

BLACK POLITICS

2 JUNE 1980 — 30 JULY 1980

Protest meeting today as more are detained

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RDM 2/6/80

Political Staff

PROMINENT blacks and whites will address a lunch-time public meeting at the Johannesburg City Hall today to highlight the countrywide unrest and wave of detentions.

Organised by the "Concerned Citizens" group, it will be chaired by Dominee Sam Buti, president of the South African Council of Churches.

Speakers will include the chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr Nthato Motlana; the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on civil liberties, Mrs Helen Suzman; and a member of the Lenasia Parents' Action Committee, Dr Essop Jassat.

At Elsie's River, Cape, there will be a joint funeral service today for Bernard Fortuin, 15, and Mr William Lubbe, 20, who were shot dead by police last week.

The trouble spots on the Cape Flats were quiet yesterday after an incident on Saturday when five cars were damaged by stoning and teargas was used.

Police used teargas to disperse pupils in Bloemfontein's Phahameng Township after the funeral on Saturday of Daniel Papi Makotoko, the seven-year-old schoolboy who died during the first week of unrest.

About 19 000 people attended the funeral, reports the Rand Daily Mail's Bloemfontein correspondent.

There were no signs of police at the funeral, which

was peaceful. An hour afterwards, police used teargas on crowds of pupils moving from the funeral to different parts of the township.

Police confirmed that teargas was used, and said calm was restored.

Three members of Azapo's Bloemfontein branch are believed to have been detained hours before the funeral. They were Mr Tex Sejanamane, Mr Mathatha Letsabo and Mr A Sekoere.

Six Fort Hare students are believed to have been detained by Security Police in Vereeniging at the weekend shortly before a students' meeting was to have been held in Sharpeville. They were Sidwell Malakala, Nthumotsa Mogesi, Daniel Senokwane, Ntala Chakela, Gabi Mapato and Caswell Tsoela.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said no comment could be made until today.

A Daily Dispatch reporter, Mr Charles Nqakula, is believed to have been detained in East London on Friday. Though no police comment could be obtained, Mrs Gertrude Nqakula said she was told by a Security Policeman that her husband was being held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

In Johannesburg, members of the Coloured Management Committee said they would not attend any further meetings with Johannesburg City Council officials until the end of the

year unless two of their colleagues are released from detention immediately.

In custody are Mr Miley Richards, chairman of the Coloured Management Committee, and Mr Mohamed Dangor.

No other major incidents were reported yesterday as students, pupils, parents and teachers held meetings in different parts of the country.

In Grahamstown, about 70 black students at Rhodes University announced they would boycott lectures and exams today. They will go back only when the universities of Durban-Westville, Turfloop and Fort Hare are reopened.

Students — mostly from Fort Hare and Turfloop — said at a meeting in Soweto yesterday that they would not return to lectures until their demands had been met by the authorities. The lectures were boycotted, they said, because of "deep-rooted grievances" over the black education system.

The students disclosed that they had established committees at various campuses, which worked in close collaboration. What they wanted most, they said, was support from parents in fighting for better education.

In Durban, the president of the Natal African Teachers Union has called on boycotting pupils to return to classes. Members of the union issued a statement saying the pupils' grievances were legitimate.

West Africa

Walk-out on SCM man

By JOE THOLOLOE
SOME worshippers walked out of the Rosebank Union Church yesterday alledging that a black preacher was preaching politics.

The general secretary of the Students Christian Movement, Mr Nat Nkosi, was speaking on the Ministry of the SCM in the South African situation when he was interrupted

by a member of the congregation.

"I was busy with my testimony when a man near the front stood up and shouted, 'Why do you want to come and preach politics here?'"

"A woman started crying and came to the front. The man who had interrupted walked out, followed by others.

"In the commotion, a deacon came to the front and started praying God should help me to preach His Word and not politics. It was tense."

Mr Nkosi (42) was speaking on the divisions in South African society — political, social, economic and religious — and God's answer to these.

He was using an overhead projector to illustrate his talk.

Mr Nkosi was invited to speak on the SCM at the church's missionary Sunday.

At the 8 am service he gave "an abridged version of the talk."

It was at the second service at 9.30 that he was interrupted.

"I was invited and I accepted gladly, particularly because they support the SCM," Mr Nkosi said.

A member of the church, who attended the earlier service, said Mr Nkosi did not say anything that he did not agree with.

"I was surprised that some people reacted in that fashion to Mr Nkosi's testimony," he said.

But all Mr Nkosi would like now is to meet the man who interrupted him.

"I'd like to have a follow up and talk to this man. Truth hurts, but it does not help people to avoid it. It will always stand as the truth," he said.

Explain to all of the illiterate parents, Winnie Kgware says

THE primary task for all concerned blacks was to explain the limitations and objectives of Bantu Education to all illiterate parents, the former president of the banned Black People's Convention (BPC), Mrs Winnie Kgware, said at the weekend.

She addressed the inaugural meeting of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) branch in Seshego, Pietersburg.

Mrs Kgware said the problem of parents who did not understand the present schooling crisis was even greater than the propaganda dished out by the Government through the radio.

"Many parents do not understand. They say these children are mad. We took them to school, so what more do they want they ask.

"It is our duty and the duty of Azapo here in Seshego, to explain fully to the white Government



Part of the crowd at the Seshego branch inaugural meeting.

chose this type of education for our children.

"We should explain why the children are saying half a dose of poison is as lethal as a full dose," she said.

Mrs Kgware said many black people were victims of the Government's propaganda.

"You will hear them say so-and-so talks politics. To those we should say politics is eating porridge without relish, it is sleeping on a bed without mattress and trudging the cold earth in the winter mornings without shoes. That is politics," she added.

The meeting, attended by a large group of people from as far as Tzaneen and Turfloop, was also addressed by Azapo's national organiser, Mr Letsatsi Mosala.

He said the conflict in South Africa centred on ownership of land which was taken from blacks at the point of a gun.

Representatives of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Writers Association of South Africa (Wasa) also addressed the meeting which was treated to powerful poetry by poets from all over the northern Transvaal.

Release

Mandela

call is

growing

rapidly

By ARNOLD GEYER

IN THE wake of the continuing schools boycott and labour unrest as well as mounting arrests and detentions, the Free Mandela campaign is rapidly gaining momentum.

Regional committees calling for the release of the jailed leader of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), are being formed all over the country and are preparing for mass meetings to be held on June 26 in all provinces.

The Natal Release Mandela Committee is to seek legal advice on the possibility of publishing the banned Freedom Charter, drafted in Kliptown by the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955.

Mr Paul Davids, an attorney and chairman of the Natal committee, said yesterday that if the document could not be published, legal advice would be sought to have a transcript of the Kliptown congress circulated.

He has urged all regional committees to:

- Launch a national pamphlet campaign to press for the release of Mr Mandela;
- Call for the closing down of all businesses and factories on June 26 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter's drafting;
- Print commemorative stamps for June 26; and
- Stress that the Free Mandela campaign implied a call for the release of all political prisoners, the permission for all exiles to return unconditionally and the unbanning of all banned people and organisations.

"The commemoration of June 26, 1955, is inextricably linked with the Free Mandela campaign as Nelson Mandela was the leading light of the congress," Mr Davids said.

He said the Freedom Charter was adopted by many organisations from all over the country, and was not, as the Government claimed, only the programme of the ANC.

Those who have so far expressed support for the campaign include black, Indian and coloured community leaders and politicians, trade unionists, all major churches except the three white Dutch Reformed churches, Progressive Federal Party MPs — including the par-

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ty's leader, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert — academics, student groups at English and Afrikaans universities, black and white cultural organisations, the Black Sash, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and many English-language newspapers.

The SACC's general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said at the weekend: "Nelson Mandela represents all our genuine leaders in prison and in exile. So the call for his release is really to say: please let us sit down, black and white, each with our acknowledged leaders and work out our common future."

Free Mandela meetings held in the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal at the weekend, speakers stressed the campaign would continue despite the "intransigent attitude" of the Government, particularly of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange.

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Release Mandela call is growing rapidly

By ARNOLD GEYER

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Another Sasol sabotage attempt

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STAFF REPORTERS

THREE more bombs were yesterday planted at a Sasol-linked organisation — this time at the headquarters of the American consortium which is building Sasol Two and Sasol Three.

The latest sabotage attempt came within 15 hours of the explosions which ripped through the Sasol One and Natref refineries in Sasolburg — blasts which sparked off huge blazes and caused about R6-million in damage. An unsuccessful sabotage attempt was also made on Sasol Two at Secunda.

An intensive manhunt was still underway last night for the saboteurs. The chief of the South African CID, General Kobus Visser, has taken charge. Security Police officers are aiding his men and a special police task force has moved into the Vaal Triangle.

The Springs plastic explosive bombs were disarmed after two schoolboys saw one of the devices at the old Springs town hall which now serves as the headquarters for the American consortium, Fluor.

Within minutes police evacuated shops, a hotel and a section of the street facing the building.

One of the bombs was defused mere minutes before it was due to explode. Horrified onlookers watched as the defused bomb slid off the rope being used to lift it from a ledge and rolled into the street.

The banned African National Congress yesterday claimed responsibility for the Sasolburg blasts and the sabotage attempt at Sasol Two.

Raging fires which had swept the Sasol One and Natref plants were brought "fully under control" by 6pm yesterday. Flames were dying but pillars of smoke were still rising from the blast sites.

Four hundred firemen from plant, factory, Vaal Triangle and Reef town brigades — and a crack firefighting team from the South African Air Force — were called in to quell the inferno.

A Sasol spokesman, paying tribute to them, said they had averted what could have been a major catastrophe.

Early yesterday R4 500 000 worth of aviation fuel and petrol was ablaze — making the fire the biggest in the history of South Africa. Damage to the fuel tanks at both installations was estimated at R1 500 000.

A Sasol spokesman said last night that the danger of the blaze spreading had been "virtually eliminated".

In Cape Town yesterday oil company representatives called an urgent meeting and decided to immediately enforce additional security arrangements at Cape installations. Details of the arrangements could not be divulged, a spokesman said.

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said last night the Springs bombs were clearly the work of the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Mr Le Grange said the admission by the ANC and the SACP that they were responsible for the sabotage at Sasol came as no surprise to the South African Police.

"For some time the police have known that terrorist insurgents have received specific orders and instructions from Joe Slovo, a South African communist, in Maputo.

"The placing of Joe Slovo in Mozambique is a well-considered plan of the SACP and the ANC to bring him as

Editorial comment — Page 8. Other reports, pictures — Pages 2, 3, 9

close as possible to the Republic from where he can exercise easier control over terrorists directed against the Republic."

Mr Le Grange said the Russian Ambassador in Lusaka, Dr Solodovnikov, played an important role in the planning of ANC and communist strategy, and he was assisted by a South African refugee woman, Frene Ginwala.

"No stone will be left unturned to bring these terrorists to book and to ensure the internal security of the Republic and all its people," he said.

Other developments:
• The sabotage will be debated for half an hour in the House of Assembly today, and
• The United Nations Security Council will meet in New York tomorrow to consider the unrest in South Africa.

CONT... →

FIREMEN DWARFED BY A MOUNTAIN OF FLAMES AS A REFINERY BLAZES



Firemen pictured challenging a wall of flame at the Natref refinery yesterday. Late last night the fires at Natref and Sasol One were said to be under control — there was no danger of them spreading.

Picture: RAYMOND PAPER

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Government 'emotionally bankrupt'

(11A)

THE South African Government is intellectually and emotionally bankrupt; it will not listen, cannot think 'correctly', and cannot feel or get insight into the great 'communal bitterness', according to Mr Adam Small.

In an interview today Mr Small, poet and director of the Athlone-based Foundation for Community Work, further said the 'disregard' on SATV news programmes of the funeral of Bernard Fortuin and William Lubbe was 'an enormous provocation of the community.



Mr Adam Small

The two — aged 15 and 20 respectively — were shot dead in Halt Road, Elsie's River, last week when a group of people allegedly stoned a police vehicle.

Their funeral yesterday was attended by several thousand people — some in the official colours of and banned African National Congress — and was intensively photographed by overseas television teams.

Mr Small said he came away from the funeral

with an understanding, yet again, of the great distances between people in South Africa, and of the Government's inability to bridge these distances.

He said today the two strongest emotions to his mind, at the funeral had been 'the deep, personal grief' of the Fortuin and Lubbe families, on the one hand, and 'the great collective bitterness' on the other.

'SUPERHUMAN'

'For me, the ability of the two families to forgive in spite of their grief was something almost superhuman,' he said.

'I saw it first yesterday morning in the humble home of the Fortuins. I never know what to say about death. But I was drawn to their house.

'And then again in the church, and especially at the graves. Their call was for reconciliation, and I have great difficulty in understanding this and working through it.'

Yesterday's funeral, Mr Small said, was also marked by the sense of responsibility and maturity on the part of many participants, given their youthfulness.

CONFRONTATION

'Many probably began to understand the real meaning of confrontation with power and with death. It is, I think, not possible to understand this without the experience of what a terrible and terrifying thing power is, especially when you yourself are so without power in a situation of "gunpower."

'And beside an open grave you understand this,' he said.

In this sense the community and the students had again been drawn together by the funeral.

'THE TRAGEDY'

Mr Small said as poet his task was to relate the personal grief of the two families — 'two Afrikaans families' — to the powers and forces at work in our situation.

It would, he said, take time to come to an understanding of these emotions, but three lines so far contained for him the whole tragedy of the years behind us.

They read: 'Die tye het verander. Julle het ons gebied en gebied. — Nou moet julle ons kinders skiet. (The times have changed. You ordered us about. — Now you must shoot our children).

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Call for equality

By CHRIS MORE

A LUNCH-ROUR meeting at the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday called on the Government to give all people equal, full participation in Parliament and bring the unrest to an end.

This was one of the resolutions adopted by about 2 50 people.

The meeting was called because of the school boycott and the detention of about 1 200 people.

Speakers were Mrs Helen Suzman, spokesman on justice in the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, and Dr Essop Jassat, a member of the Lenasia Parents Action Committee.

The resolution read: "The demonstrations throughout the country are signs of the urgent demand of the people that everyone should have the right to equality in education, to a decent standard of living and to full participation in government.

"We deplore the nationwide detention of students and community leaders and state our grave concern for their physical safety.

"The Cabinet is requested to instruct the police and other authorities that the utmost restraint be used in controlling demonstrations and that the detainees be released immediately.

"The Cabinet is also informed that the demonstrations are a sign of the disappointment of the people at the failure to implement at once the promises made by the Prime Minister to alter the laws, in order to remove the discrimination from which so many suffer.



Part of the crowd at the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday.

ELEVEN workers who were last week arrested for an alleged illegal strike have laid charges of assault against the police, according to a statement by the Metal and Allied Workers Union.

And yesterday a police spokesman, Brig B S Pieterse, confirmed that charges of assault had been laid but could not say how many people had complained.

The eleven were part of a group of 55 workers who were arrested at Rely Precision Castings in Boksburg on May 26. They are alleged to have gone on strike after the dismissal of a fellow worker the Saturday before.

After spending the night in the police cells, the 55 appeared before Mr G van Niekerk at the Boksburg Magistrate's Court and were remanded to June 10.

They are on R80 bail. A spokesman for the Metal and Allied Workers Union said the eleven had laid charges against the police last Wednesday.

The police are investigating.

Massive bus boycott by Cape blacks

Political Staff

BLACKS and coloureds boycotted buses on a massive scale in the Cape yesterday as nationwide unrest entered a new phase.

Most homeward-bound buses were reported to be empty. Several were damaged.

The boycott was launched by 40 Peninsula community organisations because fares were increased by 30% to 100%.

About 12 000 people yesterday attended the funeral service for Bernard Fortuin, 15, and William Lubbe, 20, who were shot by police in Elsies River last week.

In other developments yesterday:

● Security police arrested eight pupils in Lenasia, Johannesburg — bringing to nearly 300 the number of people detained since nationwide unrest was sparked two months ago by a classes boycott by coloured and Indian pupils.

● The Frame textile group in Natal was reported to have fired at least 70 worker leaders as the company's 6 000 striking employees began returning to work. In Cape Town the strike by meat workers continued — supported by consumers refusing to buy red meat.

● Nineteen youths appeared in a Bloemfontein court as a result of widespread unrest in the city's townships recently.

● The schools' boycott in major centres spread to Rehoboth, near Windhoek, where about 650 high school pupils stayed away from classes.

● The Kwazulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, disclosed that two bombs had been thrown at properties in KwaMashu owned by members of his Inkatha movement. Boycotting pupils in the township have clashed with Inkatha.

● See Page 5

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Boycotts and labour unrest flare up again

Political Staff

THOUSANDS of Indian pupils were suspended and a black school in Natal was closed yesterday as education boycotts and labour unrest flared again in various parts of the country.

Violence flared at the Stilfontein Gold Mine in the Western Transvaal, where 4 500 black miners went on strike.

In the Western Cape, the massive boycott of buses by coloureds and blacks over fare increases continued.

In Durban and other parts of Natal at least 2 000 pupils were suspended after circulars from the Department of Indian Education asking principals to suspend and order off school premises pupils absent from classes after June 2.

A delegation from the Teachers' Association of South Africa and the School Committee Association in Natal left for Cape Town for urgent meetings with senior Government officials, including the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn.

The St Francis High School at Mariannhill Monastery was closed after 400 black pupils boycotted classes.

Pupils at schools in the Western and Eastern Cape, Natal and Johannesburg continued boycotting classes.

About 100 pupils at William Hills High in Actonville, Benoni, boycotted classes yesterday, but the principal, Mr G Mohadeen, denied it had anything to do with a pro-Govern-

ment Republic Day speech he made last week.

The Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, denied yesterday that the Government had decided to close coloured schools early for winter holidays because of the boycott.

"Reports of an early closure are pure speculation. No such decision has been taken," he said.

Mr Steyn was commenting on rumours that schools might be closed from Friday, nearly two weeks before the scheduled June 10 start of the holidays.

In other developments yesterday:

○ A fire at the Edenvale Primary School in Mennenberg, Cape, destroyed an office and three classrooms.

○ More than 1 500 students at the University of the Witwatersrand signed a petition calling for the postponement of examinations scheduled for June 16, anniversary of the 1976 Soweto unrest. The Black Students' Society, which organised the petition, said in a statement that it would present it to the vice-chancellor, Professor D J du Plessis, at a meeting today.

○ Some 400 black construction workers at an I.T.A site in Cape Town struck for the second day in a wage dispute. The workers are demanding an increase, apparently in response to recent bus fare rises. This is the second Cape Town strike this week sparked by fare

rises.

○ A vice-president of the black Writers' Association of South Africa, Mr Marimuthu Sibramoney, of Durban's Daily News, was released after six days' detention under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

○ Boycotts were reported at two educational institutions in South West Africa — one at the coloured teachers' training college in Windhoek and the other at a Baster school.

○ The Police Directorate of Public Relations confirmed that an Azapo official in Bloemfontein, Mr Zacharia Sekoere, was detained at the weekend under security legislation.

Meanwhile, Durban police said fires at the weekend at a garage and a house in Kwa-Mashu were not started by petrol bombs, as alleged in a statement by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi this week in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi said one bomb was thrown at a garage belonging to Mr G E Bhengu, a member of the assembly, and another at the home of a Kwa-Mashu town councillor, Mr Johannes Mochi.

Police said the nightwatchman at the garage saw three men running away. They had apparently started a fire with newspapers to keep themselves warm.

The other fire started among planks at the back of Mr Mochi's house.

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- Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
- Do not write in the left hand margin.

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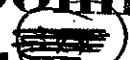
- Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Man, child die as bomb rips through ANC home

STAR 4/6/80

11A



The Star's Africa
News Service

MBABANE — At least two people — a man and a child — died when two houses, one apparently occupied by South African sympathisers of the banned African National Congress, were devastated by a bomb in Manzini early today.

A second bomb exploded some distance away about the same time but it was not immediately clear what damage was caused.

The killer blast extensively damaged the two houses, in the densely populated low-income suburb of Zakhele.

According to sources in Swaziland, the first house was occupied by ANC sympathisers. The other was not.

It is understood several injured people have been admitted to Manzini's Raleigh Fitkin Memorial Hospital.

The blasts were so loud they awakened Manzini residents.

One explosion ripped off the roof of the first house and almost destroyed the home, next door. Windowpanes in the neighbourhood were shattered.

The house whose roof was ripped off, is owned by a church worker and, according to a Manzini estate agent, is leased to a local dressmaker.

Police were today sifting through the rubble of the two wrecked homes for more bodies or injured people.

4/6/80 Argus

Inkatha rejects 'ethnic' SA plan

Argus Correspondent

ULUNDI — The Inkatha central committee has rejected and condemned the Schlebusch Commission proposals in toto and says the movement's president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, should have nothing to do with the implementation of the proposals.

The committee, which met at Ulundi, noted that the majority report once again entrenches the principle and practice of ethnic separation and domination by the white minority in spite of declarations by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that he is moving away from racial discrimination.

AFTERTHOUGHT

The committee also pointed out that the black population had been totally ignored in the Schlebusch report and that the subsequent proposal of a black council was in every respect just an afterthought.

The central committee's decision will be referred to the annual conference of the movement due to be held later this month, but there can be no doubt that the decision will be endorsed and that Chief Buthelezi will be given a mandate to have nothing to do with the Schlebusch Commission proposals.

SECTION C



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I didn't see anyone leave jail, says guard

ADM 5/6/80

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THE armed guard above the gate at Pretoria Central Prison told the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday he did not see anybody leave the entrance of the prison while he was on duty on December 11 last year.

Mr J J Olivier was giving evidence at the trial of Sergeant Francois Daniel Vermeulen, 57, of Sunnyside, who has pleaded not guilty to assisting terrorists, or alternatively, helping Alexander Mombanis, Stephen Lee and Timothy Jenkin escape from the maximum security wing of the prison.

Mr Olivier said he came on duty at 3.15pm and at 6pm saw Sgt H Joubert bring two awaiting-trial prisoners across the courtyard to the office. Then he saw them walking towards the wooden door to the cells.

At 11.35pm Sgt A Badenhorst

arrived and pushed at the front door. It opened and he went in. Sgt Badenhorst came out again and shouted to him: "Why are the doors open?"

Mr Olivier telephoned Sgt Vermeulen and asked him why the doors were open. Sgt Vermeulen replied that he thought the day duty staff had forgotten to close the doors.

Mr I M van der Merwe, another warder, said he came on duty on December 12 at 5.45am. He signed the guard list and was given the keys for the wooden doors at the entrance.

He saw the front door lock had its plate bent back completely flat so that it would not catch. The second door was closed electrically. Sgt Badenhorst opened the remaining doors to let him into the office.

The night duty keys were in

the key cupboard and Sgt Badenhorst took the day duty keys out.

Later Sgt Peterse arrived and Sgt Badenhorst asked him why the doors were open.

Mr Van der Merwe said it was assumed that the day before locksmiths had worked on the door and had not finished the job.

The Attorney-General is examining the contents of a letter written to Mr Ike Swagberg, who is appearing for Sgt Vermeulen. The letter was written by Stephen Lee in London when he heard of the case against Sgt Vermeulen.

A confession in which Sgt Vermeulen said he released the men for a bribe of R200 has been admitted as evidence.

The trial is continuing — Sapa.

All answer books

Number of books

Number of the

Surname

First Name(s)

Date 17 OCTOBER 1978

Degree/Diploma/Certificate for which you are registered (e.g. B.A., B.Sc.) BSC

Subject ECONOMICS 1A
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Paper No.
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

External		
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Examiners' Initials		

NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
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WARNING

1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
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4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

C.7.
5/6/80

Buthelezi reacts to Smit 'insult'

JOHANNESBURG. — Kwazulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi warned last night that anyone participating in the proposed President's Council would be seen as endorsing Mr Hennie Smit's "insult" to black people.

Chief Buthelezi's warning means that coloured and Indian participation in the council has been further jeopardised.

Both the Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party are members of the SA Black Alliance, and although both parties have said they would not participate in the President's Council while blacks are excluded, the warning is certain to remove any lingering doubts either may have.

Chief Buthelezi said in a statement: "This kind of insult to the majority population group of South Africa by Mr Smit is the kind of thing that

will convince more blacks to see possibilities for change only through violence.

"If this is the Botha government's view of us, then I see no possibility for peaceful change as this kind of stigma hurled at us pulls the rug from under the feet of those who are involved in efforts for peaceful change."

He added: "This will make it impossible for any members of the race groups who are allowed to participate in the President's Council to do so without being seen by their mere participation in the council to be endorsing that view of us by Mr Smit."

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, said: "I hope that (Mr Smit's) type of thinking is not typical among those entrusted with caring for the welfare of 25-million people in this country."

PFP: Bill ignored even Inkatha's lone voice

THE ASSEMBLY. — By excluding blacks from the President's Council the Government had alienated the goodwill of black South Africans and made the process of peaceful negotiation all the more difficult, Mr Colin Eglin (PFP Sea Point) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Second Reading Debate of the Constitution Fifth Amendment Bill, he said the Government had, by this act, also placed many coloured and Indian leaders who wished to participate in the process of

negotiation in an invidious position.

Only one black organisation, Inkatha, had responded to the invitation to give evidence before the constitutional commission.

To do so could not have been an easy decision as it had exposed the movement to criticism from those in the black and coloured communities not prepared to give evidence.

But the Government had proceeded with a measure that rejected the fundamental re-

presentations made by Inkatha. He wondered how Chief Buthe-lesi was feeling today.

Mr Eglin said he could understand the Government's annoyance with the fact that the PFP was opposing the Bill and wanted nothing to do with the council.

But the Government also had to understand the PFP's objections.

They could not in all conscience take the first step if in their judgment it would lead

South Africa away from agreement and the prospect of an acceptable constitutional dispensation.

The PFP would have supported the proposals had it believed that they had reached the threshold of viability.

The PFP's judgment was based on the fundamental principle contained in the opening paragraph of their minority report, which stated: "It must be the result of negotiation and agreement between the various

groups in our population."

The reason for the PFP's adherence to this principle was not because of any ideological or doctrinaire party political commitment, but because it wanted the constitution to be a secure and respected framework for peaceful co-existence in South Africa.

To be viable and legitimate the constitution had to enjoy the respect and engender the loyalty of all groups of the population.

To achieve this all groups had to be represented in the process of negotiation and negotiation had to precede the creation of new constitutional structures.

In the PFP's opinion, the proposals contained in the Bill failed to meet both of the essential requirements for achieving viability and legitimacy for a new constitution. — Sapa.

Mr Nic Treurnicht (NP Pi-ketberg) said that by expelling Mr. Japie Basson (PFP Bezui-

denhout) from its caucus, the PFP had indicated that it sympathised with those who sought confrontation.

He said the PFP's action had exposed "the sort of democracy" for which the party stood.

By this act it had finally chosen between the politics of Mr Basson and Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton). It meant that they were now finally committed to the principle of one man, one vote.

It could no longer be denied

that blacks had gone along a different constitutional path to coloureds and Asians.

It was impossible to reverse the constitutional road the blacks had followed as their independence could not be taken away from them now.

It was accepted that coloureds and Asians would join forces constitutionally with whites, but if blacks wanted to follow other democratic systems they could not be prevented from doing so.

He said the President's Council would operate in direct relation to Parliament and for that reason blacks had to have other organisations which could liaise with the governments of independent homelands.

South Africans — "as democrats" — were obliged to give the new council and each phase of its development every support possible to allow it to unite the different races and build up good relations with the homelands. — Sapa.

SWOOP ON INDIAN LEADERS

7/6/80 *JK*

Five others

The others were Mr. M J Naidoo, vice-president of the congress, Mr. Thyamba Pillay, Mr. R. Buchwandeen, Dr Farook Meer and Mr Sash Morgan.

Mr. Sewpersadh was picked up from his Reservoir Hills home and taken to his law offices in Verulam where the Security Police made a search.

Mr. Naidoo was detained by two security police after he addressed a meeting of the Society for Democratic Education at Durban's Vedic Hall.

The meeting was called by teachers who criticised the role of the Teachers' Association of South Africa and other professional teachers' organisations for not playing a positive role in the educational crisis.

Mr. Naidoo had earlier announced the detention of Mr. Sewpersadh and other leaders at this meeting.

Silence

These detentions were met with silence at another meeting at the Orient Hall where parents were discussing the suspension of more than 10 000 Indian pupils by the Department of Indian Affairs.

Three security police also called at the home of Mr Paul David in Verulam at 1 am today.

They told his wife that they wanted to question her husband.

Mr David is secretary of the Release Nelson Mandela Committee in Natal.

Mr. Ray Swart, official Opposition spokesman on Indian and Police matters, said today he was disturbed at the number of detentions around the country.

The whole situation regarding Indian education in Natal is thoroughly distressing, and I warned the Government this week to rethink on the issue of suspension of children from schools.

There is a very urgent need for magnanimity to be shown and for the Government to take the lead to restore the position to normality, he said.

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A security police crackdown last night on leaders of the Natal Indian Congress has wiped out, for the present, the cream of Indian political opposition.

The NIC, which strongly opposes the Government-nominated South African Indian Council, has played a leading role in parent-support committees during the schools boycott.

The leading personality detained was Mr George Sewpersadh, NIC president.

When will they learn?

1/6/80
SUN TRIB
11A

'SITUATION IS ONE WHICH AGITATORS CAN EXPLOIT'

WHEN schoolchildren boycotted classes nearly a month ago, it seemed like the start of a nightmarish replay of the events of June 1976.

But when the Minister responsible for "coloured" education responded with threats and tough action and the hackneyed cry that it was agitators who were causing all the trouble, then one realised that it was not just a nightmare, it was for real.

In 1976 black schoolchildren protested against Afrikaans as a compulsory medium of instruction. The then Minister of Bantu Education, Mr M. C. Botha, and his deputy, Dr Treurnicht, responded with breathtaking intransigence and insensitivity being completely unheeding of warnings that things were building up for an explosion.

They too accused agitators for the disturbances. It did not seem to occur to them then — nor does it seem to have come to the notice of Minister Steyn — that to blame agitators is to admit that the situation was one which agitators could exploit.

An agitator would be told to "go jump in the lake" if he were to ask say the denizens of the af-

fluent northern white suburbs of Johannesburg to demonstrate because they were victims of exploitation and injustice.

Although the Cillie Commission on the 1976 uprising had reported and pointed out that there were real grievances against the apartheid system as the black community experienced it, the authorities have behaved by and large as if 1976 had never really happened.

I myself would like to commend the police for trying to maintain a low profile in some places and exercising restraint, but there are far too many instances when they behaved thoroughly badly as if they had learned not a single lesson from 1976 and how to handle peaceful demonstrations.

Why should they continue to wear camouflage uniforms and why hit out at students with batons? Could they not use canes and other methods for quelling unrest which have been used effectively in other parts of the world? Or is it in the final analysis the fact that they are dealing with the children of parents who have no political power?

There are parallels between what is happening now and to what happened last time. It is spearheaded by school-

children, as 1976 was. The immediate cause of discontent is the inferior "coloured" education system.

The children in 1976 were protesting against Bantu Education with the Afrikaans issue the trigger element then. But in both cases the real protest is against the total apartheid system of injustice, oppression and exploitation — and violence.

Because apartheid is largely legalised violence through the laws that do violence to the integrity of family life, through laws that do violence to the dignity of human beings who, because of the colour of their skins, are paid lower wages than others — even with comparable training and experience. And through their having to carry passes which limit their freedom of movement in the land of their birth, through the violence of forced population removal schemes which destroy communities such as those of District Six, the violence of children whose growth will be stunted because of malnutrition and hunger in a land which can export food to other lands, through the violence of denying persons their citizenship of the land of their birth.

In both cases there was a measure of labour unrest as well.

But there are significant differences. In 1976, there was a distinct generation gap. The black adults were bewildered by what their children were doing and were often counselling them to desist from their protests and demonstrations.

In the "coloured" community we see a greater degree of unity than ever before. Both students and parents have become

politicised — sometimes, in the case of parents, because they were incensed by what they saw of police brutality to their children who were demonstrating peacefully.

In 1976 it was a few areas that were most actively involved. In 1980 the movement is far more widespread. This is true also of the solidarity we see today.

Not all the blacks have come out, but it has been impressive to see how coloureds, Indians and Africans have co-operated. All the black universities have become involved, some having had to close as a consequence.

Something which did not happen in 1976 was the involvement of white university students in actually boycotting classes to demonstrate their solidarity. So we have here something that is far more widespread and perhaps going deeper than 1976 ever did. Of course, 1976 has greatly influenced what we see happening today as a causal factor.

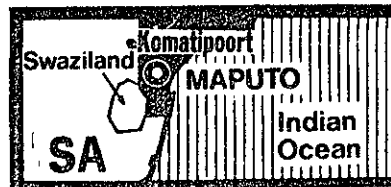
And then the churches have come into the picture more decisively than ever they did in 1976. It is largely because of the role of the ministers in the coloured community that one of their number, John Thorne of Bosmont Congregational Church, was detained last week Saturday.

And it was his detention that led to the procession of church leaders and their arrest last Monday — something that has reverberated round the world. And now the shootings in Elsie's River... O God will we ever learn — where are all the children gone... will they never learn, will they never learn?



Bishop Tutu... "An agitator would be told to 'go jump in the lake' if he were to ask an affluent white to demonstrate."

MAPUTO'S



TERROR NEST

At ANC headquarters in Mozambique, a Who's Who of SA exiles

REA
11A
SUNDAY EXPRESS
8/16/80

By DESMOND BLOW, Chief Reporter

LESS than 600km from Johannesburg, in a house in Maputo, 30 of South Africa's best-known political expatriates concentrated their forces for the terrorist onslaught that culminated this week in the massive sabotage attack on Sasol.

The man at the head of this formidable "task force" is Joe Slovo, former Johannesburg advocate now in his fifties and the only White member of the banned African National Congress "high command".

And the Sunday Express can today reveal that he has helping him nearly three dozen people whose names read like a Who's Who of political militants who have slipped out of South Africa in one way or another during the past 20 years.

Among them are Ronnie Kasrils, Reg September, Albie Sachs, Stephanie Kemp, and Ben and Mary Turok.

This powerful line-up of ANC plotters across the border is one of the ominous facts that a Sunday Express investigation into South Africa's security situation in the wake of the Sasol blasts uncovered this week.

Expressscope reports in detail on Pages 6 and 7 the nature of the threat against the country, the people behind it and their likely targets.

The Expressscope team also:

- Tracked down a sister of Frene Ginwala in an effort to throw some light on this mystery woman who was named in the Renfrew Christie spy trial and was said by Minister of Police Louis le Grange to be an ANC mastermind working with Russia's Zambian Ambassador Vassily Solodovnikov against South Africa.

- Received a strong warning from former Rhodesian security experts that South Africa is on its way to a Rhodesian situation — and that this country is grimly unprepared in the field of security.

The experts listed six measures that they felt should be taken immediately to help the country gear up for the expected onslaught (See Page 6).

The Sunday Express itself drew attention to the large gaps in security measures at vital installations as long ago as 1978.

In a survey after the sabotage of petrol dumps in Salisbury, investigators in Durban and Johannesburg managed to move freely around dump and refinery areas without being stopped or challenged.

One major oil company admitted a serious security lapse and thanked the Sunday Express for revealing the weakness. Another said it considered its security to be adequate.

Major-General D J Earp, chairman of the National Key Points Committee, said afterwards he hoped the survey's shock findings would bring the country to greater security consciousness. "If this thinking were carried over into all sectors of commerce and industry it would be decidedly

from that country. Mr Le Grange would not comment further on her at this stage.

"She is an Indian woman who went into exile, and I mentioned her for good reason," he told Express Political Correspondent John Matisonn. "I don't want to say any more at this stage."

He did not intend to release a picture of her at present.

Ironically, though Slovo and the people working with him were once regular front-page news in South African newspapers, they are today virtually unknown to many people in this country.

This is because most of them have been banned and their views and sayings may not be quoted in South Africa.



Flashback to the Sunday Express of December 31, 1978.

about her. She was mentioned in the Renfrew Christie spy trial, and files reveal that she was one of the first South African refugees to Dar es Salaam and once a close friend of President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, though she was later detained and then expelled

From Page 1

for the better," he said. With this week's sabotage blast at Sasol — frightening evidence of how much the country needs a new approach to security — Sunday Express Chief Reporter Desmond Blow tried to speak to the man behind the sabotage threat.

When he tried to phone Joe Slovo at his unlisted number in Maputo, he was at first told that Slovo was out of town for a few days.

A second call yesterday went through to someone who said "Da?" — Russian for "yes" — but put down the telephone once he realised what the call was about.

Frene Ginwala, too, proved elusive — as did information

SUN TRIP 8/1/80

ANC boss's note leaked to UK

(11A)

Mandela message smuggled off Robben Island...

From
**JEAN-JACQUES
CORNISH**
London

ANTI-APARTHEID organisers here claim to have pulled off a propaganda coup by smuggling a message from jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela off Robben Island.

The message, said to be two pages long, will be read publicly at the House of Commons here on Wednesday to mark his 16th year in detention.

Supporters of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC in London will also picket the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square on Wednesday and attend the meeting in a hired hall at the Commons.

The smuggled message comes at the height of an intense campaign here to release the 61-year-old prisoner — and is bound to be seen as a slap in the face for the South African authorities.

The text of Mandela's message will be made public at a press conference in London on Tuesday and a film Portrait Nelson Mandela will be shown on Wednesday to mark the occasion.

This development in the Release Mandela campaign comes in the wake of similar efforts in South Africa to have him freed.

The campaign floundered when Minister of Police, Mr. Louis le Grange, told Parliament in April this year that Mandela would "spend the rest of his life in jail."

Anti-apartheid organisers would not say what the message contained, except that it had great importance for everybody in South Africa.

Nor would they provide any detail on how the message was allegedly smuggled from Robben Island, a top security prison where political prisoners are held.

Mandela, who was jailed for sabotage, has been visited by his banned wife Winnie and children.

These are "no touch" visits with glass panelling separating Mandela from his visitors.

2/6/80 SUN TRIS (118)

Gov't plan is rejected by the SA Black Alliance

By Rod Jackson-Smith

THE Government's floundering plans for a President's Council had another setback yesterday when it was rejected by the powerful South African Black Alliance.

Thirty-six SABA delegates resolved in Durban that no members of its constituent bodies should serve on the proposed Council — a decision that greatly reduces the possible participation by Indians and Coloureds in the Government's constitutional plans, already suffering a setback with the official Opposition refusing to have anything to do with it because of the exclusion of black participation.

At a Press conference called during yesterday's closed session of the meeting, SABA's chairman, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, told the Sunday Tribune that if any of SABA's members defied the resolution and served on the President's Council, it was likely that they would be expelled.

The SABA view was that the only real solution lay in the calling of a national convention where all South Africans could meet to decide on a new constitution for the country.

8/6/80 SUN CRIS

SO WETO



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
EXAMINATION ANSWER BOOK

SECTION

B (114)

8/6/80

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

By GEOFF DALGLISH

4 years later—it could be a re-run of the 1976 nightmare

CHILDREN'S bodies lay motionless in dusty streets. Mothers wept. And billowing smoke clouds cast a giant shadow over South Africa.

Nearly 600 died, thousands were injured, hundreds jailed and an angry, alienated black youth created to haunt the future.

Today, four years later, the shadow remains.

Black leaders warned this week that little had altered to soothe the grievances that had the country tottering on the brink of insurrection.

In recent days unrest has continued with labour ills, school boycotts, arrests of hundreds of school children and the fatal shooting of two coloured youths in the Cape.

"It almost seemed like we were getting a nightmarish replay of '76," Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches, told me.

"We pray we won't have another June 16 but it seems that we have got back to the old syndrome of students protesting against inferior education and the authorities responding in very typical and predictable fashion."

Conceding that greater restraint had been exercised in recent confrontations, he said little seemed to have been learned from 1976.

Some of the harsh edges of apartheid have been blunted but separate

And it is that fundamental policy of the Government that lies at the heart of the deep grievance felt by blacks, according to the Cillie Commission report published three months ago.

Mr Justice Cillie spelled it out:

"Almost all legislation concerning the relations between races is divisive and is seen by black and coloured as unfair and discriminatory."

The very policy created to avert racial friction was blamed for creating racial hatred.

"Discrimination which is always regarded as unjust, not only caused dissatisfaction, but in many a great hate," the judge noted.

Today that legacy of hate is apparent in Soweto, Johannesburg's ugly sister city. With mock deference I am addressed as "Meneer" by some, snubbed or treated with open hostility by many others.

Apartheid is on the other foot here and my white skin is a ticket to second class status.

"Yes, we are racists, we have learned our lessons well," I was told after being evicted from a June 16 commemorative service last year.

Incidents where whites are treated to the kind of humiliation that have long been the lot of the black community are increasingly common.

"Among the young, attitudes have definitely hardened," said Bishop Tutu. "The older people, particularly in the so-called coloured community, have also become quite politicised. In 1976 there was definitely a generation gap."

"One of the outstanding features of this present boycott has been the solidarity between the students and the community... people could not be the same in South Africa after 1976."

"Every part of our community was to some extent affected by those riots."

Significantly, in ethnically-divided South Africa, there has been a new sense of common purpose among many blacks, coloureds and Indians.

"I think that people are becoming aware that the struggle is one — one struggle for one freedom against one oppression. The sooner the Government wakes up to this the better."

Perhaps surprisingly, the Bishop believes there is still a reservoir of black optimism despite this week's racial slur by Minister of Posts and Communications Hennie Smit about the "slower thought processes" of blacks.

"I think that our people are often good at wishful thinking... that despite all the evidence to the contrary, many of them are still willing to believe that these people will not be quite so harsh."

"It's an odd mixture of optimism and hoping against hope but the system has not changed one iota."

What the Bishop would like to see is a commitment to an undivided South Africa

with a common citizenship for all.

That's his long-term goal.

In the short-term, he'd settle for scrapping of different education departments for the races.

"The Prime Minister has been able to decide that certain departments are going to be closed. He could do this with a stroke of a pen, which would mean that they had a commitment to equal education opportunities."

"Saying that we are going to dismantle apartheid. That will satisfy us. Anything short of that will be playing marbles."

Committee of Ten chairman Dr Nthato Motlana shares those sentiments.

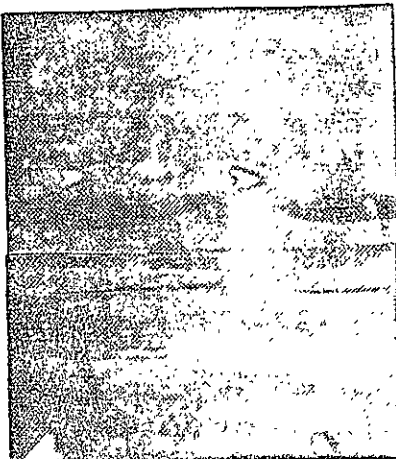
The riots had exploded the 30-year myth that apartheid was a workable policy applied by a strong and resourceful government and it was high time the policies of National Party Godfather Dr Verwoerd were repudiated, he said.

"It needs a bold statement: 'Gentleman, I'm sorry, I made a mistake.' That kind of thing can end so many arguments, so many fights."

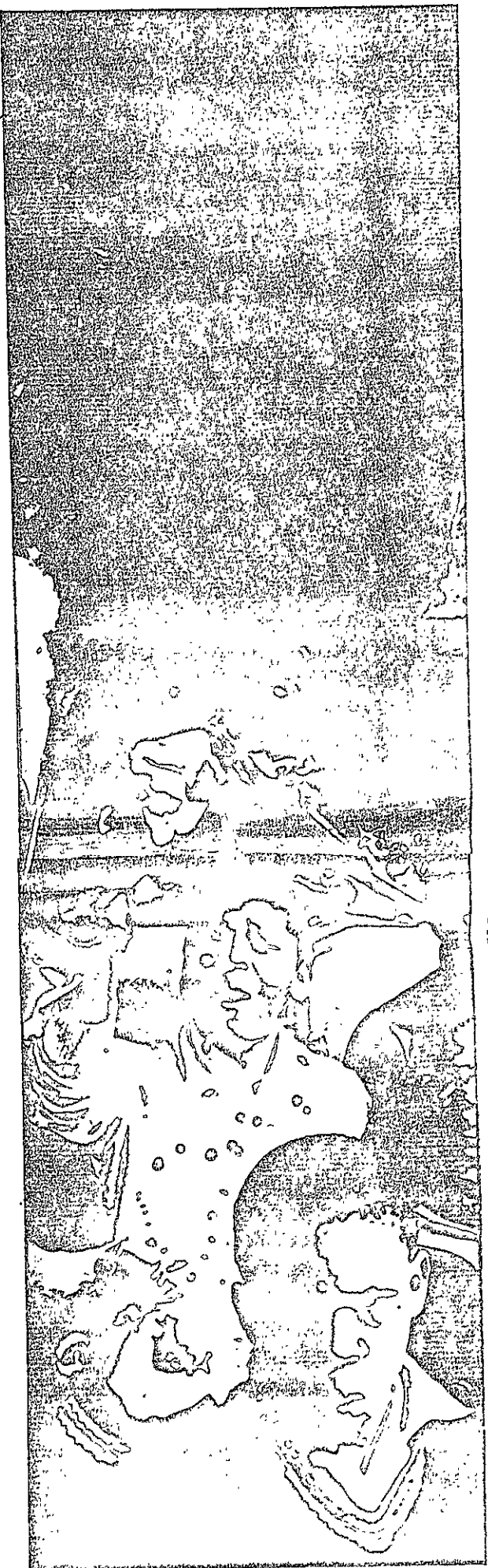
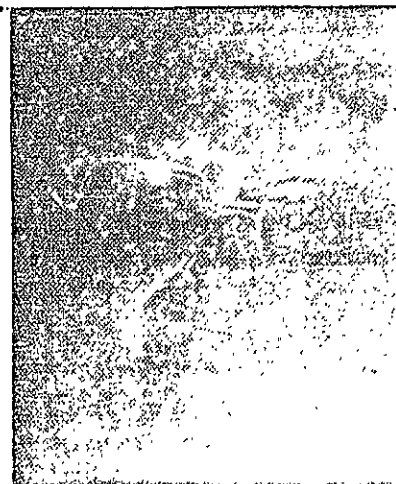
With June 16, possibly the most traumatic day of South Africa's history, looming, Dr Motlana insisted: "Black adults really pray that June 16 will never come again."

"Maybe this can be kept low key and free from unnecessary violence. But having said that, one still wonders where all this is leading us to."

"Here is a government that is simply frozen into immobility just like the Vorster Government used to be. One had hoped that this apparent go-getter called P. W.



Dr Nthato Motlana (above), chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches.



Youth on the rise in 1976. Could it happen again?

Botha might actually do something.

"After all, all the people are asking is that there be a commitment by government to the principle of equality in education."

"It's not good enough to tell us that the syllabuses are the same. We want this equality to be expressed in terms of one ministry of education and a common education policy."

"Centuries of misdirection, stupidity, will not be corrected overnight but we want a commitment to that kind of direction. And I have no doubt that if that was made, people could be persuaded to go back to school."

Asked what meaningful changes there had been in the past four years, he was adamant: "Not a thing... even a man like Koorhof, who is well known for making soothing noises, recently said that the question of common suburbs, common schools, shared power, is not negotiable."

"If you say that, what is negotiable? Nothing, absolutely nothing."

Many whites, looking north to Zimbabwe's newly-attained majority rule, were like spectators at a car crash who believed it only happened to the other guy, said Bishop Tutu.

"They believe: 'It can't happen here.'"

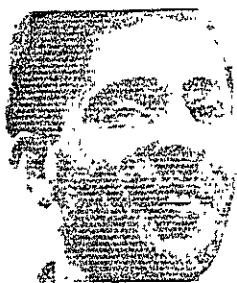
The lesson was obvious, he maintained: "Take the options while they are available or you won't have any options to take and you will end up where you would have been had you taken the options."

"What a waste... that 25,000 lives should have been lost to get to a point they could have reached with no loss of life."

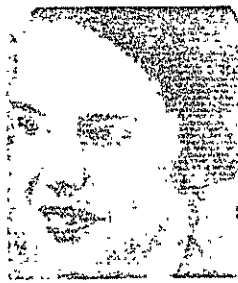
Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

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(e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

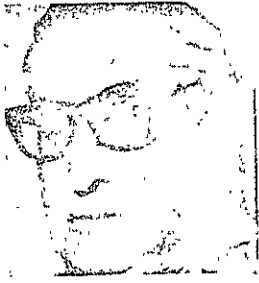
NATION AS THE FLAMES FROM SASOL DIE DOWN



Albie Sachs
... banned lawyer



Mary Turck
... banned



Julius First
... fled the country



Ben Turck
... banned



Ruth First
... Joe's wife



Joe Slovo — he was the mastermind behind the Sasol and Secunda raids.

Apartheid's quiet enemy

DESMOND BLOW DESCRIBED FOR SLOVO

THE R5.5-million Sasol sabotage blasts were planned from less than 600km away by cherubic former Johannesburg advocate Joe Slovo, assisted by a powerful task force of Black and White South African refugees.

Slovo, who operates from Maputo in Mozambique, has under his control 30 top ANC expatriates — including Ronnie Kasrils, Reg September, Albie Sachs, Stephanie Kemp and Ben and Mary Turck.

The sabotage was so well planned that the whole of South Africa has been blown up. Slovo and his colleagues must have had maps giving an accurate location of every building and installation at the three sites where the bombs were placed.

Information about the sites must have been sent from South Africa to Maputo — the bombs were laid in what were considered the most strategic places.

Slovo, the only White member of the ANC High Command and the man Minister of Police Mr Louis le Grange this week rated Public Enemy No 1, has been a mystery man ever since he slipped out of South Africa in April, 1963 after the Government banned him.

He belonged to a small White clan of fiery revolutionaries set on abolishing South Africa's racial system of Government.

They were prepared for violent change, but the stringent laws brought against Slovo and his wife Ruth First, who spent 117 days in detention, forced him out of the country and made him a far more menacing figure than he had been while plotting sabotage within South Africa for the ANC's Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) in the early Sixties.

Since he fled South Africa he has moved between London, Moscow, East Germany, and Africa, quietly and determinedly plotting the overthrow of apartheid.

He is reputed to have masterminded the escapes from Pretoria Central Prison last year of three political prisoners, Alexander Mombembe, Stephen Lee and Timothy Jenkin.

There have been few newspaper reports on Slovo since his escape from South Africa 17 years ago. He has kept a low profile and waited patiently while states in Southern Africa gradually fell to Black governments.

The revolution had a priority. Angola and Mozambique first, then Rhodesia, now SWA/Namibia and South Africa.

In the Sixties it was not easy for terrorists to reach South Africa through the ring of rugged bush in the countries friendly to South Africa.

I remember seeing the fragments of one group of terrorists who attempted to hit through the bush of what was then Bechuanaland, only to be defeated by the unrelenting thorn trees that tipped at their bodies and the desolate, dry distances that left them dehydrated.

South Africa seemed impregnable. Now things have changed: The distances are short and the methods of operation make the communist-trained guerrillas an extremely dangerous threat.

There is no longer an impregnable ring of friendly countries, but a ring of guerrilla training camps surrounding South Africa.

Slovo and the communists have decided that the Eighties is the decade in which to launch the full onslaught on South Africa.

Their plan is three-pronged:

- The recruitment of terrorists in South Africa.
- Industrial disruption.
- Sabotage and terrorism.

During the early Sixties Whites in South Africa participated in sabotage, but today all such Whites are outside the country. It is the Blacks, better trained than any of the Whites ever were, who conduct the battle inside the country.

Slovo has set up his headquarters in Maputo from where he directs 4 000 trained guerrillas specialising in creating disturbances and mounting urban terror attacks and sabotage.

There are at least three training camps in Mozambique alone. One is at Marrupa in Niassa province, in rugged and inhospitable terrain, out of

reach of possible "hot pursuit" attacks. It is protected by a network of anti-aircraft missiles and the training is done by East Germans and Cubans.

Two other camps are at Funchalouro and Trigo de Morais in Gaza Province.

The camp at Trigo de Morais is protected by 14 anti-aircraft guns and SAM5 missiles. There Black youngsters are trained in the use of plastic explosives and urban and psychological warfare.

There are also camps in Tanzania and Angola — the three men who launched South Africa's first urban terror attack in Goch Street, Johannesburg, in June, 1977 were trained at the Angola camp, set up at the request of Slovo.

Slovo moves around a lot — to conspire with the Russian Ambassador to Zambia, Vassily Solodovnikov, or to visit guerrilla training camps in Angola, Tanzania or Liberia, and to seek further arms and explosives from the communists.

He was 37 when he fled to Bechuanaland with J B Marks, former Transvaal president of the ANC, who was also under house arrest.

Educated at the University of the Witwatersrand, Slovo was called to the Bar in Johannesburg and married Ruth First, a journalist from a well-known South African family.

In 1950 the couple were

named under the Suppression of Communism Act when the Communist Party was banned in South Africa.

Among the others named were Jack and Rica Hodgson with whom Slovo was to work closely in developing the guerrilla war now confronting South Africa.

Hodgson also fled through Bechuanaland to Mozambique.

Evidence was given at the Rivonia trial in 1963 that Slovo and Hodgson were architects of a plan to manufacture 48 000 land mines and 210 000 hand-grenades in South Africa.

After their departure from South Africa, Hodgson and Slovo worked tirelessly for 14 years to train ANC guerrillas to topple the South African Government.

However, they were told by Moscow that the toppling of the Rhodesian regime came first — and only then could the onslaught be fully directed against South Africa.

But they kept recruiting people from South Africa, training them and sending them "underground".

Both Slovo and Hodgson were named as the "controllers" of James Edward April, the South African Coloured saboteur sentenced to 15 years' jail in 1971.

At April's trial in the Maritzburg Supreme Court it was alleged that he had been trained in sabotage techniques in London and East Berlin by Slovo and Hodgson.

There have been other allegations by political prisoners in South Africa that Slovo and Hodgson trained them — including Justice Mbinda Mpanza and Petrus Mtembu, who were trapped when the Security Branch intercepted coded telegrams sent to them by Hodgson's wife Rica.

Ahmed Timol, the Indian teacher who fell to his death from the 10th floor of John Vorster Square while being interrogated by Security Police, was a close friend of Slovo and Hodgson.

That incident hardened Slovo's attitude towards the Government of South Africa even further.

He was banned from attending meetings in 1961, but con-

tinued to practise at the Bar, primarily defending Blacks.

In 1959 he was one of 156 people charged with treason. All were acquitted.

In 1960 he was detained for four months during a State of Emergency, and in February 1962 he was restricted to the Johannesburg area for five years while he was defending Nelson Mandela on an incitement charge.

His father-in-law, Julius First, 70, believed to be the treasurer of the ANC, also fled South Africa. His mother Matilda, now 84, was reputed to be the first member of the Communist Party in South Africa.

Like her daughter-in-law Matilda, she left South Africa on an exit permit.

Slovo's colleagues

□ Ronnie Kasrils, 41, was a University of Natal student. He has been named in several South African terrorist trials.

□ Reg September formerly headed the ANC's London headquarters.

□ Albie Sachs was a banned Cape Town lawyer. His wife, Stephanie Kemp, a 90-day detainee in Cape Town, sued the Minister of Justice in 1963, alleging she was assaulted while being held. She accepted an out of court settlement of R1 000.

□ Ben Turck and his wife, Mary, are banned in South Africa.

Also reported to be in Maputo are: Alan Brooks, a former Cape Town student, who is a key worker in the anti-apartheid movement, and his wife, Sarah, daughter of British Communist Party member, Mrs Joan Darling; Fred Dube; Essop Pahad; Steve Tobias; Frankie Forman, the son of Mrs Sadie Forman, a listed teacher from Cape Town who now works in London; John Carneson, son of Fred Carneson, who left South Africa in 1972 after serving a sentence under the Suppression of Communism Act.

She helped Tambo

FRENE GINWALA, the mystery woman whom the Minister of Police said was planning ANC strategy with the Russian Ambassador to Zambia, helped Oliver Tambo, vice-president of the ANC, and Dr Yusuf Dadoo, chairman of the SA Communist Party in 1960, escape from South Africa.

She had gone to London earlier, where she obtained false immigration papers for them.

Miss Ginwala, 48, was named in the Renfrew Christie trial this week. A letter was produced in court in which Lars Gunnar Eriksson, the director of the International University Exchange Fund, introduced South African spy Craig Williamson to Frene Ginwala.

And a statement by Mr Christie was produced in which he admitted he had been in contact with Miss Ginwala to pass on information from South Africa.

Yesterday the Sunday Express tracked down Miss Ginwala's only relative in South Africa — a sister, Dr K N Ginwala. She said she occasionally corresponded with Miss Ginwala, but that Miss Ginwala never discussed her work in London.

She said Miss Ginwala was born in Johannesburg and educated in the Transvaal and later completed her law degree in London.

During the Emergency in 1960 she left South Africa legally, and later began a doctorate at Oxford University. She was later invited to go to Tanzania to edit the government-owned newspaper.

She helped Tambo

Pupils will extend schools boycott

Political Staff

COLOURED and Indian pupils in Johannesburg and on the Reef have announced that they are to continue their schools boycott at least until their colleagues, community leaders and teachers are released from detention.

And in Durban parents of boycotting pupils and students have decided that the boycotts should continue in the wake of the detentions of Natal Indian Congress leaders and until other demands are met.

In Cape Town the Committee of 81, the boycott co-ordinating committee, has urged pupils to return to school, but not to attend classes.

The Reef decision to continue with boycotts was announced after a series of meetings since Friday involving pupils, students, teachers and parents' action committees.

Representatives of 15 high schools announced that they would reassess their position only after detainees were released.

They have also demanded the unconditional reinstatement of an estimated 8 000 pupils suspended from school last week, and the reopening of black universities.

Following reports of sporadic violence at schools last week, they have also urged pupils not to indulge in any violence but to act in a "dignified, non-violent way".

A meeting of pupils and parents in Lenasia yesterday appointed a delegation to ask principals to allow boycotting pupils to use school halls.

This follows warnings school authorities said they had received from the police that the provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act, forbidding open-air gatherings, would be strictly applied.

The pupils and the Parents' Action Committee are to meet again before calling a mass public meeting in Lenasia to discuss the situation.

In Durban, the president of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr George Sewpersadh, and NIC executive members Mr M J Naidoo, Mr Thumba Pillay, Mr Rabbi Bugwandeem and Dr Farouk Meer, were detained by Security Police.

This means that members of three major black political organisations — the Azanian People's Organisation, the Labour Party and the NIC — are among an estimated 300 people detained throughout the country since the schools boycott began in March.

At a meeting at Durban's Orient Hall it was decided that the boycotts would end only if the authorities:

- Immediately released the detainees;
- Readmitted suspended pupils to schools;
- Reopened institutions which had been closed down;
- Postponed mid-year exams; and
- Gave assurances that returning students would not be victimised.

Black Alliance rejects President's Council

Cape Times 9/6/80 (11A)

DURBAN. — The South African Black Alliance (Saba) has rejected the recommendations of the interim Schlegelbusch Commission because it excludes blacks from participating in meaningful power-sharing at all levels of government.

Saba is a movement composed of Inkatha, the Labour Party and the Reform Party.

After a meeting in Durban at the weekend, Saba released a list of resolutions, one of them being a condemnation of the present composition of the President's Council.

The alliance attacked the proposed council because members would be nominated by the government and not by the communities themselves. Furthermore, the council reflected the opinions and feelings of a minority of the total population.

Saba also stated that the question of a non-racial, integrated system of education

had always been part of its stance for a fully non-racial society in South Africa. It wholeheartedly supported the students' protest.

However, the statement warned: "Having said this, Saba advises our young people to guard against methods of protest that could be counterproductive and lose the support of the total oppressed community and harm the cause of liberation."

The alliance requested that all students, having made their point, should return to their classrooms, so that their immediate academic objectives were not detrimentally affected.

The alliance condemned the spate of arrests and detentions of students, community leaders, clergy and others relating to unrest at educational institutions. It called for them to be charged and, where no crime had been committed, to be released.

Mandela message to be read in London

STAR 9/6/80
11A

LONDON — A message from jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has been allegedly smuggled from Robben Island and will be read publicly at the House of Commons here on Wednesday.

The two-page message will be read at a meeting to mark Mandela's 16th year in detention.

The ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement are running a massive campaign here for Mandela's release.

Supporters of these organisations will picket the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square on Wednesday and attend the meeting at the Commons to hear the message and see a new film

A message from jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela — allegedly smuggled out of Robben Island — will be read publicly in London this week. JEAN-JACQUES CORNISH of The Star's Bureau in London reports exclusively.

entitled "Portrait Nelson Mandela."

The text of Mandela's message will be released at a Press conference here tomorrow.

Wednesday's meeting at the Commons — it will be held in a committee room and will be open to the public — will be

Mr Mike Terry, secretary of chaired by the Anti-Apartheid Movement's chairman, Labour MP Mr Bob Hughes.

Also at the top table will be Canon John Collins, president of the Defence and Aid Fund, and a representative of the ANC.

the AAM, said it had not yet been decided who would read the message, which had arrived on Friday.

He refused to give any details about how the message had allegedly been smuggled from the island to London.

"It is a message that will confound Mandela's enemies," said Mr Terry.

"It is an appeal from Mandela and from all the prisoners on Robben Island."

He would not, however, give any details of its contents.

"You will have to wait until Tuesday for that," he said.

Mr Terry said he was convinced that the message was genuine and there was no question of it being a hoax.

Transkei puts unrest blame on ANC, PAC

By **PATRICK LAURENCE**
Southern Africa Editor

THE African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress have been "strongly resuscitated" in Transkei and are behind unrest at schools and at the University of Transkei, according to the Transkei Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima.

The ANC and the PAC, which were banned in Transkei last year, were named by Chief Matanzima as the instigators of disturbances at Transkei educational institutions in the wake of the declaration of a state of emergency in Transkei last week.

In a separate statement to the Rand Daily Mail, Chief Matanzima blamed both movements for Transkei's failure to win international recognition as an independent state.

He said: "Since independence these organisations have persistently issued pamphlets to the effect that their fight is against South Africa and Transkei . . . They are responsible for our non-recognition."

