcher plea: Free Mandela

Copy 12511 19/12/89

114 From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. Mrs Margaret Thatcher has made a formal approach to President F W de Klerk to consider releasing Mr Nelson Mandela before Christmas.

The prime minister's official spokesman at No 10 Downing Street confirmed yesterday that her request had been made through "diplomatic channels". He said her approach to Mr De Klerk was in line with her consistent policy on South Africa. He declined further comment.

Mrs Thatcher last week told Parliament that she would consider using her "influence" on Mr De Klerk to request Mr Mandela's release by Christmas.

The confirmation of her request coincides with an unusually high level of rumours in London that Mr Mandela could be freed on Christmas Eve — Sunday.

A senior ANC source said that "in view of recent meetings and significant developments inside South Africa" the rumour "should not be ignored" — an unusually optimistic viewpoint by the ANC.

In an interview with the BBC radio's world service, to be broadcast today, Mr William Waldegrave,

the Foreign Office minister responsible for Africa left the prospect of Mrs Thatcher visiting South Africa next year wide open.

Mrs Thatcher's spokesmen say there are still "no plans" for her to officially accept a standing invitation to visit SA.

But senior Whitehall sources say that, depending on developments inside South Africa, she remains keen to tour the country, probably in early April.

● Chikane visits Mandela
— Page 7

Frank Chikane visits Mandela

CAPE TIMES 19/12/89 RA

JOHANNESBURG. — Prominent cleric the Rev Frank Chikane met jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday at his Victor Verster Prison villa near Paarl, a spokeswoman for the SA Council of Churches confirmed.

The two met for three hours and discussed Mr Mandela's role in facilitating negotiations between the government and the exiled ANC.

The spokeswoman said Mr Mandela briefed Mr Chikane on the role he is playing to clear away obstacles to negotiations between the ANC and the government.

"Mr Mandela emphasised that he was not negotiating with the government but merely acting as a facilitator to create conditions conducive to meaningful negotiations."

The two men met at the invitation of Mr Mandela and Mr Chikane said he was acting in his capacity as general-secretary of the SACC.

Mr Mandela is scheduled to meet a delegation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions on Tuesday. — Sapa

STATE 19/12/89

R5 000 bail (177) for alleged (177) PAC guerilla

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An alleged Pan Africanist Congress guerilla was granted R5 000 bail in the Wynberg Regional Court and released on condition that he report to Guguletu police station three times a week.

Mr Vuyo Fetsha (32), of King William's Town, who has not been asked to plead, has been in prison since January.

YUGOSLAVIA

He appeared in court in connection with charges of committing acts of terrorism since 1978, joining the PAC, receiving training in Yugoslavia and Tanzania, and returning to South Africa to recruit members for the PAC.

The State also alleges that he resisted arrest on January 14 this year.

CLARENCE Mlamli Makwetu is a peasant who farms in Transkei. The 61-year-old former Robben Island prisoner is known to few white people and he is not among the "who's who" of recognised black leaders

But he has been unanimously elected by 2 000 people from all over the country to lead an organisation whose significance is likely to affect the political life of the country

The people who elected Makwetu did not consider it important that he lives in a remote, dusty Transkeian village called Cofimvaba, near Queenstown

It was enough for them that Makwetu had walked with Robert Sobukwe during the height of the Pan Africanist Congress defiance against the pass laws in the early Sixties, that Makwetu had been actively involved in organising PAC branches and that his involvement in the fight against apartheid began when he was a Youth League member of the ANC in 1953 and that to them he is their chosen leader.

Leader

As a farmer, he loves the land and as a leader of the Pan Africanist Movement - which shares the same political views as the banned PAC - Makwetu will attempt to give prominence to the "return of the land to the people"

"The people" are previous generations of Africans driven off their land by Voortrekkers and British soldiers

"The people" had no knowledge of and were not part of the title-deed system devised by whites to indicate legal ownership of the land occupied mostly through force by foreigners.

According to the Declaration of the Pan Africanist Movement to the people of Azania, the "struggle by Africans" is against dispossession of land and oppression

Return of the land to the people

11A

Sobukwe
19/12/89



PAM leader Clarence Mlamli Makwetu

Peasant farmer with a mission

"The struggle is led by the African working class to ensure democracy and the redistribution of resources, particularly land"

Among the guiding principles of the declaration are non-racialism, non-collaboration, the recognition of universal human rights, a planned

economy in which "transport, electricity supply, mining and water supply shall be in the hands of the state"

Also in the declaration are the provision of housing as a state duty, free health care and facilities, free education and state-backed plans to reduce illiteracy, independent trade unions as watchdogs of workers' interests, religious freedom and equality of sexes, and the right of all persons over 21 to vote and to stand for election.

Vision

Some of these principles are not unlike those of the ANC's or other anti-apartheid organisations. But between the Africanists and the Charterists (those who adhere to the ANC's Freedom Charter) lies a wide chasm

The ANC's vision of a "mixed economy" conflicts sharply with the PAM's "planned economy"

Benny Alexander,

FOCUS

By Quraish Patel

PAM's general secretary, said the vision of a future society was not based on a slavish imitation of Eastern European socialism

"We have no intention of a bastard importation of any Eastern model of socialism. Ours will evolve in the unique circumstances of Southern Africa. We do not believe authoritarianism is inherent in a system of a planned economy. Socialism properly practised is the highest form of democracy"

The ANC and the MDM's recent listing of pre-conditions to negotiations has drawn a sharp response from PAM which wants to negotiate only for the transfer of power to the majority

It also wants negotiations between "progressive organisations" in an effort to end

apartheid. It is not interested in talking about "concessions"

PAM and the MDM differ even on the meaning of "non-racialism"

Alexander said "Non-racialism does not imply equality of the different race groups. We believe there is only one race - the human race. Africanists were the first to put non-racialism on the agenda when others were talking about multi-racialism"

PAM's idea of non-racialism means that "Africans" include white, Indian and coloured people who are committed to the guiding principles of Africanism. Africanists strenuously oppose claims that "whites will be driven to the sea" after seizure of power

Allies

They say that's white propaganda aimed at driving away allies

Enjoying dominant public support and media attention, the ANC and the MDM are believed to be central players in the battle for anti-apartheid supporters. That view may be short-sighted and superficial

Unlike the ANC, Africanists have barely had the chance to initiate their ideas and develop support among the people. Soon after the breakaway from the ANC in 1959, the PAC launched an anti-pass laws campaign and managed, in a short time, to draw huge crowds into the streets

The banning of the organisation, the arrest and incarceration of leader Robert Sobukwe and the bitter wrangles within the PAC abroad during the Sixties and Seventies have done little to stem the resurgence of militancy that has grown into PAM

Except for the question of violence, PAC and PAM have the same political views

Power

Dismissing the Africanists - as many seem to be doing - from the political power game is premature. They are organising branches throughout the country, they insist on paying their own way to meetings and conferences, they say they are not concerned about foreign funding, and they say they won't compromise their principles

Africanists' tentacles reach deeply into student, community, union and women's organisations. They have hunted at "mass action" on an un-

11A

Sowetan 19/12/89

Popo warns against fighting

UNITED Democratic Front general secretary Mr Popo Molefe who is one of the recently-released Delmas Five, emphasised to the youth in Soweto the need to maintain discipline within the national democratic structures.

Molefe was asked to address a crowd of well-wishers who had gathered at his aunt's house in Emndeni, Soweto to welcome him back from prison

"We won't tolerate violent acts which will discredit the movement," Molefe said.

Molefe, Mr Gcina Malindi, Mr Tom Manthata, Mr Peter "Terror" Lekota and Mr Moss Chikane were released from Robben Island on Friday after the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein overturned their convictions.

Release

Hours after their release they pledged to contribute to the national struggle for freedom as they used to before being jailed.

Senior MDM officials said the five would soon be returned to their positions in their organisations

The five spent their first weekend at home with families and friends. They described it as a "great feeling."

While Manthata, Molefe and Malindi spent some part of the weekend with families in Soweto and Johannesburg, Lekota and Chikane spent the weekend in Durban and Pretoria respectively

In a interview in Johannesburg, Molefe, who has lost a lot of weight, said they always felt that they would be released even if they did not know when

He described the three days since his release from Robben Island as "hectic"

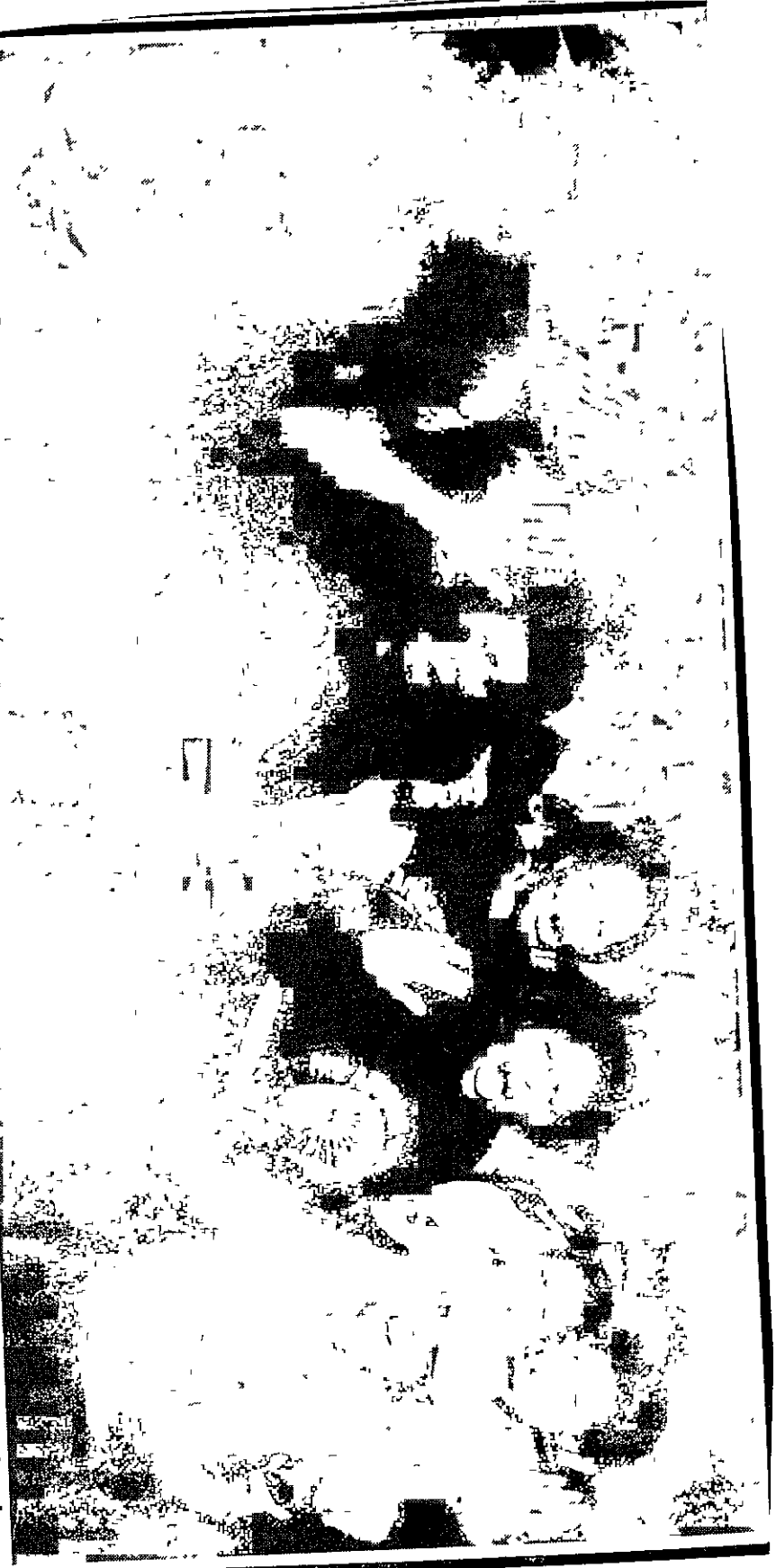
Big welcome for Masemola

11R
19/12/89

The open hand salute of the banned Pan Africanist Congress was evident at a rally to welcome PAC stalwart Japhtha Masemola at the Atteridgeville Super Stadium in Pretoria at the weekend.

Some of the people who sang freedom songs wore T-shirts bearing the insignia of the outlawed organisation.

Pic: Mbuzeni Zulu



(52) FMMIL 27/1/89.