Chief Matanzima's statement represents a complete turn of the wheel in Transkei's attitude toward the exiled organisations since it became independent in October 1976

At the time, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Transkei's first Prime Minister and now President, offered Transkei to the ANC and PAC as a base for the "liberation struggle" against South Africa.

While many observers dismissed the offer as "mere rhetoric", some exiled members of the banned movements did return to Transkei — although they do not seem to have had much freedom to propagate the aims of either movement.

One of the most important of the returned exiles was Mr Tsepo Letlaka, of the PAC. He became a member of the Transkei Cabinet.

In an interview with the "Mail", Mr Letlaka, who is at present Minister of Justice, was asked how he felt about the banning of the ANC and the PAC. As Minister of Justice, he signed the order.

He replied: "Naturally I feel sad that the PAC and the ANC should not have seen the opportunity of using Transkei for their objectives."

"But that does not mean I feel that they should be free to subvert the state of Transkei."

"In spite of the activities of these organisations in opposing recognition of Transkei, Transkei went out of its way and opened its doors to these

organisations until it became clear that they were actively fighting against Transkei."

Among the detainees in Transkei are alleged members of the ANC and/or the PAC who were first arrested in 1978.

Asked about these men, Mr Letlaka said: "What I know is that men who were found with weapons and explosives in Transkei and who claimed to emanate from these organisations were arrested. They are under investigation. When the full report comes through they will be charged."

The State of Emergency, declared under Transkei's Public Security Act, forbids all students from leaving their homes, except to attend classes or church.

The onus to prove innocence is on persons charged under the regulations. Punishments for contraventions are fines of up to R1 000, up to five years' jail, or a whipping of up to 10 strokes.

In an attempt to contain unrest at the new multi-million rand university, nine students have been expelled and six sent home from residence.

Among those sent home are the daughter of the Transkei President, Miss Tumeka Matanzima, and Mr Letlaka's son, Mr Tshediso Letlaka.

Voices louder ^(IA) than ^{DOM 9/6/80} bombs — chief

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said at Kwa Mashu yesterday that the African National Congress would be naive to imagine that white South Africa would be easily intimidated by acts such as the recent sabotage at Sasolburg and Secunda.

Addressing about 7 000 people at an Inkatha prayer meeting, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu said the ANC should not think that the blowing up of a refinery here or there — however efficiently executed — was all it needed in the way of communication.

Everyone in South Africa knew of white resilience, he continued, and lacks who were beginning to grasp real power and who were developing strategies and tactics which ensured the destruction of apartheid, spoke with a voice louder than the odd explosion.

Black South Africans had always seen the need for a multiple strategy approach. Chief Buthelezi remarked that he had, in the past, been very careful in his public statements about the ANC.

"Some things I have said today is a half-step out of that diplomacy," he said. "I have been blunt because I cannot stand by and watch as the ANC attempts to establish itself on the lunatic fringes of our society within South Africa.

"Because they are my brothers and I love them, I won't stand by and watch as they commit political suicide."

Declaring that Inkatha was not a "wishy-washy, sell-out organisation", the movement's leader urged every parent present to stand united.

"For God's sake, be strong enough within your own community to resist marauding bands from lunatic fringes who come to rape the souls and the intelligence of our younger generation," he said.

"Stamp on every evidence of that which is diverting us from our true struggle."

He warned the "louts" and those who created the band-wagons on which they jumped to "watch it" or they would find themselves smarting under Inkatha's toughness.

Inkatha, he maintained, was an army of liberation which could not easily be diverted and tampered with. While it espoused non-violence, it understood well that non-violence was not a synonym for

Handwritten notes and scribbles, including the word "Inkatha" and other illegible markings.

No bail ^{1/6/80}
N. M. K. W. 7
for men
(11) (12)
accused

of murder

Court Reporter

THE officer investigating the alleged murder of a Security policeman at Umlazi earlier this year, yesterday told a Durban judge he did not for one moment believe that the six accused would return to court for trial if they were released on bail.

Mr Nkosinathi Ngcongco, 24, Mr Bute Goodman Hlophe, 27, and Mr Noncasa Jackson Mandaba, 25, yesterday applied for bail, and three African youths appearing with them made an application to be released on their own recognisances.

All six have charges of murder, attempted murder, rape, robbery with aggravating circumstances, and attempted theft of a motor vehicle, pending against them.

None has been asked to plead.

Mrs M J Steyn, appearing for the State, said it was possible that they would interfere with the witnesses.

Mr Justice Broome refused each application.

The trial will be heard on August 11.

STERN WARNING ON JUNE 16 UNREST

10/6/80 ARMS

~~11A~~
11A

Political Staff

THE Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, today issued a stern warning to intimidators who tried to prevent people from going to work on June 16 — the anniversary of the outbreak of the Soweto unrest.

- able. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
- Do not write in the left hand margin.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to Unive

'We will act against any form of intimidation throughout South Africa,' he said.

This applied to the June 16 anniversary or any other day.

'As far as I am concerned, we have had enough,' Mr le Grange said.

Police would take action against intimidation wherever it occurred, whether in coloured schools or on the streets.

He said people who were planning to foment unrest should 'think again'.

Tensions are known to be rising in various parts of South Africa as the June 16 anniversary approaches. Members of the Athlone Business and Professional Association, which represents more than 120 businesses in the Cape, have decided to close their shops on June 16 and 17.

Stay away

Meanwhile, the SRC of the University of Cape Town has called on students to stay away from examinations on June 16 and 17 as an expression of solidarity with the 'oppressed majority of South Africans'.

This follows a decision by the UCT Council to arrange alternative dates for students who do not wish to write examinations on June 16 and 17, the days regarded as commemorative of the death of hundreds of people in the 1976 riots.

The council decision followed a petition asking for alternative dates for examinations, which was presented by black students on the campus.

Black traders who yesterday decided to close their shops on June 16 and 17 said they were not closing because they feared intimidation.

'Besides being traders, we also form part of a community which needs our support.'

Spokesmen for the Western Cape Traders' Association, the Western Province African Chamber of Commerce and the Athlone Industrial and Commercial Association, which together represent almost all black businessmen in the Peninsula, are still uncommitted as to whether they will close on June 16 and 17.

Buy black

A spokesman for the Traders' Association which will meet tomorrow to examine the situation, said that by closing their doors for the two days they might be defeating the purpose of the 'buy black' campaign.

Pamphlets calling on all South Africans to stay away from work on June 16 and 17, as a commemoration of the 1976 riots and in support of students and economic strikes throughout the country, have been widely circulated in the Peninsula.

to communicate with other any person except the invi-

er book is to be torn out.

must be handed to the com-
invigilator before leaving the

ossible exclusion from the

Shocked at SABC

^{7050 10/6/80 (114)}
SIR. — I was left shocked and embarrassed to hear SABC radio, telling people that Nelson Mandela should not be released from prison because it has been proved that if he is released he will endanger peace and stability in this country because he is a terrorist and communist.

I would like to advise Mr Le Grange that if he wants peace to be restored he should first remove the ungodly laws in this country and allow everybody in exile to come back to their country of birth, to release all political prisoners, to lift all the banning orders and to allow freedom of speech and of the Press.

the release of Nelson Mandela. If he is released he will negotiate on behalf of the black masses. He is the key to freedom. Through him unnecessary violence will be prevented and peaceful change will be in sight.

(SOUTH AFRICAN
BLACK)

Seshego.

COLLEAGUES

He and his colleagues (PW Botha; Koornhof; Kruger and others) should stop imposing irrelevant people as our leaders. They should stop separating blacks and putting them in barren lands.

There will never be peace in this land until our grievances are heard without the threat of prison on our heads.

We are still pleading for

New UCT C.T. 10/6/80 exam dates

Staff Reporter

THE Council of the University of Cape Town has arranged alternative dates for students who do not wish to write examinations on June 16 and 17, the days which are commemorative of the deaths of hundreds of people in the 1976 riots

The decision was taken after black UCT students presented a petition asking for alternative dates. The examinations will be written instead on July 14 and 15.

Statement

The UCT Students' Representative Council executive issued a statement yesterday, which said "The SRC welcomes the Council's decision to provide alternative dates for those students who are writing examinations on June 16 and 17, the fourth anniversary of the nationwide resistance of 1976

"We call on all students and staff to stay away from these exams as an expression of solidarity with the oppressed majority of South Africans."

Bombings Post 10/6/80 can force

hand over neutrality

AS the frontline in black Africa's offensive on the white-ruled south moves closer to South Africa's borders, Swaziland is being squeezed tighter between them.

It may soon have to review its uneasy neutrality.

Last weeks bombings on the homes of ANC sympathisers near Manzini on which the Swazi-

land Government had still not commented six days later, has brought home to many Swazis the dilemma of their own situation. No-one has yet claimed responsibility for the blasts in which two people died.

But as the ANC mounts its offensive on the Republic from its Mozambique headquarters — using Swaziland as a convenient transit point — an awareness is growing here that the very presence of ANC units some 400 km from Pretoria may be enough to invite reprisals.

STRUGGLES

Swaziland has officially remained aloof from the political power struggles raging around it. It will not allow guerilla movements to set up bases in Swaziland. But bona fide refugees are granted asylum once they have been screened by the United Nations High Commission for refugees which has an office in Mbabane.

King Sobhuza's government has gone along with

some of the more rhetorical resolutions passed by the OAU (which backs the guerilla movements) it has banned official sporting contact with South Africa for example, while remaining a member of the Southern African Customs Union of which the Republic is the kingpin.

It has skirted the tricky question for the guerilla movements with the homily that it will grant sanctuary to exiles as long as they do not take part in "political activity."

The dividing line between genuine refugees and those taking part in covert subversive activity is becoming blurred.

ANC activity in Swaziland is still thought to be minimal. But it is on the increase. According to sources here, one of the homes blown up in Manzini's Zakhele Township was probably used as a conduit for ANC members making their way to and from South Africa from Mozambique, where the ANC operations are believed to be conducted.

OFFICIALS

Certainly ANC officials move freely between Maputo and Swaziland and a senior ANC official was in Manzini during the week of the bombings.

Swaziland took a hard line against members of the Pan Africanist Congress (the ANC's chief ri-

val) by expelling all its members two years ago.

Faced with increasing evidence of ANC activists using Swaziland as a link to the Mozambique-based operations, Swaziland may be tempted to root out the ANC cells if only to placate South Africa.

But in so doing it will estrange its OAU colleagues, including Mozambique with whom Swaziland is busy cementing political and economic ties. President Machel of Mozambique openly supports the ANC guerillas who are using his country as a springboard to launch its anti-South African operations.

EXILES

To do nothing — some Swazi officials admit privately — is certain to lead to more attacks on ANC exiles. Swaziland has never publicly blamed anyone for the incidents. But they seem to be part of a pattern of harassment of exiles, whether by South African "agents" (as popularly believed here) or by rival "liberation" groups.

Incidents to date have included the alleged kidnapping of a refugee teacher in Eastern Swaziland, a parcel bomb attack on an ANC member in Manzini who lost a hand and the shooting-up of a car carrying two ANC members in an ambush near the Mozambique border.

Mandela's
STAR 10/6/80
letter two
years old

The Star Bureau

LONDON—Nelson Mandela's letter smuggled off Robben Island has taken two years to reach London.

The African National Congress and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, who released the text of the message today, said it remained fresh and valid.

They said the letter had been smuggled out under very difficult conditions but they did not give any details.

The letter is being released in London to mark the 16th anniversary tomorrow of Mr Mandela's imprisonment.

● The letter deals with racial matters, unity and other matters. None of it may be quoted or published in South Africa.

● Page 9: Doubt over message.

UCI

Mandela message 10/6/80

LONDON. — A message from Nelson Mandela has been smuggled out of Robben Island and will be released in London today, the Anti-Apartheid Movement announced yesterday.

The AAM said the message from the imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress was "an appeal to the people of South Africa" and was the first known statement from him to have been smuggled out of the island jail.

The message is to be released at a Press conference to be held by the AAM and the ANC. — Sapa.

Mandela message questioned

Post
10/6/80
11A

THE Government is not yet convinced that a message from ANC leader Nelson Mandela, which was allegedly smuggled out of Robben Island, is authentic.

The two-page message is due to be read publicly in London today at a meeting to mark Mandela's 16th year in detention. The ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement are running a massive campaign in Britain for Mandela's release and claim that the message is authentic.

ACTION

The Minister of Prisons, Mr Louis le Grange, was asked yesterday whether any action would be taken against Mandela over the message.

He replied that until he had been provided with proof that the message was authentic, he did not want to comment on the matter.

He made it clear that he was not yet persuaded that it was authentic.

Handwritten notes at the bottom right of the page, including the word "action" and other illegible scribbles.

Sabotage ^{CAPE Times} won't work ^{9/6/80} — Buthelezi ^{NA} ^{9/6/80} ^{9/6/80}

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said at Kwa Mashu yesterday that the African National Congress would be naive to imagine that white South Africa could be easily intimidated by acts such as the recent sabotage at Sasolburg and Secunda.

Addressing about 7 000 people at an Inkatha prayer meeting, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu said the ANC should be disabused of any illusions that the blowing up of a refinery here or there — however efficiently executed — was all they needed in the way of communication.

Everyone in South Africa knew of white resilience, he said.

Furthermore, blacks who were beginning to grasp real power and who were developing strategies and tactics which ensured the destruction of apartheid, spoke with a voice louder than the odd explosion.

Black South Africans had always seen the need for a multiple strategy approach.

Chief Buthelezi said he had in the past been very careful in his public articulations about the ANC.

"Some things I have said today are a half-step out of that diplomacy," he observed "I have been blunt because I cannot stand by and watch as the ANC attempts to establish itself in the lunatic fringes of our society within South Africa.

"Because they are my brothers and I love them, I won't stand by and watch as they commit political suicide.

Inkatha, he maintained, was an army of liberation which could not easily be diverted and tampered with. While it espoused non-violence, it understood well that non-violence was not a synonym for cowardice.

● Coloured people and blacks had found each other and were going to stay together, the leader of the Labour Party, The Rev Alan Hendrickse, told the meeting.

Mr Hendrickse said the time for coloureds of their "semi-whiteness" and their "semi-privileged position" was gone and buried.

"No amount of baiting us or of buying us off will succeed," he added to enthusiastic applause. "Our message to white South Africa is that we are serious and we mean business."

Mr Hendrickse said the peaceful gathering was symbolic of the willingness of blacks and coloureds to tell white South Africa, even at this late stage: "We are here because we still love you."

Blacks wanted to say, amid the love which bound people of different races together: "Don't wait too long to reciprocate. When you do want to love us, you may find it will be too late.

In the light of the liberation of all Africa, Mr P W Botha, his government and white South Africa should open their eyes to what was going on around them.

(11A) 11/6/80 AREAMS
ANC plan to distribute

'Mandela letter' in SA

Agus Bureau

LONDON. — Nelson Mandela's letter from prison — the first of its kind to be smuggled off Robben Island — will be distributed throughout South Africa by the African National Congress's underground network.

The letter, which was released here on Tuesday, will also be the anchor for a campaign in Britain and Western Europe for the release of the ANC leader jailed 16 years ago today.

The campaign here will be launched at the Commons grand committee room tonight at a meeting of ANC and Anti-Apartheid Movement supporters.

AAM secretary Mr Mike Terry, who described the

circulation plans for the letter, said it was 'a testimony of the capacity of the underground machinery in South Africa.'

Mandela himself and others involved had known the risks entailed in smuggling out the letter.

The original letter, which had been brought out in one piece, was in Lusaka. It had taken two years to get there.

Mr Terry told reporters, who were given printed copies of the letter's contents, that the AAM had no doubt about its authenticity.

The ANC's director of information, Dr Francis Meki, was also at the Press conference yesterday.

The British Methodist Church has become the first church in England to back the South African churches' call for a national convention to formulate a just constitution for South Africa.

The South African proposals include a demand for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners to participate in the convention.

The resolution urging the South African Government to set up a convention in which black politicians would play a leading role came this week from the 140-strong central committee of the Methodist Church Overseas Division.

Chief stands firm on advisory council

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA :
Political Reporter

THE Government's constitutional plans suffered a major blow last night when Chief Gatsha Buthelezi stood firm on Inkatha's refusal to serve on the proposed black advisory council.

The Inkatha president's stand came despite a statement in Parliament earlier by the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Henne Smit, who unconditionally withdrew remarks he had made about the thought processes of blacks.

Chief Buthelezi repeated his call to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, for a moratorium on constitutional changes.

At the same time, the coloured Labour Party also stood firm in its refusal to serve in the proposed President's Council comprising whites, coloureds, Indians and Chinese.

Mr Smit's remarks last week in explaining why blacks were not included in the President's Council caused a country-wide uproar, with Chief Buthelezi warning that anyone participating in the council would be seen to be endorsing the Minister's "insult".

After yesterday's Cabinet meeting, Mr Smit said in Parliament: "It was not my intention to hurt anybody's feelings. It is not in my nature to do this. For that reason I wish, in the best tradition of Parliament, unconditionally to withdraw any objectionable words I used."

Chief Buthelezi said last night: "When he said it, we had already rejected serving on the council — that is not changed by Mr Smit's statement of withdrawal. It is impossible for

black people to ever forget the stigma contained in Mr Smit's first statement.

"I called for a moratorium on constitutional changes when I met the Prime Minister in February. I repeat that call."

His stand follows the weekend statement by the SA Black Alliance, of which Inkatha is the pivotal group, rejecting participation in the President's Council.

The statement was endorsed by the Labour Party and the Reform Party in the South African Indian Council.

Labour held the majority in the now dissolved Coloured Representative Council, while Reform is the major party in the SAIC.

Other major representative groups such as the Azanian People's Organisation, the Committee of 10, the Natal Indian Congress and the Anti-SAIC Committee have already rejected participation in either the President's Council or the black council.

With the Opposition Progressive Federal Party also having rejected participation in the proposed President's Council, the Government will have to rely to a large extent on other homeland governments and smaller black and white groups to make its proposals viable.

Noting that Mr Smit's retraction was made after the Cabinet meeting and after strong criticism in the pro-Nationalist Press, the national chairman of the Labour Party, Mr David Curry, said it showed "how desperate the Government is in trying to win the support of people who are not white for its constitutional plans."

"It also shows that blacks do have power."

11A 37
'Mandela
message'
DM 11/6/80
released

By MARGARET SMITH
London Bureau

LONDON. — A lengthy message from the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Mandela, was made public in London yesterday.

It was claimed to have been smuggled out of Robben Island, where Mandela is serving a life sentence, and that it reached ANC headquarters a few months ago.

Informed observers who have investigated the authenticity of the message are in no doubt that it is from Mandela.

Political scientists and observers in London were studying the text of the message last night.

Sapa reports that when approached for comment on the message the Prisons Department in Pretoria declined "to speculate".

The Deputy Commissioner, Administrative Auxiliary Services, Maj-Gen J P Roux, said: "I cannot comment until the authenticity of the message has been confirmed."

ANC will circulate ^{STAR} 11/6/80 Mandela (11A) letter

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela's letter from prison — the first of its kind to be smuggled from Robben Island — will be distributed throughout South Africa by the African National Congress (ANC) underground network.

The letter, which was released in London yesterday, will also be the anchor for a massive campaign in Britain and Western Europe for the release of the ANC leader jailed 16 years ago today.

The campaign will be launched in the House of Commons grand committee room tonight at a meeting of ANC and Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) supporters.

AAM secretary Mr Mike Terry, who described the circulation plans for the letter, said it was "a testimony of the capacity of the underground machinery in South Africa."

Mandela and others involved had known the risks entailed in smuggling the letter out, Mr Terry said.

The original letter, which had been brought out in one piece, was in Lusaka. It had taken two years to get there.

Mr Terry told reporters, who were given printed copies of the letter's contents, that the AAM had no doubt about its authenticity. It was in Mandela's handwriting, he said.

Mr Terry said the ANC and the AAM had decided to release the message "to make the international community more aware of what is going on in South Africa."

He added: "We realise that the South African Press is not going to publish the message."

Mandela may not be quoted in South Africa because he is banned. — The Star Bureau-Sapa.

Minister warns against unrest

CAPE TOWN
11/6/80

119
294
295
307

By MICHAEL ACOTT

THE MINISTER OF POLICE, Mr Louis le Grange, warned yesterday that police would not tolerate any intimidation to force a stay-away next week in commemoration of the 1976 Soweto unrest.

120 businesses to close on June 16

THE Athlone Business and Professional Association, representing 120 Athlone businesses, has decided to close on June 16 and 17 in remembrance of those who died during the 1976 unrest.

Several thousand pamphlets have been distributed throughout Cape Town during the past week calling for an "economic boycott" on June 16 and 17.

The pamphlet called for people to stay away from work and for businesses to close on those days. It called on the "people of Azania" to make Cape Town a "ghost town of silence" and to spend the two days in "constructive reflection" in their homes.

The Committee of 81, which represents schools and educational institutions throughout the Western Cape, has issued a statement calling on people to support the stay-away.

However, the committee has urged people to attend services and meetings to commemorate the 1976 unrest.

He warned too that the Riotous Assemblies Act would be enforced strictly to prevent any protest gatherings or marches.

Mr Le Grange was interviewed after indications of action to mark the fourth anniversary of the beginning of the Soweto disturbances on June 16 and 17.

He said he had had enough of intimidation and it had to stop.

"I am not going to accept any further intimidation at schools and colleges, or of law-abiding staff and pupils. I have definitely had enough and I am not going to take it any more," he said.

He said there were no indications of commemorative action on a nationwide scale, but there were "a few localized areas where people refused to stop their intimidation".

These areas included Cape Town, the Eastern Cape, some parts of the Durban region and some sections of the coloured and Indian communities on the Witwatersrand.

Mr Le Grange said police knew who the agitators were.

His warning about the Riotous Assemblies Act means that provisions invoked after the Soweto unrest four years ago will prevent any outdoor commemoration.

The provision, renewed regularly since June 1976, prohibits any outdoor gathering or procession except *bona fide* church services, sports events or meetings sanctioned by the minister.

For the past four years all meetings, including Nationalist political gatherings, have had to be held indoors.



**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
EXAMINATION ANSWER BOOK**

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

**BCP funding:
Police reply**

11/6/80 ARGUS
(11A)
Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — Police say they have evidence to prove that more than R711 000 was channelled in a single year from foreign sources to the now-banned Black Community Programmes (BCP) via three South African men, one of whom was Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader who died in detention.
The others named by the police were Peter Jones, who was detained in August 1977 and released in February last year, and Bennie Khoapa, who fled the country in 1978 after being banned and placed under house arrest five years earlier.
Lieutenant-Colonel Leon Mellet of the police's PRO

section, said he had sufficient evidence to prove — if necessary in court of law — that the money was channelled through the three men.
PERSONAL ACCOUNTS
Nearly R100 000 of the more than R711 000 had been paid into the personal accounts of the men.
Steve Biko, Bennie Khoapa and Peter Jones were all executive members of the BCP.
Colonel Mellet first made reference to the channelling of money to the BCP in an article he wrote in the police magazine *Servamus*. He was then challenged by two former executive members of the organisation to release details.
Colonel Mellet said he could also show that in just over a year foreign sources gave R468 000 to the following organisations: the Black People's

Convention (BPC), the South African Students Organisation (Saso), Black Parents' Association (BPA), Zimele Trust Fund (ZTF) and the Union of Black Journalists (UBJ), all of which are now banned.

EXCHANGE FUND
Police documents show that the money came from overseas organisations such as the International University Exchange fund, the Dutch Inter-church Co-ordination Committee for Development projects, the World University Services, the World Council of Churches, and the British Council of Churches.

Of the money allegedly channelled through the Biko-Khoapa-Jones network R454 768 went to the BCP head office in Durban and R141 232 was given to the Eastern Cape branch.

According to police files, a further R22 000 was paid for the BCP directly into the personal accounts of Steve Biko, R53 000 into that of Bennie Khoapa and R20 000 to Peter Jones.

Most of the money paid into the men's private accounts, as well as some of that channelled through them, had come from the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF), which is based in Geneva.

(The IUEF was infiltrated by South African spy, Captain Craig Williamson, who blew his own cover earlier this year. Captain Williamson rose to be deputy director of the IUEF — an institution which actively supports human rights movements and investigates human rights violations.

Colonel Mellet said the money was given to the BCP between October 1976 and October 1977 and to the other organisations between October 1976 and November 1977.

	Internal	External
	(2)	(3)
	60	
	76	

NOTE CAREFULLY

- 1. Enter at the top of each page and in column of the block on this cover the number of question you are answering.
- 2. Blue or black ink must be used for writing answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, which pencil may also be used.
- 3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where additional examination book(s) are used.
- 4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to possible exclusion from the examination.

Candidates must bring their own writing materials, pieces of paper or other materials brought into the examination room are so instructed.

Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates with any person except the invigilator.

The examination answer book is to be torn out. Candidates must hand the examination book to the invigilator before leaving the examination room.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to possible exclusion from the examination.

ANC releases Mandela letter

C.T. 11/6/80 (11A)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The contents of a lengthy message from the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Mandela, was made public here yesterday.

It was claimed to have been smuggled out of Robben Island, where Mandela is serving a life sentence, and that it reached ANC headquarters in London a few months ago.

Observers who have investigated the message are in no doubt that it is from Mandela.

How the nearly 1 000 word message was smuggled out of jail and out of South Africa remains a secret. A press conference by the ANC here yesterday threw no light on the means by which it was smuggled out.

● Approached for comment on the message purportedly written by Nelson Mandela which was released in London the Department of Prisons in Pretoria declined "to speculate".

Speaking on behalf of the commissioner, the deputy-commissioner, Administrative Auxiliary Services, Major-General J P Roux, said: "I cannot comment until the authenticity of the message has been confirmed. At this stage we must question the origin, but to say any more would be pure speculation."

General Roux confirmed that Mandela had access to pen and paper but would not comment on how a message from Mandela could have been smuggled out of the high security Robben Island prison.

● The Minister of Prisons, Mr Louis le Grange, last night refused to comment on the Mandela letter till he was satisfied it was genuine. He said he wanted to see a photostatic copy of the message.

"Until I have seen it is in his own handwriting and I am satisfied it is authentic, I will have nothing to say."

Asked whether newspapers could publish the contents of the letter, he advised them to consult their lawyers. Mandela is not banned, but the ANC — which still regards him as their leader — is a banned organization.

ANC man in bomb blast

STAR 11/6/80
The Star's Africa
News Service

MASERU — A bomb explosion wrecked the car and damaged the house of a South African refugee and member of the banned African National Congress in Maseru early today.

The refugee, Mr Thembi Hani, was asleep in the house at the time, but was apparently uninjured.

Lesotho police recovered a revolver, seven rounds of ammunition and a "detonation device" from the scene of the blast.

JRC to meet

Post 11/6/80 114

THE Jabulani Residents' Committee (JRC) will hold a meeting at the Bridgeman Memorial Hall, Zola, on Sunday, from 9 am to 3 pm to discuss the closing time for shebeens in Soweto, according to Councillor J B Mazibuko.

The secretary of the JRC, Mr Anthony Buso said Councillor Mazibuko will give the residents a report-back on housing for Soweto. It was heard at the last meeting of the committee that about 800 families were to be housed as soon as the plan may be passed by West Rand Administration Board (Wrab).

Mr Buso added that the committee plans to stipulate that shebeens in Soweto must be closed at 8 pm nightly in a bid to reduce the soaring crime rate.

'Free Mandela' campaign launched in the Commons

STAR 12/6/80

(11A) (32A)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Pacifists shared the platform with avowedly violent revolutionaries when the massive "Free Nelson Mandela" campaign was launched from the grand committee room at the House of Commons.

The more than 300 people who packed the room last night heard speeches from both sides — most of them may not be quoted in South Africa — and saw a 30-minute Holland television film on the ANC leader's life.

The main target for vilification has changed from "Vorster" to "Bofha" with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

still running a close second.

If the chief's meeting with ANC leaders in London last year produced any reconciliation, it certainly wasn't evident last night.

Acting Indian High Commissioner Dr Indu Singh attacked "the forces of darkness" for not allowing Mandela's wife Winnie to collect the Nehru Prize awarded to Mandela.

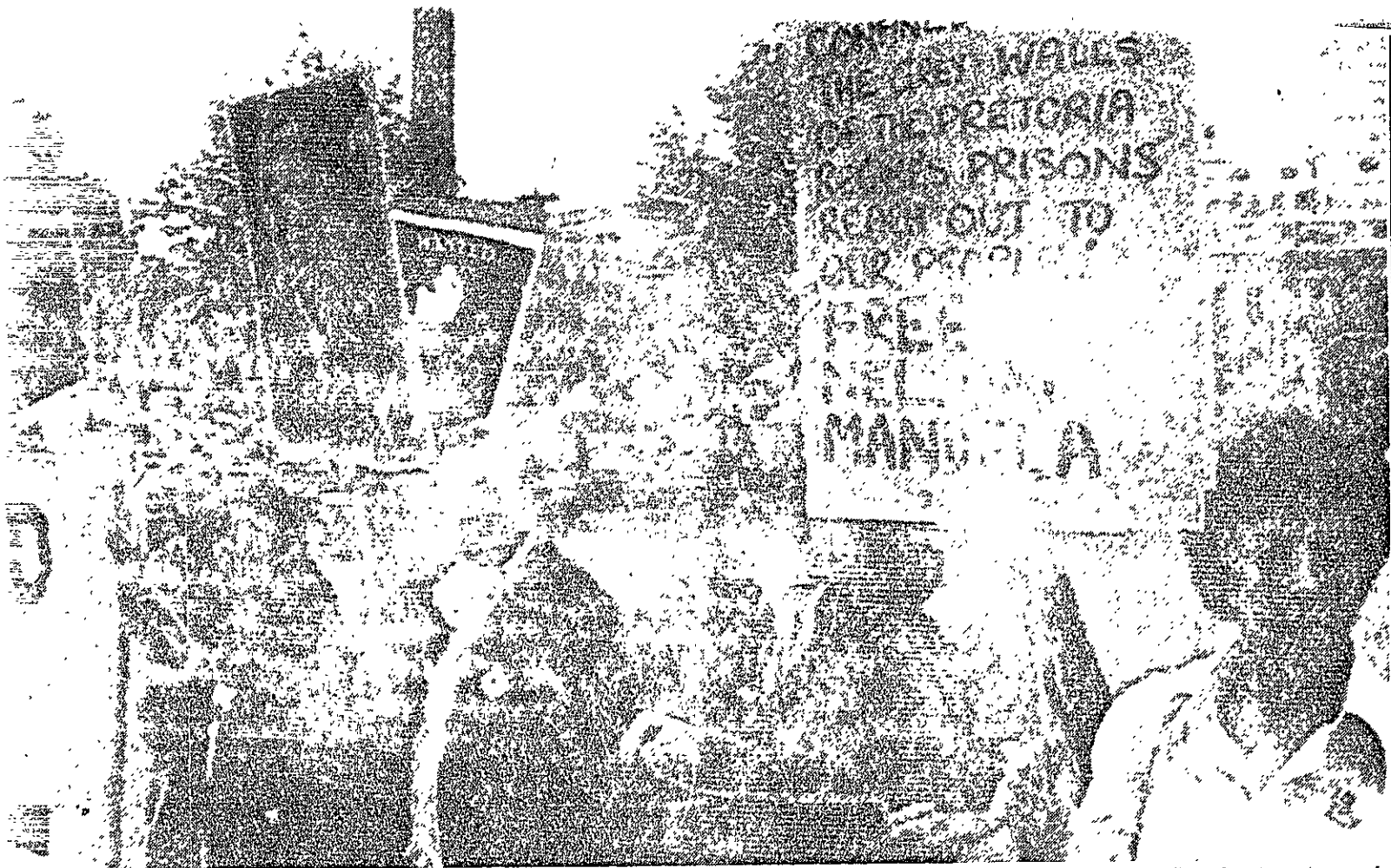
"This is an affront to all our 635-million people," said Dr Singh, who pledged his Government's continued support for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the De-

fence and Aid Fund, which had organised the meeting.

Speakers drew heavily on the message from Mandela smuggled off Robben Island and released here on the 16th anniversary of his imprisonment.

The ANC dismissed suggestions that the letter is a fraud.

The New York Bureau of The Star reports that African diplomats and officials of an anti-apartheid agency in the United Nations are preparing to commemorate a June 16 "day of solidarity" next Monday, fourth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising.



demonstration was held outside the South African Embassy in London yesterday to drum up support for the campaign calling for the release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

CAPL Times 12/6/80

11A

1997

Lunchtime picket for release of Mandela

LONDON. — About 20 demonstrators mounted a lunchtime picket outside the South African Embassy here yesterday to demand the release of the African nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, who is held on Robben Island.

The demonstrators carried placards and a large red banner. The demonstration was organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement as part of its campaign for the release of Mr

Mandela.

However, the small demonstration attracted little interest from the swarms of Londoners and tourists making their way around Trafalgar Square where the embassy is situated.

One demonstrator said: "We would have liked to see more people here but we've made our point in the public eye." — Sapa-AP

Many to close on Monday ^{STAR} 13/6/80

Black, coloured and Indian businessmen have been asked by students to close their businesses on Monday and several social and sporting activities scheduled for this weekend have to be cancelled to mark the fourth anniversary of the June 16 unrest.

Countrywide commemo-

ration services have been organised. The biggest will be on Sunday when the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) holds a service at the Regina Mundi church in Soweto.

Azapo has also organised prayer services in Kagiso, Kwa-Thema, Tembisa, Pietersburg and Mahwelereng.

A memorial service will be held at the Nur Ul Islam Centre in Lenasia on Sunday. Among the speakers will be Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the banned African National Congress; Mrs Rita Ndzanga, a former

To Page 3, Col 8

Stayaways, services will mark

June 16

11A

278

▶▶ From page 1

detainee; and Mr Letsatsi Mosala, an executive member of Azapo.

Speakers at the Soweto service will come from the Committee of Ten, the Black Lawyers Solidarity Group, the Azanian Students Organisation, the Congress of South African Students and the South African Black Social Workers Association.

The South African National Football Association and the South African Soccer Federation have called off all soccer games for the weekend.

Indian shopkeepers at the Plaza centre said that they would close on Monday as they did last year.

Indian business spokesmen on the East and West Rand and those in Laudium, Pretoria and Roshness, Vereeniging, said they would also close.

Mr Veli Kraai, the chairman of the Soweto Chamber of Commerce, said today that all businesses would close on Monday from 11 am.

The chairman of the Soweto Tavern Association, Mr Ephraim Senne, said that shebeens in the township would not be open this weekend and on Monday.

In coloured areas, slogans have been painted on shops, bus terminuses and walls saying: "Close businesses on June 16," "Stay home and pray," "No work on June 16" and "No school on June 16."

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier J J Hamman, said police would keep a low profile. But he warned that they would move in if students started hijacking or stoning buses.

ANC is blamed for black divisions

NATN 13/4/80
Mercury Reporter

ULUNDI—The African National Congress should stop trying to be all things to all men, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi blamed the ANC for the divisions which existed in the black community in South Africa.

Commenting on Nelson Mandela's message which was allegedly smuggled out of Robben Island, and which was read to the Assembly, the KwaZulu leader said that, if the ANC intended heeding the message, they should not be used by any 'political riff-raff'.

Ego trips

'We see too many political nobodies all over South Africa playing the divisive game, as they pursue their ego trips, doing all the harm they are doing — and claiming to do it — in the name of the African National Congress.'

The KwaZulu leader said he realised the problems faced by the ANC in exile but they would not promote the dream of black unity if they were seen by the masses to be speaking with both sides of their mouths.

'The ANC can contribute a lot towards black unity,' he maintained, 'if their voice is heard more clearly on this crucial question of unity.'

Chief withdraws as patron

Mercury Reporter

ULUNDI—CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has withdrawn his name as patron of the South African Soccer Federation it was revealed in the Legislative Assembly yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been disgusted to find that in the past year his name had been bandied about by political opportunists in connection with the unacceptability of his patronage of the soccer federation.

'I'm sorry'

Mercury Reporter

ULUNDI—Chief M Maphumulo yesterday expressed his apologies for past difficulties between the Chief Minister, the KwaZulu Government and himself.

The apology came during an Assembly debate on a motion to consider the introduction of legislation to punish people guilty of involving King Goodwill in politics.

253. 3/1/80

Did victim plant bomb?

Post 13/6/80

3/11A

3/11A

MASERU — The man seriously injured in this week's bomb blast outside the home of a member of South Africa's banned African National Congress is understood to be one of those who planted the device, according to sources here.

The man, so far unidentified, is under heavy police guard in Maseru's Queen Elizabeth Hospital.

The bomb, planted beneath the car of South African exile and ANC member Mr Thembi Hani,

wrecked Mr Hani's car and damaged his house. He was unhurt.

Police have forbidden the Press to talk to Mr Hani and are keeping the public away from his home.

The blast is being interpreted here as a possible reprisal action by South African agents for the sabotage strikes by the ANC against oil installations last week.

It has struck fear among the small refugee population in Maseru, particularly the South Africans who live in a commune in the centre of the Lesotho capital.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
EXAMINATION A

ANC silent on 'Mandela letter'

CAPE TIMES 13/6/80

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The London bureau of the African National Congress (ANC) is under fire because it will not assist newsmen eager to get to the root of the letter which they claim Nelson Mandela smuggled out of Robben Island

Newsman's demands to see the letter or a photo-copy of it have been frustrated by ANC representatives who say that they do not have it — and even if did they would not show it to the press

The ANC representative for Britain and Western Europe, Mr Yeyedwa Zungu, asked angrily yesterday: "Do you suspect us of lying or cheating about this matter?"

He refused to say where the letter was.

43%

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

All answer books must be numbered

Number of books handed in	3
Number of this book	1

Surname ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
(In block letters)

First Name(s) ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Date 17-10-78

Degree/Diploma/Certificate for which you are registered (e.g. B.A., B.Sc.) B.COM

Subject ECONOMICS IA
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Paper No.
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

(1)	Internal	External
	(2)	(3)
1B	7-	
2B	13.	
3A	i	
Examiners' Initials		

NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
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WARNING

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4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Mystery
man hurt
(CDM 13/6/80.)
in Maseru
blast

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

MASERU. — The injured man found outside the bomb-blasted home of an African National Congress exile, was reported yesterday to be a former youth leader of a Lesotho opposition party.

But the head of Lesotho Intelligence, Major General S J Molapo, could or would not confirm this. "I know nothing of the matter", he said.

The man was found outside the home of Mr Tembi Hani after an explosion destroyed Mr Hani's car and damaged his house. He was identified by Rand Daily Mail sources as Mr Tumelo Ramotala.

A man of that name used to be a youth leader in the United Democratic Party of Mr Charles Mofeli, who is now Minister of Water, Energy and Mines in the Coalition Cabinet of Chief Leabua Jonathan.

Sources close to South African exiles in Lesotho were convinced yesterday that whoever planted the bomb was acting under instructions from South Africa.

It seems their view is shared by the Lesotho Government, whose State-owned radio implicitly linked the bombing with sabotage or attempted sabotage in Swaziland and Mozambique, alleged to be the work of South African agents.

Lesotho has repeatedly accused South Africa of aiding insurgents of the exiled wing of the Basutholand Congress Party, who are trying to overthrow Dr Jonathan's government by force.

South Africa has repeatedly denied the Lesotho Government allegations, dismissing them as an attempt to divert attention from its own internal problems and lack of popular legitimacy.

15/8/50 SUN 7:11M

Turfloop demands black rector

By MARION SPARG

THE entire black academic staff of the University of the North (Turfloop) has threatened to quit if a white rector replaces Professor William Kgware who retires at the end of the year.

Professor Kgware's resignation is believed to have begun a power struggle in the university senate where blacks are outnumbered nearly seven to one by white academics.

He was the first black rector

to be appointed at a black university in South Africa.

The black academics have already walked out of a senate meeting when it was suggested that a white rector be appointed and have sent a message to the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzen-

berg, asking that another black rector be appointed.

Although the Black Academic Staff Association (Basa) is reserving official comment until the appointment of the new rector is announced on June 20, senior black academics told me this week that the

threat to quit the university was not an idle one.

"We will stage a mass walkout if a white man replaces Professor Kgware," one senior academic told me.

Black academics fear that Professor Kgware's resignation will add to the present crisis at the university and that only another black rector can hope to persuade students to return to classes.

Students at the university have joined the countrywide school boycotts and the mass stayaway is expected to continue at least until after June 16.

A spokesman for the university, Mr Johan Bekker, said that Professor Kgware had resigned because of ill-health.

Professor Kgware could not be contacted for comment.

The chairman of Basa, Mr Candlish Maja, confirmed that Basa has sent a message to Dr Hartzenberg requesting him to replace Professor Kgware with another black rector.



PROF WILLIAM KGWARE
Resigned

The message read:

"In view of the pending appointment of a new rector at the University of the North, we, Basa, strongly urge that the principle of black rectorship be strictly adhered to as the only way to ensure peace and progress at this university."

A committee has been appointed to consider nominations and the university council will decide on June 20 who will succeed Professor Kgware.

Candidates nominated by the council include two whites and one black.

They are: Professor J C Steenekamp, who has been acting rector in Professor Kgware's absence; Professor W du Plessis, dean of law, and Professor P C Mokgokong of the department of Northern Sotho.



© Renfrew Christie . . . Frene Ginwala was mentioned in his trial

Britain hears views of arch-plotter Ginwala

SAN EXPRESS
15/6/80
11A

By **DESMOND BLOW**
Chief Reporter

MISS FRENE Ginwala, named by Minister of Police Louis le Grange as an ANC mastermind who works closely with the Russian ambassador in Lusaka, Mr Vassily Solodovnikov, says the seizure of power in South Africa is the only way to bring about political change.

Miss Ginwala, 48, is something of a mystery woman. Her name, until recently, was hardly ever heard in South Africa. She is not banned, as almost all the other leading figures in the ANC are. She was born in South Africa but left the country in the Sixties.

Her views on South Africa and the future were broadcast to millions in Britain on the BBC programme "The World Tonight" the day after the R5.5-million Sasol attack.

Miss Ginwala is a member of the ANC which claimed responsibility for the sabotage.

She said that a violent revolution was the only way to stop apartheid and that the violence would soon escalate.

Miss Ginwala was the mystery woman named in the Renfrew Christie spy trial, and was named with Mr Joe Slovo by Mr Le Grange last week. Mr Slovo spends a great deal of his time in Maputo where he controls Umkhonto We Sizwe — the military arm of the ANC — but spends as much, if not more, in Lusaka with Mr Solodovnikov and Miss Ginwala.

Although Miss Ginwala spends time in Lusaka, she is based in London and is often interviewed by the BBC because she is considered the more eloquent of the ANC members.

She said she did not believe that change in South Africa would be brought about by reform.

"We have tried this. As far as we are concerned we feel that the only way we are going to get change is with the seizure of power in South Africa and then the Government which seizes power will be able to make the changes."

It was pointed out to her that Mr P W Botha had tried to introduce reforms and she was asked whether she did not think there was a danger that the violence at Sasol would promote a backlash from the hard-liners.

Miss Ginwala said she did not believe that the reforms being undertaken by Mr P W Botha were reforms at all, but were designed to adapt apartheid to better control.

Miss Ginwala said that the victory of Mr Mugabe in Zimbabwe would "undoubtedly" help the guerrilla campaign in South Africa.

"Mr Mugabe has stated that he supports the OAU and its policies which include the support of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

"We have no reservations about any statement Mr Mugabe has made."

Miss Ginwala was asked whether Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe could afford to support a civil war in South Africa.

She replied that dependance was a two way thing and that "the Pretoria government" was dependant on the other Africa countries in many ways "but whether the other countries can afford it or not is a decision they have to make".

"So far there have not been reservations in the support they have given the struggle in South Africa."

She agreed that there were Marxist elements in the ANC, but said the ANC was a national liberation movement and she thought that the label "Marxist or otherwise" was one that concerned people outside South Africa far more than it concerned people in the country.

She said South Africa was already in a state of civil war.

"We would argue that the State is already making war on the people of South Africa. State violence is there, the people's resistance in an armed form will escalate. It will escalate to a far greater extent, and very soon," she said.

MUCH has been said and written about the present school boycotts, and it has become clear that the situation will become worse before it becomes better.

We will really only begin to see light at the end of the tunnel when the policy of separation ends and the policy of integration begins at all levels of our society.

The policy of separate development has become the main cause of unrest and will continue to fan the flames as long as separate development Acts remain on our statute books.

Separate education for Africans and its accompanying grievances caused the upheaval in Soweto and separate education for coloureds and its problems caused the present one.

Incentive

The policy of separate development brought certain side-effects which its creators had never intended.

It is the greatest incentive to political consolidation among those who are not white.

The establishment of separate universities particularly, and separate education generally, led to the growth of black movements and philosophies in educational institutions.

The spirit of non-dependence on whites began to germinate and grow.

The current idiom became: "Black man, you are on your own."

Apartheid encouraged other race groups to move among themselves and not to seek integration with white South Africa.

Separate development created a new social structure in South Africa.

It has also created a new political structure, and sep-

Black consciousness, the legacy of apartheid

Saw TIMES 15/6/80 (11A)
By DAVID CURRY, national chairman of the Labour Party

arate development has become the power base.

Those not white have responded to the policy of separation on their own terms.

The policy has now become the enemy of white South Africa.

Older generations still remember the days of integration.

Young people in the African, coloured and Indian communities do not know white people as their parents and grandparents did.

Voiceless

It is interesting to hear how young people in our community express themselves politically.

They say that the voiceless and voteless masses cannot hope for change from white South Africa.

They say strength will come to black groups if they strengthen their own ranks.

The feeling is that they did not create the situation but were born into it.

Separate universities have articulated the philos-

ophy of black consciousness.

By black was meant all those not white. The answer was simple: You are either black or white.

Dignity

"I am not a nonwhite. I am not a 'non' of a white."

A person's dignity had to be expressed in positive terms and the term "non-white" became a negative one.

The youth accuse their elders of apathy, of fearing the white man and the white power structure.

Far too many black people want to be white people.

They imitate white value systems.

They feel ashamed of their colour.

They want to escape from their group and the dilemma is that they can never escape from their colour or their group.

And this results in frustration and self-hatred.

This problem the black man must solve for himself. It is a conversion he must go through.

The young say that the

older generation really believed what white people said about them.

They believed that they were inferior.

They believed this in the marrow of their beings.

They believed that they could never take their rightful place as men in South African society.

And now black consciousness is here.

Call this consciousness "awareness" or "political awakening".

It is here and any person denying this fact is blind to the realities of the situation in this country.

Young people will not walk in the shadow of the white man.

They want to take their rightful place as men and women.

They want to assert their full humanity.

They want to liberate themselves and their parents from the mental slavery and sense of inferiority which have been imposed on them by the white power structure.

White is not the standard

by which people should be judged.

They should be judged in their own right as persons.

The young say black people must develop an inner strength as the source of their outer political power.

Black people must "see" the situation in which they find themselves.

They must critically examine the situation in which they find themselves.

They must educate themselves for liberation.

Liberation

Even limited situations can be used as exits to freedom.

Over the years this basic philosophy has been articulated again and again by young people.

Black consciousness is a man's mature reflection on his past and a sober contemplation of his future.

It is the black man's critical rediscovery of himself.

To him the white man has failed and white over black is neither normal, inevitable nor a condition for the future.

Black consciousness became education for liberation.

To some people, the black man could think and his thinking could be controlled.

He could be programmed for loyalty.

In the eyes and thinking of the youth all this has changed.

That is why it must be understood why they are rebelling against the standards set for them.

There is also a generation gap between the old and young in the black community.

That is why it seems illogical to whites that older blacks in education, in social life and even in politics are unable to be identified as leaders.

And where did it all start?

It began with separate development.

Germ

Separate development contains a dangerous germ.

It has created a political consciousness and that consciousness must be satisfied.

We have always warned that separate development would backfire one day.

Integration is the answer. It is as simple as that.

It is the bringing together of all leaders of the whole South African nation that will bring peace to this country.

As long as whites believe in separation the polarisation will produce greater and greater gulfs between black and white.

Remember that options always become fewer and fewer.

We need not build a new South Africa over the dead bodies of fellow-South Africans.

Bishop Desmond Tutu has become one of the most controversial figures in South Africa. This week his BBC interview, in which he spoke about the threat of violence in this country, evoked both anger and support. Exclusively for the Sunday Express, he has now written this thought-provoking article explaining...

SUN EXPRESS 15/6/80

Where I stand...

11A

By Bishop Tutu



I COME before you as a Christian leader of millions of South Africans, both Black and White. It just so happens that I am myself Black, but the most important thing about me is that I am a Christian leader in South Africa at a critical period in its history. Some will be surprised that I stress that I am a Christian leader since they believe I am really a politician trying hard to be a bishop.

I come before you as a South African who has a deep and passionate love for our beloved motherland: I give second place to nobody in my loyalty to South Africa. Except that I am a coward, I would say that I am ready to give everything, including my life, for the sake of this land which I love (not, of course, one that is being Balkanised into unviable blobs to satisfy some mad racist ideology).

As a Christian leader of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I have been given the ministry of reconciliation to work for peace where there is strife, to bring light where there is darkness, to spread joy where there is sadness and to give hope where there is despair.

Our land is one that is torn apart by animosity and bitterness, suspicion and indeed hatred. We must not, however, be surprised that this is the case since apartheid was intended to

produce precisely this result. If people do not meet and get to know each other as just ordinary human beings who worry about the progress of their children at school, who laugh when they are tickled, who are concerned about the high cost of living etc, then we have no right to be surprised that we have such a fragmented society.

On most key issues you can be sure that most White South Africans will be ranged on one side and most Blacks on the other. We are a house divided against itself and such a house cannot stand.

Apartheid denies the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It claims that we are made for separation and division, whereas Jesus Christ came to destroy the wall of partition separating us into warring factions.

In the Church of God we are one body where race, colour and culture, as well as sex, are irrelevant because all of us are the children of one God. We are created for fellowship, for community, for love, for compassion, for caring, for sharing.

I have dedicated my whole life to work for a new kind of South Africa — one in which there is justice, peace and reconciliation for all and where all count as human persons created in the image of God as persons of infinite worth and value.

I deplore all violence. I have

seen far too much in my day. I have seen the devastation of civil war in Nigeria, I was in Jerusalem a few days before the outbreak of the Six-Day War, I have been appalled by the ravages of civil strife in Belfast and I know at first hand what happened in Amin's Uganda because his dreaded security police detained me for a while.

So I have tuned my energies to averting the bloodbath in our land. That is why I have striven to warn and to work for fundamental changes by reasonably peaceful means. I ask God to give me words that will awaken my White fellow South Africans to the crucial decision that they must make.

The real solution to our crisis is political powersharing in an undivided South Africa when we will ultimately have a Black Prime Minister, possibly Nelson Mandela. That sort of change is inevitable.

The crucial decision my White fellow South Africans must make is whether that change should happen peacefully or violently. That is their choice. Please God, let us decide responsibly and like statesmen.

Change can't come overnight, but we can buy considerable time if we could be given certain commitments which I believe are possible without anybody having to commit political suicide.

● The Government must tell us that they are committed to a

common South African citizenship for Black and White in an undivided South Africa.

● The pass laws must be abolished — this can be phased so that we don't have the chaos that could arise from a sudden scrapping of influx control. This would change our highly charged atmosphere quite remarkably.

● The Government must undertake to establish one educational system for all South Africans, Black and White.

● It must put an immediate stop to all population removals.

I just cannot take it that our people (Indian, Coloured and African) are moved arbitrarily from pillar to post and dumped heartlessly in resettlement camps as if they were not human beings. That I find quite unforgivably diabolical and I have appealed to the Government, and continue to do so, to end this inhumane policy.

If the Government is intent on Balkanising South Africa and depriving Blacks of their South African citizenship we won't have any peaceful solution. And it is this that we want to avert when we appeal to the international community to apply political, economic and diplomatic pressure to get us to the conference table, for the sake of the future of our children, Black and White, for the sake of the world.

If we do not change, then I am fearful of what will happen — that is what Mr Vorster called "the alternative too ghastly to contemplate" and what made Mr P W Botha say "adapt or die".

We don't want violence. We don't want bloody revolution or a holocaust and we can prevent all of this from happening.

And I am hopeful — because of the young people, Black and White, of this beautiful land.

Black youth have a new determination that we will all be truly free. I am hopeful because of some White youth. Dr Motlana received a very warm and friendly reception when he spoke in Stellenbosch University. I went to speak at RAU recently. I have not yet recovered from how I was received there. The students are thinking and they are thinking differently from their parents.

There is hope that we will have a new South Africa — a more just South Africa, a non-racial South Africa where you will count because you are a human being. God be praised for that possibility — which is just round the corner.

Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika (God bless Africa)

Morena boloka sechaba sa heso (Lord save our land and our people).

Buthlelezi is SA's Muzorewa

S. Post
15/6/80

SIR — Allow me to answer Mr J S Maphalala, a member of the Central Committee of Inkatha, who in his letter to SUNDAY POST, May 18, said Inkatha is the strongest organisation in South Africa. It is not true.

Mr Maphalala attacked Samkelo Kumalo for confusing Chief Gatsha Buthlelezi with Lennox Sebe and Lucas Mangope. According to him, Chief Buthlelezi is better than the other homeland leaders because he did not hide behind foreign flags and exude venom to spurt at other blacks who face the violence of every day. That is what he thinks.

Right Mr Maphalala, your chief did not escape because he is a homeland leader. The homeland is a government-created institution which means he is doing his master's job. Bosses normally do not victimise honest workers. The chief takes instructions from the government, despite the noises you and Inkatha are making. The condemnation of the exploitation of blacks by whites is said by him in full awareness that the South African Nationalist is protecting him.

Talking about states, perhaps you mean mini-states within a states like BophuthaTswana, Transkei and Venda. You have never seen a state within a state unless you do not know what you are talk-



Chief Buthlelezi

ing about. If Gatsha wants to win the honest support of real blacks, he should resign from his government-created post. He says anything without fear of failure and still enjoys the freedom of movement.

Where is Curtis Nkondo? He talks openly like

the Zulu leader, but cannot be allowed to be free. His speeches have put him into jail more than once, since he has no government ties. Mr Maphalala should stop trying to push the Zulu Broederbond down our throats. Inkatha is a government front like Bishop Muzorewa's UANC organisation. What happened to the Bishop in Rhodesia will certainly befall some puppet leaders right in Azania.

Pity that South Africa is always betting the wrong horse. Let the Curtis Nkondos, Govan Mbekis, Nelson Mandelas be released and all exiled blacks allowed back into the country. You will be shocked to learn that you followed the South African Muzorewas. Why

CDM 17/6/80 33T

'Secret' meeting on Biko doctors

11A

By WILLIAM
SAUNDERSON-MEYER
Pretoria Bureau

THE South African Medical and Dental Council meets today to discuss a committee finding that the Biko doctors should not have to face a disciplinary inquiry.

The council, a public body, still refuses to say where the meeting is to be held, or even confirm that it is being held.

But a member of the council, who cannot be named, has revealed that it will be held at the new Johannesburg Hospital at 9.30am.

The meeting was called at the request of council members who were concerned about the finding of the committee which made the preliminary investigation into the actions of the three doctors who attended Steve Biko before his death in

detention.

The committee decided that the three doctors, Dr J W Lang, Dr B Tucker and Dr C Hersh need not face a council disciplinary committee on whether they were guilty of improper or unprofessional conduct. Any such decision must be ratified by the full council.

In terms of the constitution of the council, all meetings are

open to the public, but it is believed that a move will be made to have a closed meeting.

A member of the council, who cannot be named, said that such a move was sure to be hotly contested.

"The SA medical profession cannot afford the growing suspicion overseas that the council is engaged in a cover-up," he said.

Witness 'saved from ANC'

11A

Staff Reporter

7/6/8
dise, 20, of Kimberley, Mr. Moses Nkosi, 24, and Mr Aaron Mogale, 21, of Soweto.

Lobatse.

From there they had travelled to Gaborone, Francistown and finally stopped in Bontleng, a village in northern Botswana.

"There we met a man who told us that from that moment we were members of the ANC," she said.

"The man told us we would have to choose between taking up scholarships or going for military training."

Miss Marole said she last saw Miss Modise when she boarded a plane bound for Lusaka.

The case continues today.

A WITNESS in the trial of three former high school pupils charged under the Terrorism Act told the Kempton Park Regional Court yesterday how her parents had saved her from being sent for military training by the African National Congress.

The witness, Miss Joyce Marole, told the court she was already in Botswana when her parents came from Mafeking to fetch her.

Miss Marole was giving evidence before Mr Gert Steyn in the trial of Miss Thandi Mo-

Miss Modise faces three counts under the Terrorism Act, one under the Sabotage Act and another of attempted arson or malicious damage to property.

Mr Nkosi and Mr Mogale face two charges under the Terrorism Act

All three have pleaded not guilty.

Miss Marole told the court that she and nine other students crossed into Botswana late in 1976 and made their way to

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These forms are very elastic in terms of demand curves. Because of this many forms are tempted to move from the rural to the urban areas where there is far more stable and more elastic demand and gradually become more inelastic.

This movement from the rural to the urban is characteristic of most countries in the world today. It is also because of their very elastic income elasticities of demand that forms receive so much government aid to tempt them to stay in their farms and not move to the urban areas.



11A 322
257 256

Hundreds of students suspended

ADM 17/6/80

THE GOVERNMENT has announced that all coloured students at higher learning institutions who have not yet resumed normal class attendance, have been suspended, according to an SABC Television newscast last night.

The Government bursaries of suspended students will also not be paid this term.

Sapa reports that seven training colleges, six training schools, a technicon and a teachers' college are affected by the decision which does not apply to schools.

The Secretary for Coloured Relations, Mr J H T Mills, said that the suspended students could apply for re-admission but they would have to give reasons why they did not attend classes.

The "Mail's" Political Staff reports that a top sports administrator and secretary of the Release Mandela Committee in Durban, Mr Paul David, was among five people detained by Security Police yesterday.

A Security Police spokesman confirmed that Mr David and Mr Theo Andrew, a fifth-year engineering student at the University of Durban-Westville, were detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

Mr David, a lawyer, is also chairman of the Natal Council of Sport and an official of both the SA Council on Sport and the SA Soccer Federation.

Two further detentions not confirmed by police were Muvia Gallie of Worcester and Sylvia Swartz of Mnanenbeig. Attorneys confirmed that they were detained by Security Police.

An Athlone attorney, Mr Rashaad Khan, who represented several people arrested in connection with the recent unrest, was also detained.

The latest detentions bring to

more than 300 the number of people believed to have been detained since the boycott began.

In Bellville, 41 children appeared in the magistrate's court charged with public violence, alternatively attending an unlawful gathering under the Riotous Assemblies Act, alternatively malicious damage to property.

Their appearance was a sequel to incidents in Bellville South on Monday. One accused was released and the cases against the rest were postponed to next Monday. Bail of R100 each was allowed.

In the Vaal Triangle, 300 black pupils decided at a meeting in Evaton to join the boycott in protest against "Bantu Education".

Coloured high schools in Johannesburg reported yesterday that attendances had plummeted -- the very week when many of the pupils should have started their exams.

Meanwhile, the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) appealed to black organisations, students, parents and workers to attend a June 16 commemoration service at Regina Mundi in Soweto on Monday.

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said police would not hesitate to act against intimidators who tried to stir up unrest on the June 16 anniversary of the outbreak of the Soweto violence.

Asked what his response would be to unrest next week, the Minister said: "As far as I am concerned, we have had enough."

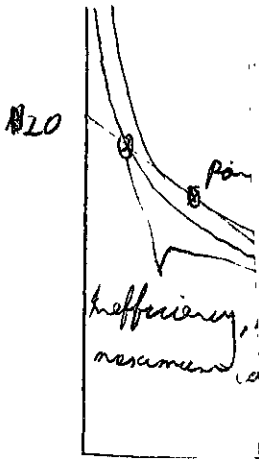
More than 1 000 University of the North students turned up on the campus for the mid-year exams yesterday, university authorities said.

Bomb ^(11A) may have been for Botha

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Food



By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor
THE bomb which destroyed the
car and damaged the house of
an African National Congress
exile in Maseru may also have
been meant for a second exile
- Mr Thozamile Botha.
Mr Botha, it has been reli-
ably learnt, was staying with
the ANC exile, Mr Tembani
Hani, when the bomb exploded
outside the Hani home in Maseru
last week.
Mr Botha, former chairman
of the Port Elizabeth Black
Civic Organisation, fled to
Lesotho last month. He was
detained under the Terrorism
Act in January and banned on
his release in February.

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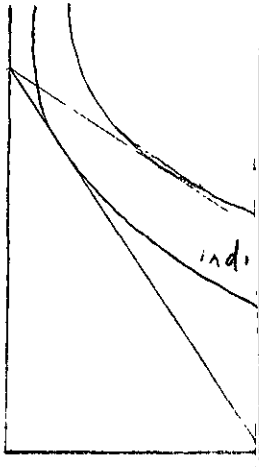
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Food. R20



A former student at the Uni-
versity of Fort Hare who was
detained during the unrest of
1976-77, Mr Botha was a pivotal
figure in the strike at the Ford
plant in Port Elizabeth last
year. His dismissal by the com-
pany sparked the strike.

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An injured man was found
outside the Hani home after
last week's explosion. He was
taken to hospital, where it was
learnt he had a leg amputated.
The man was identified by
Rand Daily Mail sources as Mr
Tumelo Ramotata, a former
youth leader in the opposition
United Democratic Party
(UDP).

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to the right.

In a subsequent statement
the UDP condemned the explo-
sion at the Hani house as a
"barbarous act".

The "Mail" understands that
Mr Ramotata, who is under
police guard in hospital, is out
of danger. He is likely to be
charged once he has recovered
fully.

Black South African refugees
in Lesotho include sympath-
isers of the ANC, the Black
Consciousness Movement
(BCM) and the Pan-Africanist
Congress. Of these, the ANC is
rapidly emerging as the pre-
mier force.

It has recently been rein-
forced by switches in alle-
giance from the BCM to the
ANC, notably by Miss Tenjiwe
Mtintso, a former political col-
league of Mr Steve Biko.

Another top black conscious-
ness exile in Lesotho, Mr
Thami Zani, was reported at
the weekend to have left the
BCM. He could not be contact-
ed yesterday for comment.

clothes

Although Mr Zani was not
said to have joined the ANC,
his decision to quit the BCM
will, if true, further weaken the
BCM and indirectly strengthen
the ANC.

The consequence can

Mr Botha was reported to
have joined the ANC after his
arrival in Lesotho. He may not
be quoted in South Africa, but
it is understood from sources
close to him that he has not
formally joined the ANC.

only

Final say on Biko doctors

By WILLIAM SAUNDERSON-MEYER
Pretoria Bureau

A SPECIAL meeting of the Medical and Dental Council yesterday confirmed that the three district surgeons who treated Mr Steve Biko before his death in detention would not face disciplinary action.

At a closed meeting in Johannesburg the council voted 18-9 to accept a committee of preliminary investigation's decision taken earlier this year. The committee had decided there was no evidence that the three Port Elizabeth district surgeons — Drs Ivor Lang, Benjamin Tucker and Colin Hersch — were guilty of improper or disgraceful conduct in their treatment of Mr Biko.

The Dean of the University of Cape Town's medical faculty, Professor D McKenzie, did not vote. The council's president, Professor H W Snyman, said this was "because he had to leave early to catch his plane home".

Dr L Blum of Johannesburg also left early without voting. There was one unknown abstention.

It is believed that the debate was heated and bitter. Instead of finishing in a few hours as originally planned, the meeting lasted until after 5pm.

The motion calling for the doctors to face disciplinary action was proposed by Drs I Shapiro and R W Charlton, both of Johannesburg.

Prof Snyman said the matter

was thoroughly debated and was now closed.

Mrs Helen Sumner, MP for Houghton, said it was a "most unbelievable decision" in view of the evidence produced at the inquest.

"It reflects very badly on the council and the medical profession as a whole in South Africa," she said.

"And since these three doctors were heavily involved in the matter, the decision is all the more extraordinary.

"I express my utter astonishment at the decision and would not be surprised if medical circles abroad react very negatively to it."

Mr Eugene Reelofse, the South African Council of Churches ombudsman who formally complained to the council about the doctors, said the decision would echo around the world.

"It is an incredible decision even for a country noted for its incredibility," he said.

"If this is the way the conduct of the medical profession in South Africa will be in the future, then the sooner the public starts showing confidence in sangomas, herbalists, and rain dancers, the better. At least none of these has, to the best of my knowledge been involved in a Biko-type affair."

Professor I Gordon, one of the medical assessors at the original inquest, recused himself from yesterday's council proceedings. When approached in Durban he declined to comment.

Court ^(11A) told of ^(S) ANC ^(W) 18/6/80 contact

Staff Reporter

NINE high school students from Mafeking cut their way through the security fence on the border between South Africa and Botswana in November, 1976, and walked to a village near Gaborone to make contact with the African National Congress.

This was said by a witness in a Terrorism Act trial yesterday.

Miss Dipsy Mosiapo, 23, of Mafeking, told Mr Gert Steyn, in the Kempton Park Regional Court that their ANC contact at the village, Bontleng, Mr Keith Mokoape, was mainly interested in those who wanted to go for military training.

"Keith said to us: 'Those interested in military training should raise their hands.' I told him I didn't want to be trained and asked him instead to telephone my mother in Mafeking, which he promised to do.

"Later, my mother telephoned Francistown police station and they passed on her message to Keith. I had been in Botswana for more than two weeks when my mother came and took me home," Miss Mosiapo said.

She was giving evidence in the trial of three former high school pupils, Miss Thandi Modise, 20, of Kimberley, Mr Moses Nkosi, 24, and Mr Aaron Mogale, 21, both of Soweto.

Miss Modise faces three charges under the Terrorism Act, or alternatively of attempted arson or malicious damage to property.

Mr Nkosi and Mr Mogale also face a charge under the Terrorism Act, or alternatively that they helped and harboured a terrorist.

They have all pleaded not guilty to the charges.

The case continues today.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
EXAMINATION ANSWER BOOK

SECTION B

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

All answer books must be numbered

Number of books handed in	4
Number of this book	2

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3	62%	

Chief warns blacks on divisive tactics

NATAL MERC 19/6/80 (11A)

Mercury Reporter
ULUNDI—Only one out of 300 chiefs present at a one-day conference yesterday had ever met Nelson Mandela.

This was the result of a survey taken by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, at a conference of KwaZulu chiefs.

The chief who had met Mandela said he had also met Mr Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress.

Chief Buthelezi said that certain black people had been conducting a divisive campaign in the name of the ANC.

Mandela songs 'hurt me deeply', says Buthelezi

'We all want liberation and we may use different methods.

'But these actions, which are being carried out by certain black people, who claim to do them in the name of the ANC, are disturbing.'

They were being used to build up names of certain ANC leaders at his expense.

He pointed out that songs were being taught, even at Indian schools in Chatsworth, with the

words: 'They took away Mandela and gave us Gatsha.'

The Chief Minister said this hurt him very deeply because Mandela was behind bars and he did not believe Mandela would approve of this kind of divisive mischief.

'I feel certain that, except for those of you who read newspapers, you do not even know who Mandela is.

'I know him from our days together in the ANC.'

NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

WARNING

1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

STAR 20/6/80
SA funeral
for ANC man

MBABANE — The South African Government has agreed to allow relatives of the ANC official killed in the recent Manzini bomb explosion to bring his remains home to SA, according to sources in Swaziland.

The man, whose name has not been released by the Swazi police or the ANC "for security reasons," and a seven-year-old child died when the bomb tore a house apart on June 4.

1 500 at funeral of ex-Robben Islander

11A
20/1/80
ED (South)

QUEENSTOWN — Tributes were paid to an ex-Robben Island prisoner and sportsman whose funeral at Ilinge was attended by more than 1 500 people.

Mr Philemon M. Khunge, 47, a salesman, collapsed and died while on duty.

Mr Khunge was deported to Ilinge in 1970 after six years on Robben Island.

He had been president of Ilinge Lawn Tennis Club, and chairman of Mimosa Football Club, and was former member of Red Lions FC Club, of Ilinge. He was also vice-chairman of Philget Mzazi Junior Secondary School from 1977 to 1979.

Mr S. Mnyengeza, principal of Philget School, described Mr Khunge as a man of vision. He contributed, with untiring stamina, to the progress of the school.

Mr C. Sotondoshe,

secretary of Ilinge Tennis Club, and a former Robben Island inmate with Mr Khunge, was one of the speakers who spoke highly of Mr Khunge's involvement in the struggle in South Africa.

Mr J. Maqungu, a former inmate, and a close friend of Mr Khunge described Mr Khunge's life in Port Elizabeth and went on to describe the hardships Mr Khunge underwent.

"How could he not suffer a nervous breakdown after all this?" he asked.

Mr Maqungu criticised the shortage of medical practitioners and the delay in transporting patients from Sada to hospital in Queenstown.

He criticised apartheid and the formation of a president's council without blacks.

Mr Khunge formed a music choir in the early sixties to raise funds for

his organisation, the banned ANC.

Rev Mtimkulu, a minister from Cape Town, described Mr Khunge's role in church — the Ethiopian Church of South Africa. His death was a grave loss to the church.

The funeral was conducted by Bishop Mazibuko (Colesberg) assisted by Deacon Mjezu (Colesberg), Rev Mtimkulu (Cape Town), Rev R. Tys (Uitenhage), Rev R. Lungu (Queenstown), Rev Ntshanyana (Mdantsane), Rev Stuurman (Agnes) and Rev Duma (Port Elizabeth).

Mr G.M. Baliso, township superintendent, Ilinge, and Sister N. Mangcu and Mr Mangcu were among those who attended the funeral.

Mr Khunge is survived by his wife, Nomzi, and two children.

St. Mnyengeza
Philget School
Principal

Con
Londin

5

For the past month Mail Extra readers have given their views on Inkatha, the movement which was founded in its modern form a brief five years ago but which has become a the focus of major political debate. The letters reflected sharp differences on several points concerning the movement. PATRICK LAUR-ENCE summarises the key issues in the debate as highlighted by the correspondence.

Few blacks felt neutral about Inkatha, the movement founded and led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. They were either strongly in favour of it or adamant in their opposition to it.

One of the recurring and strongest reasons for supporting Inkatha was the view that it offers a viable way of resolving the political crisis peacefully. "I support it because of its belief in non-violence and negotiation," wrote one reader.

Another who signed herself Penny, advised: "Inkatha's role should be peace through disarmament." A third said: "I prefer Inkatha to the ANC because ANC policy is violence."

One of the key criticisms levelled against Inkatha by its critics is the dual position of Chief Buthelezi as both Inkatha's president and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

To some it was a matter of regret. They believed the "KwaZulu connection" is a hindrance and an obstacle to Inkatha.

"If Chief Buthelezi could divorce himself from his present platform, very few people, if any, could doubt the credibility and effectiveness of Inkatha," one reader wrote. "It would be the biggest and most useful political force South Africa ever had."

To more hostile critics it was less a matter of regret than a point with which to ram home the accusation that Inkatha promotes separate development, however indirectly.

"Inkatha is a movement for silencing all those who are



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Inkatha:

ADN 20/6/80.

the debate

sharpens



(11A)

which spill over into Soweto from time to time. The implication was that it was a supreme test for Inkatha.

F. Diome, of Soweto, wrote: "The Zulu nation and Inkatha have a task to uplift and uphold the dignity of their chief, nation and community by uprooting these gun-toting things which now and then come to the Golden City to gun their fellow Zulus down for reasons best known to themselves."

Inkatha's paid-up membership of more than 300 000 — larger than that of any previous black political organisation in South Africa's history — drew conflicting interpretations from friend and foe.

Inkatha admirers saw it as evidence of vitality and grassroots support. "The fast growth of Inkatha indicates its growing credibility in the minds and hearts of the people of our country," wrote F. Masina, of Mamelodi. "Even the blind can see Inkatha is becoming the political force in South Africa," said another reader.

But against this was the counter-view that Inkatha's membership was drawn mainly from people in KwaZulu, who were forced to join to secure promotion in the civil service, to get a house or to open a business.

A man who signed himself "ex-member," claimed three-quarters of Inkatha's members had joined involuntarily.

Chief Buthelezi's stand against the school boycott in KwaMashu drew sharp criticism from several readers. One said: "He instructs his Inkatha to baton-charge — sorry 'kettle-change' — the 'agitators' and send them back to school." (It reminds one of Pretoria.)

Criticism on this issue was not taken up specifically by pro-Inkatha men, although several praised Inkatha for its disciplined, systematic approach to politics.

In a long, thoughtful letter the black poet, Oswald Mtshali, concluded: "Whether we belong to Azapo, Aasaso, Inkatha, Wasa or Cosas, we should bury the hatchet and work towards our own liberation."

against separate development," wrote Mr. Nkuluwe Muthwa of Lamontville.

Closely associated with criticism of KwaZulu connection was perception of Inkatha as a Zulu, or ethnic or tribal movement (the labels appear to have been used interchangeably).

Mr. B. P. Mahlobo, of Dube, Soweto, admitted to some confusion as to what Inkatha was, but he nevertheless concluded: "I think it is a group of Zulu warriors lead by Gatsha." Another reader saw it as: "An organisation of old Zulus who believe in traditional ways."

One letter replying to these criticisms came from Matthew Sibanda, youth secretary of Inkatha's Kaitshong branch.

In apparent response to the view that their membership was limited to Zulus by the Inkatha constitution, he advised the critics: "Please don't be stupid, buy and read Inkatha's

constitution in Zulu, Sotho and English."

Of Inkatha's 300 000 paid-up members, 40% were not Zulu, he wrote.

He added: "If you want Inkatha to divorce itself from KwaZulu affairs tell your self-styled leaders to go into exile — because they are also liberating you from within the system. Nobody does not get his pay from whites in this country."

A writer who signed himself "non-member," said: "What I like most in this movement is that it is not being polluted by ethnicity because it has members who belong to different groups."

Another point which emerged from the dozens of letters received by the Rand Daily Mail was an awareness of the Zimbabwé situation and the belief that it was relevant to the In-

katha debate.

His critics saw him as the Bishop Abel Muzorewa of South Africa and predicted that he would suffer the same eclipse.

A writer from Bloemfontein went further. He compared Chief Buthelezi to Chief Jeremiah Chirau, the Zimbabwe chief who was destroyed politically by Bishop Muzorewa in the April 1979 election.

A pro-Inkatha man, however, likened Chief Buthelezi's critics to the 74 men who rebelled against Mr. Robert Mugabe, when the Zimbabwean Prime Minister was in exile in Mozambique.

"Remember the 74 men from Maputo nearly made people think they were better than Mugabe. Where are they today?"

A challenge was issued to Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi by several leaders to end the bloody Zulu faction fights

Banning stops Azapo indaba

By MOETI MOLELEKOA

A JUNE 16 commemorative meeting scheduled for Welkom this Sunday has been banned, according to Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) local chairman, Mr Welile Soga.

Mr Soga was yesterday given a proclamation banning the service by the local police. The service has been organised by Azapo.

Meanwhile the Lynnville meeting of students from Turfloop, Ngoye and Fort Hare universities will be held on Sunday. The meeting will be attended by students from Dennilton, Middeburg and nearby towns, a spokesman said yesterday.

The Lynnville, Wit-

bank, meeting will also commemorate June 16.

The Welkom meeting was supposed to be the second commemorative meeting in the Orange Free State.

The speakers were to be Mr Ratha Mokoatheng, a member of the Black Lawyers' Association, Mr George Wauchope, publicity secretary of Azapo, the Rev Sam Buti, president of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and Mr Sydney April, local chairman of the South African Black Social Workers' Association.

The ban on this meeting is the latest after the mass ban last week of all June 16 services in major centres.

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BLACK UNREST

Protest moves into streets

Finally ousted from all forms of participation in the SA decision-making process, coloureds this week took their protest into the streets and on to the shopfloors.

Much of the violence that resulted in deaths this week was anarchic, for it was born of political frustration.

Not even the ineffectual Coloured Representative Council was there to give the coloured people some sort of political expression, let alone the promised all-nominated Coloured Persons Council that has apparently been abandoned. And the President's Council could give them little hope for the future.

So, given June 16 as an emotional spur, they went on the rampage in an orgy of looting and arson, directed as much against suspected or known labour "scabs" and shopkeepers as at police, railway stations and passenger buses.

It reflected the actions of a community running out of control — even though the initial children's protest had elicited a commitment from government not only to redress existing education grievances but also a possible longer-term policy switch (after the customary government inquiry) which may even result in a uniform education policy (in separate institutions).

The intensity of coloured reaction in Cape Town was in contrast with other major urban centres, including Soweto. The reason probably lay at a different level of despair.

In the aftermath of 1976, government ditched the more unattractive symbols of policy that had caused the Soweto unrest: Bantu Education, M C Botha, Manie Mulder. Government also planted some hope in the midst of the people of Soweto that the quality of life would improve as a result of the reforms that will flow from the efforts of Louis Rive and his Greater Soweto Planning Council.

Political vacuum

But, for the coloured and black communities of the Cape Flats, even such scant hopes of improvement in their social and physical environment do not exist. The former are in a political vacuum that can be filled by nothing less than full citizenship. Vicarious participation in the political system through a convoluted President's Council is, to them, an insult.

Peninsula Africans have to live with the insult that even their labour is inferior — official policy dictates that they should stand at the back of every job queue, behind whites and coloureds, regardless of skill or education.

Another explanation for Soweto's rela-

tive silence is a lack of leadership and practical organisation as well as the continued sniping between various black groupings. It seems, too, that an important rethink is under way in some circles that entails a rejection of street skirmishes as an ineffective form of tokenism. What alternatives present themselves in terms of this militant thinking remain unclear.

The coloured protest goes beyond the streets. In Cape Town some 800 coloured and black workers have united in an

tools this week. The Natal textile workers strike at one point had all the appearances of a repetition of the 1973 Durban strikes. And no labour observer would be so rash as to predict anything but an increase in black labour action.

Generally, the extent of militant black opposition to government is increasing. Divisions between radical black groups continue to militate against any real unity of purpose or action. But there are both internal and external factors that can be expected to lead to a form of unity, either



Confrontation between police and blacks . . . a community running out of control

attempt to force the meat industry to accept the legitimacy of worker-elected committees. And a bus boycott has been dragging on for some weeks.

This illustrates that together with the demand for the deracialisation of South African society is a demand for a more equitable order. The *FM* was repeatedly told in contacts with people close to the Cape unrest: "The real battle is economic."

The bus and red-meat boycotts bear indirect testimony to this economic emphasis. Clearly, the black community of the Cape knows its economic power — as the 50% to 80% stay-away on Monday and Tuesday amply illustrated. The *FM* understands some 40 civic bodies and action committees are co-ordinating the bus boycott.

The economic emphasis reflected in the Cape extends north beyond the Hex River Mountains. Volkswagen workers downed

through informal affiliation or an articulated organisational structure.

Externally, the banned African National Congress has, according to reports, won the diplomatic battle. The other exiled movements have either self-destructed through infighting (the Pan Africanist Congress), proved totally ineffective in their own terms (the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania), or lack the logistics necessary for their purposes (the South African Revolutionary Council). Internally, this can be expected to force revolutionary blacks to come under ANC aegis — there is no logistic alternative.

In addition, blacks who have aligned themselves in the past with the black consciousness movement, Inkatha or less overt groupings appear now to view ideological disagreement as an expensive luxury.

The challenge to both government and private enterprise is, in the wake of the

Eight Lenasia pupils still held ^{RD 21/6/80} 11A police

Staff Reporter

THE Police Directorate of Public Relations has announced that eight Lenasia school pupils are still being detained, after saying the previous day that they had been released.

On Wednesday, the directorate informed the "Mail" that 13 people had been released, including eight pupils from

Lenasia. The next day, however, the "Mail" was told that the eight were still being detained.

They are Kenny Padayachee, Sharon Pillay, Ashwin Moyeni, Nazir Omar, Fuad Abrahams, Yusuf Jada, Zunaïd Mohamed and Rajesh Cheebur.

The five others who have been released include three of-

ficials of the Bloemfontein branch of the Azanian People's Organisation — Mr Tex Sejanamane, Mr Mathatha Letsabo and Mr Zacharia Sekoere.

Daniel Senokwane and Gabi Mapato have also been released.

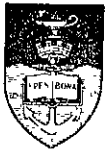
Others still in detention, according to the directorate, are

Mr Sidwell Malakala, Mr Nthumolsa Mogesi and Mr Caswell Tsoela.

Apart from more than 1 000 pupils arrested and subsequently released in Johannesburg, more than 300 people are believed to have been detained throughout the country under security laws since the start of

the schools boycott in April. Police have not been able to furnish official figures.

Among those still believed to be in detention are Azapo leaders, executive members of the Natal Indian Congress and two senior Labour Party members. Mr Miley Richards and Mr Mohammed Dangor



**UNIVERSITY
EXAMINATION**

W/E ARGUS 21/6/80

Buthelezi wants riot control impis

CANDIDATE MUST enter in number of each question the order in which it has (d); leave columns (2) and

All answer books must be numbered

Number of books handed in
Number of this book

**Weekend Argus
Correspondent**

ULUNDI. — Inkatha president Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has called for the establishment of training camps in which impis will be trained to keep order among blacks.

Delivering his presidential address to the sixth annual conference of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha would not tolerate continued boycotts or the destruction of schools.

He also said that if there was continued disorder at the University of Zululand he would have the university closed and a new one established in which there would be order.

'We need to be able to control riots. We need to be able to conduct meetings in the midst of chaos which other people try to create.

'We need to tone up our muscles so that the dove of peace sits easily on the spear,' said Chief Buthelezi.

'I think we need to create well-disciplined and regimented impis in every Inkatha region, which can be called out for the protection of that which is so sacred to Inkatha and black South Africa.'

Chief Buthelezi reiterated that Inkatha was totally dedicated to orderly politics and that it was committed to 'eradicate disorder in black politics wherever it is found.'

Surname..... ~~.....~~ (In block)

First Name(s)..... ~~.....~~

Date..... 17/10/80

Degree/Diploma/Certificate for which you are registered (e.g. B.A., B.Sc.)..... B. SOC. SCI.

Subject..... ECONOMICS 1A
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Paper No..... E34
(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Internal	External
(2)	(3)
Examiners' Initials	

NOTE CAREFULLY

- Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
- Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
- Do not write in the left hand margin.

WARNING

- No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
- Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

(11A)

21/6/80

★ The Cape Times, Saturday, June 21, 1980 3

Inkatha, PFP ^(11A) *CAPE TIMES 21/6/80* may co-operate

ULUNDI — The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has suggested the appointment of a steering committee to explore in depth how the PFP and Inkatha can co-operate.

This was announced at the opening of Inkatha's national council's meeting yesterday by the president of the movement, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Giving details for the first time of Dr Slabbert's reply to his *aide memoire*, presented when the two leaders met earlier this year, Chief Buthelezi said it had been suggested that the steering committee should consist of three people from each side.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been encouraged by meetings which Inkatha had held with white political parties.

Dr Slabbert said last night that he was awaiting Inkatha's decision on the proposal to see whether it was viable.

● The vice-president of the Students' Representative Council of the University of Stellenbosch, Mr Frans Roelofse, yesterday presented Chief Buthelezi with the university's coat-of-arms. He said it was the first time that the coat-of-arms had been presented to a black man in South Africa.

The secretary-general of Inkatha, Mr Oscar Dhlomo, pointed out that the invitation by Inkatha to the two Stellenbosch students had resulted in criticism from some liberal quarters that the movement was "fraternizing with the Afrikaners".

"We are capable of looking after ourselves politically," he said. "That is why we do not make any apologies for talking to everybody prepared to talk to us."

Chief wants to train Inkatha impis

INKATHA President, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has called for the establishment of training camps in which impis will be trained to keep order in black society. (IA) Post 22/6/80

Delivering his presidential address to the sixth annual conference of Inkatha this week, Chief Buthelezi made it absolutely clear Inkatha would not tolerate continued boycotts or the destruction of schools.

He also issued a serious warning that if there was continued disorder on the campus of the University of Zululand he would see that the university was closed down and a new one established in which there would be order.

"I think it is time for Inkatha to establish training camps where branches

and regions are schooled in the employment of anger in an orderly fashion.

"We need to be able to control riots. We need to be able to conduct meetings in the midst of chaos which other people try to create. We need to tone up our muscles so that the dove of peace sits easily on the spear.

"I think we need to create well disciplined and regimented impis in every Inkatha region which can be called out for the protection of that which is so sacred to Inkatha and black South Africa," he said.

He admitted frankly that Inkatha had failed in its responsibilities because it had been unable to contain school boycotts and undisciplined student behaviour.

11A 22/6/80



Why do protestors turn to violence?

11A S. Post 22/6/80

JOE LATAKGOMO looks at the historical patterns in black opposition to the South African Government.

SOUTH AFRICA went up in flames again this week — resulting in the death of at least 40 people and the injury of hundreds of others.

It did not happen in Soweto, flashpoint of the 1976 uprising, but this was not totally unexpected.

Why did unrest suddenly increase in the Cape after months of protest against inferior education? Why did what was thought to be peaceful demonstrations suddenly turn into a violent nightmare?

The exact number of people who lost their lives may never be known. The Commissioner of Police Gen Mike Geldenhuys said the figures reported in the media this week were misleading and the exact toll — the police should know better, he said — was 30.

The background to events like this must also be seen against previous events. There is a definite link — all of them were planned as non-violent, but turned into bloodshed.

The whole focus on June 16 was on Soweto. Here, it was believed, that there would be trouble. The Minister of Police warned action would be taken in the event of unrest.



The cops move in — and violence flares.

the general student body. The Government, of course, had been cautious throughout, and a series of "security" laws had been introduced over the years since Sharpeville — and was implemented.

Then came June 1976, again planned as a peaceful march to Orlando Stadium, where a mass protest meeting was to be held to discuss the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

The police intercepted the marching students — and when the first shots were fired, it marked the beginning of another event of bloodshed and chaos.

Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Ambrose Reeves, died, and at least 200 were wounded.

Then this week, it happened all over again. Memorial services in

However, June 15 memorial services having been banned in most of the major black areas, there was no way for the emotion-charged people to vent their emotions.

Perhaps it is necessary to ask why there was no bloodshed in 1978 and 1979, when June 16 services were left to go on without much interference.

It is significant, therefore, that the major difference between those two years, and this year's planned services, was that this year the Government tried to clamp down.

When the coloured boycott started, it reminded me of what a prominent black spokesman once said: "As the circle in which I moved in Johannesburg widened, I realised that the ferment that was in me was in everybody else."

Black unrest has a history of starting off as non-violent, but becoming violent because of police actions.

One only has to look back a few years to observe the pattern. In March, 1960, the PAC and the ANC planned peaceful anti-pass campaigns.

The ANC were to hold their campaign in collaboration with the Organisation of 14 under the

although it was intended as a peaceful demonstration of the hatred of the pass laws, people like Chief Albert Luthuli opposed such steps as they believed they were too hasty and rash.

However, the spirit of militancy had taken root. Neither the ANC nor the PAC could provide evidence of success achieved through any other form of action. Those who believed there was still room for negotiation were relegated to the back seat, just like those still hoping for peaceful negotiation now are considered weak.

PLANNING

In planning the campaign for the PAC, it was believed that if the legal machinery of the Government can be thrown into chaos, by people handing themselves over because they had no passes, the Government might be forced to take action or resign.

There would also be a "stayaway". On March 21, the PAC mustered 15 000 people in Sharpeville and another 6 000 at Langa and Nyanga. It is history now that everything was peaceful until the police opened fire — and finally 70 people

The Government's reaction — as in the aftermath of June 16 — was one of repression. A state of emergency was declared in 120 magisterial districts, the ANC and the PAC were banned, and more than 1 000 people were arrested.

Those who escaped the police dragnet left the country and went to neighbouring Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, from where some of them left for other African countries, Europe and the United States.

The same pattern was followed after June 16, 1976.

Two years later, after the release of Mr Potlako Leballo, the PAC's underground movement, Poqo, was crushed after documents were seized during a raid on the organisation's Maseru headquarters.

The apparent calm that followed probably gave the Government a feeling of security. However, the beginning of 70's heralded student participation in the struggle.

This, in turn, led to the rousing of political awareness on a scale never seen before among

banned and the police were out in full force to act against those who defied the ban.

SHOOT

Not only that — the Commissioner of Police told his men to "shoot to kill". This statement, plus the ban on June 16 services, were seen as provocative, rather than preventive.

Although the police have said most of those shot to death were looters and arsonists, it is significant to note that the violence only escalated after the first shootings.

Unfortunately, the "shoot to kill" remark will not help bring the situation to normal — despite an assurance by the Minister of Police that the statement was withdrawn soon after the Directorate of Information had issued it.

The fact is, some policemen may have taken the remark at face value, and carried out the order to the letter. We will never be able to establish that. However, we know the result: thirty — or 40 or 60, whatever the figure may be — have lost their lives.

22/4/80 5:11 PM
**Move to unseat Howa
after he obeyed ban**

By POENIE DU PREEZ

MR HASSAN Howa appears to be in danger of losing his leadership of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) because he complied with a Government ban on public meetings in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Howa refused, last Sunday morning, to open a meeting of Sacos, of which he is president.

However, later in the day, the organisation's vice-president, Mr Frank van der Horst, convened a meeting which lasted two hours.

There have been rumours from certain quarters that Mr Howa may be unseated because, after his stand in Port Elizabeth, he is regarded as "too soft" for the position.

Mr Howa, who flew home

11A immediately after refusing to open the meeting, admitted that there was a wave of opposition to him.

The next Sacos meeting is scheduled for October, but it is expected that another meeting will be convened before that.

Mr Howa said: "I realise that because of my action in Port Elizabeth, there is opposition to my post. This must be expected, as many people get the impression that it is a prestige job.

"I have never been, and never will be, interested in prestige posts. My only concern is in getting a fair deal for all people concerned.

"I have heard that a meeting may be called sooner. But, at the moment, I have no intentions of attending such a meeting."

Summit ^{S. 1051}
⁽¹¹⁴⁾ 22/6/68
postponed

SUNDAY POST Reporter
THE convention of black consciousness and welfare organisations scheduled for next month has been indefinitely postponed by the organisers, who need more time to prepare.

The postponement was disclosed this week by Mr Benjamin Nteso, executive member of the South African Black Social Workers' Association (SABSWA), who are organising the convention.

22/11/80 SUN TIM

Blacks' race bar may be dropped

11A

By MARION SPARG

BLACK Consciousness — the movement that spurns whites — is having second thoughts.

There is a growing belief among some Black Consciousness proponents that their philosophy needs to "make whites feel welcome again"

For more than a decade the Black Consciousness message has been:

"Black man you are on your own"

Now the message appears to be that Black Consciousness has done its work and blacks need to redefine their political strategy.

Handicap

One of those who shares this view is Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, the former secretary of the banned Black People's Convention who says Black Consciousness movements need to abandon their "neurotic exclusiveness".

Mr Mazibuko, chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee and assistant-director of the South African College for Higher Education (Sached) told the Sunday Times this week:

"I am arrogant enough to say I want to make whites feel welcome again."

He said although there were some areas in which blacks still needed to act on their own, Black Consciousness as a separatist movement was hindering "united nonracial progressive action".

He declined to name the areas in which blacks needed to work on their own.

"Black Consciousness has reached such a level that it no longer needs exclusivism as a crutch.

"We needed it in the 70s but Black Consciousness is now a state of mind that is self-sufficient."

Dr Alan Boesak, whose doc-

'Make whites feel welcome'

toral thesis in 1976 on black theology and black power. "Farewell to Innocence", has been hailed as a major contribution to the theory of Black Consciousness, shares Mr Mazibuko's feelings to some extent.

Dr Boesak said it was true that Black Consciousness no longer needed racial exclusivism.

However, he said this exclusiveness was "never really a main strength" of the philosophy.

"Black Consciousness is no longer exclusive in the sense that it will exclude whites simply because they are white."

"We are slowly moving out of the philosophy of the 70s and no longer have to exclude whites simply because they are white."

"What we look for now is real commitment and this is the criterion on which whites will be accepted by blacks — real commitment to freedom and a new South Africa," Dr Boesak said.

"But we don't want whites who pretend to know what blackness is."

"The whites we want are those who say they know what it means to be white today."

"With such whites we can



FANYANA MAZIBUKO... make whites welcome again

come to a real understanding of the situation."

Dr Boesak added:

"Although I have some difficulties with movements like Azapo which excluded whites on the basis of the colour of their skin it is wrong to accuse them of reverse racism when the law prevents blacks and whites from forming multiracial political organisations."

Race struggle

Another who shares Mr Mazibuko's view is Mr Sam Mhlope, a member of the banned, Soweto Students' Representative Council at the time of its banning in 1977, who said:

"We have done away with Black Consciousness. We no longer need the philosophy."

"Black Consciousness preaches a race struggle and that is not how we see it."

"We want the equal distribution of land and wealth irrespective of race."

"I cannot see organisations like the Azanian Students' Organisation inviting whites to join them yet, but what I can envisage is some kind of coordinating body where black and white radicals can meet and discuss common problems," he said.

One of the last remaining Black Consciousness organisations in South Africa is the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo).

The Sunday Times obtained Azapo documents this week which showed that Black Consciousness for them is "an ideology for national liberation" and that "by its nature the national liberation struggle excludes whites from active participation in the black liberation struggle."

The documents describe multiracial organisations as "nothing but a sterile exercise in healthy human relations across racial lines."

The organisation asserts:

"While we in the Black Consciousness movement agree that we envisage an open egalitarian society where colour or skin pigmentation has no part, we also acknowledge that there is a pre-liberation era and a post-liberation era, and that the tactics to achieve liberation will not be the same as those required to reconstruct the new society."

"We acknowledge integration but we also believe that it belongs to the post-liberation era."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten and founder member of the banned Black Community Programme, also takes a broader view of Black Consciousness.

He said it was "a philosophical elaboration of African nationalism and thus tended to be exclusive in nature."

Danger

"I would caution against a move to concentrate on the possible danger of black exclusiveness, when this exclusiveness has been in response to white racism."

"While those factors which gave rise to it still remain, like white racism, black exclusiveness must remain."

"I am not sure the time for a multiracial approach has arrived yet."

"Although our eventual aim should be to live together, whites have not yet felt black pressure and only this pressure will send us all to the negotiating table," Dr Motlana said.

The Writers' Association of South Africa, WASA, the journalists' organisation that bars whites on the grounds of race, is also reviewing its policy.

221 61 80 SUN TR 1B



Dr. Oscar Dhlomo



Prime Minister Botha

Prime Minister Botha gave millions of South Africans hope for a peaceful future with his promises of change but today those millions are still hoping and waiting...
Today Inkatha Secretary-General OSCAR DHLOMO gives his view...

THE 1980 Parliamentary session has just ended, the Schlebusch Commission of Inquiry into the constitution has just produced its report, and June 16 has come to pass. South Africans are obviously asking themselves if the events above have enhanced the possibilities of change in South Africa.

People who heard and took seriously Prime Minister P. W. Botha's promising noises just before the start of the Parliamentary session are no doubt utterly disappointed. I will count myself among these people who thought that the Prime Minister really meant what he said when he urged his people to "adapt or die".

Clearly we felt that the session which has just ended would be marked by an unprecedented and deliberate Government campaign to slaughter as many holy cows of Atrikamerdom as possible. But when we add up the score after the session, we realise to our dismay that apartheid is still alive and kicking. What is even more distressing is that apartheid is still the cornerstone of Government policy.

One now wonders whether or not the Prime Minister is operating on the same wave length as those of us who are working for change in this country. It seems as if he is speaking in terms of refurbishing apartheid when we speak in terms of fundamental structural change that outlaws apartheid.

If that is the case, then we will soon be overtaken by violence because white...

It was such a beautiful noise

(11A)

~~scribble~~ ~~scribble~~

(scribble)



Widespread unrest . . . what has happened. . . deal?

change is in the office, the Government will studiously resist on refusing apart.

This state of affairs actually serves to strengthen the view that the Prime Minister and his followers are in fact incapable of spearheading any meaningful change.

They want to be all things to all men and still remain themselves. To blacks they want to be respected agents of change. To their conservative followers they create the impression that there has not been and will never be any change to Government policy, and that what appears to be change is in fact a logical development of the policy of separate development.

As far as the Schlebusch Commission is concerned, it will be recalled that Inkatha gave evidence before this commission despite severe criticism from other groups that refused to give evidence.

Not only did we object to the composition of the all-white commission in our evidence, but we also emphasised the fact that as long as ethnicity was used as a basis for determining people's political rights, we would never

have peace and stability in South Africa.

It is now history that the Schlebusch report did not adopt a single proposal we put forward. Instead a separate black council, which will have a semi-advisory function, has been created.

To add insult to injury, Minister Smit explained the other day that the reason why there is a separate black council is because we blacks are slow thinkers. Inkatha has therefore refused to have anything to do with this separate black council.

It is surprising that this Government hopes to succeed in fostering minority rule (white, coloured, Indian, Chinese) in South Africa while it so vehemently rejects majority rule.

Whilst we have seen many majority-rule regimes around us, we have never seen a minority rule government in the democratic Western world which has been able to wield power permanently. These are axioms with which the Government should come to terms.

As for June 16, we know that in 1976, children were complaining about the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium for instruction. Now in 1980 they are com-

plaining about the numerous inequalities in our education system. These are two sides of the same coin.

While we have condemned the methods the students have used in expressing their grievances, we unequivocally declare that we wholeheartedly sympathise with their grievances.

Expert education opinion is remarkably united on the issue that what we need in our country is a uniform educational system properly funded and geared towards training students of all races to meet the future and the needs of this country.

If the education commission that the Prime Minister has announced aims at achieving this objective, then it needs to be given all the support it deserves. But if the Prime Minister is still thinking in terms of an ethnically fragmented education system for the country, then he will be sowing the seeds of continued unrest in our schools.

So, as we take stock today, we are definitely not persuaded to believe that the Government is seriously contemplating abolishing racial discrimination and planning a national convention where all

leaders will participate in drawing up a new constitution for the country.

From time to time people have asked Inkatha what it would consider as real change in South Africa. We have repeatedly stated that the following steps would be accepted by us as a genuine move in the right direction.

- The abolition of all forms of discrimination. Laws that entrench discrimination should be repealed and not reformed or applied more humanely. For this purpose the Government should therefore draw up, in consultation with all leaders, a clear programme aimed at abolishing discrimination within a specified time.

- The Government must unequivocally commit itself to the principles of power-sharing, involving all of South Africa — and not only majority groups. The mechanics of power-sharing can then be a subject for discussion at a national convention.

- The Government must also commit itself to the convening of a national convention where all the leaders (including those who are banned, in prison or exile) will be represented. If the Government has

a problem with the concept of a national convention, then it should at least clearly endorse the principle that any political intervention that will be internally and externally acceptable to South Africans is the one that will have been worked out jointly by all the people of South Africa.

- The Government must forget the notion that blacks are not South African citizens. Coupled with this, must come the realisation that South Africa is one state which should not be unilaterally fragmented into small pseudo states that are not economically viable.

The problem we face is that of time. Time is running out and the three basic conditions I have enumerated above may be overtaken by events within a year or two. Already while we inside the country still talk in terms of "power sharing", those of our people who are struggling from abroad are now talking in terms of the "seizure of power".

This is a clear indication that what is negotiable today might not be negotiable tomorrow.

Lastly, may I also warn the Government that those of us who

are still talking in terms of negotiations are not doing so out of weakness but out of a belief that it is not wise to destroy what one is fighting for.

Chief Buthelezi, the President of Inkatha, could for instance assemble one of the most effective and disciplined guerrilla forces this continent has ever known, bearing in mind the military history and prowess of the people he leads.

Is it not a blessing that despite all this power (or probably because of it), Chief Buthelezi has still chosen to walk the lonely path of non-violence?

It is, for this reason therefore, that the Buthelezi Commission, which will look into the future of KwaZulu and Natal within the context of South Africa, should be given all the support it deserves, not only by the people of Natal but all South Africans who still cherish the ideal of peaceful change.

The Buthelezi Commission represents our belief that, given the constitutional latitude, Natalians can devise a formula that will accommodate all groups and thus pave the way for a constitutional arrangement that will be acceptable to all South Africans.

Blackmail bid to spy on ANC

Tribune Bureau

LONDON: South African spy Craig Williamson tried to blackmail the director of the International University Exchange Fund in an effort to infiltrate the banned African National Congress, alleges a report from an independent inquiry.

The report is the conclusion of an inquiry established by the IUEF into the espionage activities of Mr Williamson, former deputy director of the fund.

The IUEF's governing board and assembly have been discussing the 80-page report since Friday.

The Observer newspaper states today that the report says: "The events surrounding the exposure of Williamson can only be understood if it is recognised that the South Africans must have thought they had something to go on when, as alleged, they endeavoured to blackmail the director of the IUEF by threatening to expose mismanagement and irregularities in his running of the IUEF."

The inquiry was told by the IUEF director, who resigned this month, that Mr Williamson and his boss, Brigadier Johan Coetzee, head of the Security Police, made threats at a meeting in Zurich last January when

South African agent accused in fund inquiry, says report

Mr Williamson revealed his identity to the director, Mr Lars-Gunnar Eriksson.

The threats were against Mr Eriksson's family and against the IUEF. A close colleague who saw him immediately after the Zurich meeting was certain that attempts were being made to blackmail Mr Eriksson.

The report suggests that Mr Williamson and Brigadier Coetzee tried to force Mr Eriksson not to unmask Mr Williamson, who was the target of growing suspicion among groups and individuals the IUEF worked within Southern Africa.

This was because Mr

Williamson's undercover mission of several years was close to bearing fruit. The report also describes mismanagement and incompetence discovered inside the IUEF that gave the South African intelligence officers their leverage.

"There were also specific irregularities which they must have believed that Eriksson would go to almost any lengths to cover up," it says.

Mr Williamson knew about misuse of a secret dummy company, Southern Futures Anstalt, which had been set up to channel secret funds to opposition groups in South Africa.

A London accountant recently made criticism — reported here last week — of the way SFA money was handled and the inquiry agreed with him.

The inquiry report recommends an overhaul of the IUEF's financial administration.

Mr Williamson wanted to keep his job, says the Observer article, because he may have thought that he was on the verge of deeply infiltrating the ANC. The inquiry was told by another South African, former intelligence officer Arthur McGiven, that Mr Williamson had been planning since 1975 to use a job with the IUEF as a route to penetrating the ANC.

The inquiry report also details the large amount of information Mr Williamson would have gathered about other black movements in Southern Africa, including the Black Consciousness movement once led by Steve Biko.

It mentions the possibility of a connection between Steve Biko's receiving funds from the IUEF and his detention.

The IUEF did not appear to have made any effort after Biko's death to ascertain if there was any connection between his funding by, and association with, the IUEF and his detention and death.

ANC

leader's dad dies at home in Orlando

11A
Post
22/4/85



Mr Trowbridge Nokwe.

By DERRICK LUTHAYI
MR TROWBRIDGE Nokwe, father of the late general-secretary of the banned African National Congress, Mr Duma Nokwe, died at his home on Friday morning.

Mr Nokwe (74) was a pensioner but continued with his shoe repair business from his Orlando West home.

According to his wife, Mrs Emily Nokwe, he was suffering from sugar diabetes and this week he complained of flu and died at his home on Friday morning.

His son went into exile after the banning of the ANC in 1960 and died in Lusaka in 1978. He travelled extensively abroad for ANC engagements and while working for the International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of Apartheid.

He was in the ANC hierarchy together with imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo. In 1956 he was among 155 ANC members charged with high treason and was acquitted after a marathon four year trial.

Mr Nokwe, will be buried on Saturday at the Avalon Cemetery.

Meanwhile, one of Soweto's oldest residents, Mr William Malewa (96) who died at his Orlando East home this week will be buried today.

Mr Malewa is the father of Mr Joseph Malewa, who died in a car accident in 1978 while on his way to Mafeking to attend his trial in which he was charged under security legislation.

Inkatha misleads

S. 1025 2/1/68
118

SIR — The Inkatha hierarchy is misleading the masses by encouraging them to accept an enemy-created institution as a significant part of the liberation struggle.

This belief is tantamount to committing political suicide. The credibility of those who formulate liberation strategy with Inkatha will be seriously damaged.

Let's face facts, Buthe-lesi is a homeland leader similar to Mphahlele and others. He is even worse because he denounces his fellow-puppets while going in the same direction as them.

He continually uses this phrase: "The Zulus are tough stock" — a true reflection of a man manufactured in Pretoria. His is a more vivid explanation of tribalism, ethnicity and denigration. Aimed at his brothers and sisters, it is of course acceptable to the aims of separate development.

Basically all chiefs of hindus or puppets have something in common. For instance, all have expensive parliaments, hospitals, security, wealth and freedom of speech without being charged for high treason and what have you.

They make me sick by repeatedly noting that Inkatha has 300 000 supporters. What is that number to a country which has 24-million voiceless inhabitants.

Above all our natural leaders are recognised by the OAU and the UN, not Pretoria. A leader recognised by those respectable organisations will automatically be our leader.

Presidents Machel and Prime Minister Mtshabele all had no parliaments. They shared the pain as victims of oppression, exploitation and slavery. Tribalists like Chief Chirau will be crushed fast. Collaborators will be as shocked as "the winner, Muzorewa, all of Zimbabwe".

Be wise. Fight against the following:— influx control; Group Areas Act; the contract system of employment; poor housing for the miners and the lack of decent compensation on numerous accidents on mines.

Equal work for unequal pay, inferior education, exploitation on farms and hostile life. Should father see reason and challenge these evils, they might be pardoned.

USEGA.

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Scots ask Mandela to speak

THE Scottish Mineworkers' Union announced this week that it had invited the jailed South African black leader Nelson Mandela to attend the union's next annual conference.

Addressing this year's conference, the SMU president, Mr Mick McGahey, a self-proclaimed communist, said the invitation "represented a

challenge to South Africa's racist regime to release Mandela".

Mr McGahey did not disclose how the invitation had been extended to Mandela, the leader of the banned African National Congress.

The SMU leader called on British trade unionists to mount a campaign for Mandela's release.

Joint strategy - claim

'BC re-think'

Post 23/6/80
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By PHIL MPPINKUHL

TWO leading exponents of Black Consciousness (BC) were surprised that there are moves afoot to do away with this philosophy in favour of a joint strategy with whites in opposing the Government.

And two national organisations, Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have indicated that they still adhere to the Black Consciousness philosophy.

The call for a re-think on Black Consciousness was made by Mr Fanyan Mazibuko, the chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee (TAc). Mr Mazibuko said in a Sunday newspaper Black Consciousness has reached such a level that it no longer needs exclusiveness as a crutch. He also said Black Consciousness as a separatist movement was hindering "united non-racial progressive action".

Mr Tom Manthata, a former executive member of the Black People's Convention (BPC) and one of the pioneers of the Black Consciousness philosophy said he was surprised to learn that the efforts were being made to undermine Black

At the outset of the interview, Mr Manthata said Mr Mazibuko was not the secretary of the BPC and Mr Sam Mokoape, who also said Black Consciousness must be done away with, was not a member of the banned Soweto Students Representative Council.

Mr Manthata said the exclusiveness of the BC is the exclusiveness of oppressed people who want to be sincere to realities of oppression. "The honest way to rid ourselves of exclusiveness is to get rid of oppression."

DIFFERENT

"There cannot be a question of a common co-ordinating body as there is no common problem and common goal between blacks and whites. We are living in two different worlds: first the accomplished world of the whites, and second — the world of blacks aspiring for ac-

"Black Consciousness is fighting for a balanced world where minority whites shall be rid of their complex."

"The protagonists of rethinking of BC are unfortunately a product of a white middle-class thinking as opposed to BC thinking which derives its thinking from the black proletariat," Mr Manthata said.

Mr Manthata affirmed the background to the inception of the BC movement has not changed. He also made the following points:

- Venues for non-racial
- 3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- 4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.



Mr Fanyan Mazibuko . . . "calling for a re-think of Black Consciousness."



Mr Tom Manthata . . . Black Consciousness is our answer to oppression.

meetings will also be in town to suit whites.

- It's a mockery to say the situation has changed and therefore there should be a rethink.
- Some blacks tend to isolate whites who have disintegrated themselves and hero-worship them.
- Whites who think they are oppressed live in a fool's paradise, and they are intellectual liberation struggle.
- Their oppressor depends on the goodwill of the blacks and is not a reality.
- Mr Sylvester Makapela, a former executive member of the banned South African Students' Organisation (Saso), said at this stage Black Consciousness was still relevant. He said many issues are clouded by the racial question. "There is still a need for the closing of ranks."
- Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, the president of Wasa said they still adhered to the Black Consciousness movement and there is no question of a review of their policy. He also said the symposium planned for this year was not called to look at Black Consciousness with the view of discussing the question of white inclusion. It was to review Black Consciousness over the past decade. Azapo recently affirmed their belief in the

Black Consciousness philosophy in an article in POST. Their statement said: "Black Consciousness takes into cognisance the fact that black people are denied the fundamental human rights to participate in contributing towards a future of a peaceful, open and equal egalitarian society based on an equal distribution of land, wealth and power . . . It is for this reason that Azania acknowledges the philosophy of Black Consciousness as the fruition of the liberatory efforts on the part of different black organisations throughout the history of resistance against white domination."

By Mike Overmeyer

Coloured leaders, parents and students feel the current nationwide unrest will give rise to a new generation of radical and militant youths.

"A more radical youth will present the Government with an intensified onslaught against its policy of separate development," said black theologian, Dr Allan Boesak.

Fears of most parents and leaders of the coloured community were that the consequences of such a development among the young would cause more unrest, and end in a "social disaster."

In the Cape, frustrated student leaders were gearing themselves toward leaving the country for military training.

WORRIED

But parents stuck in daily bread-and-butter struggles feel the students' action has become infested by ill-effects and would be fruitless in the final analysis.

"They should go back to their classrooms before they get killed," a worried Noordgesig mother said.

But a determined student leader commented that the reaction of the authorities to "our legitimate demands and grievances calls for more radical action."

"The motivation behind the unrest is that coloured, Indian and African people with diplomas and qualifications are stuck at a lower level of employment in this country," said the Labour Party's Mr David Curry.

At the start of the mass schools boycott in coloured secondary schools, Dr Boesak warned that unless the Government recognised the seriousness of the situation it



Dr Allan Boesak, has warned about radicals being born.



The national leader of the Labour Party, Mr David Curry, says there is need for immediate changes.

Birth of militant Generation feared

could flare up into something bigger and worse than Soweto in 1976.

Parents, teachers and community leaders feel that with the cancellation of the mid-year exam most pupils will not pass their end-of-year exams.

"The youths are now turning to the streets and a way from education. They want a place in the sun," said Mr Ralph Peffer, a teacher on the Reef.

SCHOOLS CRISIS

He warned the authorities nine months before the schools unrest started that coloured education was heading for a crisis.

"There is going to be a social disaster unless the authorities fulfil their empty promises immediately and without concentrating on the corridors of apartheid," Mr Peffer said. With the schools crisis

there will definitely be less people with the necessary diplomas and job skills.

"The ranks of the unemployed will swell, and many with higher educational qualifications might have to settle for menial jobs," said Dr Boesak.

He warned that this would create a more frustrated coloured community.

"It is a more dangerous situation to deal with," he said.

A survey of grassroots feelings among the coloured communities on the Reef found fears of more violence and intimidation. Parents, teachers and students who did not wish to be named 'spoke of a seriously explosive situation.

"Students at our school now condemn the police action in the Cape. It was not necessary to shoot to kill. We will decide on

action after we have seen what the Government has done after our three-week vacation until July 15," a student leader said.

Other views:

● "At our school the principal tried to get us back into classrooms, but students refused to go back because of what happened in the Cape."

● "Our children will get killed if they don't return to classes."

● The children have now created a more politically aware community with raised expectations that change is now nearer than before.

● "The three-month long boycott of classes is posing fears of a violent outbreak. I have decided to keep my child indoors because he might get killed in the process."

● "The kids are crazy. They should return to school lessons before it is too late."

● "As parents, and breadwinners, we will continue going to work for as long as buses are not stoned and our lives are still not in danger. We need to earn a living."

● "It is perfectly true that because of the Government reaction to our demands and grievances our students have become tough and radical."

● "I am keeping my child at home because, if I don't, she will be forced to join student actions by the radical elements."

● "It is not necessary to riot — placards, words and protest can bring about changes."

READY TO DIE

Most people expressed these fears and hopes amid strong feelings that things would change for the better, that a new era would emerge.

"Our kids are frustrated and are rising up as radicals and militants," a concerned mother said.

In Noordgesig, in a sporadic outbreak of violence, a shop was burnt down, causing great distress among pensioners.

"It was the only shop that allowed us credit because of our low incomes," a grandmother said.

In the same township, three youths who were wounded by the police maintained that they were now prepared to die.

"To me death is a necessary means towards an end to apartheid," one said.

"Mr Peffer was certain that force was making people stubborn and said that the Government needed to get to grips with the situation through a political solution."

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23/6/80

Twenty-five years have passed since a multiracial "Congress of the People" adopted a document called "The Freedom Charter."

The Charter was to become the programme of the African National Congress. The anniversary of its publication is unlikely to be celebrated in official South African circles for some years to come but, given the ANC's revival since 1976 and the recent endorsement of the Charter by some of the more influential internal black spokesmen, its genesis and character are worth a little attention.

The Charter's contents are hardly revolutionary. Its 11 clauses provide an outline of a society reconstructed along conventional social democratic lines. This social order would embrace all South Africa's inhabitants in a democratic state based on universal suffrage in which all would have equal access to government and administration.

At the same time (rather confusingly) all national groups would have equal status in judicial, political and cultural affairs.

In the economy, the mining and monopoly industries would be nationalised and land redistributed.

The institution of private property would nevertheless be preserved; all would be free to occupy land wherever they wished and no group permitted to monopolise trading or occupational positions.

All employees would be allowed to join trade unions and a 40-hour week and a minimum wage should be established. Labour compounds would be abolished together with all forms of discrimination in law, culture, education and sport.

The State would be responsible for a variety of welfare measures including free schooling, cheap hou-

The

Freedom Charter

June 26 marks a milestone in South Africa's black nationalist politics — it is the 25th anniversary of the "Freedom Charter" which is still the basis of ANC policy. TOM LODGE, lecturer in political studies at Witwatersrand University, describes the genesis of the document and its significance.

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sing for those who needed it, health and social security.

The Charter resulted from a suggestion by one of the more conservative Congress leaders, Professor Z K Matthews, at an ANC annual conference in 1953.

His suggestion of a "People's Parliament" appealed to a Congress leadership casting around for campaigning issues which could exploit the popular momentum set off by the "Defiance of unjust laws" of 1952.

The ANC invited a wide range of organisations to co-sponsor the proposed "Congress of the People" but was to be joined only by its established allies, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the (white) Congress of Democrats.

Eight members of each organisation formed a joint National Action Committee which began soliciting ideas from the Congresses' branches. It must be said that this was done in a fairly haphazard way. The ANC, in particular, was badly organised and there was a degree of apathy and even hostility to the new campaign among local leaders.

However, from those suggestions that were received the committee

assembled a charter which bore the hallmark of a compromise between different interests. Then, on June 26 1953, 2 800 delegates attended a conference held on a football field in Kliptown and acclaimed the document presented to them. The occasion was also marked by the first of a series of police raids which were to culminate in the great treason trial of 1956-61. But within the ranks of the ANC, opinion on the merits of the Charter was not unanimous. Older conservatives combined with black-conscious "Africanists" to have the document rejected at the ANC's annual conference and a special meeting had to be convened in April 1956 before the Charter became Congress policy.

What was so controversial about the Freedom Charter?

Africanists, liberals and Government spokesmen charged that its formulations were symptomatic of the communist inspiration of the Congress movement's leadership. Africanists said it represented a retreat from the self-determinist nationalism adopted by the ANC in 1949. Liberals disliked the economic clauses and tended to discount ANC rank and file influence in the making of the Charter, attributing more importance to the role of

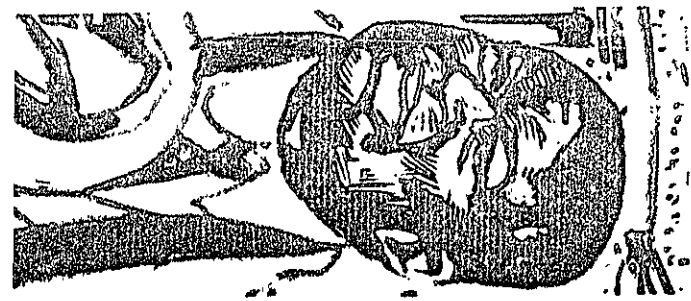
the Congress of Democrats whose tiny membership did include many former communists. Government politicians tended to equate any opposition to the status-quo with communism.

Multiracial co-operation had been placed on a firm footing in previous Congress campaigns. The land reform policy stemmed from the original grievance which prompted the foundation of the ANC in 1912. The calls for basic individual freedoms in such matters as business, property and educational advancement reflected the especially acute distress of petty-bourgeois African politicians who were being systematically deprived of such vestiges of those rights they had possessed up to 1948.

What is the contemporary relevance of the Charter?

First, that it remains the programme of the political organisation which probably enjoys more legitimacy than any other among black people in this country.

And, second, that despite all attempts by the authorities to alter the basic framework of reference for black politics, the most widely accepted alternative to the status-quo is still couched in terms of a unitary, multiracial and majoritarian democracy.



Professor Z K Matthews ... made the original suggestion.

POST
TRANVAAL

Telephone 27-6081.

Come off it**Dr Dhlomo!**

DR OSCAR DHLOMO, secretary-general of Inkatha, accused this newspaper of an "incessant and venomous" campaign against Inkatha. His beef is that we carry readers letters critical of the movement. He also made the scandalous accusation that he had evidence to prove that some of the letters were from fictitious writers.

Produce it. We have carried letters both critical and in praise of Inkatha. But then, intolerant people like Dr Dhlomo can hardly be expected to appreciate the sanctity of the freedom of speech and expression.

It's a worthy principle if it praises him. And a venomous one when it is critical.

Inkatha hits at POST

THE secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dlomo, has accused POST (Transvaal) and Sunday POST of conducting an incessant and venomous campaign against Inkatha.

Speaking at the sixth annual conference of the movement at Ulundi, he said it was ironic that while the two newspapers claimed to be black they were in the forefront of moves to foment disunity.

Dr Dlomo said that the newspapers were sowing the seeds of a black civil war in South Africa.

Dealing with the campaign against Inkatha, he said both newspapers continued to publish highly critical and venomous letters from correspondents attacking Inkatha.

"We are not so naive as to believe that these letters emanate from correspondents."

"We have evidence to the effect that names used are fictitious," Dr Dlomo said.

Are our women lagging behind in politics?

By BELEDE MAZWAI
THE hand that rocks the cradle rules the world is

an old adage. Some black South African women believe, however, that it is almost impossible



The late Lillian Ngoyi will always be remembered for her role in the struggle against injustice.

for them to play a significant role in the affairs of their country.

These women say that they are more than willing to fight for freedom alongside their men. They point out that women have played a significant role in the fight for freedom and add that there is plenty of evidence if one looks back at the past three decades. But, just as women get together to do some constructive, peaceful work, they say, organisations still in their embryonic stages, are wiped out by the Government.

Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, who was president of the now banned Federation of Black Women, said at this point in time it would be very difficult to assess what

women are really doing because the South African situation just does not permit that.

"When women start mobilising themselves, the organisation is either banned or women holding leading positions in those organisations are banned or arrested.

"And all these have always been seen as deliberate campaigns of attack on these organisations," she added.

Other women felt that although many realise that they are needed to actively participate in the struggle, some women backed out because they are too dependent on their men. Others were ruled by fear.

One woman pointed out that these women are not to be blamed because the fault stems from the way they were brought up. Nevertheless, she added, these women retarded their own and the liberation's progress.

"Girls are brought up to believe that boys are stronger than them and can do certain things that they cannot do. This situation puts girls in the background," said Teressa Letsebe, member of the Young Women's Christian Association in Alexandra.



Deborah Mabiletsa says women's organisations are stifled by being banned.

But she strongly believes that without the participation of women in the struggle little will be achieved.

Dumie from Rockville, Soweto, said women need to revive their spirits. "Awareness is there but people need direction". Women are faced with challenges and they have to overcome them no matter who says what."

History shows that a lot has been done by women. 1958/9 saw the stand by women against the carrying of passes. Jails were filled as 2 000 women were arrested. Their spirits, however, were not dampened by arrests.

In 1960 the African National Congress' Wo-

men's League, whose president was the late Lillian Ngoyi, and other bodies which were affiliated to the South African Federation of Women were banned. "They can ban our organisations and our leaders — but they can't kill our thirst for freedom," the women said.

From 1962/3 onwards there were continual bannings of women elected to federation leadership at both regional and at national level, as was the case with men.

1977 saw the banning of the Federation of Black Women. This organisation was killed before it could fight the laws that make black women minors from the cradle to the grave.

Post
25/6/80
111A

Meat boycott endorsed in Transvaal

CDM 25/6/80

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By STEVEN FRIEDMAN
Labour Reporter

IN A move which could add new impetus to the Cape meat dispute, influential black organisations, including a key traders' association, have endorsed a boycott of red meat in the Transvaal.

However, in most cases boycott plans have not yet been implemented.

The boycott is designed to support striking meat workers in Cape Town, who have called for a nationwide red meat boycott in support of their demands. A boycott is in force in Cape black and coloured areas.

Organisations which confirmed yesterday that they are supporting the boycott are Azapo, Dr Nthato Motlana's Soweto Civic Association and the Soweto Traders' Association.

Three black trade unions — the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, the Food, Beverage and Allied Workers' Union and the Laundry Workers' Association, have also endorsed the boycott. In

addition, pamphlets have been distributed in Lenasia and other black areas calling for a boycott.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr George Wauchope, confirmed yesterday that Azapo had backed the boycott and added: "We have instructed our branches to implement it."

Most other organisation, however, have not yet implemented the boycott.

The chairman of the Soweto Traders' Association, Mr Vela Kraai, confirmed that his organisation had endorsed a boycott, but added: "We don't believe it would be effective unless the Black Housewives League joined it."

"If the League comes in, we will implement a boycott fully," he added.

Mrs Sally Motlana, president of the Black Housewives League said that her organisation had not yet decided to join the boycott but would discuss it at an executive meeting on Sunday.

A traders' boycott of red meat would have a significant

effect on meat sales in black areas and substantially escalate the five-week old meat dispute.

Dr Nthato Motlana confirmed that the Soweto Civic Association was "100% behind the boycott." He added that specific measures to support the Cape meat workers would be put to a meeting of Soweto residents early next month.

Several other organisations have been approached to join the boycott, but have not yet reached a decision. They include the Transvaal Council on Sport, the Black Social Workers Association and the YWCA.

TRACOS's chairman, Mr Reggie Feldman, said his organisation was "sympathetic" to the boycott but had not yet formally decided to join it.

He added: "We definitely support the Cape meat workers."

It is understood that there is substantial support for a boycott in Lenasia but that some residents fear that local butchers would suffer from such a move.

'Biko promoted self-confidence'

11A (DM) 25/6/80.
EAST LONDON. — The influence of the late Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader, inspired higher achievement by black students at the University of Natal Medical School, Professor John Reid, said yesterday.

Prof Reid, who is professor of physiology at the university and who is to become vice-principal of the University of Cape Town next year, said he had no doubt that achievement by students, as learners, was linked to their self-confidence and self-esteem.

Speaking at the Ciskeian conference on education, he said had come to this conclusion after more than 20 years of teaching black and Indian medical students.

"A depressed, non-confident community produces neither

good teachers nor good learners.

"But a community alive with expectation and confidence produces exceptional people. It was very apparent to me that the achievement of my African medical students was greatly promoted by the presence among them of a pride and self-confidence stemming from his (Biko's) doctrines.