(50) FMMIL 27/1/89

Continued from page 41

The other major stumbling block is the own-affairs system Says Van den Heever "The setting of different sets of questions for different departments will always lead to suspicions that some papers are more difficult than others" He believes that coloured educational authorities are oversensitive to accusations of gutter education and sometimes compensate with overly difficult papers The CTPA thus seeks "one department, one exam for all"

Another difficulty with this system is the lack of a common benchmark between departments as to what is a desirable pass rate, and thus how marks should be adjusted to achieve this Theoretically this figure should be similar for all groups Van den Heever's worry is that coloured marks are adjusted to achieve a mid-60% pass, based on the results of the last five years He feels this is unfair, given the serious unrest which has plagued these schools in recent years, as it is locking the community in a cycle of low achievement "We are trapped with the 'sixties' and it is very difficult for us to get out of it unless the political situation is corrected and realistic adjustment policies are made by the department"

He points out that in 1979, before serious disturbances hit coloured education, the pass rate was 89% He also notes that when some of their pupils leave to go to open schools, which write different exams, their marks immediately go up This, in his view, is attributable to better teaching conditions and more favourable adjustment of their marks

THE AWB (304A)

ET get your gun

Last Saturday's armed show of strength by Eugene Terre'Blanche's khaki-clad Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) storm-troopers once again underlines government's inability or unwillingness to deal with radical rightwing extremism Specifically, why doesn't Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok do something about this threatening behaviour?

The government-supporting newspaper *Beeld* asked whether the AWB had been expecting an attack upon it — and was this a motion of no-confidence in the police, who were present? The only deduction to be made, *Beeld* said, was that it was an "openly defiant and calculated display of power by a small-minded minority which has put themselves above the law"

So how will Vlok react? SA is experiencing a period of tense race relations, in which any irresponsible action could spark off blood-letting Evidence of that was seen during the Pretoria massacre in which a self-proclaimed AWB member caused the death of seven blacks

"Do we dare ask what the reaction of the police would have been, had blacks reacted

TEACHING THE TEACHER

Adult illiteracy has been called the country's "secret shame."

It has led to a severe shortage of skilled manpower, as well as feelings of inadequacy in people who have to refuse promotion because they do not possess a skill they should have mastered as children

According to the principal of the Rebecca Ostrowiak School of Reading in Germiston, Edna Freinkel, the illiteracy rate among black adult South Africans is commonly estimated at 50%, while the white adult functional illiteracy rate is guessed conservatively to be one-third of the population

In an effort to combat these horrifying statistics, the School of Reading has launched a programme called "train-the-trainers literacy course."

It is a programme whereby the trainers on factory floors will become capable of teaching factory workers the rudiments of reading, writing, spelling and comprehension

Each course lasts a week and is extremely practical in nature Experts from

the school will come into the factories regularly as consultants to ensure that high standards are being maintained The school has a success rate of about 75%

The programme was launched because it is considerably more cost-effective to train one person who can then go on to teach others.

White education in SA is compulsory until the age of 16, which makes the high proportion of adult functional illiteracy apparently inexplicable Explains Freinkel. "The method that schools employ to teach reading is not ideal for all children, as it does not satisfy the analytical child's desire to understand the workings of each letter

As a result, many pupils pass at a matric or even university level with an ability to read only three words in four, they are functionally illiterate"

The advantages to the employer in overcoming illiteracy are immeasurable. Productivity increases, work is performed more quickly, with more enthusiasm and ultimately with more profit

in the same manner?" *Beeld* asked "This conduct has become symbolic of the AWB It tallies with Terre'Blanche's open defiance of State authority, (implying) that govern-



Gun-toting AWB member patrols the grounds Courtesy of *Beeld*

ment dare not touch the AWB" This weekend sees the formation of yet another rightwing splinter group Deposited

AWB deputy leader Jan Groenewald, with three former members, Chris Jooste, Alkmaar Swart and Manie Maritz, plans to hold a secret meeting to discuss the new organisation

(304A) FMMIL 27/1/89

OPEN BEACHES (283)

A place in the sun

Durban's delicate egg-dance on opening beaches to all races while trying to avoid a white backlash from inland holidaymakers may be solved by introducing "pay beaches"

This possibility has been aired by mayor Derrick Watterson He says the interests of visitors and beachfront dwellers could be catered for, either through pay beaches, or reserving a specific beach for the exclusive use of hotel guests (see *Business*)

Racial harmony was generally maintained on crowded beaches this summer season, but it would seem that faint-hearted municipal officials resorted to some ingenious methods to avoid incidents

At South Beach, the only beach which is still zoned for whites, a pool was drained on New Year's Day, ostensibly to clear it of broken glass left by reckless New Year's revellers

However it remained dry — and hence unoccupied by either whites or black bathers intent on defying the whites-only ruling — for the entire New Year long weekend

The council still has to vote on opening South Beach

Watterson says "It must be conceded that if you are going to have beaches crowded to

(304A)

FMMIL 27/1/89

MANDELA'S PEACE PLAN

14-19/12/89
 Smith
 2/27

JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has submitted a 10-page document to the government, setting out his ideas for peace in South Africa. It was learnt this week.

It is believed he discussed the contents of the document at his first meeting with President FW de Klerk on Wednesday.

An ANC spokesman confirmed this week that the organisation in Lusaka had a copy of the document. Mandela was not acting in isolation from Lusaka or the democratic movement in the South Africa, he said.

Mandela has held regular meetings with government officials since 1986 and with representatives of the democratic movement since earlier this year. In his document, Mandela encapsulated the discussions with government officials.

He also dealt with the preconditions for negotiations, spelling out the ANC's position on its alliance with the South African Communist Party and the armed struggle — bogey issues to the government.

Preconditions for negotiations

A conducive climate — which the ANC believes is a necessary precondition for negotiations — can be created if all political prisoners and detainees are released unconditionally. If the ban on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons is lifted, if all troops are removed from the townships, if the state of emergency is ended, if all repressive legislation is rescinded and if all political trials and executions cease.

The ANC has rejected the concept of talks about a future for negotiation immediately.

The ANC is concerned that Western governments, who are also in favour of a run up to negotiations, will assist the South African government in delaying its inevitable talks with the organisation.

Mandela's views on the unitary nature of the ANC, its armed struggle and alliance with the SACP conveyed in the document, have been repeatedly enunciated by his fellow Kwana trainees re-

TOPIC FILED



FREEDOM HUG. Alpheus Ndude, a trainee in the Yengeni trial who was granted bail last week after more than two years in jail, meets Walter Sisulu, Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada attended the Yengeni trial on Wednesday morning. PIC: YUNUS MOHAMMED

Police seize Xmas cards

BY WAGHIED MISBACH
 POLICE seized 6 000 "subversive" Christmas cards at Jan Smuts airport last Saturday.

They were destined for the Food and Allied Workers Union branch in the Transvaal, a Fawu spokesperson said this week.

The cards with pictures of the released Rivonia traitors on the inside apparently contravened Section 13 of the Internal Security Act which forbids the promotion of the aims of a banned organisation.

Fawu national treasurer Irwin Porters, who was to collect the cards, was detained at the airport for four hours.

The police public relations division in Pretoria confirmed that the police seized certain literature at Jan Smuts Airport.

They said a charge of possession of unlawful literature is being investigated.

Mandela

FROM PAGE ONE

An ANC spokesperson in Lusaka said the organisation had a clear understanding of Mandela's role in the discussions with De Klerk.

"He is not negotiating; he is facilitating the process for the government to sit down with the ANC," the spokesperson said.

In his discussions with the government officials, Mandela has continuously stated that he is a member of the ANC and subject to its discipline.

"There is only one ANC. It has been in existence since 1912 and still exists today," Ahmed Kathrada said on Tuesday.

And Walter Sisulu said recently, "If a climate conducive to negotiations is created, the ANC is prepared to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides."

"There can be no question of unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle," he said.

According to Govan Mbeki, "we in the ANC find it difficult to appreciate the concern of those in the 'Christian Western Civilisation' camp, who fought to destroy racism in Europe, about the ANC/SACP alliance which is today locked in a deadly struggle to eliminate racism in South Africa."

In the past few months, Mandela has met a wide range of representatives from different regions in the country, including the homelands. More meetings are scheduled.

Mandela has also met with political prisoners held on Robben Island. These meetings included recent ones with UDF general secretary, Patrick "Toro" Lekota, and Cape Town activists Ashley Forbes and Cecil Esau.

Smith 14-19/12/90

Sowetan 19/12/89

Get education, urges Sisulu

BLACK South Africans could not leave the education of their children until after apartheid had ended, recently released African National Congress leader Mr Walter Sisulu said in a message to the National Education Conference Committee.

The conference began on Friday and ended on Sunday at the University of the Western Cape.

Sisulu said he regretted being unable to attend the conference, which had come at a time when the country was experiencing "the most serious crisis in the history of education"

"Today we have over a dozen educational systems

"The education structure is in a virtual state of collapse.

"The Department of Education and Training is in a mess.

"Corruption is the order of the day.

"Thousands of black children roam the streets

and schools are in such a chaotic state that our young people are unable to pursue meaningful studies

"What is more, there is no incentive to study

"Even if they do go to school, what do they get after matriculating?

"There are no jobs and there is no future"

While praising the role the youth had played in

changing the system and the struggle for freedom, Sisulu criticised what he called the "children's negative attitude" to education.

System

"They seem to think that because the system is rotten they should not attend school.

"On the one hand, our young people must, as

they have done, continue to participate in the struggle for liberation

"But, at the same time, it is also very important we learn to read and write so that we equip ourselves for the South Africa of tomorrow."

Sisulu urged parents to send their children to schools, universities, colleges and technikons - Sapa

Women must pull their weight

(11A)
Sawetla
19/12/80

AFRICAN women must continue fighting for the removal of the remaining traces of prejudice and discrimination against them - embedded either in the current laws of the country or in customary practice

Addressing the 50th conference of the National Council of African Women at Alpha Training Centre in Broederstroom at the weekend, Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane said black women must continue to be a stabilising factor in family life.

They should retain the excellent motherhood values that are highly prized in their community.

He told the conference, whose theme was "Women and the Challenges of the 1990s," that African values could best be transmitted to the children by mothers

It would be good to remember that "if you teach a man you teach an individual, but if you train a woman you train a nation."

Motsuenyane said black people must never allow a situation to arise where the basic elements of their culture were completely eroded. Values such as courtes-



Mr Motsuenyane

and respect for elders, integrity, industriousness, neatness and compassion were an essential basis for a disciplined and well-behaved African people

"Black women must endeavour to manage their success properly and should not allow themselves to be influenced negatively," he said

He said the 1990s would probably witness the greatest social, political and economic changes in the entire history of South Africa. The black community as a whole would be called upon through unity of action to hasten change

Motsuenyane said the greatest challenges which presently face the African continent as a whole was the challenge to make black people economically free, productive and self-reliant

Peace best gift

11A
20/12/89

LEADING personalities yesterday agreed on one meaningful gift they would like for Christmas - peace in South Africa.

Civil rights leader Mr Archie Gumede said the best present for him was to see ANC leader, Nelson Mandela released before Christmas.

Police public relations officer Mr Charl du Toit said "I would like to see peace in this country".

Former Durban mayor Mr Henry Klotz said he wanted "peace and harmony among all people of this beautiful country of ours so that we could make it a better place for all to live"

Mr Pat Poovalingam, MP, wants peace and goodwill

clarify:

was

brief

played

adequacy of

why or how does that follow?

1118 Soudon 20/12/89

Mandela to stay put



Mrs Margaret Thatcher

Release before Xmas not on the cards

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela seems unlikely to be released before Christmas - despite a formal appeal from British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to President de Klerk.

Well-placed government sources said this yesterday after Thatcher's office confirmed the formal request.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday no official notice had

been received from Thatcher.

The SA Government seemed rather mystified by Thatcher's request. The British Prime Minister is known for the propriety of her diplomatic feeling and it was expected that she would have sent such a message confidentially.

The Government feels there has been no pressure from any other sources for Mandela to be released before Christmas.

One possible explanation suggests that it is the extreme pressure that Thatcher finds herself under at home where her popularity ratings are falling.

After Mandela's surprise meeting with De Klerk last week, a statement was issued which suggested that the two leaders would meet again in the New Year.

This has been widely interpreted as a hint that Mandela will still be in prison at the start of 1990.

lets / meaningless reference

Family Christmas for Mandela

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

Argus
20/12/89

111

AS rumours of Nelson Mandela's imminent release reach dramatic proportions, the jailed African National Congress leader's family is planning to lunch with him on Christmas Day.

It will be the first time the Mandelas have shared a Christmas meal since he was jailed in 1962.

"Previously when we visited him at Christmas we were unable to take him anything, so it was just like any other day," Mrs Winnie Mandela said today.

"We've never been able to share meals with him all these years."

Mrs Mandela plans to fly to Cape Town on Christmas Eve and will spend Christmas Day and the Day of Goodwill with her husband in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

The Argus Correspondent reports from Pretoria that British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher has not made a special appeal to President De Klerk to release Mr Mandela within the next five days.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, discussed several issues, including Mr Mandela's release, during a meeting yesterday at the Union Buildings.

A spokesman for the British Embassy in Pretoria said the ambassador conveyed the British government's hope that Mr Mandela would be released soon, while Mr Botha explained the South African government's position.