"Educators, more than others, if they wish to help attain a just and fair dispensation for all, should be part of the movement to give people that right self-esteem and self-confidence which is properly directed," Prof Reid said.

He also said he had learnt another lesson from that and recent episodes. This was that "an educator can never listen sensitively enough to what the students are saying".

APC Times 25/6/36

Move to reject new council

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The controversial proposed President's Council, including its related black Advisory Council, is likely to be rejected by the Urban Councils' Association of South Africa — the super community council.

This was said yesterday by the chairman of the association, Mr Steve Kgame.

Mr Kgame said acceptance of the Advisory Council would mean endorsement of the remark by the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Henne Smit, who caused an uproar a fortnight ago when he said blacks had been excluded from the President's Council because they had slow thought processes.

In Katlehong, the chairman of the local council, Mr Mpiyake Khumalo, condemned the government for excluding blacks from the President's Council.

"We are deeply disappointed at our exclusion from the council. There can be no valid reason for the exclusion and we call on the government to think again," Mr Khumalo said.

He said blacks wanted to play "an important part" in determining the future of the country and, like other racial groups, should have been included in the President's Council.

The President's Council and the president's black Advisory Council were recommended by the Schlebusch Commission, which is working out a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa, in its interim report tabled in Parliament earlier this year.

Presence of Steve Biko 'Promoted students'

CONFIDENTIAL

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The presence of the late Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader, promoted the achievement of black students at the University of Natal Medical School, Professor John Reid, said yesterday.

Professor Reid, who is Professor of Physiology at the university and who is to become vice-principal of the University of Cape Town next year, said that he had no doubt that achievement

by students, as learners, was linked to their self-confidence and self-esteem.

Speaking at the Ciskeian conference on education, he said he had come to this conclusion after more than 20 years of teaching black and Indian medical students.

"A depressed, non-confident community produces neither good teachers nor good learners. But a community alive with expectation and

confidence produces exceptional people.

"It was very apparent to me that the achievement of my African medical students was greatly promoted by the presence among them of a pride and self-confidence stemming from his doctrines.

"Educators more than others, if they wish to help attain a just and fair dispensation for all, should be part of the movement to give people

that right self-esteem and self-confidence which is properly-based and properly-directed. If it is wrongly-based and involves the loss of self-esteem and self-confidence of others, it must be failing to attain this end," Professor Reid said

He said he had learnt another lesson from the and recent episodes: That "an educator can never listen sensitively enough to what the students are saying".

capl Times 25/6/80 114 327

More support for Mandela

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The president-elect of the British National Union of Students (NUS) yesterday added his name to a widely-circulating petition for the release of Nelson Mandela, who is in prison on Robben Island.

Mr David Aaronowitch, who assumes office next week as head of the 1.2 million-strong union, says he will lend his

stoutest efforts towards the campaign for the release of the black political leader.

Mandela is honorary vice-president of the NUS. Over the years a strong link has grown between the union and the imprisoned leader.

NUS premises at three universities are named after him — at Salford, Bristol and Exeter.

Student leader in court again

Staff Reporter

PIETERSBURG. — The president of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Mr Ephraim Mogale, 23, who is facing a charge under the Terrorism Act, made a brief appearance in the Pietersburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Appearing with him was Mr Thabo Makunyane, a third-year student at the University of the North. They were not asked to plead and at the request of the State the case was postponed to August 25.

The Press was barred "for security reasons", court officials said.

The two had first appeared on April 21 before Mr W G M van Zyl.

According to the charge sheet, the two are alleged to have promoted the objects of communism and of the banned African National Congress (ANC) between October 1977 and October 1979.

In 1977 they are alleged to have distributed pamphlets entitled "Being black in South Africa today" and "Declaration of War". They are also alleged to have recruited members for the ANC and to have worked for the formation of youth clubs to promote unrest between 1977 and 1979.

They also allegedly prepared a stencil for the production of pamphlets entitled "Come let us unite and defeat our oppressors" and established an organisation called "Communist Advancement Movement".

SAPA:RNS

DD-76/6/80

Brothers on assault charge

PORT ELIZABETH — A prominent leader of the former Black Consciousness Movement, Mr Moki Cekisani, 38, appeared briefly in the magistrate's court here yesterday with his two younger brothers, Mr Gogogo Cekisani, 29, and Mr P. Cekisani.

The three are alleged to have assaulted a member of the police force on May 24.

No evidence was led and the magistrate, Mr N. W. Bester, postponed the case to July 22.

Bail of R50 each was allowed to stand.

In another case, the court heard how police who boarded a train at Cookhouse junction and searched the luggage of passengers allegedly found in the suitcase of Mr Griffiths Sitoto, 22, publications of the banned ANC and a Nusas pamphlet.

The case was postponed — DDR

Prof: black youth must be listened to

EAST LONDON — The black youth in South Africa should be listened to, Dr Kenneth Hartshorne, said yesterday.

Dr Hartshorne, a former senior official in the Department of Education and Training, and now attached to the University of the Witwatersrand, said many young people attached high value to education.

"But they are prepared to give up that education, if necessary, for higher goals," he said.

In a new response to a new situation, this group of young black people had distinct political goals.

The young people who had taken the lead in the protests in Soweto in 1976 "had grown up under the worst years of Bantu Education — the worst years were the 1960s, if one looks at money strengths, pupil-teacher ratios, and so on."

However, in many schools, the youth were taught an ability to reason and an ability to express themselves.

Dr Hartshorne said he had spoken to many young people to find out what they were saying.

"They said 'we have been let down by our parents, by our teachers and the system.

"Perhaps they were less than fair to their parents, but one of the interesting things about the 1980s is the reunification between the students and the parents."

Their criticisms of the teachers and schools were justified, particularly because of the lack of facilities such as libraries and laboratories and the underqualification of teachers.

"The system was not just because it was built on the whole discriminatory system.

"They were saying then, as they are saying now,

that we want a good education, as good as anyone else.

"Certainly to begin with the definition of what was good was white education, but this has definitely changed.

"New issues of relevance have risen. Certainly young black of today don't see white education as the answer.

"They are also saying that we want full freedom to use our education in an open society."

The youth wanted equal opportunities and equal pay, as well as the same opportunities for advancement.

"I think they sum up in a very simple way what this is all about," Dr Hartshorne said.

It was quite clear that the situation could not be put right and equal education established without radical solutions.

To begin with there would have to be some kind of unitary system with a more equitable distribution of education resources.

In pragmatic terms, he supported the view that the desegregation of education would have to start from the top, in the universities, the technical colleges and the training colleges.

"It will be possible to move quickly there, without a great deal of hassle, to make the point that there is a sharing of educational resources in our country."

Although more buildings and more facilities were necessary, equal educational opportunities would, in the end, be created by more teachers.

"I think one of the most positive things happening in South Africa is that the white teaching profession is beginning to think of the wider issues, rather than just salaries," Dr Hartshorne said.

June 16 remembered in London

By MALCOLM LAWSON

A CRY for unity was the message of a co-sponsored event entitled "From Soweto to Free Azania" held last weekend in South London.

Six organisations in exile came together to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Soweto uprising — the PAC, the Azanian People's Revolutionary Party, the BCMA (Black Consciousness Movement of Azania), the South African Youth Revolutionary Council, the African National Congress and the Steve Biko Youth Organisation.

SOLIDARITY

A significant feature of the meeting was that a number of people from the Caribbean attended to show their solidarity with the black resistance movements of South Africa. There was also a Brazilian who spoke in support of the South African struggle.



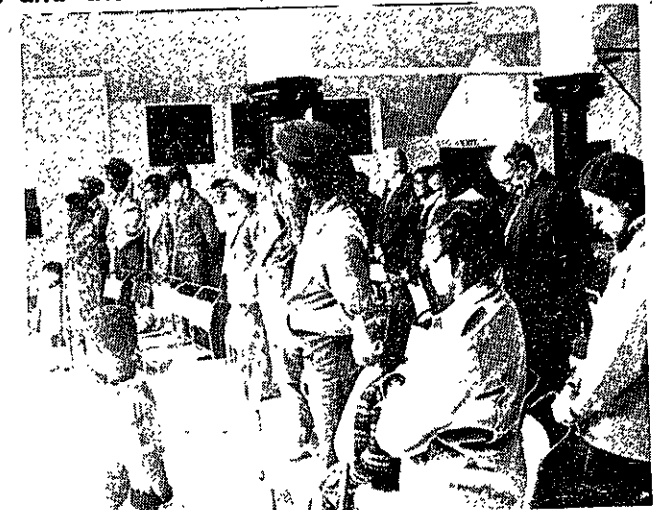
Poetry read by Pitika Ntuli accompanied by the drums of Pula.



Pula member Moichopari Segwai delivers one of his political poems, accompanied by the drumming of the other members. Molefe Pheto is seen flanked by two of his sons, Gaboipeoe (left) and Pule.



Mr Barney Segwai giving a heartfelt extempore speech on behalf of the BCMA. On his right is Mr Pitika Ntuli, the poet and sculptor. The others (left to right) are Mr O K Sethlapelo, Mr Barney Mokgatle and the chairman, Mr Drake Koka.



Part of the meeting seen paying respect to the dead of Soweto by the minute's silence called for by the chairman, Mr Drake Koka. Those wearing large caps are not showing any disrespect — they are Rastafarians from the West Indies, who also came to show their solidarity.

The meeting was chaired by Drake Koka of the African National Congress. Other speakers included Barney Segwai (BCMA), O K Sethlapelo (ANC), Victor Ngaza (APRP), Barney Mokgatle (SAYRCO), who was a student at the time of the Soweto rebellion and a West Indian student who is a member of the recently formed Steve Biko Youth Organisation — a community project in South London.

POETRY

In spite of the repeated call for action rather than words, the latter were there in great abundance, and a lot of the speech-making was predictable in content and repetitive. A welcome break therefore was the poetry and drumming provided by Molefe Pheto's group "Pula." Well chosen words were delivered by Pheto himself and also by Moichopari Segwai and Pitika Ntuli.

More poetry was delivered by a Jamaican man and woman who came along to show their support. A West Indian woman member of the Pan Africanist Movement also said a few words in support.

Would the Freedom Charter still seem radical today?

Yesterday, 25 years ago, a group of 2 800 black and white South Africans attended a conference near Johannesburg and adopted "The Freedom Charter".

On June 26, 1955, "The Congress of the People" met on a football ground at Kliptown, to discuss the proposed charter.

The conference was called at the suggestion of a University of Fort Hare Academic, Prof. Z. K. Matthews, at the 1953 conference of the African National Congress.

It marked the beginning of the showdown between the congress movement and the Nationalist Government starting with the 1956-61 treason trial.

While the Freedom Charter was regarded then as a militant document by the authorities—and indeed even this year some University of Cape Town students were picketed up by the police for distributing copies—it is not a particularly radical document.

Or as Tom Hodge, a lecturer in political science at the University of the Witwatersrand, put it in a recent article: "The

Charter's contents are hardly revolutionary."

But, both because the South African Government is clearly still sensitive about the Charter and because it has recently been adopted by some internal political movements, re-examination of its contents and background is desirable.

Certainly while in exile, the now banned ANC still officially proclaims the Freedom Charter as its basic policy programme, although some of its leaders have made policy statements of a far more radical nature.

It is clearly, therefore, not only a document of historical interest but one that still has relevance today. In the South Africa of today, its message would not be considered particularly surprising.

Mr Hodge summarised its contents this way: "Its 11 clauses provide an outline of a society reconstructed along conventional social democratic lines. This social order would embrace all South Africans' inhabitants in a democratic state based on



Political Correspondent BARRY STREEK

universal suffrage in which all would have equal access to government and administration.

"At the same time (rather confusingly) all national groups would have equal status in judicial, political and cultural affairs.

"In the economy, the mining and monopoly industries would be nationalised and land redistributed. The institution of private property would nevertheless be preserved; all would be free to occupy land wherever they wished and

no group permitted to monopolise trading or occupational positions.

"All employees would be allowed to join trade unions and a 40-hour week and minimum wage should be established. Labour compounds would be abolished together with all forms of discrimination in law, culture, education and sport.

"The State would be responsible for a variety of welfare measures, including free schooling, cheap housing for those who needed it, health and social security," Mr Hodge wrote.

The adoption of the Charter followed a suggestion by Prof Matthews of a "people's parliament" and this idea appealed to the ANC leadership at the time, which was looking for new issues to consolidate the support it had gained during the 1952 "defiance of unjust laws" campaign.

It invited a large number of organisations jointly to sponsor the "Congress of the people" but in the end, only its allies in the congress alliance — the Coloured

Peoples, Congress, the Natal Indian Congress (and only legal survivor) and the (white) Congress of Democrats — did so.

These organisations formed a joint National Action Committee and this began to gather ideas from the branches of the affiliated movements.

But among the local branches there was apathy and even hostility to the concept and within the ANC views on the merit of the Charter were not unanimous.

Mr Hodge commented: "Older conservatives combined with the black-conscious 'Africanists' to have the document rejected at the ANC's annual conference and a special meeting had to be convened in April, 1956, before the Charter became Congress policy.

"What was so controversial about the Freedom Charter?"

"Africanists, liberals and government spokesmen charged that its formulations were symptomatic of the communist inspiration of the Congress movement's leadership.

"Africanists said it represented a retreat from the self-determinist nationalism adopted by the ANC in 1949.

"Liberals disliked the economic clauses and tended to discount ANC rank and file influence in the making of the Charter.



The late Prof Z. K. Matthews, Fort Hare Academic who proposed the conference that adopted the "Freedom Charter".

attributing more importance to the role of the Congress of Democrats whose tiny membership did include many former communists.

"Government politicians tended to equate any opposition to the status quo with communism," Mr Hodge wrote

At the time, it was a brave statement of policy.

Although the Liberal Party had been formed in 1953, it had not, by then, adopted a policy of one-man one-vote. The government's racial policies of segregation were largely aimed at bolstering tribal authorities.

In white politics, the National-United Party fight dominated the scene, with people like Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Harry Lawrence still in the UP, albeit unhappily.

Today, there is little dispute that adult South Africans are entitled to a vote: the argument is rather about where they exercise it and in what political system

Officially, the government intends removing harmful discrimination, although, in practice, it has a long way to go.

However, among all political groups, black and white, except for the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the removal of discrimination is a major goal.

In the labour field, the right to join a trade union, which was once regarded as the forefront of the communist techniques, has been legally entrenched following the Witehahn report.

Indeed, many of the provisions of the Freedom Charter have now wide acceptance, at least in theory. Today, it is two key

provisions of the Charter which remain controversial: the demand for one-man one-vote in a unitary system; and its economic policies.

However, as the attitude survey commissioned by the Ciskei Government indicates, the appeal of universal franchise in one South Africa is still the most attractive political alternative among black people.

And, despite efforts of bodies like Urban Foundation, there is still serious reservation about the capitalist system among black people, particularly young black people.

At the Ciskeian conference on education this week, Dr Kenneth Hartshorne, a former senior official in the Department of Education and Training, told delegates that the free enterprise system was identified by many blacks as part of the overall system of government in South Africa and that it lacked credibility, particularly among young people.

In short, in spite of all the efforts of the Government to transform black politics, it would seem that the Freedom Charter does, after 25 years, still reflect the aspirations of many black people in South Africa.

prefers success to the moral rectitude of martyrdom

Inkatha now boasts an audited membership of 300 000, the largest membership for any South African political organisation of which the *FM* is aware. Buthelezi mustered some 1 000 delegates under the congress's huge marquee tent in drought-stricken Ulundi's dust and revealed a considerable depth of leadership in Inkatha (particularly in the person of Education Minister and Inkatha secretary general Dr Oscar Dhlomo) and a high level of efficiency in its political and administrative structures.

In this respect, Inkatha contrasts markedly with other overt black organisations, whose reliance seems to be more on latent, as opposed to organisationally articulated, support. And this is where Buthelezi's strength lies.

Buthelezi told the *FM* he remained committed to a "non-violent strategy for black liberation". Two possible uses for Inkatha's power were consumer boycotts and worker power to push black demands

"something we used only very slightly in our support for the Fatts & Monis boycott". But it appears Buthelezi would prefer to negotiate disputes, where those sitting opposite him are aware of Inkatha's strength and the devastation it could cause them, rather than find himself having to demonstrate that strength.

Held against the background of the partial students boycott in KwaMashu and the implicit challenge it posed Buthelezi's authority in the township, the congress again highlighted Buthelezi's uneasy relationship with certain elements in the banned African National Congress (ANC) and other black radicals (and newspapers).

Recording the inadequacy of black education, his congress condemned "the irresponsible deeds of activists who overzealously misled school children into boycotting classes, burning, destroying and damaging school buildings and property." It pointedly called on the ANC to "clarify its stand on Inkatha and also to state clearly

whether certain political fringe elements who denigrate us do so in the ANC's name as they claim.

The frequent victim of radical polemic, Buthelezi again went on record in favour of black unity calling for "respect for each other's strategies in the liberation struggle". On strategy, there are two elements in his thinking that distinguish him from black radicals. The first is his practical stress on the need for organisational discipline, the second is his willingness to adopt "interim positions" (as black radicals would say "within the hated system"), such as his use of the homeland system. Both these positions seem to contain an object lesson for radicals: political power is not won by reliance on polemic or moral argument; instead by the tactical use of what is available.

However, the ideological disagreements within black opposition remain serious. Inkatha is clearly talking of mobilisation through nationalism, and not — as is the case within some elements of the ANC — around economic and class issues (although, reports indicate, a greater nationalist stress may be gaining strength within the ANC). From a radical viewpoint, there are coherent arguments for both strategies. But, working as he must within the constraints imposed by government, Buthelezi appears to have read the situation correctly — at any rate to his advantage. But, at this stage, unity of purpose among radical blacks appears to be some way off.

BLACK POLITICS

Talking power

FM 27/6/80
a (11A)

The history of radical black politics in South Africa is dotted with more tombstones to martyrs than milestones of success. But Inkatha does not intend to go the same way.

If there was one message to emerge from Inkatha's fifth annual congress in Ulundi at the weekend, it is that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his organisation are talking the politics of power from a position of considerable strength — one that



Inkatha annual congress . . . tactical use of the political power that is available

Why not deal with ANC, asks Press chief

STAR
27/6/80

11A

BLOEMFONTEIN — The question had arisen whether Afrikaners should negotiate with "those who had gained legitimacy such as Swapo" rather than with "tame" Damaras and Ovambos. Professor Piet Cillie, chairman of Nasionale Pers, said in Bloemfontein.

He was taking part in a discussion on an address by Professor Ben Vosloo of the University of Stellenbosch to the annual meeting of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns in Bloemfontein.

Prof Vosloo spoke of the need for changed thinking by whites to avoid threatening conflict. Whites having the dominant say would have to make way for "partnership" with far-reaching, even painful, adaptations.

Prof Cillie asked with whom authorities should negotiate. "Should it not be with those who have gained legitimacy?" he asked.

"What of the ANC and the PAC and the left-wing of the Labour Party? Have they not gained legitimacy? Must there be no negotiation with them?"

Prof Vosloo replied that the problem lay in identifying the true leaders. Zimbabwe had shown how "wrong" leaders could be drawn in. But he did not know if this meant "Mandela should be fetched" as it was not clear how much support he had.

Mr J G H Loubser, general manager of the South African Railways said that emphasis of a person's right to eat rather than the often

hollow demand for voting rights would place the world on a far healthier course.

"Where all the other Western colonial countries had washed their hands of the chaos that follows independence, and withdrawn their investments on a large scale once their capital did not come up to scratch, we show our difference and demonstrate our continuing ties with Africa by not leaving our neighbours in the lurch."

Black African states attacked South Africa at the UN, and then held out their hands for help. There were signs of change, and greater realism in Africa. South Africa could be a catalyst. — Sapa.

Buthelezi

angered

by public

rebuke

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The chairman of the Abattoir Corporation, Mr S J van Rensburg, caused a rumpus at the opening of the R47-million abattoir at Cato Ridge yesterday by rebuking kwaZulu chief minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, in front of the Prime Minister and 2 000 invited guests.

The abattoir was officially opened by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and Chief Buthelezi gave an address and passed a vote of thanks.

After he had spoken Mr van Rensburg said he wished to express his regret that Chief Buthelezi had chosen the occasion to make a political speech. He also said that the free-enterprise system was not something that could be handed to people on a plate, and that blacks would have to learn to work "for their utopia."

Chief Buthelezi said afterwards that he took the strongest exception to Mr van Rensburg's rudeness and said he had almost got up and left the opening ceremony.

"I am disgusted by the rudeness displayed by Mr van Rensburg. After all, I am a political leader and have a duty to my people."

Chief Buthelezi, clearly angered by the incident, said he wished to warn white groups who invited him to functions "that I will not come and say ja baas to apartheid."

Mr van Rensburg and the managing director of the corporation, Mr B J Kruger, left Chief Buthelezi standing alone on the stage while they saw Mr Botha off.

11A (15) (17)
Phatudi
plans to
meet
Mandela
EDN 28/6/80

Own Correspondent

PIETERSBURG. — The Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, says he is making special arrangements to visit Robben Island again to see Nelson Mandela.

In an interview after his recent visit to the island, Dr Phatudi said he was disappointed that he had not been able to see the imprisoned black leader.

He said special arrangements had to be made before he could meet Mandela.

Dr Phatudi said that he would also suggest frankly to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, and to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that they make an effort to go and see Mandela.

It was only through contact of this kind, he said, that one could determine if Mr Mandela was "reasonable and ready to co-operate and negotiate".

Dr Phatudi said it was a matter of high priority and he wanted to impress upon Dr Koornhof and Mr Botha that they should not fear releasing Mandela, or in fact, all political prisoners.

"These are among the best brains we have," he said.

"There is a wastage of manpower of a high grade that is badly needed in South Africa today under the present circumstances. The Prime Minister will find that these men are not hostile."

Although those detainees on Robben Island did not necessarily support his stand, they were jubilant to see him and he was well received by men of all ethnic groups, as well as coloureds and Indians. To his knowledge he was the first black leader to have visited the island, he said.

Dr Phatudi said contact was necessary in order to consider a review of the sentences.

89 - 57
59 - 77
49 - 226
29 - 1961

(11A)
Anti-SA
DM
group
28/6/80
bombed

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — An unknown European nationalist movement yesterday claimed responsibility for the bombing of the Paris headquarters of the anti-apartheid and anti-racist MRAP movement on Thursday night.

The MRAP ("Movement against racism and for friendship between all people") has led anti-Springbok campaigns in France and is generally regarded as the umbrella organisation for all anti-South African groups in Paris.

An MRAP spokesman said yesterday: "Reverend Barry, a protestant pastor, was on duty at 6.15pm when the front doorbell was rung. He opened up and saw a parcel on the floor with a sputtering fuse. He ran to get some water when it blew up. The whole office was wrecked."

It is the 10th bomb and fire attack against the MRAP in seven years.

When Alexander Moumbaris arrived in Paris in January after escaping from prison in Pretoria he gave his first Press conference in the MRAP offices.

14 told to quit teacher college

EAST LONDON — At least 14 student teachers of Lennox Sebe Teacher Training College, near Zwelitsha, have been suspended until the end of the year following disturbances at the school last month.

Although no official confirmation on the names of the students has been received, it has been established both from the Secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Col Charles Sebe, and the Ciskei Secretary for Education, Mr O. S. Bomela, that some students have been suspended.

According to two students among those suspended, the names are Mr Mhlobo Tom, Mr Velwano Mpikashe, Mr Bob Mjuleni, vice president of the Students Representative Council, two other SRC members, Mr Peter Lubelwana and Mr Sidwell Zweni, Mr Vuyo Ralawe, Mr Sebenzile Notshulwana, Mr Mbulelo Runqu, Mr Tshapo Mtoba, Mr Monwabisi Sonjica, Miss Lulama Matshoba, Mr Lulama Sululu, Mr Mlungisi Poro and Mr Victor Sinqu.

Mr Tom and Mr Mpikashe said they had received telegrams informing them their applications to return to the school had been unsuccessful.

"The telegrams also stated we should get back to the school to collect our belongings by the 31st of May," Mr Tom said.

Parents had taken up the matter and some had seen Col Sebe but had been told the Ciskei Cabinet had taken a decision on the matter and the students concerned had been suspended until the end of the year because "they did not know what authority was".

Mr Tom said they had convened a meeting at the school after the suspension of four students for an alleged immoral offence.

"Not that we condoned what the students had done, but we called the meeting because we wanted to know why the students had been suspended as no one at the school had informed the student body," he said.

They hoped to be allowed to return to the school to further their studies next year. — DDR

28/9/82
DD 28/6/82
11/11

A call for peace and justice

Twenty five years ago this week, 3 000 people from various organisations in the country gathered in Kliptown to draw up the Freedom Charter.

The gathering in Kliptown, known as the Congress of the People, unanimously adopted the document as the policy and manifesto of the organisations.

The meeting was convened by the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the mainly white Congress of Democrats. The Freedom Charter came after the Defiance Campaign of 1952 to record the demands for change that had been made over a period stretching back to the turn of the century.

The ideals set out in the charter still live in the hearts of millions of South Africans.

● With the help of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the ANC this week observed the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, with a performance by South African musician Hugh Masekela and the screening of a film tracing the history of the Charter.

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

● That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

● that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

● that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

● that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter: And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes set out here have been won.

The people shall govern!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All national groups shall have equal rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

The people shall share in the country's wealth!

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The people shall share in the country's wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

Freedom Charter

CONT... -D



Chief Albert Luthuli, who chaired the Congress of the People.

The land shall be shared among those who work it!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All shall be equal before the law!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official.

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open

to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All shall enjoy equal human rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their rights to speak, to organise, to meet together, to punish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits, and all other laws restricting these freedoms, shall be abolished.

There shall be work and security!

All who work shall be free to form unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The State shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers; Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There shall be houses, security and comfort!

All people shall have the rights to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort, and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed;

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations;

There shall be peace and friendship!

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation;

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

“These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty.”

Robben Island message at funeral

From POST 29/6/80

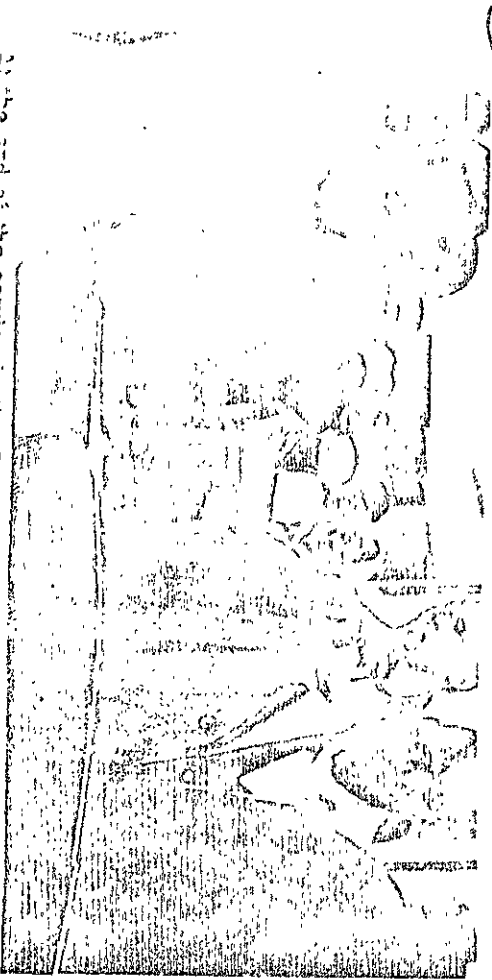
A MESSAGE from Robben Island was yesterday read at the funeral of Mr Nkomo Trowbridge Nkomo, father of the late Mr Dumo Nkomo, secretary general of the banned Azania National Congress.

Mr Nkomo (93), was given the funeral of his wish - simple, but dignified and with no speeches - at the New Church of Southern Africa in Orlando West.

The service was conducted by the Rev Obadi Moko who told the mourners that had it not been for Mr Nkomo's wish that no speeches should be made at this funeral, "I was going to tell you that a great man has fallen."

Among the messages read at Doornkop Cemetery was one smuggled from Robben Island which cannot be quoted. Another came from his daughter, Ms Mphahlele Nkomo, and children. She is a teacher in Zambia and some of her six children are in Russia and Germany.

Mr Nkomo leaves his wife, Emily. Their only child, Dumo, an advocate, went into exile after the banning of the ANC in 1960 and died in Lusaka in 1978.



At the end of the service in the Orlando East-based New Church in South City Africa, close relatives carry the body of Mr Nkomo Trowbridge Nkomo to a waiting hearse. The widow, Mrs Emily Nkomo, is seen immediately behind the coffin.

ANC ABUTHELEZI LAWS

Sunday Post 29/6/80 11A

Chief 'not genuine in his support'

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi this week came under fire from the African National Congress for "the role he played in calling in his impis to harass the children involved in the school boycott".

During a Press conference in London this week a spokesman for the organisation, which is banned in South Africa, said the action of Chief Buthelezi was "not that of someone genuinely supporting our struggle".

The conference was held to launch the Freedom Day rally on the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

"Buthelezi has always publicly attacked the very pillars of our movement," the spokesman said. "More and more, he has been identifying himself with the South African Government. His action in calling on his impis to harass the children involved in the school boycott at KwaMashu and for them to attend school and the fact that he is not an enthusiastic supporter of the campaign to free Mandela show his attitude."

The statement seems to have ruled out any possibility of a coming together of Chief Buthelezi and the ANC.

It was announced at the conference that the ANC was conferring its highest award — the Isitwalandwe — on Mr Govan Mbeki and Bishop Ambrose Reeves. Govan Mbeki is presently serving a life sentence on Robben Island and the award is partly to mark his 70th birthday. The award has previously been made to Albert Luthuli, Dr Yusuf Dadoo, Father Trevor Huddleston and Moses Kotane.

Last month black South African organisations, including the banned PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, pulled out of a conference which was to

calling on his impis to

SUNDAY Post Correspondent

have been held at Leeds in Britain when they discovered Inkatha would be represented.

Meanwhile on Friday Chief Buthelezi said in Cato Ridge that if the Government failed to bring about the required degree of change it would stand condemned by white as much as black vested interests.

Addressing about 2 000 guests at the official opening of the Cato Ridge Abattoir he said he remained convinced that free enterprise was the most potent development agency at the country's disposal.

It was thus sensible to manage labour in such a way that enterprises were made freer and therefore more productive. It would be worthwhile if senior management, took up the challenge of jointly exploring "management for freedom".

See Page 3.

Cosas will mark June 16

29/6/80 (119)
SUNDAY POST Reporter

THE Congress of South African Students (Cosas) is planning to hold memorial services next weekend to commemorate the June 16 uprisings.

Services planned for June 16 were banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange. The ban expires at the end of the month.

The venues and times of the Soweto services are Sefikeng in Meadowlands at 10 am, Modise Oa Botse in Diepkloof at midday and Regina Mundi at 1.30 pm.

"We appeal to students and workers to attend services. Those who attend the earlier services will be able to join the main service at Regina Mundi," a Cosas spokesman said.

ANC
SUN POST 29/6/80
charting (11A)

Zimbabwe corridor

AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) guerillas have recently been carrying out a reconnaissance mission in western Zimbabwe to chart a safe corridor from Zambia through Zimbabwe to South Africa, says a report from Bulawayo.

SUNDAY POST's correspondent writes that the report comes amid conflicting and confusing information about ANC activity in Zimbabwe. There is no confirmation of such a report from reliable security sources in Zimbabwe but farmers in the area are taking it seriously.

An official of Mr. Joshua Nkomo's Patriotic Front admitted last week that it was highly possible that ANC guerillas who had previously fought alongside the PF's Zipra military wing could still be inside Zimbabwe.

Reports from Zambia indicate that the ANC guerillas fighting with Mr. Nkomo's forces began to withdraw to Zambia shortly after the ceasefire in the Zimbabwe bush war became operative at the beginning of this year.

But the PF official admitted that he had met armed men, who were not from the Ndebele or Kalanga tribes, who made up Mr. Nkomo's army, in the Tjolotjo area of western Zimbabwe as late as April this year.

"Let us say these men were not Zimbabweans so you can draw your own conclusions from where they come," he said.

One unconfirmed report said there were between 400 and 600 ANC guerillas in Zimbabwe at the time of the ceasefire.

Whites in BCM STAR 30/6/80 11A 'one-way street'

The opening of the Black Consciousness Movement to whites would serve only to give blacks a false sense of comfort because it would lead them along a one-way street to white institutions, white norms and white values.

This is the reaction of Mr Letsatsi Mosala, national organiser of the Azanian People's Organisation to the controversial proposal of Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, a former official of the banned Black People's Congress (BPC) and secretary of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, that BCM should open its ranks to whites.

"Black consciousness

has transcended black exclusivism," said Mr Mazibuko.

His suggestion has drawn a sharp response from black consciousness proponents and Mr Mosala argues that integration with white liberals would blunt any move towards meaningful change.

"This would diffuse black anger and militancy, the elements without which no struggle can succeed," he said.

"The black man is on his own and the death of black exclusivism must begin within the white society with its accompanying oppressive and racist institutions," Mr Mosala concluded.

ANC attacks Buthelezi

From MARGARET SMITH

LONDON. — The uneasy truce between the African National Congress and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was publicly shattered here last week when the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, attacked the Kwazulu leader.

Members of the diplomatic corps from many Western countries and also of the communist bloc listened with keen interest as Mr Nzo spelt out in explicit terms what can only be described as a full frontal attack on the Zulu leader.

'Attempts to make political capital'

They were left in no doubt as to the feelings of the ANC, and it cleared up some ambiguity which has arisen in recent months since Chief Buthelezi met representatives of the ANC in London. At that time the ANC made it plain that the talks were dialogue and not endorsement of the chief or his role, and they were angered by what they felt were Chief Buthelezi's attempts to make political capital out of what was merely an exploratory meeting.

Diplomatic representatives were keenly interested in the speech on Thursday night, which put paid to any idea that the two movements — the one legal and the other underground and in exile — should form a working alliance.

It is obvious that Alfred Nzo particularly chose this freedom day celebration — the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the freedom charter at Kliptown, outside Johannesburg — to make such a crucial policy statement regarding Buthelezi and his movement, Inkatha.

A number of reasons for ANC attack

After the meeting, diplomats told me that the ANC had reserved its attack for a considerable time because they hoped to unite anti-government forces. This they had done in spite of deep divisions between the two movements. However, they now felt Chief Buthelezi was in fact working in favour of the South African Government.

The diplomats said the reason for the ANC's anger at the Zulu chief stemmed from a number of causes.

During the recent schools boycott he had tried to force pupils to return to their classrooms. He had also refused to support the campaign for the release of the ANC leader Nelson Mandela. The ANC, which is a multi-racial organization, had also taken exception to Chief Buthelezi's attacks on the Asian community and they were angered at his criticism of the Sasol sabotage, carried out by the militant wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The meeting on Thursday followed a press conference earlier in the day in which Mr Nzo first voiced the attack on Chief Buthelezi.

Wauchope hits out

(118)

30/6/80
Post

WITH Fanyana Mazi-buko's "review of ideology" debate still raging in black circles, the Azanian Peoples Organisation in this article outlines its stand regarding integration before liberation.

This statement was issued by Azapo publicity secretary Mr George Wauchope.

In the late sixties Black Consciousness was then defined as an attitude of mind and a way of life. It identified the problem in South Africa as white racism.

Blacks saw themselves as subjugated, disinherited of their fatherland and discarded from the land of their birth, simply because of the colour of their skin. The solution to this was seen as black solidarity whereby blacks would rally round the cause of their oppression, and rise as a united group to fight against the existing order.

Today there is general talk that Black Consciousness has logically completed its cycle and time has dawned for the Black Consciousness people to open their ranks thereby reviewing the ideology.

An analysis of any ideology must be of necessity reflect upon its victories and defeats, the different combinations of victory and defeat, embodied in the institutions it has created, the compromises it has made and the frustrations it has encountered.

That analysis will enable the protagonists of that particular ideology to adapt that ideology to prevailing circumstances, threats and criticisms, without losing the basic tenets of its teachings and principles viz: the consciousness of its national identity and that of its movement which is Azapo in this case.

If Azapo in 1980 still defines blacks as the oppressed people of this country who are deprived of their political, economic and social rights as citizens of Azania, then the more reason why Black Consciousness must be retained as a liberatory philosophy.

In South Africa today there is only one class of people who have nothing at all to lose if the present system were to be radically changed in such a way that the present ruling class disappears as a ruling class. That class is the black working class. It alone can look at the situation without any qualifications nor reservations.

It alone can question the holy-cow, not only of the so-called petty apart-

heid, but of the socio-economic system on which petty, grand and any other form of apartheid is based. The black workers have nothing to lose but the chains that bind them in the form of pass laws, influx control, migratory labour, job reservation, inferior education and all the myriad of other South African oppressive laws.

It is clearly in the interests of the liberation struggle of the black people of Azania that it be guided by the interests of the black workers and that its direction shall be guaranteed by the organised force of the black workers.

It is for this reason that Azapo focusses its attention on the plight of the black worker in the mines, factories, farms etc.

The obvious question to be asked is why exclude the white workers? White workers are really a kind of labour aristocracy that willingly defends the system from which they gain so much and which the privileged position of themselves and their children depends.

It is this white worker who keeps the Nationalist Party in power and the rhetoric of .05 percent of white liberals won't have any effect on the radical transformation of the South African situation. At the most what they can do is to diffuse black anger and militancy, the elements without which, no struggle can succeed.

The onus is upon us blacks as an oppressed people to resist this dilution, and rather bring about meaningful change on our own. By change we mean the complete overhauling of the system. Change entails a complete redistribution of the wealth of the land and equal access and opportunities for all people towards self-reliance and self-realisation.

The only way of bringing about that change is through genuine commitment, mass participation and mass action. What we need is a black proletarian political activity, which will highlight the crucial significance of Azapo for the black working class, based on grassroot leadership and informed by a clear programme for society as a whole.

It also means striking deep roots among the rural masses to mobilise them against the existing order.

This type of change is completely different from the one envisaged by the integrationists which will give a few blacks some

Azapo stand

1651
30/6/80
11/11

* From Page 5

false comfort. It creates a middle class black who will feel protected by the maintenance and sustenance of capitalism. He will thus act as a buffer towards meaningful change.

5 From this can be deduced that intergration is a one way street that blacks travel to white institutions, white norms and white values. Implied in this is the inferiority of all that the black man stands for. There can therefore be no meaningful intergration between unequals.

LIBERALS

5 One showed emphasis at this stage that the liberals by their very nature can and will only enter the struggle at leadership level rather than at grass-root level. They thus want to fight our struggle for us thereby giving a white head to a black body.

* For as long as the parliamentary system in South Africa only gives the white political parties a choice to rule, and the fact that whatever party rules is a non-choice to blacks, the slogan: "Black man you are on your own" will remain the rallying point for black consciousness.

The death of exclusivity must begin within the white society with its accompanying oppressive and racist institutions. In short, if a nation fails to protect its citizens, then that nation cannot condemn those who take up the task themselves.

It is for this reason that the blacks must organise themselves into a coherent unit, because their destiny lies in their own hands. They as a nation have identified the conflict and the cause of their suffering. It is therefore imperative for them

to close their ranks, and to unite and consolidate in order to face and remove the cause of their suffering.

Unity is undoubtedly a very important vehicle towards change and Black Consciousness with its stress on black solidarity is the manifestation of that Philosophy of unity.

PHILOSOPHY

It is therefore incumbent upon Black Consciousness as a unifying philosophy to consolidate black people around those principles which have through the years of stress, strife and resistance been identified and established as the basic fundamental principles that will guarantee a free and egalitarian society — the optimum of which would undoubtedly be a united, undivided society, and this is what Azapo is working towards.

- 5.6 Transversely Loaded Beams
- 5.7 Discontinuities in the Generalised Displacement Functions
- 5.8 Integration of the Generalised Strains
- 5.9 Displacement Calculations for Straight Bars
- 5.10 Kinematic Constraints for Bar Problems
- 5.11 General Deformation of a Plane Bar
- 5.12 Summary



**UNIVERSITY
EXAMINATION**

All answer books must be:

Number of books handed
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Surname..... *Le*
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Date..... *1/*

Degree/Diploma/Certificate you are registered (e.g. B.A.,

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NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of each of the block on this question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for answers. The use of a ballpoint pen is not acceptable. Red or green ink for underlining, emphasis or headings which pencil may also be used.
3. Names must be printed clearly (e.g. graph paper) where the examination book(s) are used.
4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification.

POST
TRANSVAAL

Telephone 27-6081.

*POST 1/7/80
11A*

WE ARE very happy indeed that the present debate on whether or not whites can play a meaningful role in the black consciousness movement is raging with the intensity it is. And that, in public too.

We sense for some years now, there has been a conspiracy to keep private and hushed tones, differences of opinion and sometimes disagreements on matters of fundamental direction of our political options. This was done basically to protect black solidarity and not let enemies of the black cause rejoice at our differences.

While this may have had beneficial strategy in the short term, it was, however, riddled with dangers, which could have resulted in the emergence of an elitist political group delegating unto itself the dubious role of being the custodians of black education.

This clearly leaves the masses out of the debates and the decision making processes in our organisations, denying us of the vital grassroots support we so desperately need if we are to remain relevant to the issues facing the black man.

To this end, the debate raging through the newspapers has been a creative one, provided we keep it as dignified as it is now.

We believe that the present debate, far from weakening the black cause, will make us emerge from it stronger, wiser and above all, with a clear and unambiguous interpretation of where we come from; where we are, and where we are heading for. The black man's vision must necessarily be moulded by his experiences, his background and his own sense of destiny. In this, he can only handle that type of situation alone.

For nobody, who has never felt the pain, the humiliation and the deep sense of pain imposed by our country's laws, can adequately understand and appreciate what the black man is all about. Even with the best will and intentions in the world.

We must, however, warn that there is a dangerous thin line here. The black consciousness philosophy was born to combat racism — irrespective of where it comes from. It is an ideal to be jealously guarded and preserved.

For upon its structures, lies the foundation for tomorrow's South Africa, where human beings, not races, will live side by side.

E MUST enter in the left hand margin of each question the number of the question in which it has been answered in the columns (2) and (3).

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or other material in the examination room. Do not take any material with you other than the invigilator's instructions. Do not bring any material into the examination room. Do not bring any material into the examination room. Do not bring any material into the examination room.

POST 11/180 (11A)

ANC attack on me unfair — Buthelezi

ON POST's report of alleged attack on me by ANC, my reaction is that of disbelief and pity.

I am well aware of ANC problems in exile. ANC is not to blame for them, they are ANC's "exile problems", caused mainly by a dependence on a motley set of funding organisations.

And also the fact of being away from South Africa for nearly 20 years and operating in a vacuum forced on them by the nature of their position in exile.

There are also ideological problems, which ANC, existing as it does in fragments in exile in different parts of the world as is inevitable, has the right hand not knowing what the left hand is doing.

This must make all of us who are patriots, and who will believe in those ideals of the ANC as propounded by the founding fathers, as Inkatha does, said, and sympathetic to ANC's position.

The statement purporting to rebuke me is authored in the name of ANC, by someone whose name is not stated. This makes it problematic for me to react to it.

After our visit with the Inkatha delegation to meet Mr Oliver Tambo and members of his national executive, last year I am still waiting for a response to direct questions I put to them more than seven months ago.

I do not know whether

I should take this as such a response, but if it was meant to be such a response, I would take this as such a response, but if it was meant to be such a response, I would expect it to be authorised by the president-general of ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo.

This is my first predicament, in a nutshell.

Secondly, if it was an ANC statement, it would not do credit to ANC, even in exile, to base a rebuke of me, on lies, and Press distortions. We never called impis to harass children.

There was destruction of black property and use of violence to which we reacted by calling on parents, and other members of the public, to protect building, and lives of other people. KwaMashu schools, belong to black people of KwaMashu.

They are built by black people with the pittance they earn, because they regard their children's education as a priority in the black liberation struggle. These schools are not the property of Pretoria.

UNDERSTAND

I do not quite understand what is referred as "our struggle" in the statement. Is destruction of black property what comprises our struggle? It is a blatant lie that there was any time when pupils and students at KwaMashu were ever harassed at my special instance, when I was in KwaMashu.

All this was explained to certain members of the executive of ANC by a member of the central committee in Lusaka a few months ago; by Mr Gibson Thula, to the London representative of ANC, and by our Inkatha secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dlomo to Johnny Makatini, the ANC's UN representative in New York a fortnight ago.

They all denied that ANC initiated the schools' boycott and stated that they merely supported it as something initiated by the people at home and they supported it as it would look strange if they did not support an initiative of the people at home.

To accuse me of not being what is described "an enthusiastic supporter of the campaign to free Mandela," is a lot of hogwash. Anyone who has lived in South Africa in the last 17 years would know that I was the first person ever to confront Mr John Vorster with a request to release Mandela. I did so repeatedly during his premiership, and I have done so even under Mr P W



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Botha's regime.

The release of Nelson Mandela to me is not a gimmick to get political mileage for myself. It is a serious matter which I take very seriously because of the friendship and warmth that existed between us for years.

I stand as a leader of millions of black people who support my leadership on my own merit, and at no time would I have needed to use even a name so dear and venerated as that of Nelson Mandela to promote my political interests.

When the campaign was launched, I only read about it in "POST". No one ever approached me as a leader with the kind of following, and organisation I have, to support the campaign. If I had been approached I would have cautioned that at the time it was staged, I was engaged in private negotiations with members of the Republican Cabinet, to have Mandela released.

FUSS

This I was doing privately without any fuss or fan-fare, because, I had come to understand that this was more likely to succeed if carried out at a low-key and privately.

There were in fact prospects of success, when this dramatisation of the campaign upset that apple-cut. When I was asked by POST, I supported the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Mosisoaledi Mhlaba, Kathrada and others.

I challenge ANC to tell the world who of its agents in South Africa, if any, approached me to do more than that, and to prove that I responded by declining to do so?

This issue was also discussed by the three central committee members whose names I have just given, and ANC officials admitted to them that the Release Mandela Campaign was not launched by them, but that once it

was started they had no option but to support it. They were told that I was never approached nor was Inkatha approached.

If my brothers in ANC want to declare a war on me for whatever reason, they better not use such inaccurate and idiotic excuses for doing so which do not do them credit. As far as I am concerned I have always stated that I do not blame them for opting for the armed struggle, as the Government threw down the gauntlet to ANC when it banned ANC.

I have stated that although I do not believe in their strategy of violence at present, that I cannot blame them for pursuing it. I have said these things in South Africa and abroad.

TALK

When people talk about being disillusioned about having had no concrete results from ANC's armed struggle after 20 years, I always say that ANC has logistic problems, which no other liberation movement abroad had to face. That no part of South Africa lends itself to guerilla warfare as say Angola, Mocambique and Zimbabwe do. That therefore we cannot talk of possibilities of any liberated parts, as the terrain of this country does not lend itself to that.

Furthermore they face billions of rands worth of white South Africa's arsenals, of armaments. I expect ANC to respect what I am trying to do, as they often state to me, and my representatives when we meet them abroad. I respect what they have done, in keeping alive the debate on apartheid, and black oppression, at international diplomatic level.

That is where they have been effective. They should not try to condemn me in pursuing what was their own policy in South Africa, when they operated here themselves. That would be asking me to achieve the impossible.

They must trust South Africa's blacks to know best what options are open to them as of now. They must understand that while I am committed to non-violence, if my people's options change, then those will also be my own options. I have never ridiculed them. I never commented on the Sasolburg blasts.

It degrades the struggle if ANC spokesmen or Inkatha spokesmen speak with both sides of their mouths."

Buthelezi calls for ANC proof

JOHANNESBURG. — The Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday challenged the African National Congress to prove its accusation that he had not supported the "Free Mandela" campaign launched in South Africa recently.

He was reacting to an article in a Sunday newspaper which quoted an ANC spokesman as saying Chief Buthelezi was "not an enthusiastic supporter of the campaign to free Mandela".

"No one approached me, as a leader with the kind of following and organization I have, to support the campaign.

"If I had been approached I would have cautioned that at the time it was staged I was engaged in private negotiations with the Republican Cabinet to have Mandela released."

Chief Buthelezi said he had chosen to negotiate privately for Mandela's release "without any fuss or fanfare".

He was made to believe that the campaign had a better chance of succeeding if it was carried out at on a low-key level.

Referring to a quote attributed to an ANC spokesman, which read: "The role he (Chief Buthelezi) played in calling in his impis to harass the children involved in the school boycott is not that of someone genuinely supporting our struggle", Chief Buthelezi said his reaction was of "disbelief and pity".

Rebuke 'based on lies and press distortions'

"I am well aware of ANC problems in exile. The ANC is not to blame for them. They are the ANC's 'exile problems', caused mainly by a dependence on a motley set of funding organizations, and also the fact of being away from South Africa for nearly 20 years, and operating in a vacuum forced by the nature of their position in exile," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said if the statement was truly an ANC one, it would not credit the organization, even in exile, "to base a rebuke of me on lies and press distortions".

He denied having called in impis to harass children.

"There was destruction of black property and use of violence to which we reacted by calling on parents, and other members of the public, to protect buildings and lives of other people.

"Kwa-Mashu schools belong to black people of Kwa-Mashu. They are built by black people with the pittance they earn, because they regard their children's education as a priority in the black liberation struggle.

"These schools are not the property of Pretoria," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa

The biggest question which arises about change is the question of the reassurances for whites.

In this respect there are two very different attitudes.

Virtually all whites, including liberals and foreigners, want there to be some form of constitutional guarantees that white rights will be preserved. They all want change to be gradual, and most want it to be very, very gradual. They say that whites must be assured that their place in society will be protected and that they will lose nothing.

Then on this basis they propose their various different scenarios, but all these scenarios are based on this platform, whether they come from Sabra or from American academics.

Some of these approaches are: the assimilation strategy, to allow certain classes of blacks more and more into the white "fold." White liberals argue that this is what the government is trying to do now, and claim that because the government is doing it, it is wrong. But they are in fact doing the same thing themselves.

I often hear liberals telling me with pride that they wouldn't object to a black man in a living next door. "If he can afford it he would be welcome," is their line. They would like to see a small number of black children admitted to their schools, and black professionals in their clubs.

Others take the line that there should be "grey areas" where people can choose to live on an integrated model if they want to. Others, like Professor Boshoff, stress the need for upgrading the quality of life in black

WHY

WE

How do blacks feel about gradual change, accepting apartheid concessions, and safeguards to calm white fears? Some answers from Soweto leader Dr NTHATO MOTLANA (right) reprinted from his regular column in the new monthly magazine Frontline.



reject gradualism

on the principle that if two dams have the same level of water, then there is no flood from one to the other. And still others talk of the antiquated idea of a qualified franchise.

These are the main issues raised by whites, and I think that nearly all whites take the view that one or all of these approaches is the right one. The consociation argument has also been raised recently, and various cranks come up with all sorts of plans to redesign the divisions so that blacks get a square deal than the 13 percent that the government policy allows for, but these things are all irrelevant and not worth talking about.

We are inevitably heading towards a single society, and I have no doubt that when the government finally faces up to the fact that its Bantustan plan has fallen flat, it will turn to finding ways of integrating the

people, instead of taking up any foolish attempt to change the boundaries of apartheid.

In black society, the issues are different. Certainly, there is also dilemma there — in fact there are many dilemmas. But some things are common to virtually all blacks. Of these, the most important is a total rejection of everything designed to fob off the inevitability of a single society.

For most blacks, all forms of gradualism are completely out. Even the word itself has become a swearword, just as "quality of life" has become a swearword. This is not because everyone is against a better quality of life, but because the way the term is used shows up what is behind it — the belief that if the practical power and disposition is alleviated, the basic structure will be able to go on without being changed.

These concepts of "gradualism" and "quality of life" tie in together, and they cause one of the major dilemmas. On the one hand, the older and more conservative people, such as myself feel that even if it is very limited, and that we should not refuse to upgrade our environment or co-operate in its upgrading, just because this is not answering the principal problem. On the other hand, there is a cry among the youth that the ghettos — for whose existence we are not responsible — should not be improved, because this divides blacks into haves and have-nots and devalues black anger. This attitude is not confined to the students and the well-educated youngsters; it is common to nearly everyone who is on the far side of the age barrier.

I do not believe that the older generation's acceptance of marginal improvements means that they will be satisfied with

these marginal improvements and nothing more. They also want real power and the real substance of citizenship in their own land. But they, unlike the youth, are also concerned with the bit-by-bit improvements.

The dilemma is also shown up in the debate on the use of "white" facilities. There is bitter criticism of blacks whose children go to "white" schools and universities, who visit white homes, make use of white beaches, and generally take advantage of the slow breakdown of old-style discrimination.

My own attitude to this is that there are no such things as "white" schools. There is no "white" anything. Everything in this country was either provided by Mother Nature for us all, or was built by all its citizens. We all have a total right to go to any schools or use any facilities we choose. I

know there are many who criticise my argument on the grounds that this aggravates the split between the haves and the have-nots, and that particularly in the Eastern Cape the logic of this argument is under heavy fire.

The issue, the critics say, is liberation. Integration and segregation are completely irrelevant, and when the appearance of integration deludes people into thinking that liberation is being achieved, it is harmful.

I understand the emotions behind this argument well enough, but I do not agree with it. The abolition of race distinctions is a part of the process of liberation — only a part, and in many respects a very small part, but it is still important. In South Africa's circumstances liberation is not going to come overnight, and all the little parts will mount up to contribute to it.

People argue that Zimbabwe shows liberation can come overnight, but they ignore the fact that there was a long and painful history behind the Fourth of March. There was also a high level of direct international involvement, and a completely different set of internal circumstances. In any case, Zimbabwe has for long had a kind of social interaction between races which we have not had here. That interaction may not lead to liberation, but it does not set it back either and it at least paves the way for white recognition of blacks as human beings.

Despite these differences, blacks remain united in rejection of the "gradualism" and the plots and "liberal" stratagems which are aimed at stalling the real changes.

Does this mean that blacks will reject any form of timetable to liberation? I don't know. I do know that no timetable to partial liberation would be acceptable at all, even if it was very short. Particularly after the Zimbabwe elections, people are saying that there is no justification for any further pussy-footing. However, if the miracle should happen, and the Government were to lay down a clear and unequivocal timetable leading to total liberation within a reasonable time period. I think that many people would still welcome it. I myself would, as long as the end result was truly total liberation, and there were no clauses in small print which denied this.

As for these white reassurances: every black political spokesman regularly points out that there is no need for "group reassurances." Individual rights will be protected, and a white is as much an individual as anyone else is.

Mdantsane exile to get degree

SAMI DESP 2/7/80
(11A)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A former Mdantsane man exiled in Lesotho, Mr Mzimkhulu Gwentshe, 32, will receive a BA law degree from the National University of Lesotho on September 27.

Mr Gwentshe, who left South Africa in 1977, is serving his articles with a firm of lawyers, but is to study for an LLB degree.

Mr Gwentshe, passed his matric in 1967 after he had registered as a student from the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl where he served part of a five-year sentence for participating in African National Congress activities.

Mr Mzimkhulu Gwentshe was held on Robben Island until his transfer to the Paarl prison at the end of 1966.

He was transferred to Fort Glamorgan in East London in 1968 where he served the rest of his sentence. He was banned for two years on his release in 1969.

Mr Gwentshe enrolled with the University of South Africa in 1968, but

he could not sit for any examinations.

His banning order expired in 1971 and the following year he formed the East London Youth Cultural Club, which elected him secretary. The club eventually linked up with other cultural groups and, in conjunction with the South African Students Organisation, formed the Border Youth Union.

In 1973, the effort saw the birth of the national youth organisation, which was banned on October 19, 1977.

Mr Gwentshe was banned again in 1974. The banning order expired on June 30 last year.

Mr Gwentshe was in and out of detention several times before he left the country.

Another former Mdantsane man, Mr Mzukisi Sikweyiya, will receive his BA (law) degree from the Lesotho University next year. He left South Africa early in 1979.

Mr Sikweyiya was the South Africanbantamweight boxing champion. — DDR.

Blacks must go it alone says Azapo

SAMI DESP

4/7/80

(11A)

JOHANNESBURG — The black consciousness movement would remain exclusively black for as long as the South African Government gave white political parties a choice to rule, the publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr George Wauchope, said here yesterday.

He said blacks must organise themselves into a coherent unit because their destiny was in their own hands.

The cause of their sufferings were caused by the pass laws, influx control laws, migratory labour, job reservation, inferior education and oppressive laws.

"Unity is undoubtedly a very significant vehicle towards change in South Africa. Black consciousness, with its stress on black solidarity, is the manifestation of unity."

The black consciousness movements should encourage black workers in factories, mines, on farms and at other places of employment to demand equal opportunities with their white counterparts and, above all, demand to be recognised as human beings.

Mr Wauchope said most black workers were not given equal opportunities and the obvious question was: "why should whites be included in the black consciousness hierarchy?"

He said white workers were a kind of an "aristocracy that willingly depends on the system

from which they gain a lot of privileges."

"It is this white worker who keeps the National Party in power and the rhetoric of .05 per cent of white liberals will not have any effect on the radical transformation of the South African situation.

"At the most what they can do is to defuse black anger and militancy, the elements without which, no struggle can succeed," he said.

The onus was on blacks as an oppressed people to bring about meaningful change on their own. By change he was referring to a complete redistribution of the wealth of the country, equal access and opportunities for all.

He said by accepting whites in the black consciousness movements, blacks would be "walking a one-way street" to white institutions, white norms and white values. This would create inferiority among blacks.

There could never be integration of unequals. If whites joined the movements they should do so at grassroots level and not at leadership level because by so doing "they want to fight our struggle thereby giving a white head to a black body."

He said the slogan "black man you are on your own" would remain the rallying point for black consciousness. "The exclusion must begin within the white society with its accompanying oppressive and racist institutions." — SAPA.

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Mandela pamphlets—13 students charged

THIRTEEN students of the University of Cape Town, who are charged under the Internal Security Act, yesterday appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court, for distributing Free Mandela and Freedom Charter pamphlets, prohibited by the Publications Act of 1974.

The students, who pleaded not guilty to the charge were: Mr Gavin Evans, son of Port Elizabeth's Anglican Bishop, the Right Rev Bruce Evans; Mr Gregory Zinn, 19, of Dunkley Street, Gardens; Miss Susan Mural, 21, of Crown Street, Observatory; Miss Anita Kupper, 19, of Park Lane, Worth Street, Gardens; Miss Sarah Brigitte Culli-

nan, 19, of Alfred Street, Observatory.

Miss Claire Moore, 19, of Upper Chamberlain Street Woodstock; Mr Vernon Brent Matzopoulos, 19, of Bedford Street, Observatory; Mr Christopher John Giffard, 19, of Grant Street, Observatory.

Miss Michelle Solomons, 19, of Grant Street, Observatory; Miss Sarah Ward, 19, of Chamberlain Street, Woodstock; Mr Richard Goode, 18, of Welmoed Court, Harrow Road, Rondebosch and Mr Chrispian Garth Olver, 21, of Klein Constantia, Constantia

Road, Constantia. One accused is a minor.

Evidence led was that on March 28 this year the students distributed the banned publications among commuters on the Observatory railway station.

Constable P G Rademeyer said the students were handing out the pamphlets to commuters on the platforms and in the subway when the police arrived. 'One student tried to hide the pamphlets under her jersey when I approached,' he added.

The defence counsel, Mr P B Hodes, submitted that 'the case for all the accused' was that none of the documents or publications had been declared undesirable in terms of the Act at the time of distribution. It was denied and disputed that any of the accused had the necessary criminal intent to constitute an offence.

The trial was postponed to the Retreat Regional court on July 28.

Mr P J Putter was on the Bench. Mr Frank Silbert prosecuted.

Mr P B Hodes was instructed by Frank, Bernast and Joffe.

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FM 4/7/80

Inkatha at the crossroads

In Ulundi, KwaZulu's capital, the *FM* spoke to Dr Oscar Dhloomo, secretary general of Inkatha. Chief Buthelezi — recently repudiated by the ANC — contributed to the debate on recent political developments.

FM: What are the prospects for the achievement of black unity?

Dhloomo: We have no illusions. Blacks as oppressed people should concentrate on the ultimate goal of liberation and not fight about strategies. Unfortunately, at present we don't have that respect among black groups.

Does Inkatha respect the ANC's strategy and demand the same respect?

Yes. We have told them their strategy can only hasten the dawn of freedom, but, on its own, it cannot bring about freedom — it must be complemented by other strategies. As far as we are aware, the ANC also takes that view, and has previously said it regards us as very important in the liberation struggle. The ANC thinks armed struggle is the form of pressure to be applied, but others feel the pressure should be of an economic nature.

What is Inkatha's economic policy?

Inkatha believes in the free enterprise system — provided it is really free and it is not synonymous with exploitation. So, the type of free enterprise we support is one which has as one of its principles the redistribution of wealth — in the sense of redistributing the opportunities for the generation of wealth. Not until the free enterprise system presents itself as a friend of the black people will it be embraced by those who have been economically deprived.

Buthelezi: The employment codes initiated by the Americans and EEC are a good thing, although I wouldn't want to exaggerate their effectiveness. Businessmen must ensure the black man achieves economic justice. They can do so without government's permission. This would be an insurance policy for them. I don't believe they'll change for reasons of benevolence, but perhaps for reasons of enlightened self-interest.

And your attitude to foreign investment?

Dhloomo: Foreign investment can be used to force government to change. We have supported enlightened invest-

ment in which foreign corporations make it an objective to fight apartheid in the workplace.

Some observers see government strategy as being to drive a wedge between, on the one hand, blacks with section 10 rights and hence access to the central economy and, on the other, those in the homelands who will remain relatively dispossessed. Do you hold this view?

Yes. But, of course, the pattern is nothing new. It has always been government strategy to divide people — on a racial, ethnic, or an urban rural basis — so they can be ruled more easily. We condemn in the strongest possible terms these attempts to divide us.

Where has the last session of Parliament left us?



Dhloomo . . . There is nothing new

It hasn't improved anything. The PM's utterances (eg, "adapt or die") indicated he meant what he was saying. But, to our disappointment, apart-

heid is as alive as before. The PM and his followers are incapable of changing this country. They need to do this jointly with all SA's people.