Although the British government believes Mr Mandela should be released "sooner rather than later", yesterday's discussion formed part of a continuing message rather than a special appeal.

Mandela wants to be freed now, say visitors

PAARL — Nelson Mandela wants to be released now — but is not prepared to beg for his freedom

His wish to be released had been conveyed to government representatives at every opportunity during talks

This emerged after six hours of talks at Victor Verster Prison yesterday with a five-man delegation of trade union leaders.

Delegation spokesman Sydney Mufamadi, Cosatu assistant general secretary, said Mandela saw himself as a prisoner — and not able to enter into negotiations

"He is not a go-between but is in a position to meet government officials and

to convey their views to our movement.

"He thinks he will be able to understand what the National Party is trying to do through having these talks. He will then be able to inform the movement. Mandela's meeting with the State President was a long-standing arrangement," said Mufamadi.

Mufamadi said Mandela was a disciplined member of the ANC and, when released, would have to report to the national executive of the ANC in Lusaka.

The delegation's main aim was to brief Mandela on what was happening in Cosatu and the MDM and to exchange views on the

political and economic crisis in SA

"We were surprised by the extent to which he is acquainted with events in the country and the extent to which his views coincide with ours

"Comrade Mandela's message to the people is that the struggle must continue."

On Monday, Mandela told the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, he was not negotiating with the government on behalf of the ANC but merely acting as a facilitator

Chikane had a three-hour meeting with Mandela at Mandela's request. — Sapa.

(11A)



6/10/20/12/84

More down tools, but some strikes settled

By Drew Forrest

In a new twist to the spiral of pay strikes across industry, about 1 000 workers at nine plants of the Van Leer metal and plastics firm have downed tools.

A spokesman said the strike, in its third week, followed company-wide pay talks with the National Union of Metalworkers. Workers are demanding a 90c-an-hour rise. The company is offering 70c.

● The wage dispute which led to a two-week strike by more than 5 000 Premier Food Industries workers has been settled

Premier said yesterday that it had ended the lock-out of 2 000 Epic and Epol workers on condition that they returned to work. Milling workers would receive a minimum R30 weekly increase, and Epic and Epol workers a minimum R27,50.

● Fawu had called for a peaceful strike at South African Breweries and did not condone violence by members, union officials said at a press conference. But the eviction of strikers from plants made it harder to exercise control.

STAR ● See Page 14.

20/12/89.



Mr Sydney Mufamadi (left), Mr John Gomo, Mr Chris Dlamini, Mr Moses Mayekiso (obscured) and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, all of Cosatu, speak to the press after a six-hour meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison in Paarl yesterday.

Mandela 'will not beg for freedom'

ANC leader 'is not negotiating'

PAARL — Jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela wants his freedom, but is not prepared to beg for his release

Mr Sidney Mufamadi, assistant general secretary of Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), said this after meeting Mr Mandela yesterday

Mr Mufamadi and four other trade union leaders talked for more than six hours with Mr Mandela at the Victor Verster Prison.

The other members of the group were Mr Chris Dlamini, president of the Food and Allied Workers Union, Mr John Gomo, second vice-president of Cosatu, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Mr Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of

Metalworkers

Mr Mufamadi said the reason why Mr Mandela was having talks with representatives of the Government was to be able to try and understand what the National Party was trying to do

"In this way he will be able to inform the movement on what the Government's intentions are

REPORT TO ANC

"He is not a go-between but is in a position to meet government officials and to convey their views to our movement

"Mr Mandela sees himself as a prisoner and not in any position to enter negotiations at this stage"

Mr Mufamadi said Mr Mandela was not in a position to predict when he would be released. He was a disciplined member of the ANC and after his release he

would first and foremost have to report to the national executive of the ANC in Lusaka

He said Mr Mandela was appreciative of all the calls for his release.

The five-member delegation's main aim in the visit was to brief Mr Mandela on what was happening in Cosatu and the Mass Democratic Movement and also to exchange views on the political and economic crisis in the country.

"We were surprised by the extent to which he is acquainted with events in the country and the extent to which his views coincide with ours

"We spent a lot of time analysing the current situation and comrade Mandela's message to the people is that the struggle must continue"

They also discussed the need for unity — Sapa

Imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela says he is not negotiating with the Government on behalf of the ANC, but is "merely acting as a facilitator".

He said this to the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, who had a meeting with him on Monday at the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

Mr Chikane said in a statement yesterday he had made the visit at Mr Mandela's request and had spent from 11.30 am to 2.30 pm on Monday discussing various matters with him.

He said Mr Mandela briefed him about his situation.

"He emphasised that he was not negotiating with the Government," said Mr Chikane, "but that he was merely acting as a facilitator to create the conditions conducive for meaningful negotiations." — Sapa.

11A

20/12/89



MANDELA VISITORS . . . The Cosatu delegation outside Victor Verster Prison (from left) Mr Sydney Mafumadi, Mr John Gomomo, Mr Chris Dlamini and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

Picture: ADILE BRADLOW

Opt Times 20/12/89 (119)

Rumours grow of Mandela's Xmas release

By IAN HOBBS and BARRY STREEK

LONDON. — Speculation that the South African government is about to release Mr Nelson Mandela was rife here last night.

Senior British political sources and South African exiles close to the highest levels of the ANC and PAC said they were now certain that a major Christmas or New Year's announcement would be made.

Both ANC and PAC experts said they had been told "virtually from the horses' mouth" that Mr Mandela had told President F W de Klerk that he wanted his release to go ahead without further delay.

The go-ahead from Mr Mandela comes as pressure for the move mounts on the government from Britain and the Mass Democratic Movement.

According to five trade unionists who met with him yesterday, he is eager to be released.

Following Mrs Margaret Thatcher's approach to President de Klerk on the issue this week, British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick met Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday and urged the government to free Mr Mandela "sooner rather than later".

Government sources were anxious to downplay speculation of any release, and described yesterday's meeting between Mr Botha and Sir Robin as "routine".

Some political observers believe that it would be politically risky to release Mr Mandela when the entire cabinet is on leave and the public response to the ANC leader's new-found status consequently more difficult to manage.

THE SAB and Sats strikes in the last few months of the year — the first a defeat for the trade union and the second apparently headed the same way — have temporarily drawn attention away from the fact that the labour movement has made substantial progress in various fields in 1989.

This year the unions emerged even more strongly as the pivotal political force internally among the militant anti-apartheid organisations. Cosatu went further, exerting a strong influence on the banned ANC and SACP with all the talk of political negotiation. It is worth remembering that the first hints of what was to come emerged from union conferences.

Back in May, at its annual conference, Numsa became the first organisation seriously to address the question, laying down the six now well-known preconditions for negotiation that were to become part of the Harare Declaration.

The document, which has now attained international prominence, was finalised at a meeting in Lusaka in July between Cosatu, the UDF, the ANC and the SACP.

Union influence on these organisations is reflected in policy as well as strategy. The ANC constitutional guidelines, unlike the Freedom Charter, entrench the right to strike. The recently published, SACP-drafted Workers' Charter does the same and makes further concessions to independent trade unionism and other "workerist" concerns that the SACP stood for a centralised state where workers would have not many more rights than they enjoy today.

This development is also a reflection of the fact that the old characterist versus workerist conflicts within Cosatu have all but been resolved. Those formerly labelled workerists can now say they are satisfied the labour movement is to be an equal partner in the Cosatu/MDM/ANC alliance, rather than a mere appendage.

At the very least, the two groupings have reached a "strategic compromise" which will, in the medium term, take them undivided through the critical political times ahead when unity will be paramount. Nactu, the number two federation,

Unions are now leading players in many arenas

ALAN FINE

has taken its place as a leader of the Africanist sector of the anti-apartheid movement. Several members of the newly-formed Pan Africanist Movement executive are also prominent officials of Nactu and its affiliates.

Nactu, however, has been less successful than Cosatu in resolving internal divisions. Conflict between the Africanists and BC adherents has come into the open — in disputes over attending the March Worker Summit and the December Conference for a Democratic Future, and the resignation of general secretary Puroshaw Ganay. Next year is likely to be a troubled one for the federation for this reason.

As anticipated, the Labour Relations Act again proved to be the main focus of union attention. Joint Cosatu/Nactu action, in the form of work stoppages, overtime bans and consumer boycotts were conducted with varying degrees of effectiveness.

But probably the most effective part of the campaign was conducted by Numsa in April and May when, during a rash of wildcat strikes, it refused to allow union officials to intervene, citing fear of section 79(2) which stipulates damages actions against unions for losses sustained during unlawful strikes.

This exacerbated the disputes, and forced government and employers to concede the law was not serving its purpose of minimising unlawful

strikes. As a result, this section will probably be repealed next year.

Agreement between the unions and employer federation Sascola on changes to the Act remains elusive, and the Manpower Minister's request to the National Manpower Commission for recommendations on restructuring the law is unlikely to be finalised in 1990. Further industrial action by the unions can be anticipated.

The Industrial Court faced its own upheavals, with former president Daan Ehlers being relieved of his duties.

Despite the tightening up of the economy from mid-year, the labour movement managed to keep wage increases appreciably above the inflation rate. An Andrew Levy, Johan Piron & Associates survey for the first nine months of the year found average negotiated increases to have been 17.4%.

6/29 21/11/29 114

retail sector companies and their suppliers will be hard hit.

Thus, companies will resist accepting to demands for increases in the 16% to 20% range as unions have come to expect in past years — a recipe for intensified wage conflict.

Apart from Sats and SAB, the most prominent strikes of the year occurred in the motor industry and at De Beers.

In contrast to the actions at SAB and Sats, the De Beers strike was conducted by both management and the NDM with a degree of coolness seldom seen before in the mining industry — a good omen for the future.

The two-week motor industry strike in August, while its purpose was less clear, was nevertheless linked to an issue which will probably become another major flash-point of 1990 — plant-level versus national collective bargaining.

Business is tending towards decentralised bargaining, purportedly to create more rational negotiating forums suited to the needs of individual companies and plants. The unions, on the other hand, see this as a cynical industrial equivalent of a divide and rule policy — to weaken their industry-wide bargaining power.

Numsa won its struggle for a national collective bargaining forum in the motor industry. But union victories on this issue were far less frequent than defeats.

The Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers' Union suffered a major setback with the closure of the printing industrial council. The Chemical Workers' Industrial Union made no progress in its efforts to create a single bargaining forum for the petroleum sector.

There is now a great deal of union talk about a major campaign against Barlow Rand, the leading corporate proponent of decentralised bargaining. Should the relevant unions get their act together, we will see a bitter test of strength.

The unions have had greater success in beginning to address the problems of building adequate health and welfare structures. The NDM and the Chamber of Mines established a new provident fund and Satsa yielded to a long-standing Numsa demand for converting the industry's pension fund into a flexible benefit fund.

The CWTU, meanwhile, is beginning to see signs of progress in its efforts to establish its own retirement benefit fund.

A transformation of medical aid systems, led by Numsa on the union side, is another development which will gain momentum in the years to come. Numsa is busy negotiating with Satsa the establishment of a sophisticated health care system. The unions, in co-operation with community groups, are also making an important contribution to finding solutions to the housing shortage.

In 1990, privatisation and government policies will require a sophisticated union response. Numsa's interventionist response to the Iscor share offer, and economic studies led by its education officer Alec Erwin, reported on recently, suggest the seeds of such a response are there.

Finally, the CWTU and Numsa, through their agreements with Mobil, Goodyear and Gillette, made significant progress in efforts to make the negotiation of terms of disinvestment an entrenched factor in SA industrial relations.

In the 10 years since black unions were officially recognised, the labour movement has become more cognitively more sophisticated. It has moved far beyond simple concerns of wages and working conditions to take the lead in the political, community and social arenas.

Prisoner sent regards to Mugabe

Mandela spoke to ANC leaders over the phone

Star (11A)
2/12/89

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has been talking to the exiled secretary-general of the organisation, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the organisation's secretary for external affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, on the telephone, it has been disclosed here.

Details of the telephone conversations were first given yesterday by President Mugabe of Zimbabwe who said Mr Nzo had passed on to him a message from Mr Mandela on the occasion of the inaugural congress of the new united Zanu (PF) party.

Good health

Mr Mugabe said: "We have received a message from Comrade Nelson Mandela and Comrade Nzo informed me at dinner last night that he had been talking with Mandela.

"We of this congress feel very grateful and delighted and very pleasantly surprised at this message from Mande-

la."

Today *The Herald* newspaper reported that the telephone contact between Mr Nzo and Mr Mandela was the first they had had for more than 30 years.

It added that Mr Mandela had also held a telephone conversation with Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Mandela was reported to be in high spirits and good health.

Yesterday the ANC said in Lusaka it fully supported the series of talks being carried out by Mr Mandela.

A spokesman for the ANC condemned accusations that Mr Mandela was conducting the talks without consulting the ANC leadership.

"Such charges are completely out of context because people fail to understand that Mr Mandela has been consulting the Mass Democratic Movement," the spokesman said.

He said, however, that it was wrong to label the talks being carried out by Mr Mandela as negotiations because no negotiations had yet started.

'We're free but we'll still fight for Alex'

FOUR released Alexandra activists have vowed to continue reviving civic structures and mount a campaign for affordable houses in the township

Paul Tshabalala, Mzwanele Mayekiso, Siphon Khubeka and Richard Mdakane, all executive committee members of the newly formed Alexandra Civic Organisation (Aco), were freed early this week following a 15-day hunger strike. They suspended their strike last Friday after promises of release from detention. They felt the government wanted to intimidate and stop them from participating in community activities.

Aco's publicity secretary, Obed Bapela said a march has been planned for early next year. Various organisations, churches and trade unions will be invited. Aco plans to embark on other projects which still have to be finalised with other Alexandra organisations.

"Strengthening Aco and other community structures will also strengthen

By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

the Mass Democratic Movement," said Bapela.

The housing issue in Alexandra is a sensitive one. Many flats stand empty because people cannot afford to buy them. Shacks are beginning to mushroom in Alex.

"The flats are not accessible to majority of the people because they are expensive," said Bapela.

He said the council was not allowing people to rent the flats, instead it was selling them at prices ranging from R21 000 for a bachelor's flat to R46 000 and R66 000 for four-room and six-room flats respectively.

"People cannot afford to buy the flats. The demand is that they should be rented at an affordable price. Consideration must be given to the income of the workers when talking about affordable prices for flats and homes," said Bapela.


He added that 85 percent of workers in Alex earned less than R500 a month and that 53 percent of Alex residents were unemployed.

The money which is being pumped in for upgrading the township is only used for infrastructural purposes and not for providing more houses. "Presently houses in Alex are being built by the private sector which builds for profit."

Aco wants land to be made available to cater for the increasing number of people in the township, which is home to more than 200 000.

Last issue of the year

This is the last issue of the Weekly Mail this year. We will be publishing our next issue on Friday, January 19 1990. We wish our readers a happy and peaceful festive season.

 11A wmail
21/12-18/1/90

24/12 - 18/1/90

(scribble) (1/19) wmail

SABC news teams on alert for Mandela

ALL SABC news camera teams have been placed on alert for the possible release of Nelson Mandela before Christmas eve.

However, Mass Democratic Movement sources who have recently visited the ANC leader in Victor Verster Prison in Paarl say he is unlikely to be released in the next few weeks.

They point to visits he is due to have in the coming two weeks. They also say Mandela has a number of January engagements — in prison.

But, with a flurry of diplomatic activity and unusually generous SABC-TV coverage of the issue, the country's longest-serving political prisoner appears to be closer to release than ever.

Meanwhile, it has emerged that references to Mandela at this week's meeting between Sir Robin Renwick, British ambassador to South Africa, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, were not the result of any new specific request from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The rendezvous was just a normal scheduled meeting at which the issue of Mandela's release was raised.

The meeting did however raise hopes that the British — who have considerable clout over Pretoria — were asserting more strongly than ever their will to see Mandela free before this Christmas.

Speculation ran wild. Newspapers this week reported various dates for his release: Christmas Day, New Year's day, the day parliament opens in February.

When Thatcher announced in the British parliament that she would like to see Mandela free before Christmas and that she would make her wishes known to Pretoria, South Africans read it as a serious indication that it was a matter of days before Mandela walked out his prison home at Victor Verster in Paarl.

The British embassy said their Prime Minister had not directed any specific request to the South African government regarding Mandela's release, other than Britain's long-standing insistence that he be freed.

While the South Africans chat to their Western allies, Mandela has been speaking to MDM and trade union leaders.

Mandela met the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and expressed appreciation for the

BY THANDEKA QGUBULE

role played by the church in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Others who visited Mandela this week were Sydney Mufamadi, assistant general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Fawu president Chris Dlamini, Cosatu vice-president John Gomomo, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, and National Union of Metalworkers general secretary Moses Mayekiso.

Mufamadi, speaking on behalf of the delegation, said Mandela wished to be released now but would not beg for it.

Although the statement issued by the union leaders on their return from Victor Verster Prison said Mandela "is not a go-between, but is in a position to meet government officials and to convey their views to our movement", the prisoner and the ANC is playing a two-pronged diplomatic game.

Mandela is using his unique position to play what many believe is a sophisticated diplomatic game.

Mandela can facilitate and cover diplomatic ground that is crucial before the parties can begin talking to each other, while the ANC sticks to its guns and insists that the government create a "climate conducive" to negotiations.

Mandela has presented a 10-page document to the government setting out his ideas for peace. ANC sources have confirmed that they have in their possession a copy of the document.

The organisation approves of the document that encapsulates all Mandela's discussions with the government.

The document elaborates for the government ideas and discussions surrounding armed struggle and the ANC's relationship with the South African Communist Party.

Restriction lifted

THE government yesterday lifted the Emergency restriction order on United Democratic Front national treasurer and Johannesburg attorney Azhar Cachalia.

Cachalia has been restricted since February 1988. He was briefly house arrested last year, but that order was lifted within a few weeks.

ANC gives nod of approval to Mandela's talks

B. Dan 21/12/89
LUSAKA — The ANC yesterday expressed full support for the series of talks its leader Nelson Mandela was engaged in from his Victor Verster, Paarl, prison home.

An ANC spokesman condemned charges from certain quarters that Mandela was conducting the talks without consulting the ANC leadership.

"Such charges are completely out of context because people fail to understand that he has been consulting the mass democratic movement

"He has met people like (SACC general secretary) the Rev Frank Chikane, who is a very important church leader and among the MDM's leaders in the country," he said

He also criticised people who labelled the talks negotiations, because negotiations had not yet started

The spokesman praised Mandela in particular for arranging meetings with leading trade unionists, including Sydney Mufamadi, Cyril Ramaphosa, Moses

Mayekiso, Chris Dlamini and John Gomomo

"He is not doing these things without consultation with the MDM."

The spokesman also said that veteran ANC leader Govan Mbeki, who was granted a passport recently, more than a year after his release from prison, had indicated that he might not travel abroad until his colleagues, including Walter Sisulu, were given their passports. — Reuter.

(117)
(113)
(11A)

Mandela in phone contact with ANC in Harare

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has been talking to the exiled secretary-general of the organisation, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the organisation's secretary for external affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, on the telephone, it has been disclosed here

Details of the telephone conversations were first given yesterday by President Mugabe of Zimbabwe who said Mr Nzo had passed on to him a message from Mr Mandela on the occasion of the inaugural congress of the new United Zanu (PF) party.

Mr Mugabe said "We have received a message from Comrade Nelson Mandela, and Comrade Nzo informed me at dinner last night that he had been talking with Mandela

"We of this congress feel grateful and delighted and pleasantly surprised at this message from Mandela"

Today the Herald newspaper reported that the telephone contact between Mr Nzo and Mr Mandela was the first they had had for more than 30 years

It added that Mr Mandela had also held a telephone conversation with Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Mandela was reported to be in high spirits and good health.

Yesterday the ANC said in Lusaka it fully supported the series of talks being carried out by Mr Mandela.

A spokesman for the ANC condemned accusations that Mr Mandela was conducting the talks without consulting the ANC leadership.

"Such charges are completely out of context because people fail to understand that Mr Mandela has been consulting the Mass Democratic Movement," the spokesman said

Govt lifts restrictions on UDF's Cachalia

11A
21/12/89

The Government has lifted the severe restriction order on United Democratic Front national treasurer and civil rights lawyer Mr Azhar Cachalia

Mr Cachalia has been under restrictions of various types since February 1988

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, in a letter dated December 18, said the "amended restriction order" served on him on June 16, 1989, "has been lifted"

Mr Cachalia was first restricted in February 1988 when 14 organisations, including the UDF, were placed under such severe restrictions they were

said to have effectively been banned. The organisations were virtually limited to administering their offices.

The restrictions on Mr Cachalia at the time prevented him from being involved in UDF activities, giving interviews to the press or in any way contributing to the preparation or publication of any article.

His restriction order was renewed in June 1988 and in June this year, he was served another order putting him under house arrest. The house arrest was revoked after a public outcry and representations from the legal firm for which he works — Sapa.

The year Mandela took shape

11A

Stav 21/12/89

As the year draws to a close, one ponders on how to characterise it. Future historians may well identify 1989 as the year in which Mr Nelson Mandela emerged from the legend surrounding his name to take on a more definite shape.

The year was marked by a series of talks between the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader who last month commemorated his 27th year in prison — and a series of eminent South Africans.

His interlocutors included Messrs F W de Klerk and P W Botha, South Africa's present and immediate past presidents.

The stream of visitors to Mr Mandela's bungalow in the grounds of the Victor Verster prison embraced a wide range of people, they included Mr Japhta Masemola, of the rival Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr Richard Maphonya and Mr Sam Motsuenyane, two black business notables, and of course, leaders of the pro ANC Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

The first point to emerge from these meetings is that Mr Mandela is still a loyal member of the ANC. It is an important, if self-evident, point.

Judging from comments emanating from ruling circles, starting with President de Klerk, the view persists that Mr Mandela is less committed to armed struggle and an altogether nicer and more reasonable fellow than his comrades in Lusaka or even in the MDM at home. It may be a genuine view, it may be a Machiavellian attempt to drive a wedge between Mr Mandela and the leadership corps of the ANC MDM camp.

A careful reading of Mr Mandela's statement after his meeting with Mr Botha shows that his position is the same as that of the ANC's.

Mr Mandela stressed that his position had not deviated for the last 28 years, "namely that dialogue with the Mass Democratic Movement, and in particular with the ANC is the only



Mr F W de Klerk, ANC leader wants to pre-empt his plans.



Mr Sam Motsuenyane visited Mr Mandela in prison.

There is some anxiety in extra-parliamentary circles that Mr Mandela may have been outmanoeuvred by his captors into unwittingly compromising the ANC. But it seems Mr Mandela is striving to form as broad an alliance as possible between anti-apartheid forces. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country."

His choice of the phrase 'the last 28 years' is important. It takes him back to 1961 when the ANC, despairing of a peaceful solution after it had been outlawed and its leaders denied the opportunity of organising peaceful protest, formed its underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), and, on December 16 of that year, embarked on armed resistance.

There was nothing in his statement of July 12 or in subsequent events to contradict the declaration he made through his daughter, Ms Zinzi Mandela, on February 10 1985. "I am a member of the African National Congress," he said then in response to Mr

Botha's offer to free him if he renounced armed struggle. "I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo (the ANC president) is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly 50 years."

"It was only 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 from Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence."

Give or take a sentence or two, Mr Mandela's statement of July 12, read in conjunction with his last public declaration of February 1985, amounts to endorsement of the ANC's present position on negotiations as

outlined in the Harare Declaration.

These elementary deductions are necessary because of anxieties in extra-parliamentary opposition circles — and even the MDM — that Mr Mandela may have been outmanoeuvred by his captors into unwittingly compromising the ANC.

There is another side to Mr Mandela, however, it may have fuelled concern that he has somehow strayed from the true path. He has increasingly emerged in the past few months as the elder statesman of black nationalism. He is emphatically non-sectarian in outlook, his loyalty to the ANC does not preclude co-operation with anti-apartheid forces of a different ideological hue.

Extrapolating between the lines, it seems that Mr Mandela is striving to form as broad an alliance as possible between anti-apartheid forces. His strategic objective, it appears, is twofold: to pre-empt any plan by Mr de Klerk to deploy the age-old strategy of divide and rule and to forestall a debilitating internecine struggle in black ranks.

It is in that context that his talks with Mr Masemola and black business leaders should be seen, it is against the same background that his letter to the Zulu leader and Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez, should be viewed.

Where Chief Buthelez and the ANC have been involved in a public exchange of insults, Mr Mandela wrote to the Inkatha president welcoming his role in fighting for the release of political prisoners.

He then added: "The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity."

Mr Mandela's quest to see whether the road to a negotiated settlement can be opened up again, and his pursuit of a united front of anti-apartheid forces, is in line with his imminent public re-entry into the political arena as the non-sectarian sage of the struggle.

Mandela 'quiet' about FW talks

11A

ALAN FINE

TRADE unionists who visited Nelson Mandela in Paarl on Tuesday said yesterday he had not told them the contents of his talks last week with President FW de Klerk, explaining he wanted to first brief the exiled ANC executive on the matter.

They were thus unaware whether Mandela's talks with De Klerk and other cabinet ministers gave any substance to widespread rumours that De Klerk planned to make a dramatic announcement in a Christmas or New Year message.

The rumours have it that either Mandela's release or the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the lifting of the emergency would be announced. B 10 am 21/12/89

It was reported from London yesterday that talk about the ANC's unbanning had taken hold in senior ANC circles.