There has been speculation in Afrikaans press circles that Inkatha has forged a political deal with the PM. Is this true?

Buthelezi: No. While I was prepared to see Mr Botha because he was a new man and should, therefore, have been given a chance, I cannot say, as of now, he has done anything which has made me more hopeful. But I wouldn't say I won't talk to him again.

Some radical black groups express the fear that Inkatha will reach a separate agreement with government.

Buthelezi: I regard that as denigration and vilification. I was the first black man in SA to call for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC. I have kept the traditions and ideals of the ANC alive.

What is Inkatha's view of the student boycotts and student skirmishes with police? Do you view them as undisciplined?

Buthelezi: Nobody can blame the students after the massacres of our people in 1976, for their reaction. But what is undisciplined is student attacks on workers going to their jobs when the students alone have called for stay-aways — without consulting other black groups. In addition, the burning of schools and destruction of property is undisciplined.

How do you define "liberation" and when do you foresee it being achieved?

Dhloomo: Inkatha is called the "National Cultural Liberation Movement" and, as such, is struggling for liberation on all fronts. We know the occupation of the power structure is possibly first prize in the process. But, in fact, some people point out that, after political liberation, the real struggle begins.

If I must speculate, I'd say we'll achieve political liberation in five to 10 years.

What pressure do you envisage Inkatha using in future to force change?

Buthelezi: We have not yet really used our consumer power and, in particular, our worker power. But, in this respect, present black disunity could harm our efforts.

Case 11A
over 13M
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ANC ROM
5/7/80
charter

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Students at the University of Cape Town, who allegedly distributed the Freedom Charter and pamphlets calling for Nelson Mandela's release, appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court yesterday.

They were charged with distributing pamphlets declared undesirable in terms of the Publications Act. One of the students is a 17-year-old minor who cannot be identified.

Policemen from South African Railways, the Security Police and the uniformed branch told the court that the students gave the Freedom Charter, and a pamphlet calling for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, to commuters on March 28.

Constable P Rademeyer, of the South African Police, said he found students handing out copies of the Freedom Charter, a document drawn up in 1955 and later adopted by the African National Congress as its programme for changing South African society.

He said he took some of the students to Pinelands Police Station in his van, while the others followed him in their car. Security police then questioned the students at the police station, he said.

The students, who all pleaded not guilty to the charge are: Miss Sue Myrdal, 21; Mr Christian Oliver, 21; Miss Sarah Cullinan, 19; Mr Vernon Matzopolous, 20; Miss Anita Kupper, 19; Mr Gavin Evans, 20, all of Observatory; Mr Christopher Giffard, 19; Miss Michele Solomons, 19; Miss Sarah Ward, 19; Miss Claire Moore, 19, of Rondebosch, and the 17-year-old student.

The magistrate, Mr P J Putter, postponed the case to July 28. Mr P B Hodes appeared for the students.

Suicide note was genuine, says judge

Own Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN. — The note left by black consciousness leader Maphahle Mphahle, who died in Security Police detention in August 1976, was a genuine suicide note and there was no reason to doubt police evidence that he had hanged himself.

That was the finding of Mr. Justice Smalberger who gave judgment this week in the Grahamstown Supreme Court on the civil action brought by Mrs. Mphahle's widow, Mrs. Noble Mphahle, against the Minister of Police.

Mrs. Mphahle claimed R25 000 for loss of support suffered by herself and her two minor children as a result of the death of her husband which, she maintained, had followed assaults on him by members of the Security Police.

Finding against Mrs. Mphahle and in favour of the Minister of Police, Mr. Justice Smalberger said that in spite of the evasiveness of two police witnesses, and conflicts between the evidence of uniformed po-

lice stationed at Kei Road on the one hand, and the Security Police or the other, there was not sufficient basis for concluding that Mr. Mphahle's death was caused by an assault or that his suicide was faked.

He awarded all costs to the Minister of Police, including the costs of counsel, expert witnesses, attendance at a commission in Lesotho which heard evidence, and preparation of documents for the case.

The judge rejected the evidence of two overseas handwriting experts, Dr. Julius Grant of Britain and Professor Clarence John of the United States, that the suicide note found on Mr. Mphahle was a forgery.

He accepted the evidence of a police handwriting expert, Colonel Frederick Fourie, that the suicide note was genuine and did not exhibit any of the expected signs of forgery.

Dr. Grant was criticised for failing to make concessions which were called for, and for not being entirely objective. He had been unable to point

out any fundamental differences between the writing in the suicide note and the authentic documents, the judge said.

Professor John's quality as an expert had been affected by his domestic refusal to make concessions — "so much so as to render his objectivity suspect".

He appeared to regard any difference in construction between letters in the suicide note and those in the authentic writings as fundamental differences, leading to a proper allowance for the normal variations in the handwriting.

Neither Dr. Grant nor Professor John could substantiate their opinion that the suicide note was forged. While Col. Fourie had been able to demonstrate certain unusual characteristics of Mr. Mphahle's writing style which appeared in the suicide note and other examples of his handwriting.

Dr. Grant was criticised for failing to exhibit C (the suicide note) was written by the deceased, the judge said. However even if it had been

unable to make a positive finding on the suicide note, he said, he would still not be able to make a judgement in favour of Mrs. Mphahle.

The evidence of various policemen who testified stood virtually uncontradicted and in those cases where there was conflict, it was not material to the ultimate finding.

Dealing with the police evidence, Mr. Justice Smalberger said that Captain Petrus Schabman, who headed the Security Police team which detained and interrogated Mr. Mphahle, had displayed "a measure of arrogance in the witness box and was evasive at times".

But he accepted Capt. Schabman had been confined to his cell for 21 hours before Mr. Mphahle died and had not been at the Kei Road police station that day.

Sergeant E. W. F. Geyer, station commander at Kei Road, where Mr. Mphahle had been held for interrogation, was also not impressive as a witness. His was evasive at times

and preferred lame and unconvincing explanations for certain inaccurate entries in the court record book.

Other policemen stationed at Kei Road had not been prepared to disagree with anything said by Sgt. Geyer.

The judge found Warrant Officer P. P. Nicholson of the Security Police to have been a "not unsatisfactory witness", but said his evidence had contained important factors.

On one night during Mr. Mphahle's detention, W/O Nicholson had claimed he had interrogated him until 6pm in an office. But the Kei Road police said Mr. Mphahle had been returned to his cell at 4.30pm that day.

The judge said the only person who could have assaulted Mr. Mphahle on August 5 was W/O Nicholson, who would then have had to take a hanging single-handed or risk involving Sgt. Geyer, whom he did not know well and who was from a different branch of the police. He said he found this improbable and that allegations of a

conspiracy between W/O Nicholson and Sgt. Geyer had not been put to either witness by counsel for Mrs. Mphahle.

The judge said he was satisfied that records kept at Kei Road, which showed that Mr. Mphahle had not handed in a suitcase of clothing for safekeeping, had not been tampered with.

Taken at its face value, the judge said, the evidence before him showed that the probabilities were against Mr. Mphahle wanting to commit suicide. He had been young, in good health, devoted to his family and had confidence in the future of black people in South Africa.

The letters he had written on toilet paper while in detention did not seem to be the letters of a man contemplating suicide, as they showed an apparent acceptance of the realities of his situation.

However, the letters had been written before Mr. Mphahle's interrogation started and might not be a true reflection

of his state of mind and attitude to life on the day he committed suicide.

"It may well be that his deceased's interrogator was somewhat more interested in the fact that Mr. Mphahle was a member of the South African Communist Party and W/O Nicholson suggests accounting for why a person would commit suicide, the judge added.

Dealing with the evidence of Mrs. Mphahle, taken on commission in Lesotho, he said he had found her to be a partial and biased witness, whose evidence revealed "a deep-seated bitterness and prejudice against the South African authorities in general and the Security Police in particular".

Mrs. Mphahle's evidence related to assaults upon her by members of the Security Police, but what appeared to be the most serious assault, that by Major Richard Hansen which, she alleged, had taken place in a cell at Kei Road, had been omitted when she reported on her detention to the International Red Cross in December 1976.

Former African National Congress exile looks at the vacuum which has developed in white thinking, and he explains his allegiance to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi



JORDAN Ngubane played a leading role in the African National Congress from the early 1940s until 1961 when he went into exile in Swaziland — hours before he was to have been served with a five-year banning order. He stayed in that country for nine years and then settled in Washington where he lectured on apartheid. In April this year this former journalist returned to South Africa to join forces with Inkatha — the result of protracted negotiations between Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the Government. Here Mr Ngubane outlines his impressions of changes in the country during his absence.

THE most remarkable change I noticed on my return to South Africa after my 19-year exile was the vacuum which had developed in white thinking on a relevant formula for solving the so-called race problem.

Premier P. W. Botha's talk of a constellation of states was one dimension of the void. Legislation based on the Wiehahn Report on the recognition of African trade unions was another. The remarks by the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications on the "slowness" of the African's mind was a third. The developments suggested that most whites were groping for a type of reform which would perpetuate white domination in a new guise. This was precisely the approach which destroyed white rule in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia.

The second change was the power the African people had developed in the period between the Sharpeville shootings and my return on one hand and, on the other, their use of it to seize from the whites the initiative to influence events.

The National Cultural Liberation initiatives to move the African from his situation of weakness to positions of developing strength had performed a political miracle. It had transformed the segregated KwaZulu homeland administration into a weapon for challenging, fighting and, in some cases, defeating race humiliation on its own territory.

The change had given the Africans the freedom to transform the political potential given them by their numbers, labour and consumer power into

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a capability.

Whenever I asked concerned Zulus what they would do with this power, they almost invariably gave me a reply I had never heard before: "We are waiting for Chief Buthelezi to tell us when and where to attack." I heard oblique variations of the same compliment from angry young militants who complained bitterly that Buthelezi was refusing to give the order to reduce South Africa to ashes.

The Soweto rebellion had been a costly rejection of the destiny the whites prescribed for the Africans. But the African community had

emerged from it a little taller in historical terms. It had forced the Afrikaner power structure to withdraw its order establishing Afrikaans as an additional medium of instruction in some Transvaal schools. In doing that it had combined with Inkatha and Free Africa to establish the relativity of white power.

The relativity was a decisive change; it gave the African the freedom to choose the weapons he would use in his march through the last mile to majority rule.

The most important responses to this change came from the white



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi: "Leadership in any language"

Press. African journalists were accepted as reporters on some papers. A number of dailies devoted more space to reports on developments in the black community.

But the change that made the deepest impression on me was the response of an admittedly small number of Afrikaners who dared to face the challenge of belonging to Africa. Their thinking was summarised in an interview Professor Tjaart van der Walt gave to The Citizen and which the latter published on April 17, 1978.

At this stage we virtually have a one-party state in South Africa which is aimed exclusively at one racial group. We don't want this. We must provide a unique formula which can accommodate both unity and variety . . . I am positive we are heading in that direction, but the move must be quickened . . .

I envisage a federation or group of nations in Southern Africa which will have great economic

strength. But we must prove to the other countries on this sub-continent that we have more than just the interest of one group at heart. Protection must be guaranteed for all. Even the Marxist states must be able to join. A lot of so-called Marxism in Africa is bread and butter Marxism.

In these sentiments Professor van der Walt obviously rejected the habit of building a little laager around the Republic and running South Africa as though it were an island of Europe in Africa. As Chief Buthelezi had shown, five years earlier what South Africa needed was not a proliferation of laagers but a concept of nationhood which would be seen to be relevant and valid in the lives of all the peoples of South Africa.

To fail to produce this ideal was a public confession of the inability to lead a racially and culturally mixed nation.

The failure was the most important aspect of the vacuum. Chief Buthelezi proposed to fill

the void with a larger ideal of nationhood. He stood up in the Umtata conference (November 1973) of the heads of the main homelands administrations and proposed an alternative to the vassalage which the advocates of apartheid peddled as independence in unviable mini-states. His choice was the reunification of those whom apartheid divided in what he called the Federal Union of the Autonomous States of Southern Africa.

Since then, he has worked hard to reunify the Africans, coloureds and Indians in the South African Black Alliance. He has set up the Buthelezi Commission to give a unifying identity to the black, brown and white people of Natal. Not many years ago he established a black think-tank to explore the possibilities of an African-Afrikaner consensus on final goals.

This is leadership in any language. It is the change which made me accept his invitation requesting me to return home to join his administration in Ulundi.

7/17/80 AR448
11A

V d Ross suggests all-race movement

Political Staff

PROFESSOR R E van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape, suggested today that a movement for people of all races be created to provide a framework for 'a new South Africa'.

He put forward this proposal as a 'feeler' in the light of what he saw as a likelihood that the proposed President's Council would be deprived of the opinions of many South Africans.

Speaking at a lunch of the Cape Town Press Club, Professor van der Ross said the movement would not be a political party or a pressure group.

It would enable South Africans of all races to establish 'a bond of

brotherliness born simply of one need — to have a new South Africa conforming to certain basic principles.'

The movement would not be an organisation in the normal sense. It would not have membership, or rules, or fixed times or places of meeting, or officials,

'All that would be expected is that anyone who identifies himself as a New South African would accept — possibly only broadly — a set of principles which would state his ideals for the country in which he would like to live and bring up his children,' Professor van der Ross said.

He suggested as 'basic principles' that a 'New South Africa' should:

- Offer full citizenship and dignity to all its citizens;
- Reject discrimination against people on the basis of race, colour or creed;
- Undertake to promote social, educational, economic and political conditions that would aid the full development of all citizens;
- Accept the right of people or groups of people to promote their own specific interests, or to strive to maintain their own identity, provided this did not interfere with the rights, interests or development of any other persons or groups; and
- Strive for the fair and equitable distribution of the nation's wealth according to merit, while rejecting any totalitarian ideologies as the basis for such striving.

The proposed movement would also seek to cooperate with other African states to a degree compatible with these principles and with South Africa's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Professor van der Ross suggested certain 'negotiables' and 'strategies' that would be more flexible and could be discussed more fully at a conference table.

The 'negotiables' included the manner and construction of the instruments of the constitution and the nature and determination of the rights of franchise.

Professor van der Ross said earlier in his address that the proposed President's Council was likely to be deprived of the opinions of many South Africans.

Not only had the official Opposition withdrawn, but blacks had been excluded from direct participation at the conference table.

With such factors in mind, and being anxious that the new venture should at least have available as broad a body of opinion as possible, Professor van der Ross then made his proposals for a new movement.

He said he had written the outline of his proposals before the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, had outlined his 12-point programme.

The fact that Dr Slabbert had outlined such a programme indicated that there was a powerful need, even for those who would not serve on the President's Council, to set out their points of view.

Professor van der Ross said his idea for a new movement was not intended to bolster the President's Council. Even those who rejected the proposed council outright, for whatever reason, might identify with such a movement.

Post #17/80

Me reactionary? Not on your life

11/18

LOOKING fat and oily as a walrus, with the dazzle of a walrusian smile, my friend kept on exploding: "You're reactionary, Klaaste. That's what you are, a reactionary."

The more he gulped his brandy, the hotter he seemed to become. Instead of getting as angry as he was I secretly delighted in his performance.

The picture of this Dickens character in Bleak House — a bogus cleric famous for his sanctimonious "peace be unto this house" — was so vivid in my mind from his performance, I could have paid the man to go on swearing and sweating.

Some people have called me timid. Others will tell you I'm a conservative. Still others, less kindly, have called me a political coward. But a reactionary, never.

The argument, if I remember well sprang from my mention that Bishop Tutu was dynamite. It seems most of the eggheads in this particular shebeen did not think much of the bishop's political clout.

It turned out every time I opened my mouth I put my elegant shoe right into it. Somewhere along the line I made mention about Dr Motlana, and as if by telepathy everybody went for my throat. Cripes, this was getting out of control, and absence seemed to have turned me into — yes you guessed it — a reactionary.

CRAZY

Politics it seems has gone completely crazy in Johannesburg. Not too long ago there was talk from some very special friends of mine about crossing the colour line, from black consciousness to intergration. There has been talk about how consciousness has served its purpose — about how we



Just for Today with Aggrey Klaaste

were now all deep into "awareness" and had to move into something more exciting, like buddying up with whites.

In the shebeen the talk was winging into something about nationalism, about planned economy, about socialism, until my head started to go into dizzy spells. Fond memories of the clarity with which black consciousness was expounded not more

than a year ago, quickly seemed to melt into the atmosphere.

For the record I'm still most comfortable with black consciousness. There's simply no problem in my mind about being "aware" and most emphatically exclusive; even racist. I have no qualms at all about that.

If that's being reactionary, then I'm supremely happy about my new political stance.

[Handwritten scribbles and signatures at the bottom of the page]

ANC starts underground recruiting in Zimbabwe

STAR 7/7/80

11A ~~SECRET~~

By Marion Duncan

Four senior members of the banned African National Congress (ANC) are alleged by Zimbabwe's intelligence sources to be conducting underground recruiting operations in Zimbabwe.

They are Pila Pola, John Swezeni, Moses Mbhefi Mabhida (alias Mabhdizha) and Nicky Mushandi. All are long-standing ANC members.

Pola entered Salisbury on a flight from Lusaka early in June. He told immigration authorities that he was "ANC South Africa" and gave a fictitious contact address.

Neither police nor immigration authorities were aware that Swezeni had entered the country clandestinely a little earlier, or that he was also with the ANC.

Mabhida — who, it seems, has been named as head of the High Command of the ANC military wing — entered Zimbabwe during the third week in June on an Algerian passport, claiming to be a Tanzanian trade unionist. He soon disappeared and was reported by sources in Mr Joshua Nkomo's Patriotic

Front party to be in Matabeleland.

Nicky Mushandi arrived in the country with a delegation of 19 Libyan diplomats at the invitation of the Patriotic Front. He, too, vanished. Sources close to Mr Nkomo placed him in Matabeleland, too.

PF party sources said the men were "recruiting and fund-raising."

The ANC is waiting to hear whether or not Mr Robert Mugabe's Government will grant permission for administrative and propaganda offices to be opened in Zimbabwe.

Despite Mr Mugabe's anti-South Africa speech at the Organisation for African Unity conference in Sierra Leone last week, he is still (according to Salisbury Government sources) wary of committing himself heavily to the ANC.

He is, in fact, acutely embarrassed by the covert operations of the ANC, which went ahead without informing the Zimbabwe Government of its activities. There are reports that Swapo is also recruiting in Zimbabwe, again without official knowledge or permission.

Buthelezi meets ASB at Ulundi

CAPE TIMES 8/7/80
11A 107 311

ULUNDI. — The executive of the Afrikaanse Student Bond yesterday held talks with the Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and two members of his central committee at Ulundi.

Chief Buthelezi, said after the meeting, it had been held "in a very cordial atmosphere" and parties concerned agreed "this was a historic occasion and should augur well for the future of South Africa".

Points discussed centred mainly on the role of the ASB within the political and cultural life of Afrikaner youth.

Chief Buthelezi said the ASB expressed the desire to have continued contact with Inkatha and had also extended an invitation to the Inkatha Youth Brigade to attend the annual ASB congress at Potchefstroom next week.

The president of the ASB, Mr Chris Fismer, said his organization believed it was important for the peaceful future of South Africa that all young people of this country should come together, talk and learn to know each other.

'Most important group'

"We regard Inkatha as the most important group to have contact with," Mr Fismer said.

The two other members of Inkatha were Dr Dennis Madide, constitutional chairman of Inkatha and Minister of Health and Welfare for Kwazulu, and Mr J K Mgubane, the Inkatha president's press officer.

Other members of the ASB were the vice-president, Mr Abrie de Swardt and an additional member of the executive committee, Mr Hennie Lambrecht.

The meetings held between the ASB executive and the Inkatha central committee follow closely on the attendance by the vice-chairman and secretary of the Students' Representative Council of Stellenbosch University at the Inkatha National Conference in Ulundi last month.

NRP, PFP youth movements invited

● The Inkatha Youth Brigade has invited the youth movements of both the NRP and the PFP in Natal to a three-day gathering at Ulundi at the weekend.

Although a timetable has not yet been finalized, it is expected the gathering will be addressed by Chief Buthelezi — Kwazulu's chief minister.

Visits to the palaces of Chief Buthelezi and Chief Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu king, have been arranged.

Mr Dave McNaught, chairman of the Durban chapter of the NRP youth, said yesterday the NRP hoped to have about 50 people at the gathering.

Mr Gary Cooney, youth organizer for the PFP's Natal coastal region, said he expected about 10 people from his party to travel to Ulundi.

Mr Niel Rossouw, Natal secretary of the National Party, said no invitation had been received from Inkatha to attend the gathering. — Sapa, Own Correspondent.

Ex-ANC man shot dead in Umtata

Daily Dispatch 8/7/80 (119)

UMTATA — A former South African political refugee who came to Transkei early last year, Mr Tennyson Makiwane, died in the Umtata General Hospital yesterday after being shot in his home in Madeira Street here.

Mr Makiwane, a former member of the African National Congress, was shot in the chest and abdomen and was admitted to the hospital's intensive care unit on Sunday night.

The Commissioner of Transkei Police, Brig Martin Ngceba, said he could not comment on the shooting. The case was being investigated.

Mr Makiwane was in the hierarchy of the banned ANC since the 1950's and was one of the ANC treason trialists in 1959. After they were acquitted he fled the country and became a roving ambassador of the organisation, visiting countries like Moscow,

China, Europe and Asia, being in Mr Oliver Tambo's wing.

He came back to Transkei to join the civil service as a consultant on foreign information affairs under the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In May last year, Mr Makiwane was arrested in Botswana and handed

over to the South African Police.

He was on a mission to some African states and was released after some hours of negotiating with the South African security police by the Transkeian government.

Mr Makiwane is survived by his wife and children. — DDR.

Can majority rule bring peace?

Jordan K Ngubane

NATAL MERC
8/7/80 (11)



PRIME Minister Botha's 'adapt or die' call was basically a warning that white South Africa's racial policy was moving the Republic to predictable disaster. But most whites do not seem to take his warning seriously.

Their refusal to face change sets the spotlight on two fundamental and related weaknesses in the white community — an inability to rule racially and culturally mixed nation because of the vacuum in white proposals for a solution of the so-called race problem.

In my comments on Chief Buthelezi's address to the National Council of Inkatha (The Natal Mercury, June 20), I emphasised the need for Inkatha to fill the vacuum by creating a situation to compel whites to accept majority rule as their only reliable guarantee of security and survival in South Africa.

The present contribution responds to The Mercury's invitation to develop this theme.

The compulsion is surely seen in the factors which have inflamed the 'race' crisis; and the urgency for a positive formula for co-existence to lead black and white along safer routes to a securer future.

In the five years that it has been in existence, Inkatha has transformed the African people's potential for using their numbers, labour, and consumer power as a political weapon.

This increase of strength gives Inkatha the chance to take steps to stop the drift to disaster. Urgency is given to the need to do this by factors which, Chief Buthelezi has warned, will 'tear South Africa apart'.

Compelling

A quick glance at these will show the compelling need for change:

- Inkatha has created a balance of black and white forces which gives an irresistible momentum to the African's march to majority rule;

- The relative success of white power established by the Soweto 'rebellion', Inkatha's mass-power and free African pressures on the diplomatic scene;

- The strains on white unity produced by conflict between economic integration and race segregation;

- The opportunity for power created by the emergence of the South African Black Alliance as a united front of African, coloured and Indian victims of race discrimination;

- The disturbances in African, coloured and Indian schools;

- The proliferation of 'faction fights' in parts of Natal. These assume significance when seen against current talk of armed struggle by a growing number of free Africans and Westerners;

- The ineffectiveness of

liberalism on the white side;

- Growing African discontent in the urban areas;

- White failure to develop an approach that deals directly and effectively with the fundamentals of conflict.

The four main options given the Africans by the factors listed above are: a general strike, and Iranian-type revolution, a campaign of sabotage and arson and what some call 'armed struggle'.

The strikes organised mainly by Africans during the first half of 1970 were a sign that black race humiliation was teaching them to use their labour as a political weapon.

Signalled

They signalled the coming of a national strike which would paralyse the economy, stop production on the mines, shut down the seaports on the Cape sea route, scare off foreign investments and eventually reduce South Africa to ashes.

In the Iranian type of revolution the Africans, alone or if necessary with the coloureds and Indians, would make peaceful use of their mass-power to paralyse the armed might of the white power-structure. This could be complemented by a crisis of dual authority conflict in the homelands. Pretoria would most probably answer with extremes of violence which would give the Sharpeville and Soweto shootings the dimensions of backyard brawls.

The destruction of property and bloodshed would complete the isolation of South Africa and justify an Afghanistan type of Soviet (and Cuban) intervention from across South Africa's borders with free Africa.

The final outcome of these conflicts would be the reduction of South Africa to ashes.

Sabotage has not featured prominently in the training of African guerillas in foreign countries. One of the reasons for this is inadequate familiarity with the nature of the forces involved in the South African crisis. The fear of deviating from ideological orthodoxy is another.

But one of the most remarkable sequels of the Soweto explosion is a belief among some young Africans that the incitement of young people to sacrifice their lives in a largely unorganised and indisciplined demonstration was an error. These emphasise the fact that the ordinary African with a box of matches in his

pocket is capable of reducing to ashes any man-made forest or sugar-cane fields or, for that matter, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban or any other city in protest against the destiny prescribed for the black majority by the white minority.

Groundwork for armed struggle is being prepared by both the proliferation of civil wars in the overcrowded rural areas and the increasing volume of the crimes of violence in the urban locations and the streets of the white man's cities. Armed blacks are making it increasingly risky for whites to be alone in isolated places after dusk in the largest cities.

Africans are moving to the position where they might use any one or any combination of two or more or of all the options under discussion.

The options will lead eventually to two results: the reduction of South Africa to ashes and the eventual expulsion of the whites from South Africa. The Africans have learned, for example, that one way of keeping white immigration on the minimal side is to extend uncertainty about the white man's future in South Africa. This is what the Sharpeville and Soweto demonstrations achieved.

The thought which strikes me in the turn of events is that whether the Africans, coloureds and Indians like it, the chances are that if the white minority eventually goes down, it might go to ruin with large numbers of black and brown people.

This lends urgency to the need for a positive formula for resolving conflict.

While aspects of this formula have featured prominently in Inkatha programmes for change, the alternative to the *status quo* I present gives my personal views and not those of Inkatha.

The alternative might be divided into principles, the political structure and the strategy for moving to final goals.

Principles

- The challenge of belonging to Africa is the co-existence of all its peoples who have made Africa their home to create a world in which the person will be able to realise the full promise of being human regardless of race, colour, ethnicity, sex or creed;

- The difficulties experienced by all the peoples, nations and races which have made southern Africa their home are complementary and inseparable aspects of a

larger southern African problem that call for a larger southern African solution which can be developed only by all the peoples, nations and races of southern Africa meeting in a multi-racial conference;

- The ideal development of the larger solution is the transformation of all the peoples, nations and races of southern Africa into a co-operating economic and political community;

- The constitutional structure of the co-operating community is a federal union of the autonomous states of southern Africa which would now include Angola, Bophuthatswana, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, South West Africa (Namibia), South Africa, Swaziland, Transkei, Vendaland, Zambia and Zimbabwe;

- A joint black-white campaign to enlist free African support for the above ideal of nationhood;

- The convention of a southern African treaty conference which would prepare ground for the formation of the federal union, establish a stabilisation fund to revitalise southern African economies affected adversely by race conflict and form a southern African development authority to plan and guide development in the federal union;

- The rejection of the unitary state because its fundamental weakness is that it creates the conditions in which an advantaged minority (or a combination of such minorities) can organise itself in such a way as to prescribe destiny for the majority or exercise the power of a majority;

- The first step in establishing the larger and co-operating economic and political community is to arrive at a series of black and white agreements on regional solutions which would eventually be knocked together into a national black and white consensus on final goals. The re-unification of KwaZulu and 'white' Natal into an autonomous KwaZulu province or state would set a precedent for the resolution of 'race' conflict in other parts of the country;

- In the conditions described above, compelling the whites to recognise the immediate establishment of majority rule as their best guarantee of security and survival means, first, defusing the dangerous situation which now exists by confronting the white power-structure with a clearly stated alternative to the *status quo* and, second, giving constructive focus to Inkatha's mass-power and capability for the purpose of accelerating movement toward a black-white consensus on final goals

Former political exile and leading African National Congress figure, Mr Jordan Ngubane, has returned to South Africa to join Inkatha in the firm belief that the

movement has enough power to force a negotiated settlement of the country's race problems

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Inkatha

invites

PFP and

NRP to

Ulundi

Political Reporter

THE Inkatha Youth Brigade has invited the youth movements of the NRP and the PFP in Natal to a three-day gathering at Ulundi at the weekend.

Although a timetable has not been finalised yet, it is expected the gathering will be addressed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — KwaZulu's Chief Minister. Visits to the palaces of Chief Buthelezi and Chief Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu king, have been arranged.

Mr Dave McNaught, chairman of the Durban chapter of the NRP youth, said yesterday the NRP hoped to send about 50 people.

Studentebond

Mr Gary Cooney, youth organiser for the PFP's Natal coastal region, said he expected about 10 people from his party to go.

Mr Niel Rossouw, Natal secretary of the National Party, said his party had not received an invitation.

The Afrikaanse Studentebond executive has invited members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade to attend its congress at Potchefstroom next week.

This follows two days of meetings between members of the Studentebond and members of Inkatha, including Chief Buthelezi and the Minister of Health and Welfare for KwaZulu, Dr Dennis Madide.

Inkatha said in a statement that, in spite of the limited time between now and the ASB conference, the movement would try to send observers.

The statement said all parties had agreed that this had been a historic occasion and should augur well for the future of South Africa.

Future

Points discussed centred mainly on the role of the ASB within the political and cultural life of Afrikaner youth. The executive of the Studentebond expressed a desire to have continued contact with Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi outlined Inkatha's policy of working towards a negotiated future for South Africa and its strategy of dialogue with all shades of political opinion.

The ASB was represented by its president, Mr Chris Fisner, its vice-president, Mr Abrie de Swardt, and another member of the executive, Mr Hennie Lamprecht.

CAPE TIMES 8/7/80

Ex-ANC member killed

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — Mr Tennyson Xola Makiwane, a former staunch member of the banned African National Congress who fled South Africa more than 20 years ago to live in exile, died of gunshot wounds in hospital yesterday.

Mr Makiwane joined the government service in Transkei more than 20 years after fleeing South Africa after being acquitted in a treason trial.

The Transkei Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Martin Ngceba, said that police were investigating. It is believed that Mr Makiwane was found in a pool of blood in his house with several bullet wounds.

Mr Makiwane was in the hierarchy of the banned ANC since the 1950s. After his acquittal on treason charges he fled the country and became a roving ambassador for the organization, visiting countries such as Russia and China.

He returned to Transkei last year to join the civil service as a consultant on foreign affairs.

1118

Post 9/7/80

Shot ex-ANC man dies

THE head of the Transkei Police, Brigadier Martin Ngeeba, has declined to discuss the possible motive behind the killing of the former ANC man, Mr Tennyson Xela Makiwane who died in hospital after being gunned down by an unknown man at his

Umtata home on Sunday night.

He felt it unwise to say anything that would hamper police investigations "or let the cat out of the bag" at a time when no arrest had been made.

Recalling the shooting incident from information pieced together from the dead man's family, Brig Ngeeba said Mr Makiwa-

ne had been painting the house with his wife that evening.

While moving from the main house to collect something from a garage outside, Makiwane was shot by the gunman but managed to run back to the house where he collapsed.

When the wife heard the first gun shot from inside the house, she ran out but was too frightened to confront the intruder.

But Mr Makiwane's sister, who had been out for the evening, returned in time to catch a glimpse of the gunman running out of the premises towards a forest below the house.

She, however, could not identify the man as he had a mask pulled over his face.

On their arrival shortly after the shooting the police found five spent cartridges from a .33 pistol, four of them lodged in Mr Makiwane's chest and abdomen.

A PCE graduate from Fort Hare University in the Eastern Cape, Mr Makiwane died at the age of 57. He is survived by his wife and three children.

Mr Makiwane, a former member of the ANC's exiled leadership, settled in Transkei after South Africa granted it independence in 1976.

He became Roving Ambassador for Transkei at the request of President Kaiser Matanzima.

STAR 9/7/80
Death: ANC squad link? (11A) (sent)

Special Correspondent
UMTATA — A "hit squad" composed of militant ANC members is believed to be responsible for killing former ANC member, Tennyson Xola Makiwane, who died in hospital here on Monday.

Mr Makiwane was shot five times while in his house here on Sunday night.

In an interview here

last night, Transkei Commissioner of Police Brigadier Martin Ngceba would not give details of the shooting "because I might let the cat out of the bag." So far there had been no arrests.

The Star now reveals, however, that Mr Makiwane, a former political exile and second in command of the ANC government in exile led by Mr Oliver Tambo, had had a

quarrel with the hierarchy of the party in Africa.

He fell under suspicion after he had been seen in several capitals abroad talking to Transkei diplomats.

He was then immediately expelled by the ANC and went to Swaziland, where he sought political asylum.

Several attempts were made to assassinate him in Swaziland, so he sought refuge in Lesotho and then went to Transkei.

Ex-PAC man freed

SANCY DISP
10/7/80 (110)
327

EAST LONDON — A former co-founder of the banned PAC, Mr John Nyati Phokela, of KwaManxeba, in the Transkei district of Herschel, has been released from Robben Island after completing a 13-year sentence for conspiracy.

Mr Phokela was arrested on the South African-Lesotho border in 1966 and charged as the architect behind the move to kill whites in East Lon-

don. He was convicted in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown in 1967.

When the PAC was formed in 1959 he was chairman of the resolutions committee.

As a teacher he played a prominent role in 1954 when black teachers protested against the introduction of Bantu Education.

He was in the delegation that saw the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr

Hendrik Verwoerd. When the PAC was banned in 1960 he escaped to Lesotho with other leaders of the PAC, including Transkei Minister of Justice, Mr Tsepo Letlaka.

Mr Phokela studied at Fort Hare University with the Zimbabwean Premier, Mr Robert Mugabe, former leader of the PAC, Mr Robert Sobukwe, and leader of the Basotho Congress Party, Mr Ntsu Mokhehle. — DDR

PFP, NRP cancel Ulundi trip

NATAL MERC
10/7/80 (11A)

Political Reporter

BOTH the PFP and the NRP youth groups in Durban have cancelled a trip to Ulundi this weekend after news that the rally they were to have attended was not an official Inkatha function.

The two groups had accepted an invitation from Brother David Nhleko, youth organiser of the Full Gospel Church at Umlazi and a member of Inkatha, on the understanding that the gathering was officially recognised by Inkatha.

However, Mr Eric Ngubane, personal secretary to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — president of Inkatha and KwaZulu's Chief Minister — said yesterday the function did not have the sanction of Inkatha. Chief Buthelezi would attend the function if he could but there would be no question of talks with the groups.

Brother Nhleko, organiser of the Ladysmith Black Mbazos Choir and a voluntary youth organiser for Inkatha, told the Mercury he had extended an invitation because he 'wanted to work together with them to form a religious relationship'.

It is understood that Inkatha has plans for meetings with the youth movements of white political parties but no arrangements can be made as the secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dlomo, is in Canada.

CAPE TIMES
10/7/80

Don't disinvest plea by chief

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, reiterated his stand against American disinvestment when he met two influential United States congressmen yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said after a meeting between members of the Inkatha Central Committee and Mr Stephen Solarz and Mr Benjamin Rosenthal of New York that he told the two politicians the empirical findings of a University of Natal survey had shown that the majority of black people did not support disinvestment.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Solarz — a member of the US Congress sub-committee on African affairs — was inclined to support American disinvestment.

He said he had conceded that disinvestment had served a purpose. If it were not for this campaign, the Sullivan Code would not have come into being.

The Chief Minister revealed that he had told Mr Solarz he would support legislation to make application of the guidelines of the Sullivan Code obligatory for US companies operating in South Africa.

In an aide-memoire prepared for discussion, he maintained that an armed struggle in South Africa could not and would not succeed. The pre-conditions for such a struggle did not exist.

The politics of protest anger had never succeeded in mobilizing a general strike or stay-away, he declared. Nor had it ever succeeded in organizing a successful consumer boycott action.

"Independant surveys show that the average black South African lacks faith in black protest politicians. They lack faith in the international community's will and ability to apply economic sanctions against South Africa," Chief Buthelezi said.

End of dialogue could mean fighting - Chief

ARMED struggle in South Africa could result from a refusal by whites to seek a political settlement through dialogue, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said in Umandi yesterday.

Addressing two United States Congressmen, Mr

Steven Solarz and Mr Benjamin Rosenthal and members of the Inkatha Central Committee, he said any attempt to encourage fighting in the South African situation before all other avenues had been explored would amount to the "worst kind of political expediency which squanders the lives of innocent people

in attempt to achieve impossible goals."

Inkatha was a black organisation concerned with the horror of apartheid and the terrible consequences that could result from a bad assessment by blacks of strategic options available to them.

"Overseas analysts who seek to contribute towards

the South African situation must re-examine the generalised view that protest and the destruction of property presents a viable strategy for blacks.

"Many of the overseas people I have talked to emphasise the politics of protest because in so doing they absolve themselves from difficult responsibility of relating meaningfully to the process of change in this country," Chief Buthelezi said.

A lot of sympathy with politics of protest had come from overseas people who had their own battles in their own circumstances.

"The South African situation is imported into those situations as a

means of winning domestic arguments. I think here the pressure groups, in the United States for example, are working to bring about change there.

"Church groups who feel a need to change their society are often groups representing typical minorities and are alienated from power politics of their own country.

"Such church groups tend to be vociferous about South Africa and adopt pro black consciousness stances," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said mass media, politicians, church agencies and anti-apartheid movements in the US and Europe had unwittingly been guilty of promoting these tendencies. — Sapa.

has and

Makiwane's last words

DAICJ DISP (Indaba)
11/7/80

11A ~~11A~~

Indaba Reporters
EAST LONDON — I knew this would happen to me one day.

These were some of the last words spoken by former South African political refugee Mr Tennyson Makiwane, 47, who was shot dead by an unknown gunman.

While lying in a pool of blood he told his wife, Ruth: "They have finished me. I knew this would happen to me one day. It is all because of politics."

The former African National Congress man was hit by four bullets from a .38 pistol at his home at 72 Madeira Street on Sunday night. He was admitted to Umtata General Hospital but died 18 hours later.

The Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Martin Ngceba, said the gun used was "of foreign origin."

Mr Makiwane was gunned down in his bedroom at the back of the house, at eight o'clock.



The Makiwane house

The gunman, apparently wearing a balaclava, walked on to the open verandah, broke the bedroom window — probably using the butt of the pistol — and then fired the shots.

His wife and children were in another room at the time. The gunman then fled in the darkness.

The shots hit Mr Makiwane in the chest and abdomen.

Even when he was only 17 Mr Makiwane was an in-

fluent student at Lovedale.

At a vigil this week, the out-going Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Digby Koyana, who went to school with Mr Makiwane said Mr Makiwane used to be surrounded by students listening attentively to him.

During our days in the political struggle Mr Makiwane once said "we can do everything in the struggle but we must avoid being involved in communism," Mr Koyana said.

Mr Makiwane was in the hierarchy of the banned ANC since the 1950s and was one of the ANC treason trialists in 1959. After they were acquitted he fled the country and became a roving ambassador of the organisation, visiting countries like Moscow, China, Europe and Asia, being in Mr Oliver Tambo's wing.

He came back to Transkei to join the civil service as a consultant on foreign information affairs under the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In May last year, Mr Makiwane was arrested in Botswana and handed over to the South African Police.

He was on a mission to some African states and was released after some hours of negotiating with the South African security police by the Transkeian government.

In Maseru, Lesotho, early last year, before returning to Transkei he wanted to know whether Transkei was a quiet place and wanted to know whether other former PAC or ANC people had returned to Transkei.

He said then he wanted to return home after having been away for more than 19 years.

3. The _____ must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

missioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Buthelezi's plea to industrialists

Mercury Reporter

11/7/80
11/7
11/7/80
THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, last night appealed to the Natal Chamber of Industries, as well as to the Federated Chamber of Industries, to nominate individuals to serve on the proposed Buthelezi commission of inquiry to consider the future of Natal and KwaZulu.

Addressing the annual dinner of the powerful Pinetown and New Germany division of the chamber, the Chief Minister suggested the creation of a study group and the appointment of an individual to provide a back-up for whoever was nominated by the Natal Chamber to serve on the commission.

'It would be helpful if this division wrote to all its members, soliciting their co-operation in the work of the commission,' he said.

Polarisation

Chief Buthelezi said industrialism, as such, was on trial in South Africa. There was a need for industrialists to be more informed about their wider circumstances.

He warned against the dangers of polarisation in South Africa.

Wrongly handled, this very widespread tendency would be activated on a scale which would make sound administration impossible.

'Already we have a situation of a Nationalist Right-wing element being at variance with Mr Botha and his Cabinet, on the one hand.

'On the other hand, we have a Left-wing black development which is at variance with my leadership and Inkatha.'

These dangerous positions, Chief Buthelezi continued, acted at this point in history to give the vast majority of South Africans immediate reason to find each other.

Recognition

Generally, he detected in white society a growing recognition that black aspirations had to be accommodated.

'We face the peculiar situation in this country where the bulk of the white electorate and the bulk of the disenfranchised blacks are, in fact, ahead of the propensity to bring about change, displayed in institutionalised politics.'

He predicted that future historians would write about this decade as the decade of golden opportunities for reconciliation which were seen all around.

Curbing

Economics had played a major role in curbing the worst of the National Party's ideology. The reality of the market place would curb both the Left and the Right.

'We have not had successful HNPs. Neither have we had successful communist parties,' said Chief Buthelezi.

Inkatha bars the children

Mercury 11/7/80 (11A)

Mercury Reporter

SEVERAL hundred underprivileged black children did not attend a Durban Military Tattoo dress rehearsal this week because of pressure from Inkatha.

More than 1500 tickets were offered to underprivileged children of all races by the Coca-Cola Bottling Co.

Its manager, Mr Lionel Cork, said yesterday he was not aware of the Inkatha move until late yesterday.

About 1000 children from other race groups attended the rehearsal.

Last year children from Kwa Mashu had been

taken to the Tattoo and this year the company had decided to take children from Umlazi.

'What started out as a goodwill gesture has now turned into a political issue,' he said.

'But we will make the offer again next year.'

Mr Terry Toohey, Durban Publicity Association director, said the Tattoo was not a political event and since it had started the DPA had gone out of their way to ensure it was multiracial.

'We are obviously upset Inkatha has taken this at-

Inkatha 11A

◆ FROM PAGE 1

titude and sorry the children had to suffer.'

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who is also president of Inkatha, said last night that as far as he was concerned the Tattoo was a military event.

He was sorry for the man who had organised the outing.

'He must have meant well and it is a pity that a man of goodwill has been caught in the cross-fire of an incident like this.'

◆ TURN TO PAGE 2

Mandela refused to see Phatudi?

SUNDAY POST Reporter

THE Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, this week denied speculation that the imprisoned leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, refused to see him when he visited Robben Island.

Last month, Dr Phatudi, accompanied by some of his Cabinet Ministers, visited Robben Island and although he saw some of the prisoners he was unable to see Mandela.

Referring to unconfirmed reports that Mandela had refused to see him, Dr Phatudi said: "There is no reason why Nelson should not want to talk to me. I have nothing against him and he has nothing against me."

Dr Phatudi said he knew that Mandela would be keen to meet him.

He said he would soon be meeting Prime Minister P W Botha to arrange for another visit to Robben Island and to discuss the continued imprisonment of the ANC leader.

He added: "I can't say when I will be seeing the Prime Minister, but it should be very soon."

He knew Mandela very well before his arrest, he said. And added: "I know he would speak to me because politically we are moving in the same direc-

Not true — homeland leader

tion. I am opposed to the same things that he was opposed to.

"I also knew him both socially and professionally before his arrest."

Referring to his visit to the Island, Dr Phatudi said he was made to believe that he would meet Mandela.

"However, after a long wait I was told that I would not be able to see him. It is still a mystery to me why I could not see him, but I could read between the lines," he said.

After his visit to Robben Island, Dr Phatudi called for the release of Mandela and urged Mr Botha to make efforts to see Mandela.

13 Also
5 Post
11A

OUT of the ashes of the old black consciousness programme of psychological liberation has emerged an new political ideology which defines white South Africans as "foreigners".

The problem that blacks face is no longer seen as racism or capitalism but as "foreign domination".

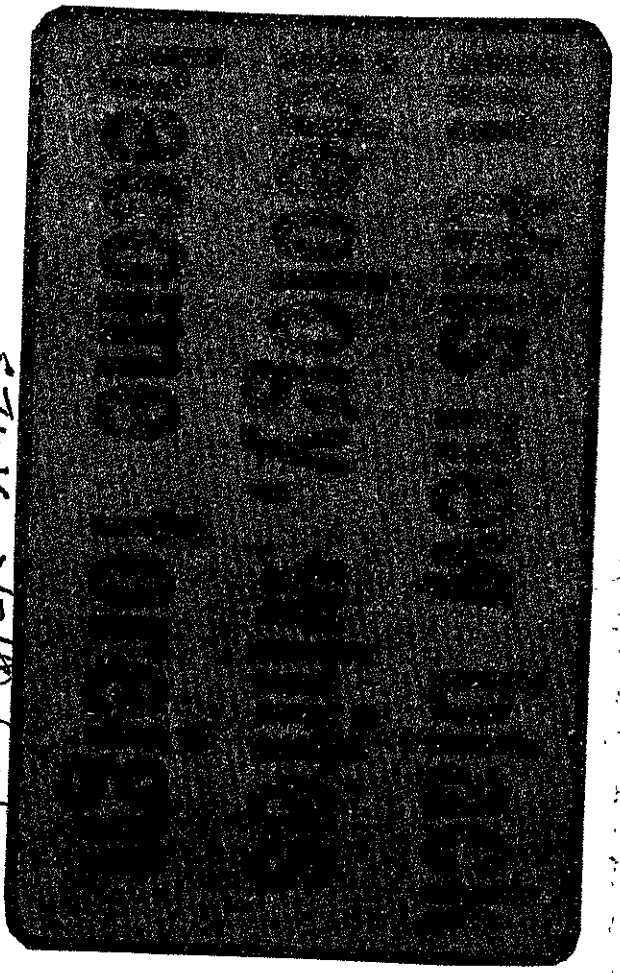
This new ideology was formulated by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), whose members say the white "foreigners" will have to be reaccepted as "immigrants" into South African, or Azanian, society once liberation has been achieved.

Debate on the question has been raging among blacks for the past few weeks since Mr Fanyana Mazibuko called on black consciousness proponents to abandon their "neurotic exclusivism" and open their ranks to sympathetic whites.

Attack

Now, for the first time, Azapo's redefinition of "black consciousness" has come to the fore as several of its proponents attack Mr Mazibuko's views as an attempt to undermine "the struggle".

The term "black consciousness" was first coined after 1968 when black stu-



S. TIMA 13/7/80 (114)



BY
MARION
SPARG

dents broke away from white-dominated National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

The philosophy behind the term was formulated at a conference of black students at Marriahill, Natal, in that year.

The philosophy which emerged from the decade of chilled silence that followed Sharpeville, and the strin-

gent security clamps of the 60s — 90-day detention, house arrests, bannings and censorship — was indeed new. The South African Students' Organisation (SASO) defined it as "an attitude of mind, a way of life".

Dignity

Its basic tenet was that the black man must reject all value systems that

sought to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth or to reduce his basic human dignity.

Black people were defined as those who by law or tradition were politically, socially and economically discriminated against as a group in South African society.

According to one view, this last point was probably the most important element of the new thinking. SASO, the Black People's Convention, and Black Community Programmes were not formed as black power organisations. Students even spoke of "national consciousness" as distinct from black consciousness.

SASO's policy manifesto said that "South Africa is a country in which both black

and white live, and shall continue to live together. Whites were excluded from SASO not because they were foreigners, but because they 'defined themselves as part of the problem and not the solution'".

Colour

Today, however, Azapo openly advocates a nationalism which defines a nation by the colour of its skin. And, inevitably according to one view, Azapo is saying that the land belongs to the "indigenous people" — the black and Indian (including coloured and Indian).

The Azapo national organiser, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, says in several papers that the conflict in South Africa is not a race struggle. Nor, however, is it a class struggle.

What is it, then? Black consciousness, he says, is a national response to foreign domination by the "white settler community".

SASO excluded whites because years of multiracial struggle had achieved so little. Now Azapo members, though they say they believe in an integrated society AFTER liberation, exclude whites because they are foreigners.

Black consciousness has been damned as racist and praised as idealistic. In fact, it may now be a bit of both.

PHOKELA,

THE PAC

BRAINS,

RELEASED

FROM SAN TRIS

13/7/80

ROBBEN

11A

ISLAND

Tribune Reporters

JOHN NYATHI PHOKELA, the man convicted in 1967 as the brains behind PAC plan to exterminate whites in East London and other Border towns, has been released from Robben Island after serving 13 years for conspiracy.

or kg. x $\frac{25}{5}$ = 4c per day.

He is back at his Transkeian home at Kwamanxeba in the Herschel district.

Unlike many ex-Robben Island prisoners who are released in South Africa, he has not been banned.

Phokela made a name for himself as one of the most ardent opponents of bantu education.

When the system was to be introduced he was on the delegation that saw the then Minister of Native Affairs Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd.

He studied at Fort Hare University with men such as Z i m b a b w e a n Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the late former PAC leader Robert Sobukwe and the leader of the Basotho Congress Party Ntsu Mokhehle.

He was one of the co-founders of the PAC when it broke away from the ANC in 1959 and was chairman of the resolutions committee at the PAC's inaugural conference at the end of the year.

When PAC was banned, he escaped to Lesotho with Potlako Leballo and the Transkeian Minister of Justice Tsepo Letlaka.

Phokela was arrested on the South Africa-Lesotho border in 1966 and convicted in Grahamstown the following year.

ADM 14/7/80
Nigerian PM to
push Mandela
campaign in UK

By STANLEY UYS
London Editor

LONDON. -- The Nigerian Prime Minister, Professor Ishaya Audu, arrives in London today on a five-day official visit, hoping to win British backing for the international "Free Nelson Mandela" campaign.

Prof Audu also has signalled his intention to question British Ministers on the implications of British Petroleum's impending association with Mr Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo American group, through BP's takeover of Charter Consolidated's interest in Selection Trust.

Nigeria presides over the United Nations anti-apartheid committee, and the expectation among Foreign Office officials is that Prof Audu will emphasise his government's continuing interest in events in Southern Africa.

These range from South Africa's recent thrusts into Angola, the disputed future of South West Africa, the uneasy political situation within Zimbabwe, and the allegedly passive attitude Britain and other Western powers are displaying towards unrest in South Africa.

Prof Audu will meet the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, and other senior British Ministers.

Nigeria is one of Britain's major trading partners.

The Nigerian Government has already publicly endorsed the widening campaign for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners serving life sentences on Robben Island.

Such a gesture by the South African Government to the black majority would, according to Nigerian authorities, be

one way to improve prospects for a black-white dialogue and thereby help stabilise the situation in South Africa.

The Frontline States are putting similar pressures on Western governments.

The British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Richard Luce, has told a delegation of the Anti-Apartheid Movement that Britain has no ground to intervene in a situation obviously internal to South Africa.

But he has also said the British Government believes the release of Mandela and his companions could have a pacifying effect on the tense racial situation in South Africa, and that it would therefore favour the move.

Meanwhile Nigeria is already engaged in direct negotiations with BP over compensation for the State takeover of the oil giant's assets in Nigeria.

The takeover was announced before the Commonwealth summit in Lusaka last August, when African states suspected the Thatcher government was on the point of recognising Bishop Abel Muzorewa's regime and lifting sanctions.

Because the British Government itself retains a big stake in BP, the issue of BP's purchase of Charter's share in Selection Trust is down on Prof Audu's agenda for discussion with the Thatcher government.

But Foreign Office officials report no detailed negotiation is foreseen. This will be left to the Nigerians and BP.

However, they acknowledge that BP's move is unlikely to make Nigeria more sympathetic or flexible in its approach to a settlement.

NDM 19/7/80
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push Mandela
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By STANLEY OYS
London Editor

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However, they acknowledge that BP's move is unlikely to make Nigeria more sympathetic or flexible in its approach to a settlement.

'Blacks must use worker power'

LONDON — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has said he does not believe South African blacks can duplicate the sort of change that has occurred in Zimbabwe.

In an ATV programme screened in London last night, he said blacks in the Republic should use their worker and consumer power to achieve change.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu was speaking in the final episode of David Dimbleby's series "The White Tribe of Africa", which traces the history of the Afrikaner and examines South Africa's racial problems.

It was first shown last year by the BBC, and Mr Dimbleby returned to South Africa recently to make a last, updated episode.

Chief Buthelezi was asked what his reaction was to actions such as the Sasol sabotage, and he replied: "Apart from jolting the whites, I don't think a series of these things can resolve the problem. In fact it can be counter-productive. I don't think the whites can be easily intimidated."

He said the situation in South Africa was in no way similar to that in Zimbabwe. "It's a false paradise to think we can duplicate that here," he said.

Mr Dimbleby also spoke to the Minister for Co-operation and Development Dr Piet Koornhof and asked if he had wanted to push through changes but had been thwarted by the Rightwing of the National Party.

"That's a very shallow view," he told Mr Dimbleby. "There may be something in it, but as so often happens that's a quarter of the truth. The basic thing is to maintain stability. If you want to reform, you cannot do it unless you have stability."

When he was asked whether bureaucracy was holding up change in South Africa, Dr Koornhof told a story about a tortoise given to him as a present by a "dear friend" who had said: "This present is the civil service. If you allow it to go at a tortoise's pace, then it will move at a tortoise pace, which is slow, but if you push it, it will pull its head in and sit, and then the pace is even slower."

Mr Dimbleby interviewed a cross-section of whites, blacks and coloureds in his new programme. Most spoke of change, but said it was happening slowly.

A white Farmer, Mr Rian

'Blacks suspicious of Nat actions'

POTCHERSTROOM — The black man regards with suspicion anything the Government hands down to him without consultation. First, an Inkatha delegate told an Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) congress here yesterday.

Mr M Mkhize, national chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade was addressing 280 Afrikaner student delegates from 13 universities and colleges after a speech yesterday by Mr Rolf Meyer, Na-

tional Party MP for Johannesburg West. Mr Meyer, a past ASB president himself, spoke on the role of youth in politics today.

He said South Africa's youth were becoming more politically conscious and that the overriding political concern at present was better relations between the different race groups in South Africa.

Mr Mkhize said in response that he was pleased this was so because despite some good in the "package deal" the Government provided for black people, these were rejected because of the Government's attitude.

"The Government makes obvious laws without consulting us first. We feel the pinch of these laws and are inconvenienced by them," Mr Mkhize said.

He said: "Black people too have priorities which they expected to be catered for. If they are not they will respond negatively."

HANDOUTS

"We do not want handouts. We can think and talk for ourselves but we cannot initiate because of the structure of the Government hierarchy."

"The idea of homelands is a non-starter as is the constellation of states. We

cannot accept it the way it has been presented to us with all its conditions," he said.

He said because Inkatha had visited the ANC earlier this year it did not automatically mean Inkatha was an enemy of the Government. Inkatha be-

lieved in contact and dialogue with everyone. Mr Mkhize said, who attended the London ANC conference as well.

Inkatha and the ANC have "common ground" in that both believe in the liberation of the black man. But they have dif-

ferent means to this end, non-violent and violent respectively. Mr Mkhize said.

Mr Mkhize's speech was met with silence by the Afrikaanse students while Mr Chris Fisser, ASB president thanked Mr Mkhize.

New impetus to Mandela issue

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RDN 16/7/80
London Bureau

BRITAIN joined its 42 multiracial Commonwealth partners this week in calling on South Africa to free Nelson Mandela.

The action by the Southern Africa Committee of the Commonwealth gave a new impetus to an intensifying international campaign for the release of Mandela, jailed for life on charges of sabotage 16 years ago.

The Commonwealth group, made up of High Commissioners and a senior British Foreign Office representative, also emphasised that what they called "the grave problems afflicting the Southern African region" were the result of SA's "racist policy embodied in the system of apartheid".

A statement issued by the committee was unanimous in declaring that "the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela was deplored."

The issue was raised by the Indian High Commissioner, Mr I P Singh.

Delegates who attended this week's meeting, said Mr Singh argued that it was high time the Commonwealth initiated action demanding Mandela's

release. Such an initiative, he was quoted as saying, would be a practical expression of Commonwealth solidarity.

Mr Singh's arguments were accepted without dissent and the British representative, who normally takes a more cautious view than many of his colleagues, agreed with the proposal.

At the end of the meeting the committee chairman, Mr Eustace Seignoret, High Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago, said:

"In reviewing recent events in Southern Africa the committee noted with great concern the sharply escalating repression in South Africa. It recalled that Commonwealth heads of government, at their meeting in Lusaka (last year), had stressed that the grave problems afflicting the Southern Africa region stem from the racist policy of the South African regime embodied in the system of apartheid. In this context the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela was deplored and the committee unanimously called for his immediate and unconditional release."

History made as Inkatha youth chief talks to ASB

STAR
16/7/80

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By Josie Brouard

POTCHEFSTROOM — History was made today when a black man — national chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade — officially addressed the cream of Afrikaner youth at the Afrikaanse Studentebond's (ASB) annual congress. And he spoke of a future of uniting black and white.

Mr Musa Mkitze was bidding farewell to the 200-odd students from 13 Afrikaans colleges and universities after attending the ASB congress as a guest for the past 2½ days.

Although he spoke to students earlier in the week, this was his first official address.

Mr Mkitze said it pained him that Afrikaners — and whites in general — feared the black man.

"Although some fears are justified, many are created by the white man himself who is afraid to venture out into the world, widen his thinking and sense of reality," Mr Mkitze said.

He said Afrikaners tended to think the present was all they had to live in.

"The situation has turned in South Africa. Violence can be sparked at the slightest friction. The time has come for Afrikaners to initiate positive programmes towards a better South Africa," Mr Mkitze said.

He said whites could not think of power sharing without fearing the end of the white race in South Africa.

"We are not going to throw them into the sea. We know they are citizens of South Africa, like us. But at present the black man is a foreigner in his own land," Mr Mkitze said.

"The black man is asking to be recognised as a man by other men. We do not want concessions but without black participation in the President's Council we are non-starters."

Mr Mkitze outlined several political expectations of the youth brigade:

- That a man could apply for a job, and get it on merit;
- That he could exercise his religion unhampered;
- That he would be protected by a bill of rights;
- That he could sell his labour on a market when and to whom he wanted to.

● Page 10: Black seats plan is out.

Inkatha snubs CC elections

114
171 2/182

THE SOWETO branch of Inkatha this week maintained its stand not to participate in the coming community council elections, and speculation is that the poll percentage will not rise.

The rent hikes in Soweto coupled with the council's decision to introduce subtenants at pensioner's homes, could reduce the number of voters even further.

And the increase in electricity tariffs without prior notice to residents could also have an effect.

Inkatha's liaison officer for the West Rand, Mr Peter Davidson, said this week that they doubted their movement's participation in the elections.

"We doubt very much if we will participate," he said. "Our problem is not philosophical but practical.

He said for Inkatha to participate in the elections the Government first had to state clearly as to how the council would be financed to meet its obligations.

Friend of
Biko is
set free ^{17/7/68}

CAPE TOWN. — A friend and co-worker of Mr Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader who died in detention in 1977, was released in Cape Town yesterday after eight days in detention.

The freed detainee, Mr Peter Jones, returned home yesterday morning, his wife, Mrs Amelia Jones, said.

Mr Jones was a former Black Peoples' Convention organiser.

He was detained by Security Police on July 8 and held in terms of Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act. Sapa.

○ See Page 6

Black car workers flex their muscles

12/11/80 11/8 17/11/80

TO the bewilderment of South African employers, black workers are rapidly discovering the strength of their bargaining power.

A wave of illegal strikes over the past weeks in the Eastern Cape town of Uitenhage, 20 miles from Port Elizabeth, has ended.

It appears that the area's three largest employers, Ford, General Motors and Volkswagen, have already come close to accepting workers' demands for a 70 percent increase in minimum wage rates.

The motor industry's new minimum is bound to have a ripple effect on wages at other Eastern Cape companies.

More important, the psychological impact of the motor workers' impending success on workers in other parts of the country is likely to be enormous.

South African employers, and especially the local subsidiaries of multinational companies, will probably be confronted in coming months by increasingly frequent and well-organised industrial action, aimed at raising black living standards and ending race discrimination on the shopfloor.

Johannesburg's black bus transport was paralysed for two days recently by a wild-cat strike by drivers demanding higher pay.

The Eastern Cape strikes at their peak involved 8 000 workers in a dozen companies.

But the workers' main target has been the local subsidiary of Volkswagen, whose wage agreements apply also to Ford and General Motors.

In a remarkable display of solidarity, 3 500 black and coloured production workers at Volkswagen have for three weeks re-

THE development of black labour power in South Africa's car industry is examined by the London Financial Times' Bernard Simon in Port Elizabeth. Established trade unions which claim to have no political ambitions are being outflanked by more radical groups. As their example is followed elsewhere in the country the impact is likely to be enormous

sisted management's efforts to cajole them back to work.

The Volkswagen strike, unlike those at the other factories, had been expected for several weeks.

Although Volkswagen is regarded as an above-average employer, an organiser of the United Auto and Rubber Workers' Union, whose members make up 57 percent of Volkswagen's black workforce, said: "Management paid little attention when we passed workers' grievances to them."

An industry spokesman in Port Elizabeth agreed: "Volkswagen selected itself as a target. Dissatisfaction was growing."

The workers began by demanding a minimum wage of R2 an hour, compared with the then minimum of R1.15.

STRIKE

After the strike started, the company offered (and implemented) a R1.40 minimum, at the same time opening the factory to strikers who wished to return to work. Only 400 responded.