Cosatu general secretary Sidney Mafumadi explained on Tuesday after his visit to Mandela that the purpose of Mandela's talks with government was so he would be able to inform the movement on what government's intentions were.

It was generally believed Mandela would be released only after other substantial steps had been taken to free political activity in SA.

This was because Mandela had made it clear to government that, even if released, he would give little credit to government if the ANC was still unable to operate freely inside the country.

It appeared government remained nervous about a new outbreak of political violence.

The Cosatu delegation did not believe Mandela's release before next year was likely.

Restrictions on Cachalia are lifted

RESTRICTIONS on UDF national treasurer and civil rights lawyer Azhar Cachalia, in effect since February 1988, were lifted yesterday, he confirmed (22) (11/1)

In a letter dated December 18, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said the "amended restriction order" served on him on June 16 1989 "has been lifted".

Cachalia was first restricted in February 1988 when restrictions on 14 organisations were said to have left them effectively banned. The UDF among them was virtually limited to having an office and administering it. B104-21/12/89

Commenting on the lifting of the order, Cachalia said he felt he and the UDF should never have been restricted.

"Apartheid is a threat to safety of public and not the UDF. Now that the order has been lifted, I will continue to function as an activist of the UDF in the struggle to end white domination in SA."

Apart from the restriction orders, Cachalia had for years had difficulty obtaining a passport.

In June this year he was granted a temporary travel permit to allow him, as part of a UDF delegation, to travel to Washington and London for meetings with US President George Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

He was refused a passport to attend a meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers in Canberra in September, but given a temporary travel permit to allow him to attend the anti-apartheid conference in Paris last month, organised by French President Francois Mitterrand's wife Danielle. — Sapa.

Funds row

From Page 1

claimed that all Kagiso board members shared the same ideology

Responding to claims that Kagiso had financed the launch of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers and the Association of Democratic Journalists when they did not qualify in terms of the criteria he had given, Dangor said money was given to Nadel at a time when it was to come together with the Black Lawyers Association.

The purpose of the grant, he said, was to fund certain projects which would ultimately help the "victims of apartheid". He would not specify the projects as he had not been given permission to do so

He also said money given to the ADJ was to fund certain projects. Again he did not specify the projects saying it was up to the ADJ to do so

Brother Jude, secretary general of the SACBC, said he was amazed at Molala's claims as he had explained that conferences and rallies did not fall within the criteria used to give out funds

He said there was a misconception that there were "endless funds" available in the SACBC's coffers. Jude said funds were limited

"The funds are administered without political consideration. We have awarded bursaries to students right across the political spectrum and there is no preferential treatment," he said.

The Communications Department of the SACC said in a statement that the church body was shocked at the allegations that it provided funding for the Masemola rally after only some "arm twisting"

The statement said the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, had written letters to Molala and Benny Alexander, general secretary of the Pan Africanist Movement, requesting a meeting in which "this matter will be clarified and put to rest"

"If the meeting called for by the SACC does not materialise before Christmas, the Council intends to pursue the matter vigorously in the New Year," the statement read

Mr Khangalo Makhado, director of the Northern Transvaal Advice Office (Ntao), said his centre was snubbed by the SACC when it applied for emergency funding to cover its legal costs after it was charged under the Fund Raising Act. It was accused of getting overseas funding without Government permission.

The charges were later withdrawn but the centre, which operates on a shoestring budget, had to settle legal fees amounting to R15 000

Makhado said he first wrote to Chikane on August 16 requesting emergency relief but did not get any reply

Four months later, on December 13, he faxed another letter and was waiting for the response

22/12/89
11A Sowetan
Urgent meeting

PROMINENT cleric the Rev Frank Chikane has invited leaders of Azapo and the Pan Africanist Movement to a meeting to discuss allegations that the SA Council of Churches had funded the Jeff Masemola Welcome Rally after some "arm-twisting".

Mr Molala and Mr Alexander made the allegations at the weekend rally to welcome Mr Masemola who was released from prison recently with seven ANC leaders - Sapa

"The matter is considered by the SACC to be serious enough to warrant an urgent meeting before the Christmas break," said Mr Chikane in a letter to Mr Nkosi Molala, president of Azapo and Mr Benny Alexander, PAM general secretary.

Mr Chikane said no response had yet been received from the two organisations. He had been shocked by the accusations, he added.

Mandela in phone talks with ANC exiles

8/Day 22/12/89

DANIEL SIMON

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela was in telephone contact with two of the organisation's top exiled leaders this week, and used the opportunity to send a message to Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

Confirming the calls, Prison Services spokesman Colonel Roy Gamble said last night Mandela was given permission to speak to both ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo and external affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki on Tuesday.

This followed reports that Mugabe had said he received a message from Mandela via Nzo on the occasion of the inauguration

of the new Zanu (PF) party.

Gamble said the Prison Services had no further comment.

Reports in Harare said that Mandela asked Nzo about his family and passed on greetings to the congress of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) party, which Nzo and Mbeki were attending.

In Cape Town yesterday, veteran human rights activist Helen Joseph spent several hours visiting Mandela at the Victor Verster Prison.

Sapa reports that UDF vice-president and Western Cape president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers Dullah Omar confirmed Joseph had seen Mandela for "several hours".

This was the 84-year-old Joseph's first meeting with Mandela in 26 years. Previous requests for a visit had been refused.

A second five-man delegation from Cosatu will visit Mandela today.

The group will include Cosatu's national president Elijah Barayi.

On Tuesday five Cosatu members spent five hours with Mandela.

Key Market Movements — Dec 20 to Dec 21

REUTERS

B/day 22/12/89

ANC men seek passports again

~~EDYTH~~ EDYTH BULBRING 11A

FIVE of the seven recently released ANC leaders have reapplied for passports, a Home Affairs spokesman confirmed yesterday.

They are expected to travel to Lusaka in January to consult the ANC. The spokesman said he had received fresh applications from Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi and Ahmed Kathrada. The five initially withdrew their applications for passports on December 12.

A separate passport application by Raymond Mhlaba was still under consideration, he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports Sisulu said in a Christmas message in the New Nation newspaper yesterday that South Africans had a duty to intervene in the troubled Natal townships to minimise, if not to eliminate, the violence there.

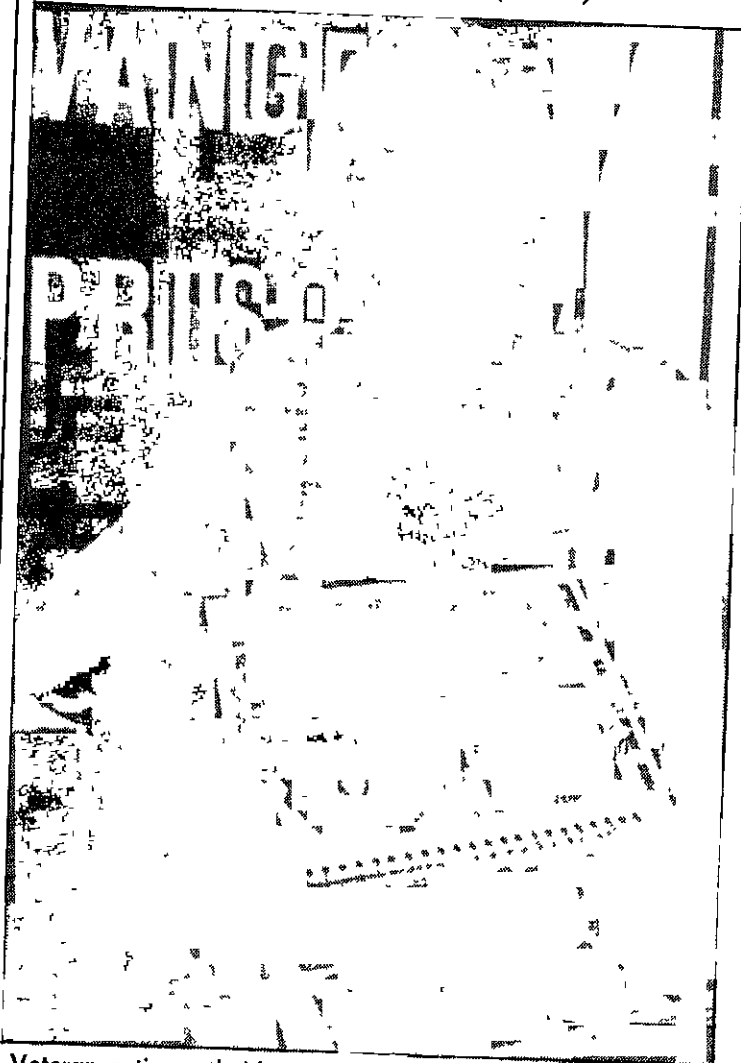
He added that the end of the decade gave South Africans some hope for the relaxation of tension in the country as a whole.

□ SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane has invited leaders of Azapo and the Pan Africanist Movement to a meeting to discuss allegations that the SACC had funded the Jeff Mase-mola Welcome Rally after some "arm-twisting".

"The matter is considered by the SACC to be serious enough to warrant an urgent meeting before the Christmas break," said Chikane in a letter to Nkosi Molala, president of Azapo and Benny Alexander, PAM general secretary. Chikane said no response had yet been received from the two organisations.

Helen Joseph (84) meets Mandela

(11A)



Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph displays the photograph album which prison authorities would not allow her to give to Mr Mandela

CAPE TOWN — Mrs Helen Joseph, long time human rights activist, spent several hours visiting African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela at the Victor Verster Prison yesterday

STAR 24/1/89

(11A)

Mr Dullah Omar, vice-president of the UDF and Western Cape president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, confirmed that 84-year-old Mrs Joseph had seen Mr Mandela for "several hours"

Today a five-man delegation from the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) will visit the jailed leader

On Tuesday five Cosatu members spent six hours with Mr Mandela. The delegation emerged saying the ANC leader "wishes to be released now"

MORE VISITORS

Today's visitors will be Mr John Ernstzen, national secretary of the SA Municipal Workers' Union, Mr James Motlatsi, national chairman of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Elija Barayi, president of Cosatu, Mr Lionel October, general secretary of SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, and Mr Ronald Mofokeng, national treasurer of Cosatu

● Five African National Congress leaders released from prison on October 15 re-applied for passports on Wednesday after withdrawing their applications on December 12, a Home Affairs spokesman confirmed in Pretoria yesterday

The spokesman said fresh applications were lodged on Wednesday for Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada

Mr Raymond Mhlaba has lodged a separate application, while Mr Oscar Mpetha has already been granted a passport — Sapa.

NATAL VIOLENCE

FWD 22/12/89

119

No place to hide

It's going to be a bleak festive season for thousands of people who used to live in the black townships north of Durban. The worst political violence in Natal in four years has been raging since the beginning of the month. Many have fled and are homeless.

The death toll since December 1 is estimated at between 90 and 120, while Roy Ainslie of the Democratic Party's monitoring group, says 400 houses have been destroyed — a conservative estimate.

Durban City Council, churchmen and other concerned groups are trying to accommodate the refugees but hundreds of families are wandering around the white suburbs trying to find shelter or sleeping in the bush. People forced to leave the townships say they have been told by vigilante groups not to return because they will find their homes burned down or occupied by somebody else.

One cause of the violence is the continuing battle for supremacy between members and supporters of Inkatha and groups affiliated to the United Democratic Front. However, both the police and the DP monitoring group report large bands of unemployed thugs taking advantage by moving in behind the fighting factions to rob and plunder.

More police have been moved into the northern townships but seem to be having little effect. With most of the men now returning, as factories close down for Christmas, things look grim. ■

B/Dan 22/12/89

11A

UDF-Inkatha negotiation prospects 'looking good'

DURBAN — Prospects for future negotiations between Inkatha and the UDF looked good yesterday when representatives of the two organisations met informally at a beachfront hotel to discuss violence in Natal

They agreed to meet again early in the New Year

The four representatives, who held a secret meeting earlier this week, were Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha national council chairman Frank Mdlalose, National Medical and Dental Association president Dr Diliza Mji, and National Union of Metalworkers of SA education officer Alec Erwin

In a statement afterwards, they said the meeting had been held to "explore

Own Correspondent

ways of assisting local communities in the troubled areas of Natal and KwaZulu and to address the problem of violence jointly

"The meeting also reviewed past events and explored obstacles impeding the implementation of the July peace proposals, which would have culminated in a conference of the presidents of Inkatha, Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC

"Those at the meeting expressed grave concern at the resurgence of violence in these areas and urgently appealed for calm and peace, especially during the festive season," the statement said

Earlier this week the Durban city council said it would appoint a steering committee on January 9 to arrange a conference to find solutions to the unrest in Natal

Council management chairman Jan Venter said representatives from central and KwaZulu governments, commerce, trade and industry would be invited to the conference

Meanwhile, police spokesman Charl du

Toit said a suspect was detained early yesterday in connection with the killing of Chief Mbambo of Molwen near Hillcrest, who was gunned down as he left his kraal earlier this week

There were no reported incidents of violence in black townships in the Durban and Maritzburg areas during the past 24 hours

According to the official police unrest report, a group of blacks fired shots at a police van at Ndoleni near Richmond, causing extensive damage

No injuries

Police returned fire and drove off their attackers

At Lamontville near Durban, a car was extensively damaged when it was set alight by a group of people

No injuries were reported

□ Two men were arrested in Cape Town after allegedly setting fire to a railway carriage between Nkabela and Khayalisha stations

NATAL UNREST DEATH TOLL

September 1987 to January 1989	668
February 1989 — December 20 1989	441
Past 24 hours' official toll	0
TOTAL	1 109

Cachalia dedicated to struggle

STAR 22/12/79 (1A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Civil rights lawyer and United Democratic Front (UDF) national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia, who has had his restrictions lifted this week, plans to take part fully in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) which emerged during his restriction period.