Volkswagen was keen to settle the dispute quickly. It has no cars to sell at a time when the South African car market is booming, and was estimated to be losing R7m in sales each week.

The company pushed up its offer at the following week's meeting of the Industrial Council, the industry's wage negotiation body. The new offer comprising attendance bonuses and other fringe benefits comes close to the unions' R2 minimum demand.

The workers had received no strike pay since a Government decree cut their union off from overseas funds last month. They decided to return to work while negotiations continued.

Workers at other factories were as well-organised as those at Volkswagen. At Goodyear Tyre (next to the Volkswagen plant), 1 300 employees walked off the job in support of a R3 an hour minimum wage demand, which even unionists described as "ridiculous." The workers were dismissed, but 1 000 have been re-hired and production is now back to almost pre-strike levels.

Even at Goodyear, however, management has

agreed to review piece-work incentives, allow pay deductions for a black union, and sponsor new education programmes.

The Volkswagen strike was not politically motivated in the sense that the prolonged stoppage at Ford was eight months ago. The Ford walkout was sparked by a management ultimatum to a black civic leader either to curb his political activities or face dismissal.

Wages were the immediate issue at Volkswagen. None the less, the strike had wider significance. Blacks are rapidly realising that industrial action is one of the very few channels open to them for expressing political frustrations.

"They're taking on the system," said an industrial relations expert. Spokesman put it even more succinctly: "Labour power is political power."

The political significance of labour power has meant that established unions in the Eastern Cape, which claims to have no political ambitions, are being outmanoeuvred by more radical groups with essentially political aims.

The motor industry unions (the United Auto and Rubber Workers Union for blacks and the National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers for coloureds, which, in practice, functions as one body) were completely by-passed during the Ford dispute.

Instead workers' grievances were aired through the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, whose leaders have since been served with government banning orders.

The organisation's leadership is now more conservative, but its members are still in control at Ford's Cortina plant. The plant's action committee is currently attempting to unseat an official of the black car workers' union.

Black activists took a lower profile in the Volkswagen dispute, but there is little doubt that they, not the unions, were calling most of the shots.

The union's limited influence over Volkswagen workers was illustrated by two appeals by its general secretary during the first few days of the strike, urging them not to take part in an illegal dispute.

When Goodyear's management asked strikers to elect seven spokesmen, not one nominee was a union man.

The unions have not been completely powerless at Volkswagen as they were at Ford, partly because black activists have kept a lower profile, and have thus found it useful to work through the unions.

A large proportion of Volkswagen's black workers are members both of their car workers' union and of the Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation. The unions will thus be able to emerge from the dispute with some credibility.

The disputes have taught black activists and unionists that the chances of industrial action succeeding are far higher at foreign-controlled companies than locally owned ones.

SKF, the Swedish-owned ball-bearing manufacturer which was one of the smaller Uitenhage companies hit by strikes last month, was apparently instructed by its parent company not to dismiss strikers.

And although local Volkswagen management insisted it was given a free hand in dealing with the strike, others suspect that German trade union pressure has been an important factor in the company's conciliatory stance, particularly the decision so far not to dismiss strikers. A German trade union official flew to Port Elizabeth to help mediate in the dispute.

South African companies, by contrast, are not as vulnerable to foreign pressure.

The Volkswagen strike has thrown into doubt the yardsticks by which black wages in South Africa have been measured in recent years, namely the regular studies by the University of Port Elizabeth and South Africa to determine poverty levels in different parts of the country.

The Eastern Cape motor industry has paid wages well above these studies' estimated poverty level. But the unions have questioned the validity of the university estimates, which are based on imputed subsistence requirements rather than a family's actual spending patterns.

The University of Port Elizabeth's most recent "household subsistence level" for blacks and coloureds in the Eastern Cape is around R169 a month.

But the union's own survey of 50 families showed that a "decent life without any luxuries" required a minimum monthly income of R308, the income on which its R2-an-hour demand was based.

Write to the Editor at P O 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

Political comment in this issue by P Osozo and A Kwaaso. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matshaku. All of car, Blumberg Street and Camano Road, Industria, Johannesburg.

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Members of the Soweto Teachers' Folk Dance Group giving an impromptu performance for Eisteddfod visitors.

Soweto teachers choir snubbed

Threats of picketing by BCM

11/14

LONDON — A concert to be given by the Soweto Teachers' Choir at Lambeth Town Hall was cancelled at the last moment after Lambeth Council received threats that the concert would be picketed by Black Consciousness groups.

Only three hours before the concert was due to begin on Tuesday night, members of the choir still did not know of the cancellation.

The concert was to have been given as part of Lambeth's Summer Festival. The labour council's leader, Mr Ted Knight, recommended the cancellation after representations from the Consortium of Ethnic Minorities in Lambeth and the Council for Community Relations in Lambeth.

On Tuesday the council issued a statement on the cancellation, saying "The advice received from

these race relations specialists was that to go ahead with this performance would be an affront to the black community in Lambeth, especially as notice had been received that certain groups would picket the event."

Members of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Soweto Youth Revolutionary Council had threatened to picket the concert.

A leaflet issued by the BCM said the picket would be held because:

● A leading member of the choir gave evidence for the State in a South African trial of Soweto students.

● Members of the choir had refused to identify with the uprising of 1976 and, as teachers, "played a role counter to the pupils' boycott action of the schools."

● The choir gave a special performance to members of the South African Government.

● The choir was supported by large donations from South African firms "which pay low wages and refuse to recognise black trade unions".

● One of the choir's concerts had been sponsored by Kontak, the Afrikaans

women's organisation, "and by Mimi Coertse".

The leaflet concluded that the choir and its sponsors had no relationship "whatsoever to the liberation struggle of the black people."

At a concert given by the 80-strong choir on London's South Bank Tuesday noon, Mr Jabulani Mazibuko, the choir's director, said black groups in London were ill-informed about the choir.

He said he had been called on to give evidence in a trial of students after a petrol bomb had been thrown into a classroom in which the choir was practising.

DONATIONS

He said that he had told the court that the petrol bomb had been thrown, but was unable to identify any of the people in the dock as those who had thrown the bomb.

Referring to donations received by the choir, Mr Mazibuko said they had received money from many Johannesburg organisations.

Mr Mazibuko said the money already raised was received in the form of donations, fees for concerts, and street collections.

POST WOMAN

Prominence is not leadership



Ms Vesta Smith — "A leader should suffer with her people and not be called a leader because of her material gain."

Pic Shadrack Nkomo

WHAT makes a woman a leader?

Black women have admitted that they have, for a long time, confused prominence with leadership and as a result don't know who their leaders are.

Interviews conducted by POST Woman revealed that many women believe they stand leaderless.

Mrs Thabile Mangena, who works at the Turret College, said: "We have confused prominence with leadership. A leader must identify completely with the people's needs and aspirations. The minute a so-called leader divorces herself from the everyday sufferings of her people, she automatically stops to be a leader.

"One of the few black women I look upon as a leader is the late Mangoyi. She lived for the black man's struggle. Some of the prominent people confused as leaders represent only the small clique of the elite, who want to protect their interests and think that all blacks see things their way."

Ms Vesta Smith, a leading Noordgesig com-

By Zodwa Mashibe

munity worker and former member of the now banned Black Women's Federation said: she prefers "workers for our people" to "leader".

"Some women are called leaders because of their material gain and not because of anything they have done."

Ms Smith added: "I see a leader as one who has suffered with the people and goes out to pull them on their feet. Women like Dr Mamphela Ramphele has done just that.

"A leader must not live above the normal level of the people in

The late Mrs Lillian Ngoyi who led the Women's League of the banned ANC, is regarded by most black women as a true leader.



the ghetto. Most of our so-called leaders are living above the level and I haven't found them to be doing much at grass root level."

Mrs Smith said she didn't know what to call the people referred to as leaders because: "I honestly don't see what they have achieved for the other women down there.

"Our 'leaders' are probably afraid to come

out because perhaps they are afraid of losing their passports, properties, or shall we call them riches? or maybe they are afraid of jeopardising what they have or their positions if they are too active.

"I think they have too much to lose but in the meantime they are losing more by not working with the people and making them aware of the times we are living in," she said.

"What the 'leaders' need is to involve themselves with the needs of our community, the suffering of our community and we need to be united. If we women could be organised, not necessarily by violence or being militant, but in our own quiet manner, we could achieve a lot," Ms Smith said.

She said that there are black women at the top who want to come out now and again to say something for other women at the bottom of the ladder, "they don't come out forcibly enough to be seen and heard."



Ms Nomvuyo Mdladlamba — "Our leaders are those unsung heroines, the humble folk with whom one identifies easily."

Ms Nomvuyo Mdladlamba said: "Those unsung heroines, the humble folk who can easily identify with, are the true leaders, but nobody knows them. Leadership is misplaced, it should be given to those who operate at grass roots level such as the community workers. This group of people exists but is unknown."

"There are organisations whose projects aim at operating at lower level, but unfortunately the machinery that is needed to keep them going comes from the middle class. The so called leaders get the glory because of the support they get from the people they are supposed to represent."

A prominent middle-aged community worker, who refused to be named said she agreed with many women that there were no leaders.

"There is a vacuum for true leadership among black women, and those so called leaders fall far short of our expectations," she said.

"Look at the garment workers, they run into thousands but how many have really been politicised?" she asked.

'ASB links must be extended'

By ARNOLD GEYER

POTCHEFSTROOM. — Despite the inability of Afrikaaner students to move ahead of the Government, links between them and the powerful Inkatha movement had to be extended, a central committee member of Inkatha said yesterday.

Mr Simon Maphalala said this after the Inkatha Youth Brigade delegation's farewell address to the Afrikaanse Studente Bond (ASB) congress in Potchefstroom.

Addressing about 300 students from 13 Afrikaans universities and colleges, he said the meeting — the first between the ASB and black students — was an "historic moment", proving that the country's problems could be solved without conflict.

The Inkatha Youth Organisation's attendance led to a walkout by two Rightwing students

who had earlier threatened to stay away should black students address the congress again.

Mr Maphalala expressed disappointment about the ASB's refusal to accept the idea of blacks sitting on the Government's proposed President's Council, but said Afrikaaners were still busy "trying to arrive at solutions".

"I know the history of the Afrikaner and how the British oppressed him. I do not believe he would do the same as the British," he said.

Mr Musa Mkize, national president of the Inkatha Youth Brigade and also central committee member of Inkatha, earlier said it pained him that whites, and particularly Afrikaners, were living in fear — much of which they created themselves.

"You are afraid to venture out into new experiences and challenge the status quo," he told the ASB delegates.

Power sharing did not mean one had to lose one's identity and the students' acceptance of the President's Council without blacks on it was therefore sad, he said.

17/7/80 ARGUS

Black ~~parents'~~ parents' bid to end boycott

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Parents of boycotting black pupils have sought talks at Cabinet level in a bid to break the deadlock that has left dozens of Eastern Cape schools without pupils.

A delegation yesterday met the Minister of Co-operation and Training, Dr Piet Koornhof, for a two-hour emergency session at H F Verwoerd airport.

It has also been announced by Mr Norris Singape, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Community Council, that the Minister of Education and Training, Dr F Hartzenberg, has been invited to the city on July 24 to discuss the critical situation in the schools.

Dr Koornhof said after yesterday's meeting that a statement on its outcome would be issued within 12 hours by the relevant authorities.

AGREEMENT

'All I can say now is that I have seen Mr Singape and other delegates from the school committees. They put certain points to me, and we have come to an agreement on these points.'

The delegation consisted of clergymen and businessmen and community, political and civic leaders.

A meeting of parents, teachers and principals in the Port Elizabeth and Despatch areas has been called for 2 pm on Sunday.

300 (11A)
ADM 17/7/86

Transvaler case arouses interest

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

THE Attorney-General is awaiting the outcome of a police investigation before deciding if Die Transvaler should be prosecuted for reports it published about an overseas interview with a leader of the banned African National Congress.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said yesterday that police were still investigating the matter. The docket would be referred to the A-G once the investigation was completed.

The A-G, Mr J Nothling, said yesterday: "As soon as I receive the docket, I will naturally study it and then decide whether to institute a prosecution or not."

The matter is being viewed with keen interest by the media, because it will determine to a large extent what they

may write or say about organisations such as the ANC.

On June 21, Die Transvaler published a story based on an interview given to the New York Times by an ANC vice-chairman, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The Rand Daily Mail subsequently asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, whether Die Transvaler had been given permission to publish the ANC views. The "Mail" also sought permission — which was refused — to publish the ANC views as contained in the New York Times interview.

Mr Schlebusch, through the head of Ministerial Services in his department, said no permission had been given to Die Transvaler to quote Mr Mbeki, and that the matter would be referred to the Attorney-General.

editorial on Tuesday: "He is not one of the firebrands who simply wants to write off the white man . . . (he) challenged the black consciousness movement over its inverted apartheid which rejected co-operation with whites only because they were white."

The headline on *Beeld's* leader summed it up. "Why?"

Why indeed?

Mazibuko, acting director of the South African Council for Higher Education (SACHED), secretary of the Soweto Teachers Action Committee, and an executive of the non-racial National Education Union of SA, had just emerged from a stormy entry into the debate over whether black consciousness supporters should co-operate with whites. He came in for strong criticism from those advocating non-co-operation.

As *Beeld* said, his banning is "to the advantage of extremists who believe that there can be no white-black co-operation in the development and building of a new SA." And the newspaper concluded,

"Whatever the future holds, of this we can be certain: we will have to talk to the Fanyana Mazibukos, just as we are already talking to the Tutus. This is not made easier by detentions and bannings which make these people aggressive and allow more angry people (*kwaaiteres*) to emerge in their place."

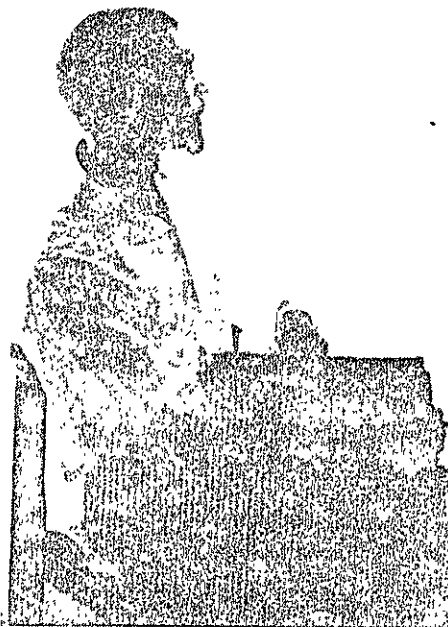
Mazibuko's banning could not have come at a more unfortunate time.

BLACK POLITICS
Restricting options

(U/A)

Fanyana Mazibuko, who has just been arbitrarily removed from public life, is one of an extremely small number of black radicals still prepared to talk to whites, and is also an educationist of high standing.

Concerning the three-year banning order imposed on Mazibuko on Friday last week, Nationalist daily *Beeld* stated in its



Mazibuko . . . one of a small number willing to talk, now silenced

11A

DEPARTEMENT VAN INDIËRSAKE

No. 1543 18 Julie 1980
WET OP DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE INDIËRRAAD,
1968 (WET 31 VAN 1968)

HERROEPING VAN DIE DELEGERING VAN
SEKERE BEVOEGDHEDE AAN DIE UITVOE-
RENDE KOMITEE VAN DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE
INDIËRRAAD

Ek, Stephanus Jacobus Marais Steyn, Minister van
Indiërsake, herroep hierby die bevoegdhede gedeleger
ingevolge Goewermentskennisgewing 7 van 2 Januarie
1976 ten opsigte van artikels 3 (3) en 33 (1) (e) van die
Wet op Onderwys vir Indiërs, 1965 (Wet 61 van 1965).

S. J. M. STEYN, Minister van Indiërsake.

G.C. 7138

No. 1544 18 Julie 1980
WET OP ONDERWYS VIR INDIËRS, 1965
(WET 61 VAN 1965)

WYSIGING VAN REGULASIES BETREFFENDE
DIE TOELATING VAN PERSONE TOT STAAT-
EN STAATSONDERSTEUNDE SKOLE

Die Minister van Indiërsake het kragtens die bevoegd-
heid hom verleen by artikel 33 (1) (e) van die Wet op
Onderwys vir Indiërs, 1965 (Wet 61 van 1965), die
Regulasies uitgevaardig soos in die Bylae uiteengesit.

BYLAE

1. In hierdie Bylae beteken "die Regulasies" die regu-
lasies uitgevaardig by Goewermentskennisgewing R. 723
van 13 Mei 1966.

2. Regulasie 10 van die Regulasies word hierby gewy-
sig—

- (a) deur in subregulasie (1) die woorde "op skool"
te skrap;
- (b) deur in subregulasie (1) die woorde "die feite"
deur die woorde "sodanige gedrag" te vervang;
- (c) deur in subregulasie (4) die woorde "op aanbe-
veling van die prinsipaal" te skrap.

S. J. M. STEYN, Minister van Indiërsake.

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

No. 1543 18 July 1980
THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL ACT,
1968 (ACT 31 OF 1968)

REPEAL OF DELEGATION OF CERTAIN
POWERS TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL

I, Stephanus Jacobus Marais Steyn, Minister of
Indian Affairs, hereby repeal the powers delegated in
terms of Government Notice 7 of 2 January 1976 in
respect of sections 3 (3) and 33 (1) (e) of the Indians
Education Act, 1965 (Act 61 of 1965).

S. J. M. STEYN, Minister of Indian Affairs.

No. 1544 18 July 1980
THE INDIANS EDUCATION ACT, 1965
(ACT 61 OF 1965)

AMENDMENT OF REGULATIONS GOVERNING
THE ADMISSION OF PERSONS TO STATE AND
STATE-AIDED SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS

The Minister of Indian Affairs by virtue of the
powers vested in him by section 33 (1) (e) of the Indians
Education Act, 1965 (Act 61 of 1965), has made the
Regulations set out in the Schedule.

SCHEDULE

1. In this Schedule "the Regulations" means the regu-
lations promulgated under Government Notice R. 723
of 13 May 1966.

2. Regulation 10 of the Regulations is hereby
amended—

- (a) by the deletion in subregulation (1) of the words
"at school";
- (b) by the substitution in subregulation (1) for the
words "the facts" of the words "such conduct";
- (c) by the deletion in subregulation (4) of the
words "on the recommendation of the principal".

S. J. M. STEYN, Minister of Indian Affairs.

informal structure which might help us to establish the following:

(a) Is there a necessity to introduce changes in the relationships? If the answer is positive, we shall ask ourselves:

(b) Is there a need for more formalization; namely, more mutual perception among organizational members as to the formal structure? Or perhaps: Is there a need to increase the informal activity of members of the organization in order to get them out of the apathy resulting out of too much formalization?

The answer to these last two questions, coinciding with the study of the activities and

prevailing between them, e.g. one might say that he is superior to the other while the other would say that they are peers (that both of them report to the same superior). Two members of the organization might, likewise, disagree as to the informal relationship existing between them, e.g. when one of the two says that he maintains a close working relationship with the other, while the other fails to mention the first one as one of those with whom he maintains close working relationships. Thus we find, in fact, many inconsistencies in both the formal and informal structures.

The only formal structure which is clear-cut, in spite of relying on perception, is that structure usually referred to as an "organization chart". This

11A N Mercury Correspondent 18/7/80

LONDON—A new British solidarity organisation in support of South African 'liberation' movements was launched here last night in opposition to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

To be called Azania Solidarity, it is an offshoot of the far-Left British splinter group, the Revolutionary Communist League. At the inaugural meeting were

representatives from the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Youth Revolutionary Council.

The African National Congress (ANC) turned down an invitation.

The organisation's representatives criticised the Anti-Apartheid Movement for being 'pro-ANC to the exclusion of other black exile organisations'.

Birthday greetings for Nelson Mandela

Mercury Correspondent

LONDON—Sympathisers throughout the world have sent greetings to Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader on Robben Island, for his 62nd birthday today.

Among the wellwishers are Bishop Ambrose Reeves, the former Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rev Harry Morton, general secretary of the British Council of Churches and Mr John Jackson, chairman of the TUC international committee.

One of the prime movers in the formation of Azania Solidarity is Dr Costa Gazides, who served a prison sentence following the trial against Bram Fischer and 13 others.

He left the South African Communist Party to follow a Maoist line.

111A

MM

19/4/80

Buthelezi lashes ANC 'stupidity'

Mercury Reporter

ULUNDI—Unless the African National Congress retraced its steps to be among blacks in South Africa and once again became the servant of the masses, the harsh realities of the South African situation would endorse them into political oblivion.

Delivering his sharpest attack yet on the banned ANC, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said last night that Inkatha served the people whatever their current needs and aspirations might be.

Speaking at a meeting of the Inkatha central committee, he said: "Those needs and those aspirations are now not to precipitate a bloodbath. The ANC's determination of our good is that we must be precipitating a bloodbath."

It is for this reason that the pipers who call the armed-struggle tune demand the military march. It is for this reason that the senseless burning and looting, and the senseless black versus black politics is encouraged by ANC leadership.

The Inkatha president said the vast stupidity of the ANC approach

would be confirmed after 10 years had gone by and the militant victory they dream of had not materialised.

The realities of the South African situation, he said, demanded a pace in South Africa's political involvement which had become tiresome for exiled leaders living in foreign lands.

"They will not be coming home soon because the struggle will not end soon," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said his personal attachment to key ANC figures in their trag-

ic analytical judgement and he had to refrain from the political excesses and political stupidities which they, in their position, seemed to demand.

He warned Inkatha that the movement should not react to the combined pressure of the ANC, its Black Consciousness cohorts and the Western liberal lunatic fringe.

The Chief Minister continued: "It is a hard reality that the ANC attack upon us coincides with deepening estrangement between ourselves and the leadership of the National Party."

UK call

to free

Mandela

LONDON. — Britain's National Union of Miners announced yesterday that it would visit the South African Embassy in London soon to demand the release of imprisoned South African Black Nationalist leader Nelson Mandela.

The NUM, one of the most powerful trade unions in Britain, also said it had sent a greetings telegram to Mandela on his 62nd birthday.

The union has invited Mandela to attend a miners' function and visit British coalfields next June.

Mandela has been in prison for the past 16 years.

He is serving a life sentence.

— Sapa.

Reddy

warns DTMB

Nm
~~232~~
19/7/80
11A

Mercury Reporter

IN A moment of crisis people attacked the 'symbols of oppression' and if the Durban Transport Management Board (DTMB) bought out pri-

vate Indian operators it would become one of those symbols.

Mr J N Reddy, chairman of the South African Indian Council, said this yesterday in evidence be-

fore the commission of inquiry into transport in and around Durban.

He pointed out that during recent bus boycotts the Indian-operated buses had had no trouble. Operators had declined police offers of protection.

He said there was great opportunity for industrial development on a free enterprise system in the bus business but because of the 'maze of regulations' no infrastructure for industry had been built up.

Body-building, for example, could be developed, providing job opportunities for many and making the community and the country self-reliant.

The necessary equip-

ment for a collective operation should have been provided at least 10 years ago. But every request for workshop facilities in Durban has been turned down because of the Group Areas Act.

'People are prepared to put money into business but it must be a business they know something about.'

He emphasised that the free enterprise system should be respected and encouraged and if the Minister of Transport withdrew the Indian operators' permits 'it will be seen as an act whereby the strong eradicate the weak.'

The commission adjourned until October 13

Azapo fears ban by Le Grange

11A RDM 19/7/80.
By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

VIEWS expressed this week by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, have convinced black consciousness leaders that the Government is preparing to ban the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr George Wauchope, said yesterday that Mr Le Grange's speech at the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in Potchefstroom could be seen as "preparing his constituency for taking action against us".

As one of the speakers warning students against the "total communist-inspired onslaught", Mr Le Grange said that since the 1977 bannings, many organisations had been founded that were "directly or indirectly inspired and financed" by the banned African National Congress.

He named Azapo as being among them.

Mr Wauchope commented: "He wants to justify the action he intends taking against the organisation because he could have charged us for promoting

the aims and objects of a banned organisation.

"Much as Azapo recognises the important liberatory role played by historical organisations like the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Black People's Convention, it is independent and has its own constitution and policies which are a direct manifestation of the oppressive system as prevails inside the country today."

Earlier this year, statements by Ministers sparked speculation that the Government might be preparing for another round of action against black consciousness organisations and individuals.

A number of black consciousness supporters were questioned by Security Police, and two of them, Mr Curtis Nkondo and Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, both officials of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, were subsequently banned.

• The Rand Daily Mail has not attempted to put Mr Le Grange's allegations to ANC leaders for comment, since it would be an offence to publish their views without Government consent.

WE all knew it was coming. And many of us have been waiting patiently to be told that he is no more. But nevertheless, the news that Sir Seretse Khama has passed away forced many a heart to skip a beat.

Sir Seretse was a smart and brilliant champion of democracy, a product of the soil whose moderateness and statesmanship was the envy of many African states.

SUNDAY POST Script wishes to express its deepest sympathy and condolence not only to the humble and beautiful people of Botswana, but to the entire continent of Africa, in the process of whose liberation, Mr Khama made a notable contribution.

May his soul rest in peace. And may the ancestors of this continent's great leaders like the Moshoeshoes the Sekhukhunis and Chakas, guide his successors and help them take decisions that will help Africa liberate itself.

Another tragedy that befell South Africa was last week's banning of Mr Fanyana Mazibuko. Until July 31, 1933, perhaps for the rest of his life if Pretoria so wishes, his voice shall not be heard and his views shall not be published anywhere in this land.

His banning order restricts him to Pimville, Soweto, where he lives.

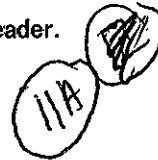
He will not be seen in the near future on the stages of DOCC, Regina Mundi and all the other platforms from which he used to spit at apartheid and its protagonists.

All this is simply because Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, Minister of Justice, alleges that he has satisfied himself that Mr Mazibuko engages in

SUNDAY POST SCRIPT



5 Post 20/1/60
Sam Mabe pays
tribute to Sir Seretse
Khama who died last
week and attacks the
banning of yet another
black leader.



activities which endanger the maintenance of public order.

But what public is this Mr Schlebusch is referring to? Has anybody ever lodged a complaint anywhere about Mr Mazibuko's public behaviour? If so, when was that and what was the nature of the complaint?

I am not trying to give Mr Mazibuko a testimonial, but I know this gentleman too well to accept that he could have been so dangerous as to have endangered public order.

As my school teacher at Morris Isaacson High School some 12 years ago, I knew him to be a man who knew the difference between coming and going. And he was not an ordinary or average teacher for that matter.

In fact, I doubt if Mr Schlebusch has ever seen Mr Mazibuko's face, let alone see him doing anything detrimental to the maintenance of public order.

He had the misfortune to be born black and during the 37-years that he's been around, he has not seen public order because in his lifetime, there has never been one in this country. It died the day apartheid was born.

And for public order to rise from the dead, Fanyana Mazibuko, Curtis Nkondo, Helen Joseph, Tizzah Mazibuko and others do not have to lead the miserable lives they are leading now under senseless banning orders.

All that has to be done is for apartheid to be sentenced to death and thrown into the sea to drown. But we know that once the government has decided on anything, they act, and there is no beating of drums or shedding of tears that is going to make them change their minds.

But history is going to catch up with them. And quickly too. They cannot live with guilty consciences forever. Although we disagree so much with the Nats, we have always been obedient enough to allow ourselves to be tried by their courts of law.

Mr Mazibuko should also have been charged in court if he has committed any crime.

He has merely embarrassed the Nationalists by continually slamming apartheid and the unacceptable system prevalent in this country. His banning, is therefore, an acknowledgement by the Nats of another victory for the liberation struggle.

Pretoria knows that by silencing one black mouth, they are actually opening several others which may be even more vociferous. Blacks have shown their determination to fight relentlessly for their freedom and not be deterred by intimidation.

S. Post 20/7/80 (114)

Buthelezi lashes out at ANC

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, president of the 300 000 strong Inkatha Movement and Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, says he will form a government acceptable to all South Africans of whatever race, colour or creed.

He made this undertaking in response to a threat from Inkatha Central Committee at Ulundi on Friday night during a seven-hour meeting called to thrash out relations between the powerful Zulu movement and the banned African National Congress.

A memorandum circulated at the meeting requested the chief, whom it described as head of state in a future South Africa, to declare that he seeks power on behalf of the people to lead the country.

At the meeting Chief Buthelezi claimed that ANC

members had threatened to kill him.

He warned ANC leaders in exile that if they did not acknowledge Inkatha as sharing in the struggle, they and Inkatha will have reached an impasse which could have terrible consequences.

He said he'd had no reply to his letter to the ANC's President General Oliver Tambo in May.

Earlier this month Chief Buthelezi accused SUNDAY POST of driving a wedge between him and the ANC, and spoke of his "common cause" with the movement.

In a letter which he read to the meeting Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC of being responsible for growing discord among blacks in South Africa.

World's jazz greats to sing for Mandela

SOME of the world's jazz greats, including Ella Fitzgerald and Oscar Peterson, will be performing in honour of Nelson Mandela, who turned 62 last week, at the world's most exclusive jazz concerts this week.

The campaign has been boosted by last week's unanimous call by the Commonwealth Southern Africa Committee for "the immediate and unconditional release" of the jailed ANC leader.

Britain joined its 42 Commonwealth colleagues in this call because, a Foreign Office spokesman explained, it went no further than previous statements made by British ministers in Parliament and at the United Nations.

And birthday messages from politicians, church leaders and trade union leaders were sent from all over the world to Nelson Mandela.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in London, which is co-ordinating the "Free Mandela" campaign there, with the ANC, said messages streamed in last week.

AAM secretary Mr Mike Terry said: "The extent of this support means that sooner or later the British Government will have to do something more direct with the South African authorities to get Mandela released."

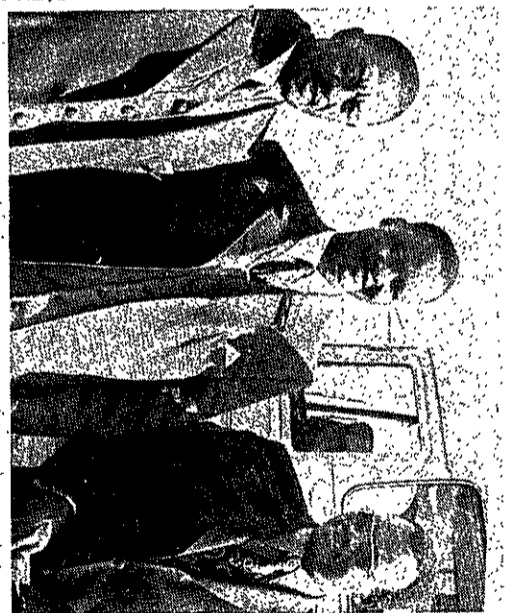
— SUNDAY POST Correspondent.

No freedom for SA without unity

11/8

In this article, exclusive to **SUNDAY POST**, Chief Gatscha Buthelezi described his vision of the direction South Africa is taking and outlines the strategy he believes is most suitable for political action

Friends and enemies — Chief Buthelezi in Soweto, being slammed at a demonstration. With Harry Oppenheimer and, in an old picture, with Mangope and Matanzima.



CONT... →

When Mr Botha started on the process of making constitutional changes, I called for a moratorium on constitutional changes until we had achieved a black-white consensus on where we ought to go.

Mr Botha has seen fit to lead a cabinet which is tampering with the constitutional foundations of this country.

Previously it was a matter of debate whether we required constitutional changes or not. Now, however, constitutional changes will be a necessary concomitant of the democratisation of this country.

Whereas before the South African Government began tampering with our constitution, a national convention was a highly desirable goal to work towards, a national convention is now imperative. White political action has made such a convention an unavoidable event.

As a black in this country, I can understand and deeply appreciate a black search for Utopia. I can understand the persuasiveness of ideologies which hold up Utopian goals.

I can understand how it is possible to urge people in mass meetings to cheer and root for the impossible. I can understand how black organisations are tempted to make Utopian promises to solicit immediate political responses.

I also understand people making promises they cannot keep. But politics is the art of the possible.

When one talks about the future, the rightness or wrongness of what is being said is ultimately determined by the extent to which one correctly perceives the forces of reality at work at a point in time, and also the extent to which one perceives how those realities will change in the future.

There is a limited extent to which one can project present forces into a changing future, and therefore I exercise a great deal of caution and restraint when I talk about the future of South Africa, which has so often been wrongly assessed.

Whatever the ideologists have to say and whatever theoretical moralists have to say, I remain committed to being a servant of the people as they strive to further their vested interests in their day to day lives.

Black South Africa has a long history of paternalistic black elitism prescribing for the masses what is good for them, telling the masses how to behave, prescribing for them what they ought to believe and attempting to inculcate in them value systems which serve ideological ends but which have no tangible benefits to ordinary men and ordinary women.

We have never had a successful industrial strike in this country despite numerous high-powered attempts to mobilise workers to strike on a national scale.

The workers of South Africa have not yet been persuaded that strike action will be productive in furthering their vested interests. I, as a leader, have received no grassroots demands to organise a national strike at this point in time.

As a leader, I have received no demands from the grassroots level to increase black hardship by blocking investment in this country. As a leader, I have received no demands from the grassroots level to organise mobs to go on the rampage and to burn and destroy property.

It is only this way that I see my duty as a leader, which is promoting the greatest good for the biggest number. I simply must have a mandate, a grassroots mandate, not just elitist wishes.

I understand how black anger explodes. I understand the feeling of anger and despair which drives people across our borders

I HAVE on a number of occasions recently been asked to explain how I see the future of South Africa. I am a practical politician with a very large and exacting constituency. I can only speak for them and I must necessarily avoid academic debates.

Prior to the advent of Mr P W Botha's premiership, my viewpoint was that the ideal solution for South Africa was simply to give the black man a vote and let the democratic process itself determine what constitutional changes, if any, were necessary. Existing political institutions were, prior to Mr P W Botha's term of office, sufficiently versatile to enable any leader worth his salt to steer this country in the right direction.

to seek military training for an armed conflict.

I understand the frustration of some of our youth and why they responded as they did in 1976 and again recently. I also understand why the majority of blacks, both young and old, are restrained in their political activity and counsel caution and prudence in response to the hideous repressiveness within which we live, eat and sleep.

I have never precluded the possibility that in the end South Africans may have to kill each other before justice is established. I have repeatedly warned successive Prime Ministers in this country that that possibility is real.

I have again and again on public platforms warned that we are in an

about the future of South Africa, I talk about it as being in the balance between the employment of force and revolution which will be destructive of the necessities of communal life, and the orderly progression towards a shared society in which whites accept blacks as fellow South Africans.

At this point in time, I have absolutely no hesitation in interpreting black public opinion as demanding change by negotiation. In that demand, I hear a black respect for the use of force as an ultimate sanction if everything else fails.

I hear blacks saying to me that everything else has not failed yet, and the time for the employment of force has not yet arisen.

I hear blacks saying to

Africa into a better future. I am less concerned about which form that will take constitutionally, economically and politically than I am concerned that whatever the future holds for us, it should be a future which is authorised by the majority of the people of South Africa.

Every black leader in this country faces a fundamental demand. That demand is for a programme of action which leads to black participation in the power structure of this country. Politics is about the acquisition of power, and democratic politics is about the wielding of that power for the benefit of the people.

I cannot dissociate the evolution of black power and its use from constituency politics. One of the top priorities of Inkatha has always been the development of strong and viable constituencies which are vehicles that can be used by the people to express their aspirations and to encourage leadership in the right direction and censure leadership when it takes wrong directions.

There is no substitute for the hard work of organising people and there are no viable political alternatives which do not employ a disciplined strength to organise people.

Inkatha has laid firm foundations for a mass response to the oppression of the masses.

Every black South African has a role to play in Inkatha, and the workers and the peasants flocking to join Inkatha as they do in their hundreds of thousands is sufficient proof of the acceptability of my leadership. I say this, despite the vitriol of some of the designations which my political opponents publish about me all the time.

We in this country face anarchists both on the extreme right and the extreme left. There is no morality in utopian unrealism, whether it be of the Afrikaner Herrenvolk Brand, or whether it be of the super-left brand who arrogate to themselves the wisdom of the masses.

There is no morality unless it works. There is no morality unless it benefits the masses. Morality has to do with the evolution of a good life.

The employment of power is moral when it translates adverse circumstances into circumstances propitious for the well-being of the people. When one day the history of this period of South Africa's development is written, we will find true radicalism and effective political action traced to mass movements and mass based organisations such as Inkatha.

I find it tragic that so many well meaning but naive people and organisations around the world place a premium on conscientisation programmes for blacks in South Africa. Whenever an organisation calls for conscientisation programmes, it is stigmatised as setting a course which is not a course ordained by the people. I make a classic state-

ment when I state that leaders can be no wiser than their followers and if what the masses are doing is wrong, the masses must discover that for themselves, and in their own time convey that discovery to their leaders.

I make a classic statement when I state that blacks in this country can be trusted with learning the lessons of their own history and evolving a sense of national responsibility.



Chief Buthelezi — the orator.

eleventh hour situation and that uncontrolled violence could erupt. I perceive the current reality in which the seeds of violence have already been sown by white intransigence.

I have never precluded the possibility of using strike action as a political weapon. Nor in principle have I precluded in my thinking that benefits could flow from really effective international sanctions against South Africa.

The voice of black South Africa tells me that all these things are very real possibilities but that same voice tells me not to squander lives and human potential prematurely on half-baked schemes which have no prospects of succeeding.

I hear the voice of black South Africa demanding that I lead them away from the necessity of employing death and destruction as political tools.

I hear black South Africa demanding that I give them hope other than in a direction which will lead to a scorched earth policy. I hear demands in which black South Africa wants me to claim the richness and benefits of this magnificent country for them without destroying the base of those benefits. Thus, when I talk

me that they simply do not believe that any black organisation has a strike capability that can threaten the South African Police, let alone the army.

I hear blacks saying to me that they do not believe that the white man in South Africa will capitulate through fright or as a result of threats.

Whether we agree to it or not, black South Africa is playing a symphony with the various instruments at its disposal sounding different notes. One of these notes is the employment of violence. But the symphony is not played by a one-instrument orchestra, nor is the violence instrument the clearest in the orchestra.

Black South Africa, I believe, is inexorably moving this country to a democratic future. Every black in this country is now assured that the struggle for liberation will be won and we are proud, deeply proud, of the black contribution which is being made to bring about change.

I understand that our future is going to be fashioned out of realities in this country. It is not going to be fashioned by experience elsewhere, and it is not going to be authorised by imported ideologies. I aspire to lead South

Blacks in this country require no mentors. They require no ideologies. They require no

conscientisation. They require only the opportunity of experimenting with their own future so that they can gain from their own experiences. Inkatha is committed to the brand of leadership which gives the people their say and which enable the people to be right or wrong. Any notion that we can arrive at this country's future other than through mass action and mass supported programmes is an illusion. Events may come and go, the pendulum of public opinion may swing from left to right, we will continue to have sporadic outbursts in black communities, we will continue to witness false prophets who rise with

each swing of the pendulum, but in the end that which will endure is constituency politics. And the programmes that will survive the explosive political situation in which we live will be the programmes adopted within the framework of constituency politics where ordinary people have the final say.

Attacking No amount of vitriol can by itself make or unmake leaders however artfully opinion may swing from left to right, we will continue to have sporadic outbursts in black communities, we will continue to witness false prophets who rise with

the nearer their freedom. We are in danger of being in chains even 30 years from now, so long as we see the pulling down of each other as our priority. I have been blamed quite often for some of the faction fights amongst blacks from that region of South Africa where history has located me. These make my heart bleed. I inherited them. Many of these tragic black-on-black confrontations have roots going deep into more than six decades, before I was born. I regard the murders, rapes and assaults amongst blacks in Soweto in the same light. They are all our burdens as blacks.

None of us can wash his or hands, of them. To blame me for them because I happen to be playing a leadership role is not different from British subjects blaming the British Government for failing to stop the killings of people, including their own soldiers in Ireland or to imply that they allowed it. I want to state that I have priorities in this struggle for black liberation, and attacking other blacks is certainly not one of my priorities in that struggle. May I be excused from that kind of activity, for I do not want posterity to see me as having fiddled while Rome burned.

Defamation action against Bishop Ming

11/18/80
S Post
2/17/80

By MANDLA NDLAZI

THE R120 000 lawsuit against Bishop Donald G Ming, former head of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in South Africa will be pursued though costs will be "astronomical," SUNDAY POST was told yesterday.

The suit for defamation was filed before Bishop Ming left the country after his term had expired. He was being sued by Mrs Marina Maponya and Mrs Norah Baduza, who were each claiming R60 000.

Recently back from the church's conference in the US, Mrs Maponya, who was one of the delegates, said: "We'll try and pursue the matter though the costs will be astronomical." She said a final decision would be made after they had met their attorneys.

"It's true Bishop Ming was cleared of maladministration of the church's affairs here, but one can understand who was on the bench," said Mrs Maponya.

She said while the region's delegates were divided, the Americans were unit-



Mrs Marina Maponya, who with Mrs Norah Baduza is suing Bishop Ming, former head of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), for defamation.

ed on the matter. However, said Mrs Maponya, the delegates from home succeeded in making some points that were taken note of by the conference.

Mrs Maponya said the majority of the church's members in South Africa are "tired of being exploited by American bishops who just come here for four years and leave us as poor as ever."

[Faint, illegible handwritten notes and scribbles covering the bottom half of the page.]

9/2

72

ANC wants my blood — Buthelezi

SA Post 20/4/68

THE KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha Chief Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday alleged the African National Congress intended to assassinate him.

Addressing Inkatha's Central Committee meeting at Ulundi, he said the alleged threats were made on a broadcast from Lusaka this week.

ANC death threat to Buthelezi denied

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

SOURCES close to the banned African National Congress in London last night denied South African Sunday Press reports that the ANC had threatened to assassinate the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The sources described the reports as a "mischief-making ploy by the South African Government" to discredit the ANC.

News of the purported threat was reported to have been disclosed to the Sunday Press by the Chief of the Security Police, Brigadier Johan Coetzee. But Brig Coetzee denied this last night, saying he had spoken of an explicit death threat per se.

He told the Rand Daily Mail:

"It is common knowledge that the ANC has taken a very critical and threatening line against Chief Buthelezi. The ANC is a terrorist organisation and under the circumstances one could expect that his life would be threatened and that the South African Police would take the necessary precautions."

The weekend did, however, mark a sharp increase in tension between Inkatha and the ANC following a series of tough statements against the ANC at a meeting of the Inkatha central committee at Ulundi on Saturday.

The meeting was called to discuss the acrimony which has come to characterise relations between Inkatha and the ANC since their talks in London late last year.

Each movement occupies a pivotal political position. Inkatha, because of its efficient organisation and mass support, the ANC because of its pre-eminence abroad and its commitment to "armed struggle".

The Inkatha meeting was the sequel to a series of attacks on Chief Buthelezi by top ANC men, including Mr Alfred Nzo, the ANC secretary-general. The ANC attacks focused on recent political decisions and actions taken by Chief Buthelezi.

At the Ulundi meeting, Chief Buthelezi read a letter which he had written to the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in which he expressed "growing misgiving" over the ANC's atti-

tude to Inkatha, and accused Mr Tambo of creating discord in the black community.

An Inkatha central committee memorandum defended Chief Buthelezi's stand against the boycott of schools by black children at KwaMashu, near Durban.

"It is ludicrous to criticise Inkatha for not backing undisciplined school children's activity, which is not co-ordinated as part of a disciplined, ongoing political strategy," the memorandum said.

"It is highly indicative of ANC political poverty that they find it necessary to laud any event which threatens disruption and any violence initiated by people outside their (the ANC's) constituency."

The memorandum went on to accuse the ANC of "running behind the initiatives which emanate from that element in our youth which can only be described as irresponsible."

Criticism of Chief Buthelezi for purportedly failing to support campaigns to free the imprisoned ANC, Nelson Mandela, were rejected as "ludicrous" by the meeting.

It said Chief Buthelezi had been in the forefront of efforts to secure Mr Mandela's release.

Chief Buthelezi was not available for comment after the Rand Daily Mail had contacted Brigadier Coetzee, but he had earlier criticised the quote attributed to in the Sunday Press to Brigadier Coetzee as one of "suspect motives."



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Homelands reject key Botha plans

By **MICHAEL ACOTT**
 Political Correspondent

CAPE TIMES (22/7)
 21/7/80 (11A)

BLACK homeland leaders have rejected as inadequate three key aspects of government plans for future co-operation, including a separate black council as an adjunct to the President's Council.

A statement by the heads of six non-independent homelands is seen as a severe setback to the way in which the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, hopes to resolve constitutional and economic problems.

After a meeting at the weekend, the leaders accused Mr Botha of not giving effect to their suggestions, thereby reducing their influence as moderates with their own people.

They rejected a separate black council, favouring a President's Council including blacks. This is a further blow to the credibility of the two councils Mr Botha proposes to help evolve a new constitution acceptable to all races.

The President's Council, which would comprise white, coloured, Indian and Chinese members, has already been rejected by the Progressive Federal Party and moderate coloured and Indian leaders because it excludes blacks.

The proposed black council, which could be established by legislation at the short parliamentary session in October, would have powers to consult with the President's Council in key areas, including constitutional development.

"The concept of a separate black council is totally rejected by the assemblies of all self-governing black States, but not necessarily the concept of a President's Council if it includes blacks," the statement by the homelands leaders said.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, made it clear last night that the government would go ahead with plans to have two separate councils, although they would have equal status.

He told SATV that the government could not yield on this because the homelands had developed constitutionally to the point of having statutory self-government, legislative assemblies, cabinets and chief ministers, as well as their own territorial areas. Coloured and Indian people did not have these things.

The homeland leaders also rejected two other aspects of government planning — the formation of a constellation of Southern African States and the

idea of dual citizenship of the constellation and their homelands, to get around their objection to loss of South African citizenship on homeland independence.

They advised the government to postpone plans to establish a constellation of States until South Africa's internal problems had been solved.

The statement, by representatives of Gazankulu, Lebowa, Kwazulu, Qwaqwa, Kangwane and Kwandebele, comes shortly before Mr Botha is due to meet the leaders of three independent former homelands in Pretoria.

The meeting on July 23 with heads of government of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda was described by Mr Botha as a further step on the road to establishing the constellation of States.

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that the conference convenor and Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, told newsmen that the right of blacks to South African citizenship was non-negotiable.

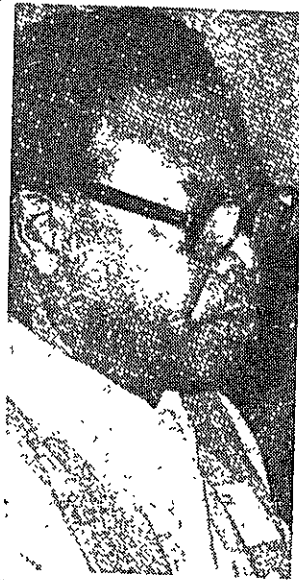
Any form of dual citizenship which offered blacks a claim to South African passports without the corresponding right to political participation in the central government would be unacceptable.

Professor Ntsanwisi accused Mr Botha, of "side-tracking" an earlier request to meet leaders of the non-independent homelands with a view to negotiating with them "as a team" for the drawing up of a joint declaration of intent.

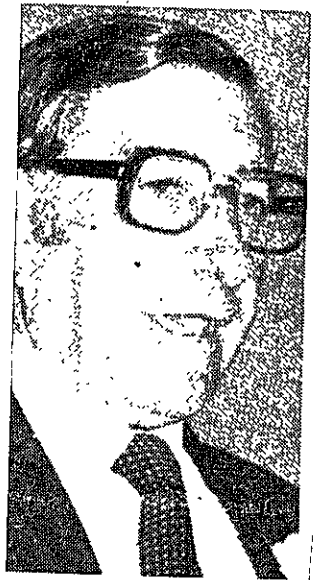
Professor Ntsanwisi spoke of the "frustration" he and his colleagues had experienced in trying to influence the government's policies, and said black leaders who rejected violence and believed in compassion for both white and black would lose their influence.

Referring to past violence in urban areas and subsequent increases in educational spending on urban blacks, Professor Ntsanwisi said it gave some people the impression that violence brought positive results while non-violent representations were ignored.

(News by M P Acott, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town and P Laurence, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg)



Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi



Dr Piet Koornhof

All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

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Vervaardig in Suid-Afrika

ANC given tough warning by Inkatha

Political Reporter

The Central Committee of the 300 000-member Inkatha movement has issued a tough warning to the African National Congress not to carry out its threats to assassinate Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The Central Committee has accused the leadership of the ANC external mission in exile of "poor judgment and political poverty."

"It is now time the ANC understood that if they attempt to carry out their threats and they, indeed, succeed then they will have once and for all sealed their doom," says a resolution adopted by the committee.

The resolution says that by making threats to assassinate the Inkatha president, Chief Buthelezi, the ANC's external mission has assumed responsibility for whatever happens to him in future.

"If black South Africa is to retain an effective and disciplined approach to reconciliation, Inkatha must necessarily develop even further along para-military lines.

"We request the president of Inkatha to introduce para-military approaches to Inkatha activity wherever possible."

● Page 25 — Now the days of wooing are over.

POST

TRANSVAAL

Telephone 27-6081.

NELSON MANDELA turned 62 at the weekend. The former secretary general of the banned African National Congress spent his birthday labouring away at his life imprisonment sentence on Robben Island.

In many countries around the world, a man who has reached that age, could have been considered for release on humanitarian grounds. But not South Africa.

With determined cold blooded business-like manner, Mandela remains in the eyes of our rulers the most hated and the most unwanted man on South African soil.

This newspaper, has now for some months, campaigned for his release from jail. We have been the target of smear campaigns from white politicians and also targets of snide attacks from their black allies.

We pleaded for Mandela's release because we sincerely believed - and our conviction has not wavered at all over the months - that he and he alone stands there as a symbol that could avert disaster overtaking this nation. His release, therefore, is our view, in the national interest and we will continue to say this.

We note with satisfaction that our pleas for his release has touched the hearts of humanity around the world. Many people have joined us in our campaign including South African organisations, whose support have taken the authorities somewhat by surprise.

The Prime Minister and some of his Cabinet Ministers have been making hopeful noises about the need to bring about a new dispensation.

We are convinced that the most dramatic, credible and worthwhile statement of faith they can demonstrate is by releasing Mandela and other political prisoners from jail.

We would then be convinced that they are not paying lip service to the whole principle of negotiation. But that they mean it. It would also enhance this country's image in the eyes of the international community.

We are not saying that it must be done to placate overseas public opinion. We say it must be done because it is the **ONLY** sensible thing to do if we cherish national survival. And because it is only right.

Meanwhile, happy birthday, Rolihlahla.

Inkatha's mission move

Mercury Reporter

THE central committee of the 300 000-strong Inkatha movement has passed a resolution to establish an Inkatha mission abroad and to initiate direct diplomatic contact with black Africa.

At the same time the committee asked Inkatha's president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, to introduce a

Kwazulu Transport boss appeals to Zulus to limit size of families

Mercury Reporter

AN APPEAL to the Zulu people to limit the size of their families was made at the weekend by Dr J Adendorff, chairman of Kwazulu Transport.

Speaking at a Driver Of The Year ceremony at Gamalake township near Port Shepstone, Dr Adendorff

paramilitary approach to Inkatha wherever possible.

During a meeting at Umtata at the weekend, the policy-making arm of the movement asked Chief Buthelezi to assume the role of commander-in-chief of the Youth Service Corps.

It asked him to activate formally the Inkatha Women's Brigade as one of the president's own arms of activity.

said the biggest factors restraining the further prosperity of black people were those of unemployment and over-large families.

'We all know what it costs to raise and educate our children,' he pointed out. 'We all know that this will not become less expensive'

In a paper presented for discussion by the central committee, Chief Buthelezi said a paramilitary development was necessary to provide Inkatha with the protective mechanisms which safeguarded those things it erected in the national interest.

'They will serve the function for which they are intended,' he pointed out.

'Are we then doing our children a favour if we cannot provide them with an adequate upbringing and education, because our families are too large and we cannot bear the cost of their upbringing and education, to feed them, clothe them properly and see them off safely in life?' he asked.

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(119)

**Not
police
job to
protect
me, says
Buthelesi**

Mercury Reporter
CHIEF Gatsha Buthelesi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said yesterday that it was not the function of the police to protect him against death threats from the outlawed African National Congress, unless this was with the permission of the KwaZulu police.

He was reacting to a statement by Brig Johan Coetzee, head of the Security Police, after disclosures that a threat to kill the KwaZulu Chief Minister had been made in an ANC broadcast from Dar-es-Salaam, monitored in Pretoria last week.

Death threat

Brig Coetzee said he took the threat seriously and added that the Security Police would take the necessary steps to try to protect him.

Chief Buthelesi said: 'I don't know why he made that statement. He has not discussed it with me.'

A resolution adopted at a meeting of the central committee of Inkatha held at Ulundi at the weekend said death threats from the ANC's so-called 'Freedom Fodder' indicated contempt for Blacks in South Africa who supported Chief Buthelesi's leadership.

Foolish

They reflected the 'poor judgement' and 'political poverty' of the ANC's external mission-in-exile.

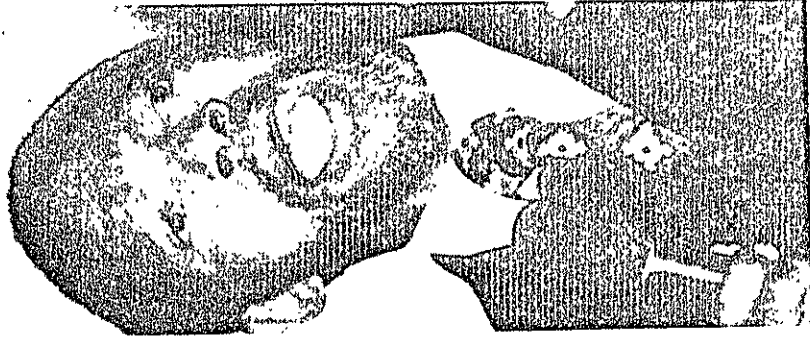
The resolution added that, by foolishly making the threats, the ANC's external mission had laid the foundations for a black civil war and a consequent setback for the black liberation struggle in South Africa.

If the exiled leaders succeeded in carrying out their threats, they would have sealed their doom 'once and for all'. Any hope they might have had

of governing the country would be gone for ever.

11A

Homeland independence may go to court - Motlana



Dr Nthato Motlana ... it must be very difficult for whites to appreciate the depth of feeling ...

PROSPECTS for a reversal of homeland independence were held out by speakers at a weekend seminar on the Quail Commission which recommended stringent conditions for homeland independence.

One of them was Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, who said homeland independence might be contested in court.

He cited the opinion of an American based on a Supreme Court judgment in Cape Town that the Government had

no right to alter boundaries without consulting the provinces.

No group had the right to declare itself independent, and that included those wanting to make the Verwoerd Dam the heartland of "some ridiculous Afrikaner republic," Dr Motlana said.

"In a unitary state like South Africa every one of us has every right of every inch of this land."

Another speaker, Mr Proctor-Sims, secretary of the Quail Commission, said demands for an end to the independence of former homelands might not be far-fetched.

you are registered (e.g. B.A., B.Sc.)

Economics 1A

(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Paper No. 1

(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

14

"We can at least contemplate in theory, and possibly in practice, that the "independence could be unattractive," he said.

He proposed an informal meeting of representatives of all South Africans along the lines of a national convention. The results might be very persuasive, he said.

His firm, which provided the secretariat for the Quail Commission, was using its neutral position to help bring about such a meeting, he added.

Professor George Quail, chairman of the commission said the commission

had spelled out "five overwhelming reasons" why independence should be rejected by the Ciskei.

But all South Africans were affected by the arguments presented.

"Had this debate taken place earlier, the independence of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda would not have proceeded with," the professor said.

CISKEI

Dr Motlana disagreed that the Quail report would discourage remaining homelands from taking independence.

He was convinced that the Ciskei would take independence.

The Government's aim was to deny blacks their South African citizenship, he said.

"It must be very difficult to you white South Africans to appreciate the depth of feeling, of anger, of frustration, of determination to do anything, and I mean anything, to regain that citizenship", Dr Motlana said

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, told the seminar that a commitment to a "common citizenship in an undivided South Africa" was necessary for any serious talks on a resolution of the 'South African crisis.'

The Bishop said the Quail Commission had unintentionally worked from the premise that parts of South Africa could be balkanised. In a sense it had given respectability to "a thing that we deplore with every fibre of our being."

Examiners' Initials	
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NOTE CAREFULLY

WARNING

1. The answers only on the right hand side of the page

(1/1) Post
22/7/80

Matter of fact

IN a report under the heading: "June 16 Remembered in London" it was inadvertently reported that the memorial service was chaired by Mr Drake Koka of the African National Congress.

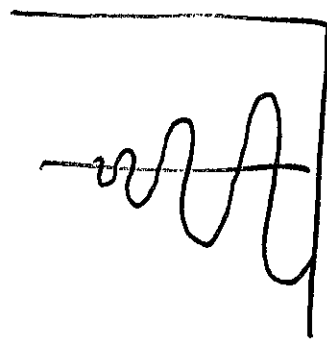
ANC participated. Mr Koka has in fact never been a member of the ANC, while Mr Setlhapelo belong to the ANC (Nationalist) group. The ANC did not in fact participate in that memorial service, according to our London office. We regret both errors.

The report also said Mr O K Setlhapelo of the

Explosive



Anti dumped



Report restricted

Stars 22/7/80

(10) (2/2)
**Lusaka speaks
on Gatsha 'plot'**

The debate over an alleged African National Congress assassination plot against Chief Gatsha Buthezi was carried a stage further today by a statement emanating from ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

The Star cannot publish details because of the law which forbids publication of statements from banned organisations such as the ANC.

ANC threat to kill Buthelezi denied

CAPC Times

22/7/80

1/2/2

11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Sources close to the banned African National Congress in London have denied South African Sunday press reports that the ANC had threatened to assassinate the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The sources described the reports as a "mischief-making ploy by the South African Government" to discredit the ANC.

News of the purported threat was reported to have been disclosed to the Sunday press by the chief of the security police, Brigadier Johan Coetzee. But Brigadier Coetzee denied he had spoken of an explicit death threat.

He said: "It is common knowledge that the ANC has taken a very critical and threatening line against Chief Buthelezi. The ANC is a terrorist organization and under the circumstances one could expect that his life would be threatened and that the South African police would take the necessary precautions."

At the weekend there was a sharp increase in tension between Inkatha and the ANC, following a series of tough statements against the ANC at a meeting of the Inkatha Central Committee at Ulundi on Saturday.

The meeting was called to discuss the acrimony which has come to characterize relations between Inkatha and the ANC since their talks in London late last year.

Each movement occupies a pivotal political position. Inkatha, because of its efficient organization and mass support, the ANC because of its pre-eminence abroad and its commitment to "armed struggle".

Meeting a sequel to verbal attacks

The Inkatha meeting was the sequel to a series of attacks on Chief Buthelezi by top ANC men, including Mr Alfred Nzo, the ANC secretary-general. The ANC attacks focused on recent political decisions and actions taken by Chief Buthelezi.

At the Ulundi meeting, Chief Buthelezi read a letter which he had written to the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in which he expressed "growing misgiving" over the ANC's attitude to Inkatha, and accused Mr Tambo of creating discord in the black community.

An Inkatha Central Committee memorandum defended Chief Buthelezi's stand against the boycott of schools by black children at KwaMashu, near Durban.

"It is ludicrous to criticize Inkatha for not backing undisciplined school children's activity, which is not co-ordinated as part of a disciplined, on-going political strategy," the memorandum said.

"It is highly indicative of ANC political poverty that they find it necessary to laud any event which threatens disruption and any violence initiated by people outside their (the ANC's) constituency."

Criticism of Chief Buthelezi for purportedly failing to support campaigns to free Nelson Mandela, was rejected as "ludicrous" by the meeting.

It said Chief Buthelezi had been in the forefront of efforts to secure Mr Mandela's release.

Chief Buthelezi was not available for comment, but earlier he criticized the quote attributed to the Sunday press to Brigadier Coetzee as one of "suspect motives".

• A statement by the ANC has been excised from this report in terms of the Internal Security Act, which forbids publication of statements by banned organizations.

Senior NIC detainee home

Mercury Reporter

A SENIOR Natal Indian Congress vice-president, Dr Farook Meer, back home from detention under the Internal Security Act, said yesterday he was determined to 'work for a peaceful and democratic South Africa'.

Speaking from his sickbed at home in Howell Road, Durban, he said: 'I don't know why I was detained,' adding the NIC had played a constructive and responsible role during the recent schools boycott.

Dr Meer, who was first detained on June 6 under

Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act, was served with a document at the Johannesburg General Hospital, where he had been a patient under prison guard, informing him of his release. He had been taken to the hospital from Modder B Prison in Benoni after suffering from a spinal complaint, he said.

Other NIC members still in detention include; its president, Mr George Sewpersadh; vice-president, Mr M J Naidoo; and senior members, Mr Paul David, Mr Thumba Pillay, Mr Satch Morgan and Mr A S Chetty, all attorneys.

500 23/11/00

BACKG

Despite their widely divergent views on the use of violence as a means of bringing about change, the banned African National Congress and the Zulu Inkatha movement managed to develop a dialogue. But, writes Political Reporter TOM DUFF:

Now the days of wooing are over

The row this week between Inkatha and the African National Congress in exile brings to a halt one of the most fascinating courtships between two South African political organisations.

Inkatha, the 300 000-member movement headed by kwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has expanded in the past five years to become a formidable force in South African politics.

As Inkatha grew, it was natural that exiled groups abroad should begin to take an interest in the organisation. Indeed, several of Inkatha's aims embodied the ideals of the old, non-violent ANC.

Over the years a dialogue of sorts developed between Inkatha and the ANC in exile when leading Inkatha members travelling abroad met ANC members. According to some sources, cordial relations developed even though Inkatha maintained its opposition to violence as a means of change in South Africa.

JITTERS

A meeting between Chief Buthelezi and the acting ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in London last year created banner headlines — and must have given some members of the South African Government a bad case of the jitters.