In an interview with The Star yesterday, Mr Cachalia said he was as dedicated to the struggle against apartheid now as he was before he was restricted in February last year. (300)

He said since the UDF still remained restricted, it would not be possible for him to participate fully in its activities. But he would "participate to the maximum" in the MDM. (11A)

Mr Cachalia was first restricted in February last year when 14 organisations — including the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Azanian People's Organisation — were virtually banned and allowed only to keep and administer an office.

Min
18
10
-7
-6
13
12
20
8
2
24

Mayor asks to visit Mandela

By PETER DENNEHY

THE Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, has sent a gift to Mr Nelson Mandela along with a message that he would be "very honoured" if he could be granted a visit to Mr Mandela in the near future.

Mr Oliver had tea with veteran anti-apartheid activist Mrs Helen Joseph on Wednesday. She was to visit Mr Mandela in Victor Verster Prison and Mr Oliver asked her whether she would deliver a letter to him along with a gift of a coffee-table book entitled "Cape Town, the Fairest Cape"

Mr Oliver said in his letter to Mr Mandela that Capetonians were "mindful of the fact that you have spent so many years of your life here in Cape Town, albeit on Robben Island which officially is in the city of Cape Town"

"We have long been aware of your presence and of the pressure on the central government to release you from prison

"The city of Cape Town supports the call for your freedom and we look forward to the day when this may become a reality in your life and in the life of South Africa"

'Love and affection'

Mr Oliver assured Mr Mandela that the city was committed to working for a society free of any form of discrimination

"We are seeking ways and means of becoming more involved in playing a meaningful role in the change for a peaceful society in our country"

Mr Oliver said he would like to meet Mr Mandela to talk about the council's commitment to bringing about a post-apartheid society

"I am aware you are under considerable pressure in terms of receiving visitors who wish to see you but I would be very honoured if I could be granted a short time with you in the very near future," Mr Oliver said

He wished Mr Mandela "every blessing at Christmas time and a happy and healthy 1990"

"It is our wish and our prayer that your release into society may be imminent and that at the earliest opportunity we may hear with joy of your freedom

"The accompanying gift comes to you with much love and affection"

• Mrs Joseph visited Mr Mandela

Work for open society, Mayor urges Cape Town

Municipal Reporter

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, wishes all the people of the Mother City and the visitors on holiday here "a peaceful, non-violent and happy Christmas".

In his Christmas message, the mayor said Capetonians had been the first to participate in a peace march, illustrating the "strength that comes from our togetherness and mutual support".

Historically, Cape Town had been seen as the gateway to Southern Africa. "Now our ideal is to make Cape Town the gateway to a post-apartheid South Africa," he said.

He appealed to all Capetonians to commit themselves to achieving an open society "so that we can live together peacefully".

The mayor also remembered those who would be lonely at Christmas, and the aged, the infirm, the sick, the depressed and the unemployed

"We should also remember those for whom Christmas is a working day in our hospitals and traffic, fire, ambulance and other services"

Mr Oliver appealed to all to exercise caution and sobriety on the roads and "courteous respect for the needs and feelings of fellow citizens".

yesterday and delivered the mayor's letter and book. She was not allowed to take in her own gift to Mr Mandela — a photo album full of pictures depicting the women's struggle in South Africa

A second five-man delegation from Cosatu will visit Mr Mandela today. On Tuesday five Cosatu members were due to spend five hours with Mr Mandela. The talks lasted a little more than six hours and the delegation emerged saying the ANC leader "wished to be released now".

• Sapa reports that South African authorities have for the first time permitted Mr Mandela to talk by telephone with exiled leaders of the ANC

Reports from Harare said Mr Alfred Nzo, general-secretary of the ANC, had spoken to Mr Mandela for the first time in 26 years on Tuesday night

'Young Lions' to be buried

11A

TWO Daveyton "Young Lions", whose bodies were found at different hospitals at the weekend, will be buried at the local cemetery tomorrow

Clarence Lukhele (19), chairman of the Daveyton Youth Congress (Dayco), and Richard Mhlongo (20), treasurer of Dayco, went missing under mysterious circumstances last week

They were last seen alive last Wednesday

After their parents had searched for them at prisons, mortuaries and hospitals, Lukhele's body was found at the Far East Rand Hospital and Mhlongo's at the Hillbrow Hospital on Sunday

Although it is not known how they died, there are fears that they may have been victims of "hit squads"

A funeral service for Lukhele will be held at the Lionel Kent Centre from 11am.

The cortege will leave for the cemetery at 1.45pm.

Mhlongo's funeral service will be held at his home in Bhengu Street from noon.

The cortege will join Lukhele's on the way to the cemetery.

They will be buried side by side

20/12/89 Sowetan

Second Cosatu group sees Mandela

STRE 23/12/87
PAARL — Jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela would love to be able to go home but does not want to be released empty-handed

By this he means he would like to see a total ending of apartheid in all its forms, said Mr John Ernstzen, national secretary of the SA Municipal Workers' Union

Mr Ernstzen was acting as spokesman for the second five-man delegation from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to meet Mr Mandela this week

"Mr Mandela said he wants to be released into an environment where he would be able to move freely among his people and in which the people themselves would also be able to move about freely," Mr Ernstzen said yesterday

"In his talks with the State President, Mr Mandela had made it clear that he was not

negotiating with the government but sees himself as a facilitator"

Whatever Mr Mandela was doing, he was not acting as an individual but on mandate from the ANC. He believed in the leadership, Mr Ernstzen said

"Our most important impression is that he is a man of great stature and left us feeling greatly encouraged about his practical approach to the political situation in the country."

Asked whether Mr Mandela had given any indication of his release date, Mr Ernstzen said "Unselfish as he is, he has placed his position in context relating to all political prisoners

"He would like to see the cessation of all hanging, treason trials and other methods the State is using while claiming to be trying to solve the country's problems

"Although the six hours we spent may have seemed a long time to people outside, to us it was like six minutes," Mr Ernstzen said

He said a wide range of topics was discussed and a more comprehensive statement would be issued later, after his delegation had conferred and consulted with the five who met Mr Mandela on Tuesday

The men who saw Mr Mandela yesterday were all members of the central executive committee of Cosatu

Mr Ernstzen was accompanied by Mr James Motlatsi, national chairman of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Elija Barayi, national president of Cosatu, Mr Lionel October, general secretary of the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, and Mr Ronald Mofokeng, national treasurer of Cosatu — Sapa

Recently released ANC leader held in Ciskei - claim

EAST LONDON — One of the recently released ANC leaders, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, was allegedly detained by Ciskei police yesterday afternoon

The president of the United Democratic Front in the Border region, Mr Mluleki George, said Mr Mkwayi, who was visiting the region, had addressed a meeting of youths in Dimbaza

Ciskei police had arrived after Mr Mkwayi had left and had ordered the youths to disperse. They had done so, Mr George said.

At about 5.15 pm, Ciskei police had arrived at a house in Debe Nek where Mr Mkwayi was staying and detained him, Mr George said.

Asked to comment on the alleged detention, the deputy Director-General for Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Headman Somtunzi, said he could not do so and referred questions to the Ciskei police public relations officer, Brigadier Avery-Ngaki.

Brigadier Ngaki said he had no knowledge of the incident as he had "left the office early", but added he was not prepared to answer questions over the telephone and would reply only to a telefaxed questionnaire.

● The SA Police public relations division in Pretoria has confirmed that police used teargas to disperse unlawful gatherings in Stutterheim's Kubusie township and Ginsberg near King William's Town on Christmas Day during visits to the area by Mr Mkwayi.

The action was taken after police vehicles were allegedly stoned. Police said no injuries were reported. — Sapa.

23/12/89



(119)

STAR

UDF man killed after threats

STAL 23/12/89 (11A)
Staff Reporter

Mr Eric Liberty, a leading activist of the Emalahleni Civic Association in Witbank, was stabbed to death on Christmas Eve, it was announced yesterday.

In a statement, the southern Transvaal region of the United Democratic Front said Mr Liberty, who was detained for a month between September and October this year, had received numerous death threats.

He and his family also received obscene phone calls and letters, the statement said. It added that

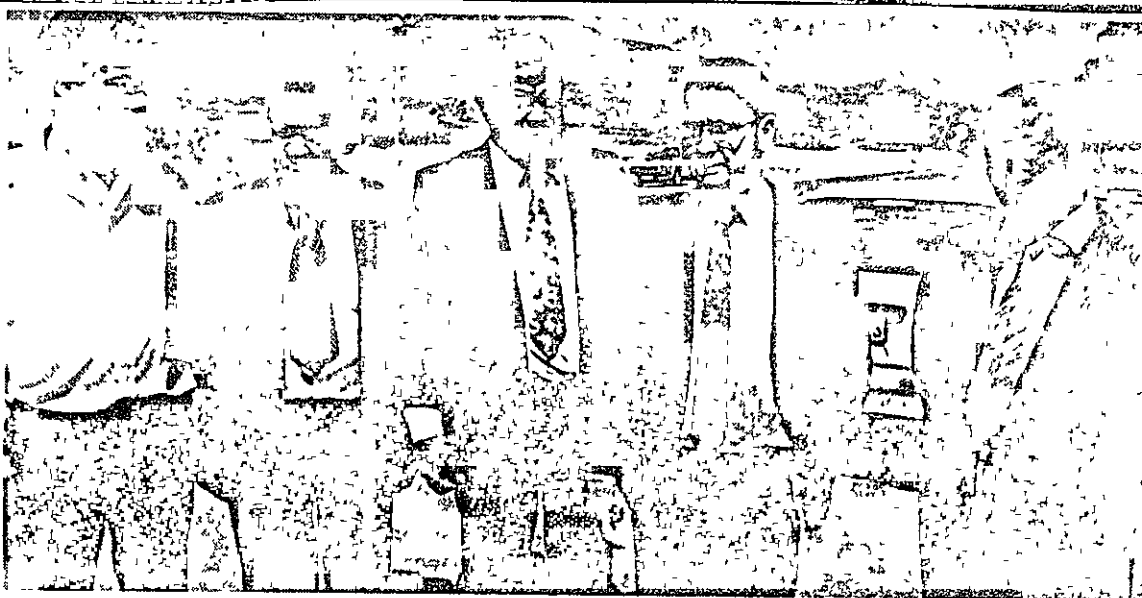
he was injured after being forced off the N12 freeway.

Mr Liberty, who was a member of various organisations within the Mass Democratic Movement, will be buried on Saturday at Witbank's old Pretoria Cemetery.

His burial will be preceded by a service at the Lynnville Community Hall from 11 30 am until 2 pm

He is survived by his wife and two children

Witbank police confirmed that Mr Liberty had been stabbed to death and said they were investigating.



UNION MEN . . . Pictured after their meeting with Mr Mandela yesterday are, from left, Mr Lionel October, Mr Elijah Barayi, Mr James Motlatsi, Mr John Ernstzen, and Mr Ronald Mofokeng.

Picture DAVE ATTWOOD

Union leaders meet Mandela

CAPL-TMFS 23/12/89 118

Staff Reporters

A HIGH-LEVEL delegation of Cosatu trade unionists, the second in a week, visited Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday for six hours of wide-ranging discussions at Victor Verster Prison.

The delegation comprised Mr Elijah Barayi, national president of Cosatu; Mr Ronald Mofokeng, national treasurer; Mr James Motlatsi, president of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM); Mr Lionel October, general secretary of the SA Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU); and Mr John Ernstzen, national secretary of the SA Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU).

The visit followed confirmation by the government yesterday that Mr Mandela would not be released this year.

Attention has now turned to other possible steps President F W de Klerk might announce or hint at to improve the climate for negotiation when he addresses the nation at 8pm on Sunday night.

Speculation in political circles is that Mr De Klerk could announce steps to ease the emergency and allow the return of exiles before finally releasing Mr Mandela next year.