But in recent months it has become clear that relations between the two organisations had begun to cool. Last month at the annual conference of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi made it clear that he did not feel that the ANC was according Inkatha its proper due.

"I speak in love and comradeship and in the profound hope that the ANC will not throw down the gauntlet in front of Inkatha. I and Inkatha make no bid to become rivals to the ANC," he said.

"We seek only to speak to the ANC as black South Africans. We seek to express our deep concern if we do so somewhat nervous of the ANC's ability to respond with insight and wisdom."

All this has now culminated in Inkatha members claiming they have evidence of an ANC threat to assassinate Chief Buthelezi. The Inkatha central committee has issued a stern warning to the ANC leadership.

At the same time, the committee has again rejected the use of force as a means for change. It has pledged to continue pursuing dialogue with white South Africa at all levels in search of peaceful solutions.

"We express faith in our president that such dialogue does not imply moving closer to the South African Government," says a resolution adopted by the committee.



Ms Vesta Smith thinks women are completely liberated. "I don't see why I should stand on a platform to shout about my femininity."

Should we be fighting a feminist or a national struggle?



Mrs Angeline Makweta . . . "The women's struggle and the black man's fight for liberation go hand in glove."

SHOULD black people fight a common cause as an oppressed people or should black women fight against sexual oppression first. That black women are doubly oppressed in South Africa is a fact. They abhor being treated as third class citizens all day long at work but coming home to be "slaves" to husbands and fathers is detested just as strongly. This being the case, should black women fight against sexual oppression first before embarking on a national struggle alongside their men?

Interviews conducted by POST Woman revealed that women differ on what they are fighting for. Some said the struggle was against male oppression and others said they were fighting for their human rights as black people and not really as women.

A SOCIAL worker who refused to be named, said she did not believe in women's liberation.

"For black men and women, the struggle is one and it cannot be divided according to our sex. Once we start splitting the struggle into units we will lose direction and concentrate on trivial issues which are not relevant.

"We do admit and accept some of the changes brought into our culture through contact with foreigners, but we can't waste our time with this ideological women's struggle whose origins I'm certain is unknown to most women," she argued.

NATIONAL

Mrs Thabile Mangena, who works for a college in the city said she believed in fighting for national liberation first. "I have to be liberated as a human being before I can fight for woman's rights," she said.

Mrs Angeline Makweta, a social worker and recruiting officer, said the black woman's struggle and the black man's fight for liberation went hand in glove.

"We have to fight for our legal status, equal education for our child-

ren and wives who are assaulted by their men,

"We definitely need one big women's movement which should be geared in the right direction and see exactly what we want to achieve," she said.

Ms Thembi Masuku (25) a university student from Mofolo Soweto said: "Women have no business to think of themselves as separate entities. Whatever black women claim to be fighting for should not be divorced from the struggle of the people everywhere, men and women, against the present structure.

VICTORY

"Victory in the long and difficult struggle for liberation will also be victory for the black women."

Ms Vesta Smith, a Noordgesig community worker doesn't align herself with the feminists either.

"I think women are completely liberated, I don't see why I should stand on a platform to shout about my femininity," she said.

"Women have played important roles in our country's politics, and as the old saying goes: 'behind every successful man there is a woman.'"

"Women were intended to be mothers, and they mustn't forget their traditional roles as wives, irrespective of their position in the

community," Ms Smith added.

Ms Thenjiwe Dlephu, a public relations officer for a carpet manufacturing shop in the city said she strongly disagreed with the old belief that a woman's role is in the kitchen.

INDEPENDENT

"Black women have changed, they are now independent and want to prove their capabilities. It is for this reason that we need to organise ourselves into a movement to fight for our rights.

Ms Dlephu said she didn't think that women's liberation organisations retarded the struggle for national liberation.

"There is nothing like that," she retorted.

"I know of women who are holding high positions at work and in our society and still play important roles in politics," she said.

"Women's liberation movements help women to adopt a precise position of their success and also make men respect us, a thing they didn't do in the past.

"They also encourage other women to be independent and strive to improve themselves. Men are gradually accepting the roles now played by the women and they are encouraging us," she said.

Courtship is over

24/7/80 ARGUS

11A

JOHANNESBURG. —

The row this week between Inkatha and the African National Congress in exile brings to a halt one of the most fascinating courtships between two South African political organisations.

Inkatha, the 300 000-member movement headed by Kwazulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has expanded in the past five years to become a formidable force in South African politics.

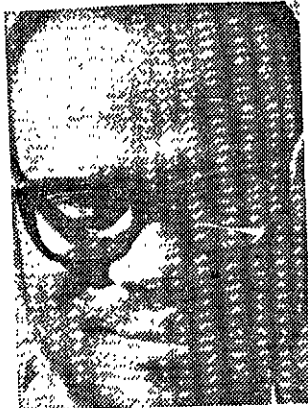
As Inkatha grew, it was natural that exiled groups abroad should begin to take an interest in the organisation. Indeed, several of Inkatha's aims embodied the ideals of the old non-violent ANC.

Over the years a dialogue of sorts developed between Inkatha and the ANC when leading Inkatha members travelling abroad met ANC members. According to some sources, cordial relations developed even though Inkatha maintained its opposition to violence as a means of change in South Africa.

A meeting between Chief Buthelezi and the acting ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in London last year created banner headlines — and must have given some members of the South African Government a bad case of the jitters.

However, in recent months it has become

THE Argus Johannesburg correspondent reports on the rift between Inkatha and the ANC.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi



Mr Oliver Tambo

clear that relations between the two organisations had begun to cool. Last month at the annual conference of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi made it clear that he did not feel that the ANC was according to Inkatha its proper due.

'I speak in love and comradeship and in the profound hope that the ANC will not throw down the gauntlet in front of Inkatha. I and Inkatha make no bid to become rivals to the ANC,' he said.

'We seek only to speak to the ANC as black South Africans. We seek to express our deep concern if we do so somewhat nervous of the ANC's abil-

ity to respond with insight and wisdom.'

All this has now culminated in Inkatha's members claiming they have evidence of an ANC threat to assassinate Chief Buthelezi. The Inkatha central committee has issued a stern warning to the ANC leadership.

At the same time, the committee has again rejected the use of force as a means for change. It has pledged to continue pursuing dialogue with white South Africa at all levels in search of peaceful solutions.

'We express faith in our president that such dialogue does not imply moving closer to the South African Government,' says a resolution adopted by the committee.

Credibility of black moderates damaged

11A

The credibility of moderate black leaders had been badly damaged by the Government's failure to hear or act on their pleas to improve the living standards of blacks, Mr. David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Council said yesterday.

He was speaking at the laying of a foundation stone for a commercial school in Soweto. The school is backed by the American Chamber of Commerce and will accept 120 first-year students next year.

Mr Thebehali said black

leaders had been at pains to explain to the Government what blacks needed.

"The man in Soweto heard his leader ask, ask, and ask again. Then he saw his leader rejected, defamed, humiliated and cheated. By refusing to listen and act, the Government has caused untold harm to moderate black leadership in the townships," Mr Thebehali said.

Black leaders were asking for better schools, decent education, better housing and meaningful employment, but the Government would not listen, said Mr Thebehali.

Move on tribal marriage opposed

Black women leaders are strongly opposed to the Anglican Church's Canon which recognises African customary union because they say it perpetuates the inferior status of women.

Mrs. Sally Motlana, president of the Black Housewives' League and one of the most vociferous opponents of the Canon, said it would come under fire at the league's annual general meeting in September.

She said the proposal to recognise customary union was made at a male dominated conference and not debated by women, who would suffer most from its consequences. "It comes at a time

when we black women are encouraging all women to marry with civil rights," she said.

If both the Government and the Church agreed on the recognition of customary union, the problems would be partly solved as women could then sue their husbands for adultery and bigamy.

Mrs. Motlana said the present migrant labour system encouraged men to marry more than once.

At an early age men married women in the rural areas by customary union and raised families. When they went to town and met sophisticated urban girls they married again in civil ceremonies. The Government did not recognise the custo-

mary union if the man was already married by civil rites.

The woman married under customary union had no legal protection such as maintenance rights or claims on the man's estate if he died intestate. "This results in a lot of unhappy women," said Mrs. Motlana.

If a man is married by customary union only, then on his death a Commissioner (from the Department of Co-operation and Development) administers the estate to which his heirs from the union are entitled.

Mrs. Motlana said even if a man's first customary union was blessed by the Anglican Church there was nothing to stop him from legally marrying in a

civil ceremony or changing his religion and marrying again by customary union.

The first wife would have no legal recourse.

The Canon was introduced by the Rt. Rev. James Schuster, Bishop of St John's (Transkei) at the Church's Provincial Synod at the end of last year and supported by 130 votes to 18.

A provision is that neither partner is bound by another civil or customary contract.

It will be up to the individual's conscience to declare whether he is still married in any other way.

The Archbishop of Um-tata, the Ven. Anthony Ainsley, said the Church had decided to recognise customary union as an

acknowledgement of the equal rights of African culture.

"We introduced the Canon to help the Christian in the Transkei where customary union is now recognised by law but I'm not sure what the legal situation is in South Africa," he said.

"We don't endorse polygamy. We require an undertaking from the couple that they intend to live monogamously and have injected Christian ideals into the marriage," he said.

"We found in the past couples were reluctant to marry according to Christian rites if they were already married by customary union. Now they can be blessed by the Church," he said.

Mrs. Debbie Mabletsa, women's director of the South African Council of Churches supported Mrs. Motlana and said by imposing the Church was condoning polygamy and there was no indication in the Bible that this was right.

Besides if you want a house in an urban area you need a marriage certificate not the blessing of the Church," she said bluntly.

A social worker at the SACC, Mrs. Joyce Siwani said it was anachronistic for the Church to recognise customary union. "They say people must move with the times and because they are not able to make them do it on all levels they cover up their shortcomings by recognising customary union.

"I doubt if the people at the Synod know what customary union means to the woman experiencing the results of it.

"It creates conflict in the minds of women and does not foster family life," she said.

Mrs. Tembani Ramokgopa, a social worker at the Family Life Centre agreed.

"In the traditional society customary union could not be abused because there was an in-built system to prevent this happening.

"Women now have no protection with customary union because the man can take the property they have both worked for. An urban black woman needs legal protection.



SALLY MOTLANA — opposed to the Anglican Church recognising customary union.

ever possible;"

● Seek the establishment around Buthelezi, as president, of "a smaller executive structure designed to assist him and the secretary general to mobilise the people by strengthening Inkatha."

According to Inkatha sources, the movement remains committed to rapprochement with the ANC. But Buthelezi has warned that, if there is a black civil war, the ANC will have to share the blame.

Buthelezi has in the past warned that, should his efforts at internal dialogue through "the non-violent approach" prove fruitless, he, too, may go into exile. In this respect, the creation of an external branch could be significant. Further, an external wing could provide him with a platform from which to challenge the ANC's apparent hegemony in SA exile politics.

Some Afrikaans press circles are abuzz about the importance of the ANC-Inkatha fallout. It follows talk among Afrikaans verligtes about the possibility that Afrikaner nationalism can reach a mature understanding with Inkatha.

But Buthelezi has repeatedly rejected speculation of a separate deal with Afrikanerdom as "vilification and swearing." He says he remains committed to a national convention.

Where Inkatha will now align itself, and what its options are in this respect, are of major importance — particularly in the light of Inkatha's broad adherence to free enterprise as opposed to the ANC's social-

ism. It appears Inkatha believes the strength of its internal organisation is such that it occupies the centre of black politics.

BLACK POLITICS

Talking tough

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement is becoming more militaristic in response to the hostility of the banned African National Congress.

This was indicated in resolutions passed at a special central committee meeting of Inkatha. The meeting coincided with a disputed press report that the ANC might try to assassinate Buthelezi.

The central committee resolved to:

- Establish an Inkatha mission abroad;
- Ask Buthelezi to head a "Youth Services Corps," which, while basically welfare-orientated, could, according to observers, lend itself to paramilitary activities;
- Ensure that Inkatha develops "even further along paramilitary lines," and urge Buthelezi to "introduce paramilitary approaches to Inkatha activity wher-



Buthelezi . . . Inkatha talking tough after ANC fallout

11a

FM 25/7/80

Inkatha to stay out of election

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha, the Zulu cultural movement headed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu, will not participate in the Soweto Council elections on September 27.

Mr Peter Davidson, the movement's publicity officer on the West Rand, said that Inkatha would not participate in community council elections until the councils were economically viable.

He said involvement in community councils at this stage could be damaging or disastrous to Inkatha's image.

The government could make the Soweto Council economically viable by giving it the land it controlled and the houses on it, said Mr Davidson.

"Once the council has land as its assets, its capacity to borrow money for the development of the area would grow. The granting of the land must be backed by law, not just an administrative directive, to safeguard all parties concerned," he said.

If the council owned the land and the houses, it would, like any other municipality, have an economic base from which to build its revenue. It could not only finance itself from services, but also from levying rates on property and from licences.

'Land tenure will give residents a stake'

Mr Davidson said the granting of land tenure would give residents a stake in the area.

"The main problem in the township today is that the land on which Soweto stands belongs to the government, and the houses to the Department of Community Development.

"Can it then be fair for the people of Soweto to pay for the installation of infrastructure on land which does not belong to them, something that should have been done from the onset anyway?

"We feel it would be much fairer if, at least, the land was given or transferred to the council," Mr Davidson said.

If that were done, political resistance among residents to paying and maintaining what did not belong to them would disappear.

"Inkatha is not doctrinaire, but practical. When and if these fundamental changes are made by the government, Inkatha will show its appreciation by fielding candidates who are likely to produce the desired results," Mr Davidson said.

NOW IT'S GATSHA'S ARMY

Post 27/7/80

11A



Chief Buthelezi... building up an organisation that could challenge the Government and the ANC.

Inkatha will be run on para-military lines 'to protect our schools'

By DAVID NIDDRIE

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi is to turn his powerful Inkatha movement into a tightly-disciplined para-military force.

It will be used to combat national disasters — and, according to Chief Buthelezi, “to safeguard those things we erect” — such as schools.

“If Black South Africa is to retain an effective and disciplined approach to reconciliation, Inkatha must necessarily develop even further along para-military lines,” the central committee of Inkatha stated in a special report approved last week.

At the height of the boycotts and riots last month in Natal, Chief Buthelezi called on his supporters to form vigilante groups to protect property in townships — and, if need be, to kill rioters attempting to destroy property.

He also urged pupils not to boycott classes.

Mr Deon Fourie of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies warned yesterday that when political parties — “and Inkatha is a political party” — began organising para-military groups for protective functions, “they inevitably turn into gangs of bully boys, which often challenge their creators”.

Inkatha also plans to send a diplomatic mission abroad and establish diplomatic links with Black

Man 11A

Tell PW to give up power

SIR — The Prime Minister should know that the reasons behind the strikes and riots are:

- The fact that no man is superior to another, and no race is inferior on this earth.
 - Blacks are conscious of their right to citizenships of South Africa.
 - The legalised lawlessness of apartheid.
 - The aspiration we learn from the scriptures — guerillas are as bloody as David who won against the evil of the oppressor of Israel. The people of God believed in bloodshed when negotiations failed.
 - The failure of Bantu Education.
- SACC, tell them to surrender. They cannot fight the dragon they have created.
- EDWARD PHIRI.
Ikagen Location.

Change, not reform, is needed

SIR — People know their leaders. The meeting between the SACC delegation, headed by Bishop Tutu, and the South African Government, led by the Prime Minister, P W Botha, will be an historic event.

But before I go into details of this, I would like to point out that

such a meeting could still be subjected to criticism because the demands and grievances which the Bishop is going to present to the Prime Minister are not the initial causes of the unpeaceful and unrestful situation in our country.

I am not opposed to

the Bishop's move, but what is at issue is whether he has been appointed by the people to negotiate with Botha?

Can such meetings reduce the black-white polarisation.

The Bishop is advocating the repeal of unjust laws like the Mixed Marriage Act.

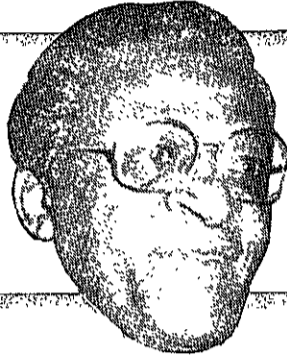
mass removals of people, detention without trial and so on. But do we think that if these laws are recovered it will be the end of oppression?

Tutu is concerned with the introduction of reforms in the Pretoria minority regime. The people do not want reformation of the

system which is rotten to the core. What is needed is a complete change of Government.

P W Botha should negotiate with the authentic leaders of the people, the people languishing in prisons, and in exile.

AUBREY RAMOUI.
Ga-Rankwa.



The release of all political prisoners is high on the list of topics SUNDAY POST readers think the South African Council of Churches ought to discuss with the Prime Minister on August 7. What do you think should be discussed? Send your letter to YOUR VIEW, Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. There will be a prize of R20 for the best letter.



Abolish unjust laws

SIR — I thank the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha for agreeing to meet the SACC delegation, on August 7. They should discuss:

- The release of all political prisoners
- Equal education and equal salaries for all our teachers
- The abolishment of unjust laws and freedom for blacks to move around the Republic of South Africa
- Allowing blacks to have their own government
- Stopping riots by curing the causes
- Building schools for blacks rather than prisons.

After the discussion, we would like to see P W Botha and his Government ending all our grievances. We would like to see a change in our education system, otherwise the school boycott will continue until we have achieved success.

KwaMashu. SIPHO QHUMBA MBATHA.

Time is running out for PW Botha

SIR — Now that the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has agreed to meet the South African Council of Churches delegation under the leadership of the hard-hitting and no-nonsense Bishop Desmond Tutu, I say congratulations to both leaders.

Dialogue and not violence will probably save this crumbling country. Mr P W Botha must realise that time is running out for dictatorial actions. Blacks, especially the youth, are losing hope in discussion. They no longer see any future in dialogue and have no

confidence in the present Government.

So for him to win them back, let him meet the bishop with an open mind. I am one of those who is watching the outcome of the talks with eyes opened, ears pricked and mind alerted. Mr Botha should avoid a "we-thought-as-much" outcry by simply listening and coming forward with brave and wise resolutions.

Forget about Treurnicht! We demand the immediate release of all detainees, the return of exiles, and the scrapping of all discriminatory laws in South Africa. The release of detainees is important if the Government is prepared to reach a peaceful settlement.

By settlement, I mean genuine agreements that will satisfy every South African, regardless of colour. Dr Piet Koornhof announced in America that apartheid is dead. We call on the Government to invite all population groups to its burial. At this stage the decomposed body is still smelling and fast regaining consciousness.

P W Botha can start avoiding bloodshed by openly denouncing the



Dr Koornhof: Is apartheid dead?

pass laws, influx control and the vicious security laws.

Bishop Desmond Tutu must tell the Prime Minister to introduce legislation which makes any discriminatory remark illegal. Let racial remarks be punishable by law in South Africa.

Tell the PM that opening a few white restaurants to blacks without decent salaries is like driving a car without wheels. We do not have money to buy from these eating houses. We want equal pay for equal work.

The Government should be told that there are no inciters, agitators or instigators among the blacks. These are found in the statute books. Burn these books and calm will return to South Africa.

The meeting with the Bishop must serve as a yardstick for the

country's future. Use this chance wisely. The talks will be do-or-die for all South Africans. If Nelson Mandela, Co van Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and all other political detainees are released, the country can look forward to a round table national convention.

Desmond Tutu should tell the honourable Prime Minister that Government appointed leaders are looked on by blacks as puppets. Let him know that we want to choose our own leaders and not have them forced on us. Most of our leaders are rotting in jail, exiled or banned.

We want freehold rights on our property and not leasehold.

Finally, Mr P W Botha should be told that we want our own, our only newspapers, World and Weekend World back.

Give the security police less power by meeting the Bishop as a Christian church leader, who is not communist inspired.

The country is facing a crisis unless some people put the country's interests as priority and not the interests of the Nationalists. We want freedom.

MUZIWAKHE "HARVEST FACTS" DUBAZANA Katilehong.

Equal rights for all

SIR — P W Botha must know that we are tired of being fed propaganda.

The SACC should tell him we want:

- Universal franchise;
- Equal rights for all;
- The return of the country to its people;
- Equitable re-distribution of the land;
- Equality before the law;
- Employment and work security for all;
- Free and compulsory education for all.

He should know that the uprisings are caused by the unjust laws of South Africa.

PATRICK MALOPE.
Dennilton.

Relax influx control

SIR — P W Botha must realise it is time for a change. The SACC should tell him:

- That people should be judged on merit not colour.
- To relax influx control.
- To legalise shebeens as they are a disgrace to our society.
- To relax pass laws.
- To give us equal work.
- To lift the ban on the ANC and PAC.
- To give us one uniform education.
- That privileges should be for all races.
- That citizenship should be for everybody.

ZWELETHU.
TSHANDU.
Pimville.

Look at how we're educated

SIR — I want to thank the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha for the positive step he has taken in agreeing to meet the SACC.

I think the issue of education is important and should be discussed, more especially since we are experiencing boycotts in schools.

● In one education system careers should be opened for black inspectors who are now called assistant-inspectors.

Thinking that different education departments help the cultural development of races is a lie.

S A NTLOLA.
Bloemfontein.

Present the Freedom Charter

SIR — I think the SACC should present the Prime Minister P W Botha with the Freedom Charter that appeared in the SUNDAY POST on June 29 and with good reasons for the release of Mandela.

They should also tell him:

- To scrap the homelands and give us full South African citizenship.

● To use the police against crime in black townships and hostels and not against protesting students.

● If homelands are not scrapped, he should let those who are in favour of them go there and those who do not favour them be free from them.

JACK MATOME MASHIAPATA
Seshego.

SUNDAY POST SCRIPT

SUNDAY POST, July 27, 1980

MAKING a promise is one thing, but keeping it is another. There is a promise I want to make today to readers of this column. This is the last time I write anything either for or against Inkatha and its leadership — that is if the Lord will help me stick to my word.

You see, last week I got the shock of my life when I found a big brown envelope on my desk. Inside was a booklet. What made my heart skip a beat was that the book had the ANC's colours, black, green and gold. I soon remembered that Inkatha uses the same colours as the ANC for their uniforms and other items. This book was the organisation's constitution sent to me by the organisation's Press liaison officer, Mr Peter Davidson.

In a letter accompanying the constitution, Mr Davidson stated that he was sending me the constitution at Inkatha's expense "so that your criticism might be made from a promise of knowledge about its claims, objectives and the mechanics of its constitution."

He even indicated his willingness to clarify any point I may want to raise with him after reading the constitution. I honestly thought it was a brilliant idea to meet Inkatha people to straighten out certain issues with them. This is because I am aware of the bad blood between them and myself. They believe



SAM MABE has been

accused of hating Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (right).

This week Sam Mabe looks at the ideological differences between himself and the Chief and offers observations about the Inkatha constitution. Membership is voluntary but the fact that only Kwazulu citizens may be elected to the Central Committee is rather like saying that South Africa belongs to all but only whites may govern. He also promises never to write about Inkatha again.



that I hate Inkatha. Remember, a few weeks ago Chief Gatsha Buthelezi accused me of being after his blood. A similar accusation was made against the ANC last week.

It is common knowledge that I have ideological differences with Chief Buthelezi, but I do not really hate him. And to think of killing him would be wishful thinking because I'm no criminal.

All the same, there are certain issues I thought I could thrash out with Mr Davidson. But after re-reading the last paragraph of his letter, I thought seriously about the matter. In the end I decided I would not meet him. The paragraph read: "Oh, by the way, anybody who seriously thinks that Inkatha is

statements made in the name of Inkatha or by members of Inkatha.

I have always been under the impression that Inkatha membership was automatic for Kwazulu civil servants or those who attended school in Kwazulu. But according to the constitution, membership is voluntary.

The constitution also states that no person shall be eligible for election as a member of the Central Committee unless he is a Kwazulu citizen, is Herate and conversant with the languages of Kwazulu, is without a criminal record and is a registered voter for the purpose of Legislative Assembly elections.

Earlier rumours that Inkatha was non-racial or non-tribal have been dispelled by the mere mention of Kwazulu citizenship. This means Inkatha accepts that Zulus are citizens of Kwazulu and not South Africa. This is an unacceptable Pretoria-created concept.

And if Inkatha is a national organisation as the constitution states, why should the word Kwazulu feature anywhere in it. If Inkatha is open to all ethnic groups but office bearers must be Zulus, it is similar to Dr Koorhof telling us that South Africa belongs to all but power is for whites only.

And who is a criminal? Pretoria has its own context. I imagine that we blacks have our own context too. What is Inkatha's? Any mention of the Legislative Assembly highlights the tribalistic tendencies of Inkatha because Legislative Assemblies would not use Non-tribalistic organisations would not use those bodies as yardsticks for the eligibility of office.

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A SPOKESMAN for the African National Congress has accused the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Israel as being partners with South Africa "in the crime of apartheid".

Addressing the United Nations Women's Conference in Copenhagen Mrs Mavis Nhlapo said: "It is common knowledge that these countries collaborated with South Africa economically and politically."

"First and foremost these partners of aggression... exploitation have pledged to stop the liberation struggle by all means and at all costs. If the children of Sweto are in the way, if the workers are in the way if the Saldanha Bay women workers are in the way, then they must

SA in spotlight at Copenhagen women's conference

ANC hits racism partners

be removed in the most brutal way."

Mrs Nhlapo said "merciless killings" would continue in South Africa until there had been a radical change in the West's attitude towards South Africa.

Mrs Nhlapo's attack was just one of many levelled against South Africa at the conference. Condemnations came from the United States, Australia, the Ukraine, Mozambique, Hungary, Costa Rica, Denmark,

Malaysia, India, Israel, West Germany, the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and Swapo.

Miss Lucia Hamutenya of Swapo, who was detained by the SWA/Namibian authorities for several months before leaving SWA/Namibia permanently, told the conference South Africa remained in SWA/Namibia for three reasons:

- To exploit cheap black labour,
- To extract the territory's vast wealth, parti-

cularly its mineral wealth.

- To use the territory as a political and geographical barrier against independent Africa.

The reception of the "racist settler" Dirk Mudge by the United States, Britain and West Germany clearly demonstrated the complicity and hypocrisy of these countries, she said.

Mrs Sieglinde Roser of West Germany supported a speedy and non-violent transition to full equality for all races in South Africa.

West Germany was not convinced that the severing of all contact with South Africa would speed up the process.

"A continuation of dialogue will serve the process best," she said. "We try to use existing contacts to diminish discrimination. We support all peaceful efforts to abolish apartheid."

A PLO delegate who condemned "the unholy

alliance" between the two "racist regimes" of Israel and South Africa was told by an Israeli delegate, Miss Tamar Eschel, that Israel rejected all forms of racism and discrimination including apartheid.

The use of apartheid as a vehicle of anti-Israel propaganda made for a "gross travesty of the truth," she said.

Mrs Carolyn Wiltshire of Australia called on South African Women to see the alternatives

before them: the continuation of apartheid, escalating violence and calamity, or the recognition of common humanity and the opening up of avenues of understanding, reconciliation, and the opportunity to live in peace.

Mrs Dorothy Height of the United States told the committee that nowhere in the world were women's problems as severe as they were in South Africa and SWA/Namibia.

She said it was recognised in the United States that her country would never reach its full potential until all its groups shared in the benefits of society. — SUNDAY POST Correspondent.

...sidents, trains run late, misinterpretations, board meetings, and so on. What may be usefully categorised, is the ability of society to deal with such problems.

7: This is in essence very similar to Gerson's concept of considering the negotiations by which patterns of commitment organisation are defined ([17]).

8: See e.g. [23]; Chapter V of [35]; pp. 53-54 and 59 of *The Homeless Mind*, [42]; pp. 10-14 of [82].

W/M 29/7/80
11/8

Natal plan appeals to two groups

Mercury Reporter

INDIAN and coloured leaders in Natal appear to favour the principles of the Lombard Plan to turn Natal into a multiracial, highly autonomous region, possibly under the leadership of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Mr Y. S. Chinsamy, leader of the Reform Party and vice-chairman of the S.A. Black Alliance, yesterday expressed his wholehearted support for the plan.

He said Natal should be excised from the other provinces.

'We should get on with a Natal Government,' he said.

As long as Chief Buthelezi was at the helm, there would be no problems with race relations, he maintained.

Mr Norman Middleton, Natal leader of the Labour Party, said he was in favour of the principles behind the plan.

Minority groups

Some of the mechanics, such as dividing Natal and giving powers to minority groups, would still have to be debated around the table, he declared.

Mr J. B. Patel, leader of the Democratic Party, called the plan a novel innovation in political thinking which needed to be examined more closely and in depth to establish the thinking and views of all racial groups.

It was obvious that there had to be a broad base of consensus on the final details of such a plan.

Based on a multiracial concept, it had immense potential since all racial groups were striving to attain this ideal, Mr Patel said.

Writing
is now
used in
political
struggle

By MARIKA SBOROS

BLACK South African writers are taking literature into the political struggle as a psychological support and weapon, novelist Nadine Gordimer said yesterday.

She was addressing a multi-racial gathering to open the University of the Witwatersrand's week-long Cultural Festival.

Miss Gordimer spoke of the effects of apartheid on culture in South Africa.

"If we are to talk meaningfully about the future of South African literature, I believe we must do so in the context of a self-liberating and dynamic force for all South Africans."

White writers had explored and expressed the meaning of apartheid as far as it was possible, she said. "Apartheid may soon prove to have been the last African theme they were able to handle meaningfully. Apartheid was a white idea, but it has become a truly African subject of our time."

"If there is to be a real South African literature which posits a post-apartheid literature (then) South African writers, black and white, will have to find an African consciousness for themselves beyond the consciousness of divisions."

She said she doubted that South African literature could continue to be spoken of if it did not include the development of a modern literature written in the main African languages.

Black writers in South Africa were the ones making a real attempt to bring literature close to the masses.

"They are doing so by taking literature into the political struggle as a psychological support and weapon."

"In spite of all the vile and terrible things that have been, and continue to be done in the name of all whites here, this has been the single African country where whites once had the chance to enter into a changing indigenous culture."

"Whether or not this chance still exists is a question that preoccupies writers and readers," she said.

In South Africa, she said, African languages had triumphantly survived "despite tremendous pressure from industrialisation conducted in the conqueror's language, despite the unique pressure of a second European language of conquest — Afrikaans."

"Black writers have begun to turn away from the standard situations of black township life. The lives of communities uprooted and dumped by the Resettlement Act, the strikes that first rumbled a warning of workers' power from Durban; the harassment of political house-to-house raids; the experiences of schoolchildren and students in their struggle against discrimination in education — these are the subjects that take hold of black writers now," she said.

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In most industrial organiz- from the fields of business trial and management engine research have replaced their field of organization. New have been developed to serv that they could not only de actions, but also *measure* thei

The purpose of studying t framework of the study of the ture is to establish the effectiveness the organization and all of them tog say the economic effectiveness of the a whole. For this purpose, one esta for measuring the effectiveness members of the organization and/ zation as a whole. The actions and actions of members of the organizat with these standards and on comparisons one can establish the individual and of the whole.

STUDYING THE RELATIONSHI MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZA

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The semantics of the orga distinguishes between these two

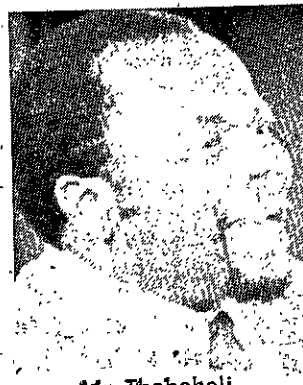
Mr T 'has no fears'

MR David Thebehali chairman of the Sowe-to Council is firm that Inkatha's decision not to take part in the forthcoming elections will not jeopardise his membership with the organisation.

In the past Inkatha had indicated its unwillingness to take part in the elections, but the final decision was however left with the constituency.

But last Friday this movement, which is headed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi finally decided not to take part in the elections until the community councils are financially viable.

Apart from confirming that Mr Thebehali was a member of Inkatha, Mr Peter Davidson, the publicity secretary for the West Rand, did not want to commit himself on



Mr Thebehali

relationships organizational a functional mal relation- pting among the formal relationships. al structure, re, and the ructure. exist those with formal al relation- al relation- structure Mr Thebehali take part re and not in the elections. ne informal

On the other hand, Mr Thebehali said he did not believe that his par-zaning that ticipation in the electionschy levels. will place his position inthe formal jeopardy.

"I do not believe that it in a form Inkatha will debar me asordinates is an individual from tak-rs above it. ing part in the elections,"h the head he said.

Mr Davidson said: "I executive of do not want to single outelf at this Mr Thebehali neither do alone, but I have the authority to prejudge the issue.

"I cannot even sayordinates what will be the 'official'ers" or in policy until the elections."ers" (see Mr Davidson said all the questions were based chy, and on "ifs". He said he did,ubordin- not even want to specu- late that Mr Thebehali informal will take part in theend their elections."

Mr Thebehali's mem- es to the bership of Inkatha is informal very complex. Inkatha entioned, boycotted the first com- munity council elections- rs in the which brought Mr Thebe- hali into power. sons who

Mr Thebehali who was th whom an Inkatha member, al- legedly resigned from the organisation. But he has since been seen occupying the stage dressed in Inkatha uni- form when Chief Buthe- lezi hits Soweto; These

11/10 Post 30/1/80

Inkatha leader attacks Tambo

members of the organization, even if only with the management and workers.

In most industrial organizations now drawn from the fields of business administration and management engineering and research have replaced their colleagues in the field of organization. New quantitative methods have been developed to serve these expectations that they could not only describe the actions, but also *measure* them.

The purpose of studying the actual framework of the study of the organization is to establish the effectiveness of each of the organization and all of them together, say the economic effectiveness of the organization as a whole. For this purpose, one establishes a framework for measuring the effectiveness of the members of the organization and/or the organization as a whole. The actions and the actions of members of the organization are compared with these standards and on the basis of these comparisons one can establish the effectiveness of the individual and of the whole.

STUDYING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION

The second factor of organization is the relationships existing among members of the organization. When one deals with the relationship between two members of the organization, one considers a *required relationship* between them, which facilitates the execution of operations and the carrying out of the organizational tasks, such as producing or supplying products or services. On the other hand, when one deals with two members of the organization who are connected with each other, one usually considers an *actual relationship* existing between them because of work requirements or for other reasons (e.g. because of historical reasons, because of conditions created as a result of the organization, or because of purposes, and, mainly, because the two members are personally attracted to each other).

The semantics of the organization distinguishes between these two types of

ULUNDI — KwaZulu's Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, Chief G-tsha Buthelezi, says he is dismayed to see ANC president Oliver Tambo endorsing a "completely scurrilous and unwarranted attack on me" by his secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo.

Reacting to a Press conference statement by Mr Tambo in Lusaka on July 23, he said he felt he had to respond to statements allegedly made by the ANC leader.

Chief Buthelezi said that for years Mr Tambo feared that if he (Chief Buthelezi) "rocked the boat" the Government would take drastic action against him.

"Mr Tambo had always stated that if that happened the people would have no one at all left to fight for them" since Nelson Mandela is in jail.

"I was not prepared to attack an external mission of the ANC, an organisation of which I was a member. I have always regarded with respect the ANC mission in exile even when it became no more than fragmented committees, sharply divided on ideology all over the world. Also I have always had high regard for Mr Tambo as a brother and comrade in the struggle, even as he unleashes this scurrilous campaign of international denigration against me," he said.

LIBERATION

Chief Buthelezi said he still believed in the ideals of the ANC as propounded by the founding fathers of the ANC in 1912. Inkatha was "the only custodian of those ideals within South Africa."

"I do not regard any organisation or any black leader as my target in the struggle for liberation. My target is black oppression in South Africa and those who oppress us.

"I am on record here and abroad stating openly that it was the South African Government which forced my brothers in ANC to take up arms. Mr Tambo prescribes for me something which he himself did only after he had skipped South African borders. He never promoted an armed struggle while he was here in South Africa," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa.

names. The relationships between the formal structure, which is the existing structure, and state that there exist those which are congruent with formal structure and not structure is covered by the informal

is hierarchical, meaning that the hierarchy of the formal structure would usually do it in a form every level of subordinates is the level of superiors above it. In the hierarchy levels we reach the head we find the chief executive of is usually by himself at this that he is not only alone, but

have under them subordinates who are called "managers" or in language, "formal leaders" (see structure has no hierarchy, and has no superiors or subordinates in the informal relationships in the informal structure. I have already mentioned, to formal relationship between there are no managers in the can identify in it persons who relationships, i.e. with whom established relationships. These

Council: Labour 'credibility would suffer'

Political Staff

STELLENBOSCH. — The Rev Alan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said last night the party would suffer severe credibility problems if it reversed its decision not to serve on the President's Council.

He was speaking to a student audience at the University of Stellenbosch at a time when everything possible is being done behind the scenes by the government to win the Labour Party's support for the President's Council.

There has also been speculation in verligte Nationalist circles that the Labour Party would be prepared to serve on the President's Council under strict conditions.

Mr Hendrickse said he did not wish to prejudice the talks he would hold with the prime minister on August 11, but emphasized that the President's Council could be a viable starting point for reform only if it met two conditions: It should include black South Africans, without whom there could be no solution for South Africa's constitutional problem; and leaders regarded as representative by the majority of the people should serve on it.

Useless

He was prepared to regard the previously non-negotiable demand of a unitary state as negotiable, because it was useless to advocate negotiation with a long string of "non-negotiable" demands.

For the same reason the government would have to sacrifice many of its non-negotiable conditions such as separate group areas, he said.

The fact that the Labour Party was still prepared to talk at a time of growing polarization and radicalization showed it was serious about preferring a negotiated settlement, he said.

However, in the situation in which we are at present, the Labour Party must look at its credibility amongst the people it represents.

There has been a tremendous growth and escalation of a violent orientation which puts

us, as leaders, in an extremely uncomfortable position."

There was a growing radical group in the Labour Party itself who were saying that the time for negotiation was over.

It would be taking a severe credibility risk to accept the President's Council as a "starting point" for change, he said.

A 'deal'

These statements come at a time when verligte Nationalists are predicting that at least some members of the Labour Party will do a "deal" and enter the President's Council under certain minimum conditions — such as the inclusion of blacks in the President's Council within a year.

The other conditions mentioned are the scrapping of the most offensive race legislation (such as the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act) and the drawing-up of a declaration of intent acceptable to all South Africans.

However, leading Labour Party members have made it clear they cannot reverse their initial decision on the President's Council unless the party approves such a change.

The Labour Party stood by its condition that blacks would have to be represented in the President's Council by effective leaders.

(News by H Zille, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg)

COMMITTEE OF 10 SUPPORT DWINGLING

MR DOUGLAS Lolwane, a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, has released another controversial article on the civic situation in Soweto. In his article Mr Lolwane bemoans the current civic parties and their politics.

IT IS becoming crystal clear that the support enjoyed by the Committee of Ten from the majority of Soweto people over the past three years is rapidly dwindling.

It will be a sad day if the Soweto Civic Association meets its natural death before the end of this year through sheer lack of direction, and indecision.

Many residents are beginning to question the intentions and ambitions of our civic association. They want to know why the Association, which now has 14 branches, is unable to say YES or NO to the forthcoming Council elections.

They ask:—

- Was the Association formed primarily to embark on a campaign of rhetoric acrobatics and vicious tongue-lashing against the Six Percenters only?

- Are the residents to remain spectators of a scenario where dubious and schizophrenic characters are freely allowed to avail themselves of an opportunity to gain power in order to mismanage Soweto affairs the way they deem fit?

- Is there any sensible or practical way any one of us can adopt to defy or circumvent the exercise of authority granted to those willing to serve on these statutory bodies in order to frustrate the implementation of their plans without landing oneself in deep waters?

- Is it not true that the wish of the people of Soweto is to see prominent figures such as Dr. Motlana and Dr. Tutu taking an active part in using the only available channel to confront our governors on matters which could be resolved to shape the destiny of the Soweto residents?

The weight of the solidarity that was exerted on the Soweto councillors by residents over the past years has been tremendous and has undoubtedly achieved its object. We have now two opposing groups in the Council.

The two groups still earn their regular monthly emoluments and are exempted from paying rent — like pensioners.

Readers will recall that I appealed for exemptions on increased rents for old pensioners some time ago. In response, the powerful clique in the Council organised a pensioners party — where it was announced that pensioners could now stay in their homes free of charge.

(mahala) with effect from 1/7/80.

Houses that were built by the Johannesburg City Council have now been officially allocated to non-productive persons free — when there is a housing waiting list of 150 000 families.

Yes, some will survive the crunch when the demand to repay the R100 million agreements for the electrical reticulation system is served on us. But others will be gnashing their teeth for, indeed, the financial burden will be manifesting itself in practical terms.

We must be pragmatic, sincere and a little bold to advocate a re-think of our previous resolutions. We need to influence the reasoning of other men and women of substance to engage themselves in the application of effective methods that will facilitate the removal of those controls which have precluded the development of Soweto and its society.

Naturally, sources of revenue must flow from the Government and industry, for a start. Experts have repeatedly told us that clamouring for local government autonomy before the acquisition of commerce, industry and home ownership is tantamount to planning the building of a house on sand.

Let concepts and ideologies not take precedence over the facts of life. I think it is the duty of every businessman — be it shopkeeper, taxi-owner, or shebeen owner — to come closer to each other and create associated companies or syndicates in order to respond adequately to the challenges placed before our doorsteps by those who despise us.

Remember the 11 business sites set aside by the Soweto Council for the development of regional shopping centres is another great challenge to prove the sincerity and determination of our Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Whose will and wish shall be done if we fall ourselves?



Mr Douglas Lolwane

...normal relationships, i.e. with the go...
...people have established relationships. These

Don't forget to enter the great PLUS Competition this month. See Post and Sunday Post for your entry form.



30/7/80
**Rommel
Roberts
pleads
for
justice**

A PLEA for social justice, recognising the rights of all South Africans, was made by community worker Mr. Rommel Roberts following his release yesterday, after more than two months in detention.

Looking well and happy to be home, the opponent of increased bus fares said he was struck by the unrest of all kinds throughout the country.

"We can't simply say we must learn to live with situations of unrest," he said. "One wants peace, and unrest is not peace. The only way to peace is through proper justice. There is no short cut."

'RIGHTS'

"Proper justice means recognising everybody and their inherent rights."

Mr. Roberts said the continuing bus boycott in Cape Town showed people had realised the evil of gross greed and ambition.

"They have responded to it in the only way they know how. Their efforts have been astounding."

He said the detainees at Victor Verster Prison had been strengthened by the solidarity expressed by people outside. Morale had always been high and was highest during the detainees' hunger strike in protest at detention without trial.

PRISON TRIAL

Detainees felt the recent in-prison trial of five of them was typical of the system.

Mr. Roberts said he had experienced mixed feelings on his release. "It's lovely to be out, but it would have been much better if everybody had been let out together."

Among his immediate plans is to visit his parents and to take his wife Celeste on a belated honeymoon.

"I celebrated our first anniversary in prison," he said wryly.

(113) 30/7/80 (113)

Ban on ex-BPC man expires tomorrow

Staff Reporter

TOMORROW could be the beginning of a new way of life for Mr. Madibeng Chris Mokoditso when, for the first time in seven years, he might be able to lead an unrestricted life.

A banning order imposed on him two years ago expires tomorrow. It was served on him

in July 1978 when a previous order, which had restricted him for five years, expired.

Mr Mokoditso, former general secretary of the banned University Christian Movement and vice-president of the banned Black People's Convention, was first banned in 1973.

A special clause in that order

specifically barred him from working for the legal firm, Shun Cheffy and Company, (his employers at the time) entering their premises or working for any of their partners.

The Mokoditso family were later involved in a wrangle with the West Rand Administration Board when they re-

fused to pay rent for their house in Mapeta, claiming that the then Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, was responsible for Mr Mokoditso losing his job.

The Wrab later threatened the family with court action if they did not pay the R18,70 rent they were said to owe.

BLACK

POLITICS

21 JULY 1980

—

31 AUGUST 1980

Buthelezi tells ^{5-14K 21/7(8)} of his suspicions

By Derrick Thema

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, said today he believed "either the ANC or the South African Government would want to eliminate me."

Speaking of death threats; purportedly made by the banned African National Congress Chief Buthelezi said from the "scurrilous onslaughts and denigration in recent weeks" he was convinced that they wanted to kill him.

"I believe that they are preparing the people to make me a villain and with all this smokescreen either of them can kill me without anybody knowing who actually did," he said.

He had been threatened with death several times.

Chief Buthelezi said he raised the matter with Mr Oliver Tambo, ANC leader, during their London talks last November. Mr Tambo had "denied everything."

The ANC had also used the "release Mandela" campaign against him and also launched onslaughts on him because of the recent kwaMashu school boycotts.

"Everything falls in place, and I believe that either the ANC or the South African government would want to eliminate me," he said.

The ANC in London has declined to discuss the alleged assassination threat. Instead, they issued a short statement casting doubt on the threat attributed to their organisation.

It is understood that the London branch of the ANC is seeking clarification of reports on the assassination threat. They appeared to be aware of the allegations only on reading a report in a British newspaper.

● The ANC may not be quoted in terms of the Internal Security Act. This report is therefore restricted.

PETER MANN: on the hook the Government spoke with blacks... and not at them

PRISONERS OF HOPE?

F RIME MIN-
P. P.
Botha's
talks with
church and
black leaders this
week left unresolv-
ed many of the
major conflicts be-
tween them.

And it is unlikely that the series of meetings has narrowed the gulf between the Government and either the South African Council of Churches or the leaders of the non-independent homelands.

Certainly, in the case of Kwazulu, whose Chief Minister Gaissha Buthelezi boycotted the meeting, the rift has widened.

Although Mr Botha announced that he was dropping plans for the black council — because of black opposition — he did not say they would be included in the President's Council.

Mr Botha contented himself with the joint statement issued by the Government and the homelands which said, "It was resolved that talks will continue with a view to finding structures or methods for proper and effective consultation."

A first step in this direction would be another meeting, chaired by Minister of Co-operation and Development Piet Koorndorf.

Chief Minister, Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu the leader of the homelands delegation, pointed out in an interview after the meeting that it had cost the Government nothing to scrap the proposed black council. It was no concession.

"The Government loses nothing by this, but the blacks lose considerably. They are not allowed to participate in negotiations which will determine their destiny and that of their children."

He said the black leaders had told the Prime Minister they were not in favour of the black council because it made black people an "appendage of the President's Council" and discriminated against blacks at a time when the Republic Government has indicated to the world that it is phasing out discrimination.

"If the black leaders had accepted representation on the black council they would have lost credibility among their people for promoting discrimination based on colour," Professor Ntsanwisi said.

"The white man should realise that responsible black leaders are still prepared to negotiate for change," he added. He reiterated that Mr Botha was losing his opportunity by not negotiating with the present black leaders who were moderates. When they lost credibility blacks turned to more radical leadership.

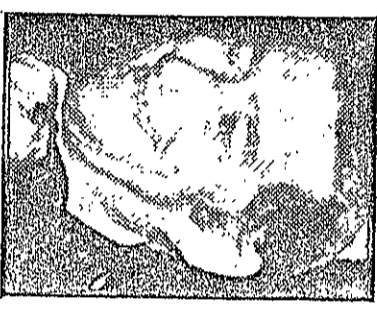
"I can say that freely," he said in the past and I said it again at this meeting," Professor Ntsanwisi said.

Asked whether relations between the Government and black people had been advanced or retarded by the meeting, he replied: "I don't want to be a prophet. But I am a prisoner of my hope.

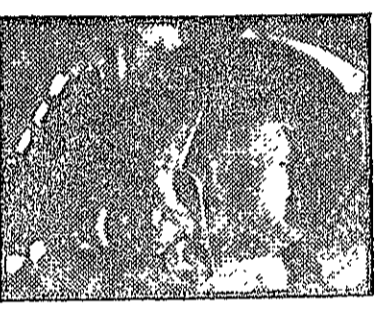
"We do believe that it takes two to make a bargain and ongoing consultation will perhaps serve a better purpose than closing the door."



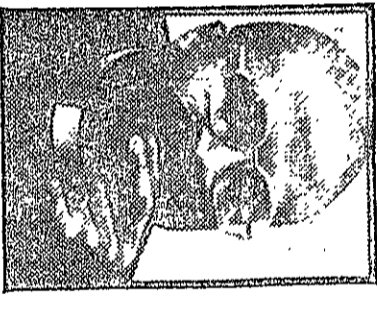
BOTHA
Border war move



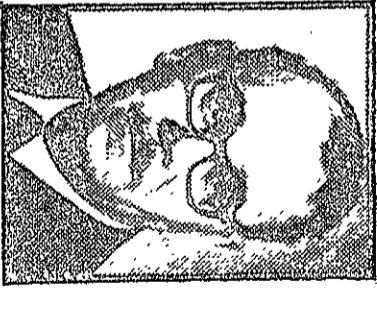
KOORNDOF
New meeting



BUTHELEZI
Missings man



TUTU
Small 'miracle'



LOMBARD
Natal dilemma

A small step on the road to dialogue

In spite of Professor Ntsanwisi's determination to pursue negotiations it is clear that the basic conflict still exists. Blacks will be content with no t h i n g l e s s than equal representation in the structures which decide on S o u t h Africa's future, and the Government is equally determined not to give in to them, preferring to preserve separate status.

The issues involved in the meeting with the black leaders were straight forward. They concerned an attempt by the Government to persuade the blacks to accept the separate black council and the black leaders' equal determination to reject it.

Those involved in Mr Botha's meeting with the delegation of the South African Council of Churches were complex and the Prime Minister appeared to opt for manoeuvring which would gain him short-term political advantage.

Here Mr Botha was faced with a group of church leaders who told him bluntly the policy of apartheid was incompatible with Christianity; a group which recently has been discussing the creation of a militant confession of a church similar to the one created in Germany in opposition to Hitler's Nazi regime — and who has said it will obey God's laws rather than those of the National Party or the land.

In his opening remarks to the meeting Mr Botha defined his ground: "In spite of the differences we might have we also have common ground. All of us believe in Christ, our Lord. Secondly, we reject Communism and its materialistic and atheistic doctrines.

"Thirdly, we reject violence as a means of undetermining the State and we denounce the activities of Communist-inspired organisations from outside the country, such as the ANC.

"I see the State and the church as two independent or autonomous bodies both of whom are appointed by God, each with its own commission task and field.

"For this reason the State does not want to meddle in the affairs of the church and does not expect the church to meddle in the affairs of the State."

Mr Botha's masterful political stroke when dealing with the SACC delegation came when he invited the members to the operational area to see what the Government was doing "besides shooting people" — apparently the words he used.

This was allied to his suggestion that another meeting between the SACC and the Government be held later this year, although the SACC delegation said it was not a condition of the next meeting.

The invitation went right to the heart of possible differences within the SACC. A large proportion of the SACC membership is black and they would have difficulty justifying their black and they would view which aptly summed up the talks Mr Botha had with both the SACC and the homeland leaders.

"If we think of it as a banquet, it is fair to say that the first meeting was an hours of unease. And, if it wasn't a bad one," he said.

But if the SACC refuses to go to the operational area Mr Botha may feel that he is no longer obliged to talk to them and would see it as support of South Africa's enemies.

In addition, Mr Botha extracted an undertaking from the delegation that they would not speak negatively or provocatively about the Government before the next meeting.

In spite of this the General Secretary of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu, one of the Government's most outspoken critics, characterised the meeting as "something of a miracle."

"Instead of talking at each other we are speaking to each other. We can't be expected to hug and kiss after the first meeting," Bishop Tutu said.

He then expressed a view which aptly summed up the talks Mr Botha had with both the SACC and the homeland leaders.

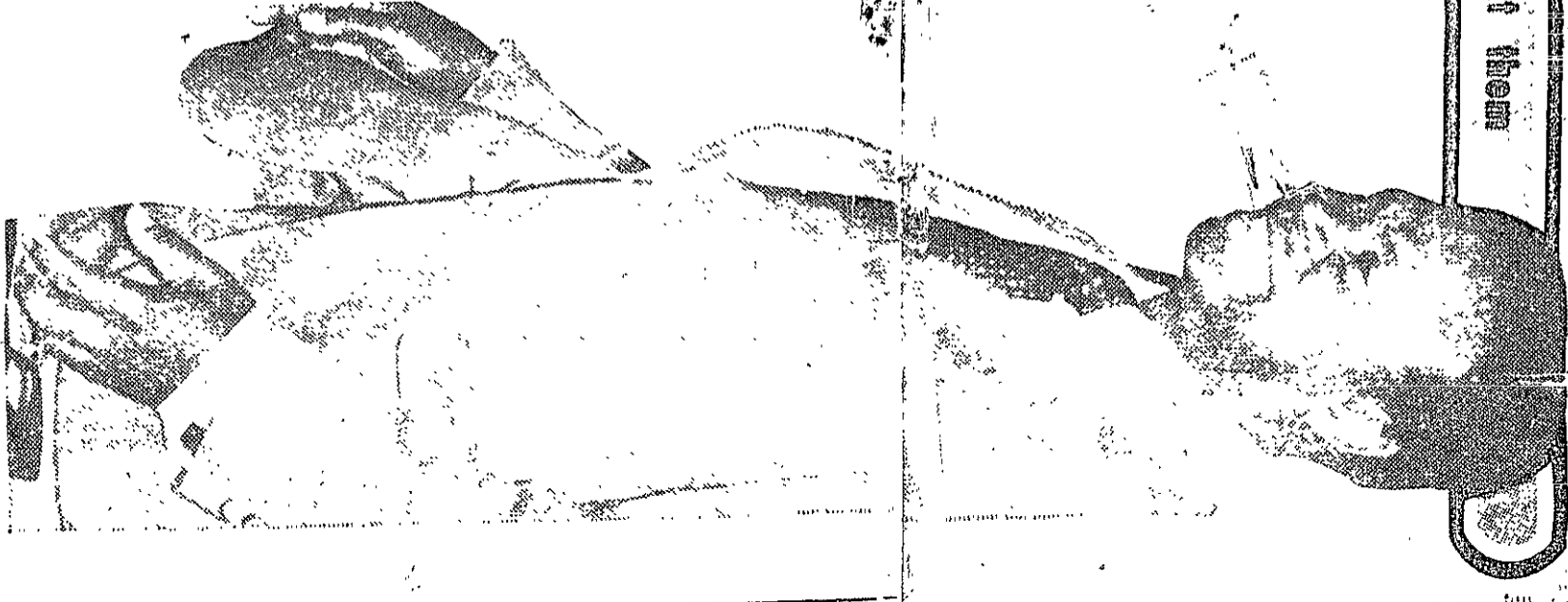
"If we think of it as a banquet, it is fair to say that the first meeting was an hours of unease. And, if it wasn't a bad one," he said.

It cost the Government nothing to scrap the proposed Black Council. They are losing nothing by this but the blacks lose considerably. They are not allowed to participate in negotiations which will determine their destiny and that of their children —

HUDSON NTSWANWISI, Chief Minister of Gazankulu

The Natal plan of all but Nationalists. Professor Jan Lombard is a good example of the Government's consolidation dilemma. Professor Lombard's proposals are receiving wide currency among

all but Nationalists. If the Government now pushes on ahead of the Government's consolidation dilemma, the wishes of the people it could be faced with a form of revolt.



Three held in Inkatha killing

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Three men have been arrested in connection with the killing of Mr Elias Blose (58), a Zulu Induna and prominent member of Inkatha, in Durban last week.

The three men, aged 21, 22 and 24, were detained by Murder and Robbery Squad detectives on Friday but news of the arrests was withheld until today because of follow-up investigations.

Two of the men are expected to appear in court today. The other may give evidence in the court.

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu and head of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Nyuswa tribe, of which he reports linking the death of Mr Blose to Inkatha.

"For years there has been a feud within the Byuswa tribe, of which he was an Induna," Chief Buthelezi, said today.

BLACK POLITICS 11a FM 1/8/80

Inkatha's think tank

A problem defined is a problem half solved. That appears to be the thinking behind Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's formation of an Inkatha Institute, a research body, details of which have been obtained by the *FM*.

The move will strengthen Buthelezi's "multi-strategy approach" by providing Inkatha's own evaluation of SA's problems. As such, the institute will contribute

tribute to black political debate presently dominated in radical circles by the banned African National Congress and the black consciousness movement.

Interim director is Professor Lawrie Schlemmer, director of Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences. He is to take a year's sabbatical from September to set up the institute and to serve as secretary of the Buthelezi Commission.

Schlemmer tells the *FM* that the institute will strengthen Inkatha's ability to pose alternatives to strategies employed by other black groups which lead to the growth of a "violent revolutionary consciousness with tragic results."

Services to Inkatha will include:

- Defining and analysing national problems;
- "Seeking constructive ways of co-operating with private enterprise;"
- Pinpointing those government-created institutions for blacks where "the interests of blacks can be facilitated without facilitating the system of apartheid."

Proposed projects at this stage include developing strategies for coping with unemployment among black youth, development of the informal economic sector, and the monitoring of employment practices.

The Institute will be opening offices in Durban this month.

Inkatha

brains

trust

to probe

strategy

Tribune Reporters

SOUTH Africa's most powerful black political organisation, Inkatha, is flexing its intellectual muscle.

Inkatha has started its own research institute. Known as the Inkatha Institute, it will be headed by Natal University's Professor Lawrie Schlemmer, who is also director of the Durban-based Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

Aimed at finding ways to boost Inkatha's power base and identifying strategies to deal with South Africa's problems, the institute will also serve as secretariat to the Buthelezi Commission.

Offices are being set up in Durban, and Prof. Schlemmer will be taking a year's sabbatical leave from September to firmly establish the institute firmly.

Significant

The move is seen as tremendously significant in political circles. The institute is expected to bolster Chief Buthelezi's political position substantially, and could result in practical benefits for many of South Africa's dispossessed.

It will enable Inkatha to contribute to the South African political debate with as much, and possibly more, authority than any other political grouping.

The Inkatha move coincides with the growing rift between Inkatha and the banned African National Congress. It could enable Chief Buthelezi to make a similarly strong contribution to black political debate which, certainly in radical circles, has been dominated by the banned African National Congress and black conscious movement.

One major argument the institute can be expected to explore is that of "interim strategies" — to what extent apartheid institutions can be used to destroy apartheid. Since the major ground for attacking Chief Buthelezi has been his involvement in the homeland system, the institute could provide powerful theoretical and practical arguments for Chief Buthelezi's "constructive engagement" with apartheid.

banned African National Congress and black conscious movement.

One major argument the institute can be expected to explore is that of "interim strategies" — to what extent apartheid institutions can be used to destroy apartheid. Since the major ground for attacking Chief Buthelezi has been his involvement in the homeland system, the institute could provide powerful theoretical and practical arguments for Chief Buthelezi's "constructive engagement" with apartheid.

Broader

Prof. Schlemmer pointed out the institute would not merely be a "service organisation" for Inkatha. It would try to draw other black groups, even if opposed to Inkatha, into political debates. The institute can be expected to broaden the debate on anti-apartheid strategies.

The institute is to identify and study economic and social problems areas. Among these are unemployment (among black youth), development of the informal sector of the economy, and monitoring problems affecting labour.

"We want to take all this talk of development out of the conference rooms of tourist hotels," said Prof. Schlemmer.

"Let's forget about this and that theoretical model for a while and listen to what the people in rural villages want or need just to survive from day to day."

3/8/80 SUN 11/11

Inside the compounds

A HIGH wall topped with barbed wire surrounds the Johannesburg municipality's Selby compound for migrant labourers.

This lends it an unfortunate resemblance to some form of forced-labour camp and the impression is reinforced by the massive steel front gates that are flanked on one side by a permanent police guard post.

The only other entrance is through a well-guarded and tightly controlled subway.

The compound, and others like it, belongs to the citizens of Johannesburg — but few whites know much about conditions there and none but officials and those with official access is allowed to set foot in its gates.

However, conditions at the Van Bееck compound — also built in 1915 — are reported to be as bad and those at Norwood to be worse.

"Bleak" and "inadequate" are the words that best describe conditions at Selby. In some areas, particularly where toilet facilities are concerned, stronger words are needed — like "disgusting".

In one toilet area no privacy was provided and the squat-type lavatory bowls filthy, while in an adjoining washing area only one in a row of five showers still had a head.

Along one side of the compound, windows look on to a street but they have been permanently sealed and the

frames contain ripple-glass that has seldom seen soap and water.

Little natural light enters and in many of the rooms ventilation seems inadequate.

Workers told the Sunday Times they slept as many as 12 to a room (in rooms that had no doors) and paid R5 a month for the privilege.

Migrant workers

Dr Nthato Motlana, of Soweto's Committee of Ten, said he was delighted that conditions in the compounds had been exposed as a result of the strike.

If the Johannesburg City

Council wanted to employ migrant workers, Dr Motlana said, it had a duty to house them properly in family units.

The chairman of the city council's management committee, Mr J F Oberholzer, reacted angrily to criticisms of the compounds.

He accused Mrs Levine of criticising them for political purposes "as she knows very well what the true position is".

Mr Oberholzer agreed that conditions were not good at Selby and Norwood, but said tenders had already been called for to rebuild the Selby hostel and that negotiations were under way with the West Rand

Administration Board to move the Norwood residents to a hostel.

Council employees had already been moved out of Crown Mines hostel, he added.

Excellent facilities

Mr Oberholzer asked why the Press did not go to City B where, he said, both living and recreation facilities were excellent.

"If we are such bad employers why is it that our recruits in Transkei and Venda have to be protected by the police mobs of enthusiastic work seekers who want to work us?" he asked.

On Thursday, with the compound the flash-centre of the strike and swarming with camouflage-uniformed police, a Sunday Times reporter and photographer managed a brief inspection of compound conditions.

Discovered and ejected

It was brief because they were soon discovered and ejected — not on the grounds that the area was under police control, but because whites are not allowed into the compound without a permit.

The municipality now prefers to refer to its compounds as hostels, although the sign at Selby's gates still proclaims it "compound".

Conditions in the municipality's compounds were central to this week's strike by 10 000 workers.

They were described as "not fit for a spokesman for the engineer's department" as "medieval" by city councillor Mrs Janet Levine.