Mr Ernstzen, who acted as spokesman when the unionists emerged about 3.30pm, said the delegation had been "greatly encouraged by Mr Mandela's practical approach to the problems of South Africa".

His release had been discussed. Although he wanted to be released now, Mr Mandela had spoken of his impending release "in the context of the release of all political prisoners and the

cessation of all political hangings and treason trials".

"He does not want to be released empty-handed," Mr Ernstzen explained. "He wants to bring something back to the people he represents."

Asked whether Mr Mandela was directing the anti-apartheid struggle from his prison bungalow, Mr Ernstzen said the ANC leader would not take on the mantle of directing the struggle from above.

"He does not act as an individual, but on mandate and with the full support and approval of the ANC."

Mr Ernstzen said the ANC leader "would like to see a total dismantling of apartheid and a solution to the land question".

Mr Mandela had not yet indicated whether he would agree to see the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Gordon Oliver, who requested a visit this week.

LP trustee may be axed over funds scandal

CAH Tru's 27/12/89 11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Labour Party's annual congress could start with a bang today in Kimberley when the ongoing row about how the party leadership has handled thousands of rands of "secret" funds comes under the spotlight

First on the carpet will be LP trustee Mr Roy Williams, who has fuelled suspicion and unhappiness about the sensitive issue by releasing a letter he wrote to LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse asking for more information about a R250 000 donation to the party, as well as payouts of R10 000 to Mr Hendrickse and LP secretary Mr Abe Williams and R30 000 to the party leader's secret "discretionary fund"

The party leadership declined to be drawn into public disclosure on the monies and instead summoned Mr Roy Williams to appear before a closed session of the national executive before the congress is formally opened

There has been speculation that Mr Roy Williams might be axed for embarrassing the party leadership by going public on the sensitive issue

However, Mr Hendrickse may him-

self have to face opposition at the congress for the way he has handled party finances and other party matters

Some elements within the party believe that the "Hendrickse clan" have received undue favouritism and clout in the handling of party affairs

There have even been suggestions that Mr Hendrickse's leadership role could come under pressure, but the all-powerful leader is likely to successfully counter any such manoeuvre.

Making waves

However, it is clear that Mr Hendrickse no longer enjoys the level of support that he had when he was locked in battle with the ruling National Party under Mr P W Botha

Some LP sources argue that Mr Roy Williams is making waves for the party because he failed to gain a position as a nominated MP after losing his seat in the last election. However, the LP did make him a President's Councillor — a position which no longer carries a remuneration package equivalent to that of an MP

● Mr Hendrickse formally opens the congress in Kimberley tonight

Sisulu celebrates Xmas in posh suburb

11A 27/12/89
Lowelan

AFRICAN National Congress stalwart Mr Walter Sisulu had "the best Christmas of my life", spending the day with more than 100 fellow-activists at a celebration in the northern Johannesburg suburb of Highlands North

Released from jail this year, it was his first Christmas as a free man in 26 years

"It was quite big and exciting, the first Christmas I have enjoyed so much

"It was a wonderfully special experience to see all the friends we haven't seen for so many years and to meet so many we have not met before," he said

The gathering reached a poignant climax at noon when veteran activist Mrs Helen Joseph performed a function she had started in 1957 - a special commemoration of those "in the struggle" who had died, fled the country, or were serving jail sentences

As she outlined the history of the commemoration, Rivonia trialists Sisulu, Mr Andrew Mlangeni and Mr Elias Motsoaledi looked on for the first time

Joseph (84) visited ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison last week.

Mrs Sheila Weinberg, at whose house the Christmas party was held, said "It just grows bigger every year as more and more people are being released"

Also present was Mrs Tilly First, mother of killed ANC activist Mrs Ruth First, who celebrated her 92nd birthday on Christmas day

Sisulu gave a short speech, predicting that freedom would come in their lifetime

Mandela has quiet family Christmas

Cart Times 27/12/89 11A

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela — whose 28th Christmas behind bars will almost certainly be his last in custody — opened presents and had a quiet dinner with his family on Monday.

Mrs Winnie Mandela and the couple's daughter Zinzi and her three young children spent most of the day at the comfortable three-bedroom home where Mr Mandela is held at the Victor Verster Prison outside Paarl. The family brought a cake with icing in the green, gold and black colors of the African National Congress.

They also gave Mr Mandela shirts from a Johannesburg tailor who made suits for seven of his ANC colleagues released from prison in October.

Mr Mandela's release is widely expected within weeks and there was speculation he might be freed on or around Christmas Day. However, the government quashed rumours on Friday in a statement that said he would not be freed this year.

He has had a steady stream of visitors in recent months, ranging from anti-apartheid activists to government leaders. He met President F W de Klerk on December 13 at the presidential offices.

The freeing of the seven ANC leaders has been seen as a trial run for Mr Mandela's release. — Sapa-AP

his heavier southern ocean sail be more than 2 000km off the
in anticipation of stronger South African coast in the vi-
winds cinity of Gough Island.

ARBU 28/12/89
Labour Party expels
dissident former MP

The Argus Correspondent

KIMBERLEY.— The Labour Party expelled dissident former MP Mr Roy Williams who recently made shock allegations involving the handling of party funds by LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

At a national executive committee meeting before the party's 24th annual congress here Mr Williams, who was present, was told that he had 14 days to lodge an objection against his expulsion.

Mr Williams, who lost his mid-Karoo seat in this year's general election and who is now a member of the President's Council, alleged that a gift of R250 000 to the party and payments of R10 000 each to Mr Hendrickse and the party secretary, Mr Abe Williams, might have been used irregularly.

CONGRATULATED

Mr Peter Hendrickse, son of Mr Hendrickse and a party spokesman, said the executive had reaffirmed that the discretionary fund of the leader would continue on the same basis as before in the interests of the party. He said the leader was congratulated on the excellent manner in which he had administered and applied the fund.

In his opening address the Mr Hendrickse sen urged both the government and the ANC

to lay down conditions for negotiation.

To point out to each other that the one first has to renounce violence does not reduce our country's real problem. On the contrary, it only complicates the preparation for the negotiation table," he said.

He called on the government to release all leaders in detention, particularly Nelson Mandela. It was important for South Africa to listen to the voice of Mandela and for him, just like other leaders, to be given the opportunity to make a permanent contribution to the future.

He said the Labour Party rejected any form of people's democracy and any form of liberal democracy in which a one-man, one-vote system in a majority form was accepted. The Labour Party rejected the concept of the "majority takes all" and was convinced that the only practical political order for South Africa was a non-racial geographical federation of South African states.

He said he was carefully optimistic that President De Klerk was honest in his endeavours to free South Africa of apartheid. Highlighting some of Mr De Klerk's reform moves,

he said it was important to give the new President the opportunity to prove himself.

Passports for ANC men to go to Lusaka

CM- Times 28/12/89

Own Correspondent *III*

JOHANNESBURG — Seven top internal ANC leaders, including Mr Walter Sisulu, will travel to Lusaka in the first two weeks of January to attend what is being called the most significant conference on the future of South Africa by anti-apartheid leaders in at least three decades.

Sketchy plans for the talks were advanced within hours of yesterday's confirmation by the department of home affairs that passports had been granted for one year to recently released ANC leaders Mr Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Govan Mbeki.

The importance of the talks was em-

phasised by the ANC in Lusaka yesterday, by local ANC leaders and by other anti-apartheid leaders.

Mass Democratic Movement leader Mr Murphy Morobe said the meeting would have far-ranging implications for events in South Africa.

The ANC is known to be keen to have the seven arrive in Lusaka to coincide with the annual January 8 state of the nation address by the ANC, which maps out the organisation's aims for the coming year.

1990 will be the first year the ailing leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, will not deliver the address.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said he was "dumbfounded" by the news of the imminent visits "I have been pessimistic all this time."

114 (123) 309
Mkwayi
C/M 7/10/85 2/12/85
detained?

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Recently-released ANC leader Mr Wilton Mkwayi was allegedly detained by Ciskei police yesterday.

The president of the United Democratic Front in the Border, Mr Mluleki George, said Mr Mkwayi, who was visiting the region, had addressed a meeting of youths in Dimbaza.

The meeting was broken up by police who later went to a house in Debe Nek where Mr Mkwayi was detained, Mr George said.

Ciskei police refused to comment on the alleged arrest

Kagiso Trust Fund row continues

JOHANNESBURG — The Kagiso Trust-SA Council of Churches funding controversy continues as the Black Consciousness Movement, which claimed trust funds were dispensed along sectarian lines, said yesterday no letter had been received inviting it to a meeting

BCM-Azania People Organisation president Mr Nkosi Molala accused the trust and the SACC of sectarian funding at a rally in Pretoria on December 18, and last week the Rev Frank Chikane, one of

CPA Temp 28/12/89 *(11A)*
the trust's board members and SACC general-secretary, said a letter had been sent to the BCM-Azapo proposing a meeting to sort out the matter

A BCM-Azapo spokesman said yesterday that so far no communication of any sort had been received from the trust, despite media reports of the letter

The spokesman, quoting from a letter sent to the trust in September 1988, named 15 organisations which had submitted budget proposals to the trust only to be

allegedly ignored, turned down or have the groups referred to other organisations to discuss finances.

The BCM spokesman said his organisation had been told by PAM, the Cape Action League and Action Youth, that structures supported by them had also not been considered by the trust.

Repeated attempts yesterday to reach Kagiso Trust board members for comment failed — Sapa

ANC meeting in Lusaka 'crucial'

By Helen Grange

A meeting in Lusaka of top ANC leaders, including the recently released Mr Walter Sisulu and six colleagues, will have profound implications for South Africa's political future, Mass Democratic Movement leader Mr Murphy Morobe said yesterday.

The news of the meeting was released within hours of the Government approving passport applications for Mr Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Elias Motsoaledi, Mr Wilton Mkwayi, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, and Mr Govan Mbeki who was released in 1987

Mr Morobe said the meeting, scheduled

for next month, would not take the form of a major decision-making conference, but rather a gathering of old comrades who have been separated for many years.

"It is difficult to pre-determine the exact consequences of the meeting, only to say that issues discussed must have profound implications on the future of South Africa"

Negotiations would be an important part of the talks in the light of the recent adoption of the Harare Declaration, he said

Mr Elias Motsoaledi said the seven leaders had not physically received their passports but had been informed by officials their applications had been approved.

119

5/2/87

11A

ANC choose 'good, strong person' for key US post

WASHINGTON — When the African National Congress decided to appoint its first full-time representative in the United States capital, the State Department urged it to send a "good, strong person" so that communications between the ANC and the US government could be of the highest quality.

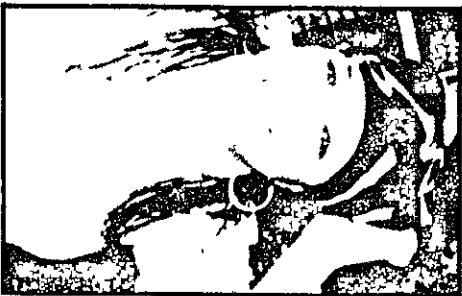
The movement responded by selecting Ms Lindiwe Mabuzza, a scholar, chef, mother of two, diplomat and a poet.

She opened the new office a few weeks ago in Eighth Street South East, a few minutes walk from the US Capitol, where she will be spending much of her time lobbying American lawmakers.

Personality

LINDIWE MABUZA

Written by:
DAVID BRAUN



LINDIWE MABUZA Fighting apartheid a perfectly normal thing to do

came to ask what she wanted.

"Coming from South Africa, I recognised the tone and inflexion and sharp urge in his voice, and I knew then I had not really left South Africa," she said.

"A lot of things have since changed in the US," she said, "yet I am told there are still places in Virginia where the new (black) governor, Mr. Doug Wilder, has to have a special concession to attend because some clubs do not admit black members."

Ms Mabuzza arrived to take up her new duties at the time of the 13th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. Washington was boiling with anti-apartheid activities, including a mass march on the White House and a gathering of lobbyists on Capitol Hill.

Central role

"It was wonderful to step into that. The reception from the Bush Administration has also been surprising, as I had expected it to be much different. There is increasing consultation. I imagine they have come to understand it is not possible to wash away the ANC, and that its central role is unquestionable. The ANC is seen as essential in any resolution to the conflict in South Africa," she said.

She added she could not get over how respectful and dignified the reception was, which was laid on for the official opening of the ANC's office by members of the US Congress. There had since been numerous offers from congressional members and staffers to help her adjust and help make her work a little easier.

"This of course is the result of

the work which had been done by so many individuals and organisations. This work, all by people who are opposed to apartheid, included churches, labour and schools across the country."

Ms Mabuzza said she did not think Washington would be an easy city for her to work in, because never before had she lived and operated in a city where the main business was politics.

She does see herself as a sort of ambassador and her office as a kind of embassy. Because she represents the positions of the ANC she lobbies Congress, tries to have inputs in policy decisions, and she informs people and corrects perceived distortions.

"It is a little more work than being an ambassador would be, because an ambassador would be restricted by protocol from doing certain things. We must really be representatives of our people, and by that I mean the South African masses because I think the Mass Democratic Movement recognises us as their ambassadors," she said.

Ms Mabuzza encouraged all South Africans visiting Washington to get in touch with her office. They would be interested to have the ANC's assessment and they could say what they were doing in the US.

"All people are welcome, this is a place for all the people of South Africa. It is a South African office run by the ANC, because our function is to mobilise all South Africans into active participation against apartheid."

Asked if she expected any problems running into the real South African ambassador to Washington, Dr Piet Koornhof, at functions in Washington, Ms Mabuzza said there had already been an occasion when trunks had happened and no one had said anything about it.

She had been invited to the swearing-in ceremony of the new US ambassador to South Africa, Mr. Bill Swing.

She said she had no mandate to have any dealings with the South African embassy, but if situations arose where she might come into contact with the diplomats she had enough diplomatic experience to know how to handle them.

Is Ms Mabuzza a romantic or a revolutionary, or both?

"If to be a romantic means to dream about the lofty, about the beautiful, goodness, kindness, love, equality, justice, genuine freedom, and peace, I won't apologise for it. I will also say one of the main influences in my life have been the romantic poets."

'Why we fight'

"Am I revolutionary? Oh yes, because I believe we need a really fundamental turning over of things so we can put people and the country back on its feet. I am a revolutionary because I believe everyone in the end, black and white, must have security for themselves and their future. That is why we are fighting.

"But really, I don't think in terms of labels. I am just a normal human being who does normal things because of an abnormal situation. It is normal to struggle against the insanity of apartheid. It is the only normal thing to do, don't you agree?"

40 missions

One of six women who represent the ANC in the organisation's more than 40 foreign missions, Ms Mabuzza comes to Washington after nine years of heading the movement's mission in Scandinavia. She started with a single office in Stockholm, and by the time she left, she had opened offices in Copenhagen and Oslo and prepared the groundwork for an office in Helsinki (now opened).

Ms Mabuzza is a mother of two grown-up children, a professor in English literature and a poet. Her full-time occupation, though, has for many years been her commitment to the struggle for the freedom of black South Africans.

Born in Newcastle, Natal (71 won't tell you when), she said over lunch recently, she spent her formative years in Johannesburg. She studied English and

Zulu at the University of Lesotho, two languages she speaks with perfect facility in addition to Sotho, a little Swedish "and Afrikaans of course".

After her BA she studied for two years at Stanford, California, where she took a master's degree in literature.

Her student years in America coincided with the tumultuous 1960s, an era she says when society was in ferment and people started questioning injustices.

It was in this climate that she started to see with absolute clarity that the people of South Africa would also have to fight for their freedom, she said.

After much soul-searching she decided to play an active role in the emancipation of her people, and she opted to join the ANC, offering whatever assistance the organisation needed.

The movement invited her to come to Lusaka in 1977, where she worked for Radio Freedom in the department of information and publicity and as head of the cultural unit.

Ms Mabuzza said when she first came to the US, she found that the moment she stepped out of her door she was "a nigger".

But the minute she opened her mouth white people smiled apologetically and treated her differently because they realised she was foreign. Deeply offended twice over, she felt driven to identify more closely with American blacks.

"The civil rights movement has made lots of things possible since she was first in the US, she says. "When I first came here I doubt it would have been possible for us to

Matrics

told: Keep trying

Star 31/12/89.

11A

BLACK community leaders this week moved quickly to address the worst black matric results in five years.

ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu repeated an earlier call to students to "go back to school and work hard"

"Obviously, the results are a blow to the community as a whole, but we must persevere so that, at the end of the day, we have skilled people

who are able to handle things when change comes. And skills only come through education," he said

Statistics released by the Department of Education and Training on Friday revealed that the pass rate was the worst in the last five years — 74 249 matriculants passed out of the 195 960 who sat for the examination

This was a percentage of 42 percent, compared with 54 percent last year

In addition, a little over 17 000 students achieved the university entrance grade — about 10 000 fewer than in 1988

Difference

Only one candidate out of the entire student population received an A aggregate, while a mere eight schools achieved 100 percent passes

The results indicate a marked difference in performance between rural and urban students. Such areas as Moutse and Vryburg had above 70 percent pass rates, while Soweto averaged between 14 and 29 percent

But, as shock began to settle in the black community, various leaders moved to ease the blow by urging students and parents not to despair, but to enter the year with greater clarity on the need for education

PAC president Mr Zeph Mothopeng, who organised the first teachers' trade union when Bantu Education was introduced in the '50s, echoed Mr Sisulu's sentiments

"To pretend that the

Skilled people needed for the day of change, warns Sisulu

Sunday Times Reporter

results are not abhorrent and appalling is absolutely wrong. It actually shows that the architect of apartheid, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, has succeeded in crippling education for blacks

"There is now only one thing to do, and that is to organise our community to bring this quagmire to an immediate end

"But as this cannot be done overnight, we are just going to have to bring teachers, students and parents together to end the rot at each institution. Students must return to their classrooms to enable the community to deal with their problems," said former teacher Mr Mothopeng

The Democratic Party spokesman on education, Mr Roger Burrows, described the results as a "potential political disaster" and warned that the Government "could not sleep calmly in the face of such a calamity".

Urged

However, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said his department had "produced good work in very difficult circumstances"

He said the poor results indicated that hard work lay ahead for his department, as well as for parents, students and teachers

Other leaders, including the principal of Pace College in Soweto, Mr T W Kambule, and Mr L M Taunyane, vice-

president of the African Teachers' Association of SA, also urged parents not to despair, but to ensure their children returned to classes in the new year

While parents and students wince at the poor results, educationists have pointed out that the results were not unexpected

The director-general of the Department of Education and Training, Dr Bernhard Louw, said far too many students took examinations at the higher instead of the standard level, constant class disruptions affected teaching

Chronic

"The mere fact that a white child receives about six times more than a black child means the white pupil will have better equipment, more books and a higher standard of education"

In 1987 the State spent R2 503 on a white pupil, while his black counterpart received R476

Indeed, the lack of money is so chronic that it is reflected in the premises provided for black pupils

A Thokoza principal said she had eight classrooms for 1 000 pupils. Four other classrooms were used by another school

The combined student population of 1 800 had one tap from which to drink water

The Institute of Race Relations recently estimated that if all vacant white classrooms were opened to black children, the shortage of black classrooms would be reduced by only 20 percent



Andrew Mlangeni

Blacks and whites must work together to stop violence

11A

ONE of the seven recently released ANC members, Andrew Mlangeni, sent this New Year message to *City Press* readers. His passionate plea to all the people of South Africa to help stop violence in Natal, is what we all have been waiting for. (C. Press)

6/9/89
3/12/89

THE year 1989 has come and gone but the problems facing our country remain

The people of South Africa have been faced with disturbing and continuous violence and killings in Natal in the past year

The violence in Natal is no longer a regional issue, it has become a national issue which demands that all reasonable men and women who are concerned about the future of South

Africa put their heads together and bring an end to this senseless violence

We must remember the old policy of divide and rule. The government will use every method at its disposal to divide the black people. Are we going to allow ourselves to be divided? No

We must not, we cannot, afford it. Let us close ranks, black and white, and destroy the apartheid

monster which is responsible for all the hatred, suffering, imprisonment, detentions without trial and the executions of our people in Pretoria whose only crime is that of wanting freedom, peace and a share in the running of our country

Who is benefiting from the violence that is taking place in Natal? You and I? Never!

Are you going to fold your arms in 1990 and say to yourself "as long as the killings are not anywhere near my doorstep I will not be concerned"?

Dear friends, violence is not far away from your homes. Get up from your comfortable chair and join those people who have, for some time now, been battling to bring peace and prosperity in our country. Our white compatriots have a

powerful voice, the government listens to them

I want to appeal to them to help us end this great suffering we are experiencing in Natal. Send your petitions, delegations, protests, etc, to President FW de Klerk and demand that he brings peace to our troubled land. He has the power to do it

A challenge facing all peace-loving people in 1990 is the dismantling of the apartheid system and the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa

We challenge the government to remove the obstacles which prevent the people of South Africa from making a contribution toward finding a solution to the political problems of our country

Happy New Year to you all!

ANC VS PAC

Different strategies to end apartheid

31/12/89
 IHA
 Press



Youths holding Freedom Charter posters - a document the ANC says has forged unity.

Zephania Mothopeng explains political differences with the ANC.

Why did the PAC break away from the ANC in 1959?
 At the time certain tendencies had developed in the ANC
 The ANC Youth League had succeeded in making its programme of action the property of the ANC
 This programme was based on non-collaboration, on the fact the land belonged to the African people, and on the principle that people had to rely on themselves to produce their own programmes
 The programme of action was accepted by the ANC in 1948, but it moved away from this after the formation of the Congress Alliance
 The alliance usurped the autonomy of the organisations and watered down resolutions taken by the ANC
 National conferences were then deemed it to move away from the ANC
How does the ANC view the PAC's breakaway?
 It strengthened our political position of a wider nationalism - to which we still subscribe today - which provides the acceptance of all South Africans irrespective of race, class, colour or creed
The ANC has placed great importance on the Freedom Charter. Why?
 The principles in the Charter brought about unity. It has provided a forum for people to express their aspirations with regard to a future non-racial democratic South Africa
Why has the PAC never accepted the Freedom Charter? What is the policy document of the PAC and does it entail?
 The Charter is not a revolutionary document. It is why the PAC did not accept it. Rather, the Charter claims the land belongs to black and white - and will be shared among those who work it. That is a fallacy. The land belongs to indigenous Africans who were robbed of it. By force.
 The PAC has four main documents. These are the constitution, the manifesto, the inaugural speech and the disciplinary code. The documents maintain that the PAC recognises only one human race and that the land belongs to the Africans whose duty it is to regain it.
 The documents say the PAC must organise Africans under the banner of African nationalism and them in a position to overthrow white domination. On regaining their land, they will bring about a social order which will be democratic in form, just in content and creative in purpose.
What is your view on unity in action against apartheid?

THE African News Organisation (ANO) put 10 questions to the ANC and the PAC. A top-ranking spokesman for the ANC and PAC president Zephania Mothopeng revealed the stark reality of the differences - as well as some similarities - between the two movements.
PAC: The PAC has always stood for unity against apartheid. By that we mean we can co-operate with other organisations when faced with specific issues. ANC: To end apartheid our people will have to unite on the basic principle that apartheid is immoral and has to be dismantled.
How do you view the recent Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF)?
 ANC: The ANC sees the CDF as an historic event. It showed the political consciousness and maturity of our people right across the colour spectrum. PAC: The PAC is a banned organisation and did not expect to be invited to the conference.
What is the significance of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) ad hoc committee's Harare declaration of August 21?
 ANC: The OAU declaration shows the thinking of South Africans in the liberation struggle and the rest of Africa on the possibility of ending the struggle in South Africa without bloodshed. It has also been accepted by international forums, notably the United Nations.
The PAC rejected the OAU ad hoc committee's Harare declaration on August 21. Why?
 PAC: Negotiation means you bargain with your opponent. As far as the PAC is concerned, the question of land is not negotiable. The land has to be restored to its rightful owners.
It is your objective to see apartheid eradicated. Is the elimination of apartheid the end?
 ANC: When we have eliminated apartheid, we must move on to create a non-racial and democratic society. PAC: Apartheid can only exist as long as the land is in the hands of those who forcefully took it away from the indigenous people.
What is the principal form of struggle?
 PAC: The phrase "the principal form of struggle" is a broad one. Any struggle is multi-pronged and depends on the strategy of the oppressed and the liberation movements.
 ANC: There are two principal forms of struggle for us - the armed struggle and the political struggle.
 For the ANC the latter is the major thrust - illustrated by the action of mass political movements in recent months.
What is your view on group rights?
 ANC: We believe South Africa cannot continue divided as it is into racial groups.
 The advocacy of group rights perpetuates the division of our people along racial and ethnic lines. PAC: We do not recognise race or colour and therefore we do not recognise group rights.
What is your stance on sanctions?
 PAC: We are fully behind complete and mandatory sanctions. Sanctions will deprive South Africa of trade and investment and its ability to arm its army and police will be reduced.
 ANC: We believe sanctions will weaken the regime because it can only keep itself in power if it has a strong economic base.
The liberation struggle, in most people's view, is rapidly developing. Do you foresee a narrowing of ideological and other differences as a result?
 ANC: There is a definite coming together on important political issues inside the country. People are finding more common ground than before - as illustrated by the composition of the CDF.
 It will, however, be naive for us to believe ideological differences will vanish overnight.
 PAC: The struggle for liberation has nothing to do with the narrowing or expanding of ideas. It is a question of determination on the part of the people to wage that struggle.
 When people are convinced they have been oppressed enough, they will want to free themselves.