Where Selby is concerned — more than 1 000 workers live there — "medieval" seems the more apt description although it would not be fair to judge all the municipal hostels by Selby's standards.

It was built in 1915 and the modern hostels have better facilities.

CHANGE 'UP TO WHITE CHURCH'

5/8/80

ARMS

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Religion Reporter

BLACKS in South Africa have already taken the initiative in both the political and theological spheres in seeking peaceful change, and now the onus is on whites to respond, Dr Allan Boesak, theologian of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, said today.



DR ALLAN BOESAK, future of Christian Church at stake.

No group in South Africa — and not even Parliament — could have a greater impact for the peaceful, good, of South Africa's future than the white Ned Geref Kerk if it rejected apartheid. Dr Boesak said in an interview in Cape Town.

Without doubt, black people are seeking peaceful solutions to the problems of our South African situation, but they are not getting the support they should get from the white community, and particularly from the white Christian community, Dr Boesak said.

'Naive'

What people must begin to understand is that what is at stake is the continued relevance and future of the Christian Church as a whole in South Africa.

That is what we are really talking about. It would be naive of us to forget this.

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'ANC aims involve strikes'

Court Reporter

AN expert on the African National Congress, Colonel H D Stadler, of the Durban Security Police, told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday that the organisation of strikes and protest demonstrations were among the interim aims of this organisation.

Col Stadler was giving evidence on the first day of the Silverton bank siege trial.

He told the court that the ANC had as its main aim the overthrowing of the South African Government by armed force.

Early yesterday morning the nine men who are facing charges of murder, high treason, attempted murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances, pleaded not guilty.

It is alleged they were all ANC members.

The parents of the three gunmen killed during the Silverton bank siege gave evidence unemotionally.

Col Stadler was the only other witness in the witness box yesterday. He gave an outline of the history, constitution and aims of the ANC.

• See Page 2

Court Reporter

THE parents of the three gunmen killed during the Silverton bank siege — Humphrey Makhubu, Stephen Mofoko and Wilfred Madela — told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday their sons disappeared after the Soweto riots and they never saw them alive again.

They were giving evidence before Mr Justice de Villiers in the case in which Mr Nombuthi Johnson Lubisi, 28, Mr Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 20, Mr Naphtali Merana, 24, Mr Moses Molebatsi, 27, Mr Hlolle Benjamin Tau, 24, Mr Grant Shezi, 24, Mr Jeremia Radebe, 26, Mr Boyce Johannes Bogale, 26, and Mr Thomas Mngadi, 29, are appearing on a charge of high treason, two of murder, 21 of attempted murder and one of robbery with aggravating circumstances. There are four alternative charges of taking part in terrorist activities.

The men pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The two murder charges arise from the death of two of the women held hostage during the Silverton bank siege, and the charges of attempted murder from injuries to people during the siege and injuries to two men during an attack on the police station at Soekmekaar.

It is alleged that the nine men were members of the African National Congress.

At the start of yesterday's proceedings, the parents of the three gunmen killed during the Silverton siege, gave evidence.

Mr Mbenyeni Yislah Makhubu identified a photograph shown to him as a photograph of his son, Humphrey Makhubu. His son grew up in his home in

Siege gunmen dissa' appear

Diepkloof, Johannesburg, until he "just disappeared" in 1977, Mr Makhubu said. He never saw his son alive again.

In February this year, he identified his son's body at the mortuary. He didn't know the name "Siyani" in his son's passport.

Cross-examined by Mr J Browde, SC, for the accused, Mr Makhubu said he was a Zulu and had lived in Johannesburg all his life.

His son was born in Alexandra Township and went to school in Diepkloof. "He was quite a bright pup," he told the court.

In 1976, there was a lot of unrest in Soweto. He saw it, but didn't remember if his son was involved in it, Mr Makhubu said. His son was arrested at one time but he could not remember when.

During 1976, his son was at work with him. He had a catering and dry-cleaning business and a shop. His son had been a good worker and had been well-behaved and obedient at home.

Mr Makhubu himself had not been happy about what had been occurring in Soweto. His son never talked to him about it. The Soweto people in general were worried about the shooting of the children. "So was I," he said.

Many families were broken up. He read in the newspapers that many young people left home, Mr Makhubu said.

Re-examined by Mr J C H Jansen, SC, for the state, he

said he knew of no reason why the police had to shoot the children.

One day, when he was driving a delivery van, some children ran towards him. He saw the police and returned home immediately, he said.

He knew that bottle stores and offices were burnt down and read in the newspapers that schools were also burnt.

Mr Jansen: "I am surprised that you, a Soweto man, don't know why the police fired on the children. The Soweto Information Service cannot be very good."

Mr Browde objected.

Mrs Bertha Mafoko then identified a photograph of her son, Stephen Mafoko. Stephen was born in Alexandra Township and grew up in Diepkloof, she said. She last saw him alive during the year 1977 when he was on his way to school.

"After that, I only saw his corpse," she said.

She did not know the name Edgar Mafoko in his passport.

Mrs Mafoko identified a photograph in a Swaziland travel document as that of her son. She did not know the name Samuel Makonta on the document.

Cross-examined by Mr Browde, she said her husband had died in August 1975. Her son was in his matric year at the Orlando High School when he disappeared. He had done quite well at school and had been well-disciplined at home, she said. Her son had been a

kind young man. "I never saw him act in an aggressive way," she said.

As far as she knew, the trouble in Soweto did not affect Stephen's schooling.

At the time, she had seen children throwing stones and teargas being used. She did not discuss the unrest with Stephen.

Mrs Mafoko said she had been working at the time, earning R30 a week. Her daughter was also working and earned R14 a week.

She had been satisfied with what she had although it had been difficult to come out. Each time she had discussed her difficulties with Stephen he said he would leave school to go to work. He had been very upset by her struggle to make ends meet, she told the court.

His disappearance had been quite inconsistent with everything he had done up to then and had caused her great distress. Mrs Mafoko told the court.

Re-examined by Mr Jansen, she said she had wanted Stephen to be better qualified so that he could get better employment and earn a larger salary.

Mrs Miriam Madela identified a photograph of her son, Wilfred Madela. He had been born in Sotlatoon and had lived in Diepkloof until January 12, 1978, when he disappeared. She never saw him alive again, but identified his corpse at the mortuary in February this

year.

Cross-examined by Browde, Mrs Madela said her husband died in 1972. In Wilfred had left school and working as a clerk at the agwanath Hospital. He brought his money home regularly. "He was the girl in the family," Mrs Madela told the court. By that she meant that he had been the closest to her and had one of her four sons who worked most at home.

She only saw him use the ce in the boxing ring.

Mrs Mafoko said she was employed by the State as a teacher. In 1976, the children did not attend school and this worried her. She did not know what the grievances of the children were.

Wilfred used to talk to her about his problems, but then went away without asking her advice. "Up to that time, he had given me no worry. He was just kind," she told the court.

Wilfred must have known that leaving like that would have caused her to worry. "I think it must have been something very important to him to make him act like that," she said.

Colonel H D Stadler, Divisional Commander of Police in Durban, told the court that he has been in the police force since 1953 and in the Security Branch since 1963.

During his service in the Security Branch he had come into contact with the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

He said, He was the investigating officer in several trials. He had studied the activities and aims of the ANC mainly by means of their documents and pamphlets. Because of the knowledge he gained he could be regarded as an expert on the ANC, he told the court.

The ANC was formed in 1912 as the SANC (South African Native Congress), he said. Its name was changed in 1925 to SAANC. In 1933 its constitution was changed to provide for the unification of the black people in South Africa. In 1944, a youth brigade was formed under Nelson Mandela. Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo.

They introduced a more militant atmosphere into the ANC. There was a programme in terms of which demonstrations were held during the 50s.

In 1959 the so-called "Congress Alliance" took place. This was an alliance of five different organisations with the ANC at the summit. The "Freedom Charter" was accepted as the constitution of the alliance. This was still a very important document, Col Stadler said.

The five organisations were the ANC, the Congress of Democrats (at the time the Communist Party had already been banned and its members had joined the Congress of Democrats), the Coloured Peoples' Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

6/8/80

ed after riots

In 1958, a new constitution was drawn up. There was no record that it was ever officially accepted but it incorporated the aims of the Freedom Charter and had as an aim the unification of the blacks.

In 1958 to 1959 the Pan-African Congress developed, which accused the ANC — with justification — of being communist oriented, Col Stadler said.

During 1959 to 1960, the PAC and ANC were in active competition. The ANC accepted all races while the PAC was for blacks only.

The Langa and Sharpeville incidents followed and both the PAC and the ANC were banned.

A meeting was called in Maritzburg by the ANC and an ultimatum given to the Government to call a congress of all race groups. When that failed they decided to take to violence. Albert Ntuli was then the leader of the ANC, Col Stadler said.

Umkonto i Sizwe ("The Spear of the Nation"), a militant wing, was formed in 1961 and acts of sabotage followed. In 1962 the so-called "second phase" was entered into. This decision was made at Rivonia where the head of the ANC, the central committee of the South African Communist Party and the high command of Umkonto i Sizwe were situated. Nelson Mandela was the first commander-in-chief of Umkonto i Sizwe

Operation Mayabuya was decided upon, for which Umkonto

i Sizwe would have been responsible. The operation was a blueprint for warfare, Col Stadler said. It made provision for sending people overseas for military training, planning targets to be attacked and for propaganda for the campaign.

Olivier Tambo had then already left South Africa. Mayibuya meant "return", therefore "Operation Mayibuya" meant "Operation Return".

The motto of the ANC, "Africa Mayibuya" meant "Africa returns to the black man". Col Stadler said. Another motto was "Amandla awethu" — "The power belongs to us".

In 1967 the first group of these trained people, the so-called "freedom fighters" entered South Africa via Rhodesia, Col Stadler said.

The aim of the ANC was the overthrow of the present Government by armed force and the implementation of "Operation Mayibuya".

The organisation had interim aims, namely: organisation and conditioning of the masses; the recruiting of members for the ANC; and the organisation of trade unions, strikes, protest demonstrations and boycotts, especially against specific facets of the present Government policy, including black education and black homelands.

To achieve these interim aims an important factor was the distribution of propaganda material such as pamphlets, newsletters, posters, gramophone

records, tape recordings and radio broadcasts

The ANC had a political wing for the dissemination of this material. Experts were of the opinion that 75% to 80% of guerrilla tactics consisted of psychological warfare, which was conducted through propaganda and acts of terrorism, Col Stadler said.

They also have in the mind the fact that the acts of terrorism enjoy a lot of publicity.

Acts of terrorism have escalated since 1976, Col Stadler told the court. Police stations and Government offices were concentrated on, as well as other public places. Also important to the organisation was the elimination of members of the Security Branch, informers and people they called "black capitalists" and who they regarded as traitors.

They also regarded as traitors people who respected the Government of South Africa, Col Stadler said.

Because the ANC was banned in South Africa its members relied chiefly on foreign support and were continuously looking for caches for weapons to arm the people who had to perform the deeds of terror.

Weapons were brought into South Africa from outside and people entered to establish bases from which the weapons could be drawn.

Col Stadler said he had prepared an album consisting of photostats of ANC literature. He handed in the album and

then read extracts from many pamphlets published from 1961 onwards. The extracts included:

"In preparing for war we must not lose sight of the fact that because of South Africa's isolation the state structure may collapse much sooner than we at present envisage."

"... A massive onslaught on pre-selected targets... will inject confidence into the people that here is an army of liberators."

"Political pressure will be stepped up in conjunction with the sabotage activity."

"The people should be aroused to participate in the struggle."

"Armies have already started the campaign to sweep the racialist society into the dustbin."

"Revolution calls for supreme vigilance. The movement needs men and women to commit the acts of war. We have already shown that our youth are capable of great deeds."

"We have to mould our youth into a fearless fortress against white oppression."

He also read out headlines including "the people shall govern", "the people shall share in the country's wealth", "there shall be houses, security and comfort. There shall be peace and friendship."

There was also a pamphlet showing a freedom fighter how to make a petrol bomb, Col Stadler said.

In one pamphlet the ANC accepted responsibility for the blowing up of several railway lines, including one near Tzaneen, Col Stadler said

The hearing continues today

Black leaders outraged by Thebehali's claims

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Black leaders have reacted with "shock and outrage" to the statement by Soweto Council chairman, Mr David Thebehali, that blacks do not want majority rule.

In a lengthy report in an Afrikaans afternoon newspaper, the Vaderland, on Tuesday, Mr Thebehali said "South Africa is not Zimbabwe — the black masses are not interested in a one-man, one-vote system in a unitary state"

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said that what Mr Thebehali was saying was "quite incredible and absolutely frightening".

It was frightening, he said, that a literate, former exponent of black consciousness, could make such "dangerous propaganda".

Dr Motlana explained that South African blacks, like any other oppressed community, wanted freedom and that no amount of suppression would detract them from fighting for their political rights.

Blacks — young and old alike — were interested in political

power-sharing and would eventually gain that power, no matter the might of the security police or the viciousness of the system under which they live.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said that although he respected every individual person and would defend his right to express whatever opinions he held, he found Mr Thebehali's utterances "quite outrageous".

"How can he live with himself and his conscience when he knows he is uttering statements which are not only untrue but make you wonder whether he has not sold his birthright for a dish of lentils like Esau in the Old Testament.

"He sounds so much like his Master's voice. I find it quite incredible that he should say blacks don't want adult suffrage which is the heart of democracy.

"Even bantustan leaders such as Dr Phatudi and others have said they reject bantustan policy which balkanises South Africa and makes our people starve in resettlement camps," Bishop Tutu said.

Mr Gibson Thula, Inkatha publicity committee chairman and chief urban representative for Kwazulu, said that Inkatha, as a movement, has said time and again that what was wanted was an "undivided South Africa with one citizenship" for all its peoples — black and white.

Mr Thebehali told the Vaderland that under South African circumstances it was not realistic to expect majority rule within a unitary state.

"I foresee the day when Soweto will be a city-state within a broader South African federation or confederation in which it will be possible for us to share in the national decision-making process on matters affecting all of us, black and white.

"In the Soweto city-state the residents of this black city will fully realize their socio-economic, as well as political aspirations.

"Such a system will enable different communities to take their own decisions on their matters such as trade, education and community development."

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Inkatha leader killed in Durban

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — An influential Inkatha leader and member of the movement's policy-making central committee, Mr E S Blose (58), was shot dead at close range by a masked gunman outside his shop in Dalton Road today.

Mr Blose, who was also vice-chairman of the Ningenzimu Community Council in Durban and a former Deputy Speaker of the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly, was murdered as he walked with his son, Zakhele, towards his shop

at 5 am.

A police spokesman said a black man walked up to Mr Blose and his son, drew an 0,22 pistol and fired three shots. Mr Blose died instantly.

The gunman made no effort to harm the son.

The murder is likely to have widespread repercussions in kwaZulu politics. Mr Blose had earlier had serious clashes with other Inkatha members and had left his family home at Izingolweni following numerous acts of intimidation.

Thebehali slated for majority

JOHANNESBURG — Black leaders have reacted with "shock and outrage" at the Soweto Council Chairman, Mr David Thebehali's statement that blacks did not want majority rule.

In a report in Die Vaderland, Mr Thebehali said "South Africa is not Zimbabwe — the black masses are not interested in a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said that what Mr Thebehali was saying was "quite incredible and absolutely frightening."

It was frightening, he added, that a literate former exponent of black consciousness could make such "dangerous propaganda."

Dr Motlana explained that South African blacks, like any other oppressed community, wanted freedom and that no amount of suppression would detract them from fighting for their political rights.

Blacks — young and old

11A Daily Dispatch 7/15/80
rule remark
alike — were interested in political power sharing and would gain that power eventually, no matter the might of the security police or the viciousness of the system under which they lived.

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ple starve in resettlement camps," Bishop Tutu said.

Mr Gibson Thula, Inkatha publicity committee chairman and chief urban representative for KwaZulu, said that Inkatha, as a movement, has said several times that what was wanted was an "undivided South Africa with one citizenship" for all its people — black and white.

Mr Thebehali told Die Vaderland that under South African circumstances it was not realistic to expect majority rule within a unitary state.

"I foresee the day when Soweto will be a city state within a broader South African federation or confederation in which it will be possible for us to share in the national decision-

making process on matters affecting all of us, black and white.

"In the Soweto city state the residents of this black city will realise fully their socio-economic as well as political aspirations.

"If one looks at the realities of South Africa, one cannot overlook the fact that there are whites and blacks.

"We have to consider whites who are very concerned about the large numbers of blacks.

"On the other hand, we have blacks — definitely a minority — who are insisting on a one-man-one-vote system within a unitary state with a black majority government.

"This demand is unrealistic and unreasonable. This cannot be achieved in South Africa. South Africa is not Zimbabwe," the report said. — DDC.

Surprise move in Silverton siege trial

Court Reporter

THE Silverton Bank siege trial was unexpectedly postponed yesterday to give the Defence Counsel an opportunity to study the documents handed in to the court by Colonel H D Stadler, an expert on the ANC.

Col Stadler gave evidence before Mr Justice de Villiers and two assessors in the Pretoria Supreme Court in the case in which nine men are appearing on charges of high treason, murder, attempted murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances.

The men are: Mr Ncimbihi Johnson Lubisi, 28, Mr Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 20, Mr Naphtali Menana, 24, Mr Moses Molebatsi, 27, Mr Hlolle Benjamin Tau, 24, Mr Grant Shezi, 24, Mr Jeremia Radebe, 26, Mr Boyce Johannes Bogale, 26, and Mr Thomas Mngadi.

The men pleaded not guilty to one charge of high treason, two of murder, 21 of attempted murder, one of robbery with aggravating circumstances and four alternative charges of taking part in terrorist activities.

The two murder charges arise from the death of two of the women held hostage during the Silverton Bank siege, and the charges of attempted murder from injuries to people during the siege, and injuries to two men during an attack on the police station at Soekmekaar.

It is alleged that the nine men were members of the African National Congress.

Interest in the case has lessened considerably with a much smaller audience in the courtroom than the day before.

Col Stadler yesterday com-

pleted his reading of extracts from documents which, he said, had been published by the ANC and disseminated in South Africa.

Extracts he read included:

"We are at war ... the South African revolution has started ... there have been over 90 separate strikes involving more than 40 000 workers."

"The year 1978 has witnessed in numerous ways the all-round combat ability of the ANC".

"The time to fight at all levels, using all methods, has come."

References in the documents to attacks on the Jabulani Police Station and the Soekmekaar Police Station were factually correct, he said.

The prosecutor, Mr J C H Jansen, said that the State would allege that at Soekmekaar, Mr Lubisi had waited in a car for three of his comrades who launched the attack.

Referring to a document which mentioned a certain person named Mange, Mr Jansen said the State would allege that the three "terrorists" who killed the two women during the Silverton Bank siege had demanded that Mange be freed. Mange was sentenced to death in the case in which he appeared with one Seketi and others on a charge of high treason, he said. The ANC was mentioned in that case.

Mr J Browdie, for the defence, then told the court his team could not do justice to cross-examining Col Stadler without going through his album of documents properly. He asked for a postponement of the case.

The hearing was postponed to today.

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7/8/80 (11A)

ANC aims 'well-known'

ARGUS

Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA.—Any literate person should know what the goals and strategy of the African National Congress were, Lieutenant-Colonel H Stadler said at the Silverton siege trial today.

During cross-examination by Mr Jules Browde, SC, counsel for the defence,

Colonel Stadler said that the newspapers had given wide publicity to evidence at ANC terror trials.

He was giving evidence at the trial of nine young men in the Supreme Court here.

The men are Mr Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi, 28, Mr Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 20, Mr Naphtali Manana,

24, Mr Ikanyeng Moses Molebatsi, 27, Mr Hlolile Benjamin Tau, 24, Mr Phumulani Grant Shezi, 24, Mr Jeremia Radebe, 26, Mr Boyce Johannes Bogale, 26, and Mr Thomas Mngadi, 29.

They have pleaded not guilty to high treason, two charges of murder, 21 charges of attempted mur-

der, robbery with aggravating circumstances, and taking part in terrorist activities.

Their appearance follows the attacks on the Silverton branch of the Volkskas Bank and on the Soekmeaar police station in January.

(Proceeding)

GENERAL NEWS

Surprise move in Silverton siege trial

11A (BKA)
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Court Reporter

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COLONEL H B Stadler, a Security Police expert on the African National Congress, told the Silverton trial yesterday that the ANC represented black nationalism, and had a history not unlike that of the National Party.

It is alleged that the nine accused are members of the ANC

Mr Jules Browde, SC, for the defence, yesterday began his cross-examination of Col Stadler.

Col Stadler agreed that the man in the street could only know what the ANC wanted if he saw one of its documents by chance. Evidence about the ANC given in trials was, however, widely published in newspapers, he said.

He told the court the basis of his evidence was that documents like "Seshaba", the official organ of the ANC, came into the hands of people like the nine accused and that they were thereby encouraged to violence.

He was not suggesting that young people in Soweto knew about the ANC plans in detail. He agreed that he was in a

SP expert likens ANC and N

much better position to know the aims of the ANC than a young man in Soweto with limited education.

In order to fully understand the ANC one had to know its history, he said. When the ANC was founded, there were laws like the Land Act, which isolated the black man.

"The ANC is really black nationalism. Its history is not dissimilar to that of any nationalist movement, including the Nationalist Party."

The ANC went over to a policy of violence only after it had decided that non-violence would not work in South Africa. Before the ANC's Freedom Charter, there were attempts at passive resistance.

"The Freedom Charter is not a violent document. It is a socialist document," Col Stadler said.

When someone joined a political organisation he would look at the constitution, he said. The ANC's constitution

was in a 1973 edition of Seshaba, which had been handed into the court.

There was no suggestion of violence in it.

He commented on extracts from the constitution, read out by Mr Browde, saying that the ANC aimed "to unite the African people" and "to ensure their complete liberation from all forms of discrimination."

Col Stadler said it was generally felt by the black people of this country that they were discriminated against and oppressed.

He agreed there were no cells or bands of people in the structure of the ANC for the purpose of committing sabotage.

A person reading the constitution would have no inkling that the ANC was an organisation devoted to the overthrow of the present regime by force.

"To some extent the Freedom Charter is a democratic document," he told the court.

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was accused in the Silverton trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court are Mr Nembithi Johnson Lubisi, 28, Mr Petrus Tsopo Mashigo, 20, Mr Nephthali Mena, 24, Mr Moses Molebatsi, 27, Mr Hehlie Benjamin Tan, 24, Mr Grant Shezi, 24, Mr Jeremiah Raboe, 28, Mr Boyce Johannes Bogale, 26, and Mr Thomas Mgadi, 20.

They are appearing before Mr Justice De Villiers and two assessors on a charge of high treason, two charges of murder, 21 of attempted murder and one of robbery with aggravating circumstances.

There are four alternative charges of taking part in terrorist activities. All nine have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The two murder charges arise from the death of two women hostages during the siege of the Silverton branch of Volkskas Bank.

Col Stadler said it was a general complaint among black people that they "had been robbed by a form of justice founded on inequality", as stated in the ANC constitution.

The Freedom Charter was anti-white and was to some extent "a racialist document". However, when the charter was accepted at Kliptown, in 1955, members of all races were present.

Referring to an extract reading "the people shall share in the country's wealth", Mr Browde said one of the accused

would tell the court that one of the reasons he joined the ANC was that he understood one of its aims to be that those who had a lot should have a little less and those that had little should have a little more.

Col Stadler agreed with Mr Browde that in any party there were differences of opinion about how things should be carried out.

Mr Browde said "There are people we know of in the National Party who have differences of opinion. There are the workmates and the vigilantes."

It is impossible at the moment to explain the sports policy of the National Party, someone asked one of the Ministers of State what the sports policy was and he answered, "I don't know I haven't seen the Minister of Sport today."

Col Stadler agreed He also agreed that there might be people in the ANC who did not agree with violence. Many black people were against violence, he said.

There had been serious splits in the ANC. In 1958 and 1959 there was an ideological split

IP backgrounds

between the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ANC.

Since then, there has been a further split in the ANC, between the London faction and the Dar Zs Salaam faction. Eight members of the executive committee were kicked out. The London faction was more racialist than Dar Es Salaam," the colonel said.

He agreed with Mr Browde that the Dar faction was not against South Africa, but against "the white Nationalist regime".

The crushing of apartheid by the use of violence against facets of Nationalist policy was suggested in 1976 as part of the ANC's interim aims, he said. The complete destruction of the present order was the main aim.

There was still great rivalry between the ANC and the PAC. The Sasol sabotage was claimed by both. "We don't pay much attention to the PAC, however, because it is such a

small faction", he said.

The ANC said clearly that Government installations were targets selected for violence.

Up to now, he knew of no case in which hostages had been held. If the Silverton bank had been a target of the ANC, it was the first time in South African history that a bank had been its target, he said.

Mr Browde said cliches were used in "Seshaba".

It seems to me that the ANC makes claims far beyond what it really achieved," Col Stadler. "The claims are factual but exaggerated."

He agreed that the riots of 1976 marked a time when more people started getting involved in ANC activities. There was a great deal of frustration and distress among the people of Soweto.

After the unrest, there was dislocation of Soweto society and that of the other black townships. Many young people left the country, he said.

Because of the length of the borders, it was reasonably easy to leave South Africa without the necessary documents.

The ANC recruited people who were dissatisfied with circumstances in South Africa.

Mr Browde said: "Once they cross the fence, they are no longer the underdogs. They are received with open arms."

Col Stadler agreed.

He knew of cases where people were fraudulently persuaded to leave the country, ostensibly for better education, and found themselves in a military training camp against their will.

Such people were either indoctrinated or gave themselves up as soon as they returned to South Africa, he said.

Indiscriminate killing was foreign to the policies of the ANC. It would not be acceptable to the masses, he said.

Re-examined by Mr J C H Jansen, SC, for the State, Col

Stadler said he had never met anyone in South Africa who worked for the ANC without agreeing with its aims. "If they don't agree, they hand themselves over."

Mr Jansen then poured out to the court that Col Stadler had said that the lives of witnesses who gave evidence for the State was often in danger.

He applied for the evidence of the following witness to be heard in camera. The Press could attend, but the witness should not be identified, he said.

Mr Browde objected that it was undesirable that the public should be excluded from a trial.

He quoted from a decided case where an application was made that a Mr Abel Mthembu "should give evidence in camera, but it was decided not to close the court to the public.

Mr Jansen pointed out that the ANC later bragged about killing a Mr Mthembu.

Mr Justice De Villiers said he would make his decision on this application this morning and adjourned the trial.

Inkatha leader is gunned down after threats

DURBAN. — An influential member of Inkatha's central committee, Mr E S Blose, was shot dead at pointblank range yesterday by a masked gunman outside his shop in Dalton Road, Durban.

The murder is likely to have widespread repercussions in KwaZulu politics. Mr Blose had had serious clashes with other Inkatha members and had left his family home at Izingolweni after several acts of intimidation.

Mr Blose, 58, who was also vice-chairman of the Ningizimu Community Council and a former deputy Speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, was murdered in front of his son, Zakhele, as they went to the shop at 5am.

A police spokesman said a black man wearing a balaclava walked up to Mr Blose and his son, drew a small-calibre pistol and fired three shots.

Mr Blose died instantly.

Mr Blose moved his family to Botha's Hill earlier this year because of threats. He himself lived in the Dalton Road

Hostel.

The political clashes involving Mr Blose were taken so seriously by Inkatha that the Legislative Assembly debated the matter at length in caucus earlier this year.

Mr Blose was regarded as a victim of intimidation and the top Inkatha leadership spoke forcefully to individuals thought to be connected with the campaign against him.

After the debate Mr Blose said that he feared for his life.

During the assembly session four of Mr Blose's children were killed in a car smash.

News of the shooting reached Ulundi early yesterday, but Inkatha leaders could not be reached for comment.

Inkatha's president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was told of the murder while on his way to an engagement at Nongoma.

A police spokesman said Mr Blose had attended an Inkatha meeting two days ago at which he had apparently been warned his life was in danger.

Police are still investigating. — Sapa.

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Top Inkatha man shot dead in ND

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DURBAN. — An influential Inkatha leader and member of the movement's policy-making Central Committee, Mr E S Blose (58) was shot dead at point-blank range by a masked gunman outside his shop in Dalton Road, Durban yesterday.

Mr Blose, who was also vice-chairman of the Ningizimu Community Council in Durban and a former deputy speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, was murdered as he walked with his son, Zakhele, towards his shop at 5 a.m.

A police spokesman said a black man wearing a balaclava walked up to Mr Blose and his son, drew a .22 pistol and fir-

ed three shots from a distance of three metres.

Mr Blose died instantly.

The gunman made no effort to harm his son.

The murder is likely to have widespread repercussions in KwaZulu politics. Mr Blose had earlier had serious clashes with other Inkatha members and had left his family home at Izingolweni following numerous acts of intimidation.

MOVED

He moved his family to Botha's Hill earlier this year because of threats. Mr Blose himself lived in the Dalton Road hostel.

The clashes involving Mr Blose were regarded in such a serious light by Inkatha that the Le-

gislative Assembly debated the matter at great length in caucus earlier this year.

Mr Blose was regarded as the victim of intimidation and the top Inkatha leadership spoke forcefully to individuals thought to be connected with the campaign against him.

After the debate Mr Blose said that he feared for his life.

News of the shooting reached Ujundi early yesterday but none of the leaders of Inkatha could be reached for comment. Chief Buthelezi was told of the murder while on his way to an engagement at Nongoma.

A spokesman for the police said Mr Blose had attended a meeting of Inkatha two days ago and had apparently been warned that his life was in danger.

Murder and robbery squad detectives are investigating the killing. — Sapa.

Top Inkatha man gunned down

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Elias Blose

Death threats at political meeting this week

Mercury Reporter

THE Deputy Speaker in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and top Inkatha official Elias Blose was shot dead on Wednesday night.

A black man wearing a balaclava came up behind Mr Blose and his son, Sakele. He fired three shots from about 3m away, outside Mr Blose's shop in Dalton Road, Durban.

Mr Blose died instantly and the gunman fled.

No arrests had been made by last night.

The former KwaZulu MP had moved his family from Izingolweni to Botha's Hill because of threats against his life.

It is understood that a death threat against Mr Blose was made at an Inkatha meeting at Botha's Hill this week.

Earlier this year the question of clashes between Mr Blose and other Inkatha members was discussed in caucus in the KwaZulu Assembly. Mr Blose was regarded as the victim of intimidation.

The tragedy of Mr Blose's death was compounded by the deaths of four of his children in a car accident on the South Coast two months ago.

The murder is likely to trigger off serious repercussions in KwaZulu politics.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said last night: 'KwaZulu has lost a man of great integrity.'

'Every member of the Legislative Assembly will miss him, because they had worked with him for the past 10 years and he had contributed much in the assembly debate.'

'Both the Zulu King and myself were shocked by the gruesome manner in which he was killed.'

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, said the murder did not auger well for the future.

'We knew Mr Blose as a dedicated leader of the Zulu people. He worked very successfully and harmoniously with the central committee of Inkatha and in the Assembly.'

'This is a loss not only to Inkatha and the Assembly but to the Zulu nation,' he said.

Witness, says RAND 7/8/80

sives. Here they used a light machinegun larger than the AK, and the Makarov, Puznik and Tele pistols.

He also got to know the M23, a small United States rifle and the German Mauser.

He stayed at this camp until April 1978. He gave political lectures.

There were up to 680 men at a time in the camps, he said.

From the Funda camp he was transferred to Mozambique, where he became a member of the regional headquarters.

South Africa had been divided into regions by the ANC. Each regional headquarters was assigned a specific section of South Africa in which it had to carry out its military duties, he said.

He did not know how the Cape Province and Free State were divided, but Natal was divided into southern and northern Natal, and the Transvaal into rural and urban areas.

He was put in charge of southern Natal, Mr X said.

He told the court the revolutionary council was the highest authority in the military wing of the ANC.

He named the members of this council as Moses Mabisa, Mzwayi Thliso, Paul Dikaledi, 'Casius', Dlinga Masondo, Joe Modise and 'Masondo'.

As a member of the regional headquarters he had specific instructions to carry out. He had to plan operations and obtain trained men to execute his plans.

He also had to locate spots where people could cross the Swaziland-South Africa border, and had to organise the smuggling of weapons into South Africa from Mozambique.

He returned to Angola in August 1979 to choose personnel, he said.

He chose about 30 men and went to Swaziland, where he sent five across the border at a point near the border post.

In October 1979 he crossed the border with four others.

It was the first time he had

returned to South Africa since 1977.

He visited various people in Natal whom he had to recruit. Some of them had to organise transport in South Africa and communication between South Africa and Swaziland.

In December 1979 he received instructions from the central headquarters to act as commander for the urban areas of southern Natal. His instructions included the sabotaging of bridges and the killing of members of the Security Police.

People named were Col Stadler and a man called 'Ngobese'.

Mr Justice Hefer was also a death target because he was the presiding judge at the Maritzburg treason trial.

Other tasks ordered included the destruction of the Umgenti court building in Maritzburg and the Mobeai power station in Durban, and the Defence Force recruiting centre in Smith Street, Durban.

He had to use his own discretion in choosing other targets.

such as oil refineries, trains carrying imports and exports, witnesses in treason trials and "Government officials" like Mr Pk Botha.

He also had to make "dead letter boxes" - caches for communications and firearms.

He had to meet two trained men at the end of January 1980.

However, on December 27, 1979, he considered giving himself up to the police and finally did so at the Security Police offices in Loop Street, Maritzburg.

"I have been in custody ever since," Mr X told the court.

The main aim of the ANC was to overthrow the Government by force and to establish a democratic and socialist type of government, he said.

The ANC also wanted to organise workers' strikes, international economic boycotts, and the isolation of South Africa.

The ANC contacted people in South Africa through Freedom Radio, the distribution of magazines like "Sesibha", official ANC organ, and by using trained people returning to South Africa.

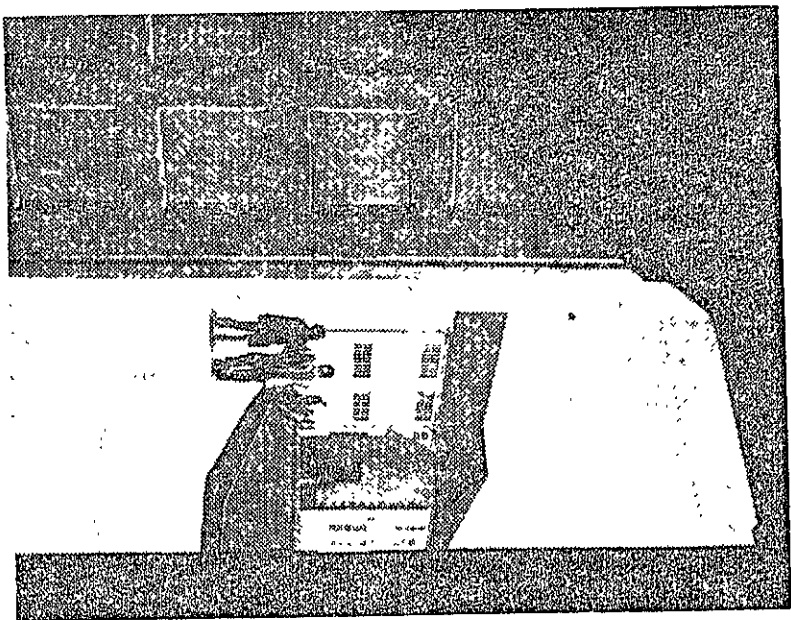
The trial continues on Monday.

'E Cape is heartland of black politics'

9/18/80 R.M.W.S.

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Fort Hare University

THE Eastern Cape is a highly politicised area. Academic analysis suggests black student and labour unrest is due to historical factors, more than to recent political agitation by hot-heads intent on exploiting dissatisfaction, writes Rodney Jackson-Smith.

Professor Michael Whisson, head of the department of anthropology at Rhodes University, believes this politicisation had its roots in the Xhosa wars which ravaged the region last century.

In a paper published recently, he said: 'Those who seek to establish the political temperature of black South Africa are wont to push their thermometers into Soweto as the biggest and most articulate centre of the population. . . . But a brief recollection of past decades will remind us that the political heartland of black South Africa is in the Eastern Cape.'

He said it was there that political skills were learned the hard way, in the frontier wars and the

negotiations which punctuated them.

'There rose the educational institutions of Lovedale, Heidelberg and Fort Hare in which many leaders of liberation struggles learned the essential techniques of communication, said Professor Whisson.

After the banning of the African National Congress two decades ago it was the Eastern Cape that gave birth to the now outlawed Black Peoples' Convention in 1967, which saw the emergence of the black consciousness movement, and provided ideological blueprints for larger centres.

It was the Eastern Cape too that was the stamping ground of such men as Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko, described in Professor Whisson's paper as 'the latest in a line of martyrs in the cause of civil rights.'

Another factor is that until the mid-1930s, blacks in the Cape had the franchise and this was a great motivating force to become politically conscious and politically active.

When the franchise was withdrawn the process did not stop. The ANC campaigns were extremely effective in the vacuum

caused by blacks being denied the vote and parliamentary representation.

According to Professor Whisson, it is in Port Elizabeth that the pace of industrial and political development is being set.

'There the business and industrial sector is seeking a settled and increasingly skilled labour force.

There, rather than on the Reef, a society is rapidly outgrowing its demand for unorganised migrant labour,' he said.

The labour unrest of October did not involve miners and dockers as in the past, but workers at the most sophisticated multinational companies.

'Further, the strikers were not uneducated and unskilled migrants, herded into vast compounds far from home, but relatively well-educated, permanent urban residents, integrated into a politicised local community,' said Professor Whisson.

In this situation the effectiveness of black power to withhold labour is greater.

'You can replace one unskilled labourer with any of a million unemployed others, but you cannot replace a thousand striking artisans.'

Against this background, Port Elizabeth is blazing a trail for the rest of the country, but Professor Whisson has a word of caution.

Whether that blaze became a 'bloody conflagration' would depend on the city's secondary industries' ability to meet the arising expectations generated by the progressive multinational companies, and on advances in the quality of black urban life — both material and political.

The gold bonanza has helped industry and could be used to build a stable political community too, but the present rate of progress gives little cause for optimism,' he said.

In 1978, and there is once again evidence of it, there was an epidemic of petty thieving in Grahamstown by young blacks and in a thesis anthropologist Mrs Mercia Wilso. Worth suggests this could be in response to growing pressure of poverty and a spreading of covert rebellion against all symbols of white power.

In spite of sacrifices, hardship and good intentions, educational rewards remain in short supply, she said.

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10/8/80

AME plans to break with mother church

By MANDLA NDLAZI

DISGRUNTLED MEMBERS of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in Soweto will decide at a "summit" meeting next month how to effect a break-away from their mother church in the USA.

But plans for the R120 000 law suit against Bishop Donald G Ming, former head of the AME Church (AME) in South Africa have been delayed, SUNDAY POST was told this week.

Mr J Y L Rasekoala, the Orlando West AME church steward, said members of the various branches of the church have agreed in principle to break away from the mother church.

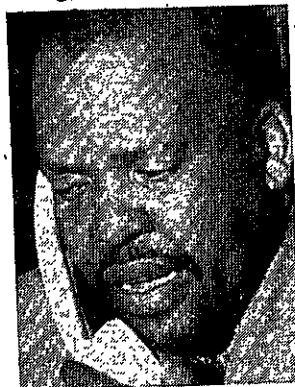
"We feel that the church in America is not relevant to our situation in South Africa, in the sense that contrary to the principles on which it was founded, it does not feature in our political struggle. It is too dormant," said Mr Rasekoala.

He said the agreement was reached last week at a meeting at the Orlando West AME church hall. More than 500 members from Soweto, had gathered to discuss the "thorny issue."

Mr Rasekoala said last week's meeting resolved that the branches should go back to further discuss the matter, while a date for a "summit" meeting was being considered for next month.

The defamation suit was filed by Mrs Marina Maponya and Mrs Norah Baduza, who are each claiming R60 000, before Bishop Ming left the country.

"The attorney handling the case is out of town and this has caused some



Mr Rasekoala

delay," said Mrs Maponya. She said the costs of the case would be "astronomical" now that Bishop Ming was out of SA. The attorney would determine, she said, whether it would be wise to continue with the case.

She claims that defamatory words were used against her and Mrs Baduza on a number of occasions.

Mr Rasekoala said the dissatisfaction of the church members stemmed from the alleged maladministration of the church's affairs by Bishop Ming.

He said the church members were further disgruntled by the way a recent conference overseas had dismissed the "charges" against Bishop Ming using procedures foreign to the South African delegates. "As a result this left us with no alternative, but to break away," he said.

Demos remember SA Women's Day

S 1087 19/4/80

FIFTY anti-apartheid demonstrators held a peaceful protest outside South Africa House in London to mark the 24th anniversary of South Africa Women's Day when 20 000 women protested in Pretoria against the extension of the pass laws.

It was the first demonstration organised by the recently formed Women's Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Placards called for an end to forced removals and solidarity with South African and Namibian guerilla movements.

Early in 1956 South African authorities began forcing pass books on to women. At that time it was not illegal to refuse passes.

A few hundred women in Winburg in the Orange Free State burnt their pass books which, they said, they were tricked into accepting. This was illegal and the women were ar-

rested. Protest marches all over the country followed.

On August 9, 1956 the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) planned a procession through Pretoria to protest against the authorities' decision. Women argued that if wives and husbands were arrested for pass offences, who would look after their children?

The Government banned the procession. Undeterred, the women headed for the Union Buildings in groups of twos and threes, finally gathering in the amphitheatre in front of the building.

Lillian Ngoyi, President of FSAW and the ANC's National Women's League, knocked on the then Prime Minister Mr Strijdom's door to voice the women's protest. He was out and she handed over signed petitions to his secretary.

She returned to the women in the amphitheatre, who stood there in silent protest for

30 minutes.

Lillian Ngoyi died in March this year at the age of 68. She had been banned since 1962. Helen Joseph, also among the 20 000 protesters, was recently banned for the third time.

There has been no let-up in the pass laws, and there are numerous reports of influx control being applied more stringently this year. Six months ago the Rand administration boards put a stop to migrants coming to the area to seek work.

● The Atterkoppaneng Women's Committee yesterday organised a gathering in the Dube chapel in Soweto to honour local women who have made outstanding contributions to society. Also honoured were the banned, the dead and those in exile.

One of the guest speakers, Mrs Miriam Tladi, an author, stressed the importance of a woman's role in society, especially in times of change.

10/8/80

REUTERS, SUN TRIB,

Relations worsen over constitution as blacks reject President's Council

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FACE TO FACE



BLACK and white confrontation is looming over the country's constitutional future as relations between Prime Minister P. W. Botha and KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, reached a new low at the weekend.

The hardening of attitude by both leaders comes in the wake of the Government's dramatic decision to scrap its plans for a black advisory council.

The Prime Minister has made it clear however that blacks will not be included on the President's Council. Chief Buthelezi has responded by rejecting this nominated body, even with black representation, except as an interim measure towards the ideal of power-sharing in one parliament.

Adopting this stance Chief Buthelezi makes it clear that he is no longer prepared to respond to white initiatives which do not take into account black aspirations.

Mr Botha's attitude makes it clear that he is not prepared to have meaningful dialogue with blacks in the political arena. It is a slap in the face of Chief Buthelezi who, in a memorandum to the Prime Minister this week, spelled out the consequences if he failed to do so.

Chief Buthelezi, who did not attend Friday's Union Buildings summit with the Government and leaders of non-independent homelands, said in his memorandum:

"On February 15 before the Schlebusch recommendations were translated into statute, I pleaded for a moratorium on constitutional developments until we had found each other politically.

"I did so because I really do see the need to avoid confrontation between yourself and myself. South Africa cannot afford that confrontation.

"The foisting of these half-baked

By ROD JACKSON-SMITH and PETER MANN

constitutional arrangements on blacks do, in fact, precipitate such confrontation which should be avoided by all means at this point in time."

The chief urged Mr Botha to announce the shelving of constitutional developments in favour of consultation.

"You are on the brink of going down in history as the Prime Minister who saved South Africa from catastrophe, or alternatively as the Prime Minister who listened to the right-wing element in his party at the cost of destroying South Africa," he said.

On the President's Council, the chief said he was not persuaded that the body was a constructive constitutional innovation — with or without black representation.

"I could discuss its merits and dangers if Africans were to be represented. I find, however, that I cannot even consider the step with no African representation in it," he said.

In an interview with the Sunday Tribune yesterday the chief adopted a different stance, saying there seemed little to negotiate about.

"I can't negotiate on something that is already a fait accompli, something that has already been legislated about," said Chief Buthelezi.

This did not mean he was no longer prepared to talk to the Prime Minister.

Any future talks would have to be based on meaningful discussions.

Although he regarded as "progress" the scrapping of the black council, Chief Buthelezi said he would regard black representation on the President's Council as an interim measure.

"The ultimate is one parliament for all people of South Africa," the chief said.

Neither the Prime Minister nor the

Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, was available for comment yesterday, but Mr Botha told the Afrikaans newspaper Beeld that blacks would not be included in the council.

"The constitution of the President's Council is laid down in law and the Government is going ahead with the creation of the council as it has already been announced.

"That means that whites, coloureds, Asians and Chinese will be appointed to the President's Council to work out an effective constitutional dispensation.

"The legislation creating the President's Council makes no provision for blacks to serve. Blacks are not going to serve on the President's Council. That is an insurmountable obstacle.

"There is no legislation providing for the creation of a black council. The possible creation of a black council was purely a suggestion and we have now decided to withdraw the suggestion.

"Everyone who attended the meeting agreed that individual and communal consultation over joint interests should take place in the future," Mr Botha said.

At a meeting in Pretoria tomorrow leaders of the coloured Labour Party are certain to tell the Prime Minister they will not serve on the council without black participation.

They will join the homeland leaders, Indian leaders and the official Opposition in rejecting the council, because it excludes blacks.

Although the Government will persuade some coloureds, Indians and Chinese to serve on their council, these people are likely to be rejected as stooges by their communities.

It now appears that the Government's constitutional plan is doomed to failure, with only the National Party and New Republic Party supporting it.

res. Boale, 26, and the...
 All South African...
 members of the ANC...
 left the country after the...
 military training in Angola...
 or armed warfare against...
 the Government of South Africa.

They are appearing before Mr Justice Jaap de Villiers and two assessors in a charge of high treason, two charges of murder, 51 of attempted murder and one of robbery with aggravating circumstances. There are four alternative charges of taking part in terrorist activities.

All nine have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

Trio

The two murder charges arise from the death of two women hostages during the siege of the Volkskas bank in Silverton on January 25 by three men who were shot dead. According to the charge sheet, the accused conspired with the Silverton siege trio and are therefore guilty of murder.

The charge sheet also alleges they conspired with the trio to commit acts aimed at overthrowing the Government.

The attempted murder charges arise from injuries to people during the siege and to two constables during an attack on the Soekmekaar police station on January 4 this year.

The charge of robbery with a gun follows the circumstances of the armed theft of a motor car.

MAUREEN GRIFFIN reports on the Silverton siege trial in Pretoria



Colonel Herman Stadler: history

near Soekmekaar on January 4. According to the charge sheet the nine set up bases in different parts of South Africa where plans were made for the siege, attacks on the Soekmekaar police station and the Port Natal Administration Board in Durban, the Pretoria West and Villena police stations and petrol storage tanks at Watloo in the Pretoria District.

Policy

"I think it has been compared with the Afrikaner's development," Col Stadler conceded.

"I think you said for example that the ANC went over to a policy of violence only at a stage when they decided that non-violence wouldn't work in South Africa?"

Continuing his cross-examination of Col Stadler, Mr Browde read sections of the ANC's constitution to the court from a pamphlet published last year.

the men had Russian weapons in their possession and that Mr Motobatsi was in charge of large caches of weapons. Col Hermann Stadler, commander of the Durban branch of the Security Police, presented the court with a detailed history of

the ANC since its inception in 1912.

Cross-examining him, Mr Jules Browde, SC (for the defence) asked: "Why is it that the ANC has lasted all these years? Have you thought about that?"

Col Stadler replied: "Perhaps because it is acceptable to the black people."

Browde: "It is really black nationalism, isn't it?"

"I said so yesterday." (In his evidence in chief).

"And the history of the ANC — isn't dissimilar from any national movement in any part of the world, including our own National Party in South Africa?"

"It is stated aims and objectives are to unite the African people. To secure their own complete liberation from all forms of discrimination and national oppression. Now I take it you will agree with me that it is generally felt by the black people of this country that they are discriminated against?"

"I agree."

"And that as a nation they are oppressed. That is felt by blacks of whatever persuasion, and I am not talking about anything to do with violence."

"I agree."

Other aims and objectives Mr Browde read to the court included:

- o The promotion and protection of the interests of African people in all matters affecting them;
- o Striving for the attainment of universal adult suffrage and the creation of a united democratic South Africa on the principles outlined in the freedom charter.

Mr Browde also read sections of the ANC's freedom charter, which states: "We the people of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people."

"Our people have been robbed of their birthright, land, liberty and peace by a government founded on injustice and inequality."

Mr Browde asked Col Stadler: "You will agree that this is a view held by most, if not all, of the black people in this country?"

"I have no statistics before me, but I accept there is a section of the black population who feel this way. I don't know the percentage."

"In fact, that statement regrettably is a view held by most of the peoples of the world today." — "Yes, I accept that."

"One thing nobody can say about this charter is that it is anti-white." — "That is so."

Termed

"Or that in any way it could be termed a racialistic document." — "The background and compiling of it was done by black people."

"You are saying that this is done by black people for the upliftment of the black man." — "Yes."

"But at the same time it doesn't in any way suggest a treading down of the white man." — "That is correct."

"All it speaks of is equal opportunity." — "Yes."

Colonel Stadler said whites and representatives of other races in South Africa were present when the freedom charter was adopted in 1955.

Mr Browde argued that the ANC suggested using violence against facets of the existing order and that the organisation was not against white people in South Africa.

"Their attack is against the present Government of South Africa. Their selected targets were Government installations. Evidence will be given by the accused that to none of them, at any time has it ever been suggested that there be an attack or violence done to any institution or building other than that of a governmental nature."

A former ANC military trainee, whom the court heard gave himself up to the Pietermaritzburg security police in December because he was against violence and the death of innocent citizens, gave evidence for the state. Mr Justice de Villiers ruled that his identity be kept secret and cleared the court of the public.

He explained that the ANC delegated regional headquarters to various parts of South Africa, which for the organisation's purposes had been

divided into regions consisting of the Cape Province, Free State, Southern and Northern Natal and the Transvaal which was split into urban and rural sections.

Duties of these regional headquarters included recruiting people to enter South Africa illegally, smuggling arms into the country and recruiting people to ANC, killing, assault on police, especially Col Stadler, and killing Mr Hefer, who presided over a treason trial in Pietermaritzburg in which Mangen, an ANC member was sentenced to death.

He said the ANC aim was to overthrow the Government and establish a democratic government that would achieve this aim through the use of firearms and weapons, strikes and worker strikes, international economic boycotts, arms embargo and a political onslaught.

He identified a number of the accused, before the court as having served military camps in Malindi and Angola.

And killers

Stinging attack ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ on Inkatha 'thugs'

^{14/8/85} Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A stinging attack on Inkatha is contained in the editorial of the August issue of *Senzani*, the students' magazine of the University of Zululand.

The editorial says this year's graduation ceremony was changed completely into an Inkatha rally.

Disregarding the students' resolution to observe graduation day as a strictly academic occasion, it adds, the Inkatha leadership "obstinate and dictatorial as it is" sent a "large number of thugs armed with dangerous weapons".

The article says Inkatha is not a liberation movement, but a religious organisation. It is more a hero-worshipping body than it is ideologically orientated.

"Some people join in order to secure their positions either as teachers in Kwazulu schools or as Kwazulu civil servants, businessmen or pupils at schools headed by Inkatha fanatics", the editorial maintained.

"However some join Inkatha under the wrong impression that it is a national liberation movement, that it is a movement involved with political realities. This group often discovers that the organisation is busy protecting and securing the interests of a single man."

"Inkatha must know that it is politically irrelevant to the real objectives of the black people of this country", the article concluded.

Buthelezi reply

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday he had lodged a complaint about the tone of the publication to the chairman of the university council, D Lawrence McCrystal, and the vice-chancellor of the university, Professor A K Nkabinde. Chief Buthelezi is also chancellor of the University of Zululand.

"It was not fair criticism and was, in fact, an insult to the Zulu people and to millions of black people whose support of him had been proved by academic empirical findings."

"Many of these hypocrites condemn foreign investment in South Africa when their own parents are employed by multi-national corporations which operate in South Africa", Chief Buthelezi remarked.

The students had scholarships from the same multi-national corporations against which they hurled empty slogans.

effect as well

Businesswoman of the year



Mrs Agnes Moncho, businesswoman and social worker.

Keeping a low profile



Ms Thelma Ngcobo

Ms Thelma Ngcobo is one woman who has adopted a low profile in her behind the scenes work in making a breakthrough in the previously white and male dominated positions in marketing.

She was recently appointed Market Research Executive at the OK Bazaars.

Having been in the field of marketing for four years now, the shy but firm mother of one says her new job is very challenging.

"It is a new experience altogether. It is much more specialised research compared to what I have been doing before," she says.

Thelma completed her matric in 1967 and obtained a degree in BA Social Science in 1971. She was a community worker and did social research for Rhodes University.

She believes black women have far better chances in marketing nowadays, and would not be at all surprised if a lot more women take over male dominated positions in industry.

A South African Businesswoman of the Year Award will be presented at a luncheon to be held at the Johannesburg Country Club on August 20.

The award has been organised jointly by the Public Relations Institute of South Africa and the Barclays Executive Women's Club.

Nominations put forward include two Soweto women, Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, a trade unionist, and Mrs Agnes Moncho, a trader and social worker.

The competition is stiff. There are also six white nominees who have made an extensive breakthrough in the business world.

The Businesswoman of the Year title is based on the number of votes each nominee receives. It is also based on achievements during the period January 1, 1979 to December 1979 (although each of these achievements is probably due to successful career paths developed over a period of years).

Mrs Agnes Moncho is a trained social worker but she runs her own business which include a filling station and general trading store in Soweto.

This year she plans to open a

Two Soweto ladies are nominated

restaurant and she takes advantage of whatever training in modern business methods is available. She has completed the Small Business Management Programme, a part time course run by the Unisa School of Business Leadership.

In 1979 she sponsored two students for the course.

Agnes serves on the regional executive committee of the National African Federation of Commerce and the Krugersdorp Chamber of Commerce. She is also president of the Dobsonville branch of the Catholic Women's League.

Mrs Lucy Mvubelo is the general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers of South Africa. In 1953 she initiated the Union and established an insurance fund for blacks the following year.

She is deputy vice-president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa; life vice-president of the Federation of Business and Professional Women of South Africa; chairwoman of Women for Peace and a member of the Women's Legal Status Action Committee.



Mrs Lucy Buyaphi Mvubelo — general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers in SA.

UFA 11/8/80 POST

Witness tells of ANC instructions

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Joe Slovo, a member of the South African Communist Party who fled South Africa, gave instructions to an ANC commander on targets to attack in this country, the Silverton siege trial was told yesterday.

A witness, who may not be identified, was giving evidence at the trial of Mr Nembithi Johnson Lubisi, 28, in the Supreme Court here and eight others who have pleaded not guilty to high treason, murder, 21 charges of attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances and taking part in terrorist activities.

He said in November 1979, he met Joe Slovo in Maputu who gave him instructions on his mission when he came back to South Africa.

SABOTAGE

He said his mission was to recruit more people to fight on behalf of the ANC, to sabotage the Supreme Court building in Natal and bridges on highways. After destroying these targets he could use his discretion in choosing others, he told the court.

The witness said he had to start a network of underground ANC members from scratch on returning to South Africa after being militarily trained.

He said he would recruit some here and would later have been joined by two trained people to carry out operations.

He said, under cross-examination by Mr Jules Browde, SC, who is appearing for the nine men, that he turned away from the ANC and gave himself up to the police because he was against violence.

BOMB

The court also heard that he had instructed those under his command to plant a bomb at the Lamontville Bantu Administration Board offices. The witness said planting a bomb was also violence because people could be killed.

The court heard this mission, carried out in March last year, failed because the detonator went off before the time and the people responsible 'ran away'.

The witness said his mission, when he returned in November last year, included attacks on political figures, such as Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Justice Hefer, judge in a Natal treason trial.

Mr Browde asked whether he gave himself up because he was against indiscriminate killing. He said this was one of the reasons.

**They were
honoured**



**Mrs Albertina Sisulu . . .
banned.**



**Thenjiwe Mtintso
exiled.**



Juby Mayet . . . banned.



**Mamphela Ramphele . . .
banned.**

SHOW UP THE BOY
 Brand For 12/8/80

Labour

1114 Post 12/8/80

reject Council

Figure 2.2

THE Government has laid an egg with its proposed formation of the President's Council.

Coloured Labour Party leaders were the latest to join the homeland leaders, Indian leaders and official opposition in rejecting the council, because it excludes blacks.

Coloured leaders who met Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha yesterday, believe the Government will not go ahead with the planned Coloured Persons Council.

Speaking at a press conference after their meeting with Mr Botha, the Labour Party leader,

POST REPORTER

The Rev Alan Hendrickse, said: "We got the impression that the Government would not create structures which are not wanted by coloured people."

The Labour Party delegation had gained the impression that the planned CPC would not be appointed even though legislation has been passed to make this possible.

Talks

Plans to create the CPC came to the fore when the Coloured Persons Representative Council was abolished.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Botha had given no indication that blacks might be allowed to serve on the President's Council.

He said the talks took place in a very good atmosphere and discussions were open and frank.

"One of the reasons for this was that we are conscious from both sides for the need for continued dialogue within a common sense of our togetherness. We agreed that we would not talk of the past. We were looking at the present and future."

It was agreed at yesterday's meeting that further talks should take place. The Labour Party leaders who attended yesterday's talks will report to their party's national executive on September 6 and 7 on what the Prime Minister had said.

Mr Hendrickse emphasised the importance of coloured and Government leaders finding a common "middle road."

It now appears as if the Government's constitutional plan is doomed to failure with only the National Party and

New Republican Party supporting it.

The Government will still try to persuade some coloureds, Indians and Chinese to serve on their council but these people are likely to be rejected as stooges by their communities.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who had refused to meet the Prime Minister and other homeland leaders, issued a stinging reply to Mr Botha making it clear that he is no longer prepared to respond to white initiative which do not take into account black aspirations.

He urged Mr Botha to announce the shelving of constitutional developments in favour of consultation.

Chief Buthelezi said he would regard black representation on the President's Council as an interim measure.

"The ultimate is one parliament for all people of South Africa," the chief said.



Labour Party leader . . . Alan Hendrickse.

Q. There appears to have been a deterioration recently in your relationship with the African National Congress. What is the current position?

A. As far as I am concerned there has been no deterioration from my side. All that has happened is that there have been ANC statements from Europe and Lusaka in which I have been the butt of their attacks. I am dismayed, but even if they see me as their target in the armed struggle, I don't see them or any other black leader or organisation as my target.

We as black people have one common enemy and that is the Pretoria regime. That is our target, not each other.

Since the establishment of the external mission of the ANC — because that's all they really are — I, more than any other black person, have demonstrated my brotherhood and friendship at great cost and risk to myself.

Our meeting with the ANC at which we exchanged emissaries last year was the climax of our relationship. We are still waiting for answers from Mr (Oliver) Tambo to certain questions we put to them at that meeting, but before the answers come I get these attacks. They are very surprising because they are not reconcilable with the ANC's or Mr Tambo's attitudes in the past.

Q. What do you believe is driving this wedge between you and the ANC?

A. I think they (the ANC) are best able to answer that themselves. Personally I believe that by the nature of exile politics there are certain problems. Those in exile are removed from the ordinary people and are unable to determine what the people want. They have to assess the situation from newspaper reports and guess the people's wishes.

Q. You said in an interview published in Johannesburg last month that you had not precluded the possibility of using strike action as a political weapon nor had you precluded from your thinking that benefits could flow from really effective international sanctions against South Africa, but the voice of black South Africa told you not to squander lives and human potential prematurely on half-baked schemes which

UDM 12/8/80 (11A)

Blacks not my target — Buthelezi



The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is seldom out of the news. His participation in South African politics attracts increasing attention

both here and abroad. In an interview with CHRIS FREMOND of the Rand Daily Mail Southern Africa Bureau he spoke on a wide range of subjects. Extracts of the interview are published today.

had no prospect of succeeding. This statement implies that there may come a time when you will advocate these actions.

A. It is not so much when I decide but when the people have spoken. I am a politician and when the people's voices

say something should happen I will not run away from that action.

Q. For how long do you believe you can continue to advocate change from within a constitutional framework?

A. I am a human being and black people are human beings and they make decisions as their circumstances dictate. I think that when the people themselves feel that there is nothing left but to die then I will respond to that feeling.

Q. What do you believe the consequences of the rising level of violent resistance will be?

A. As a politician I can't speculate or prophesy, but quite clearly there are two possibilities. It can make (white) people realise that of the two evils — if in fact they see participation by blacks in decision making as an evil — such participation is a lesser evil than the escalation of violence.

On the other hand it can make (black-white) polarisation even more crystallised and cause whites to feel more cornered and become very unreasonable as happened in Zimbabwe. But you must realise these are hypotheses.

Q. Do you see the escalation of violence as damaging to your own efforts towards change?

A. No. I think everything is relevant. I think that what is done through violence might remind the regime and whites what may come later on a larger scale if they don't negotiate. But it is a balancing act and could tip either way.

Q. What parallels do you draw between the situation in South Africa and that in Zimbabwe before independence?

A. There is a parallel, but I think even our brothers who are in power in Zimbabwe today realise that the parallel is limited to the fact that here we have a minority regime as there was in Zimbabwe, but that's as far as it goes.

In South Africa you have an indigenous white population that they didn't have in Zimbabwe. Whites there were also able to migrate which those here cannot do. They have nowhere to go.

As far as the armed struggle itself is concerned there were more factors that favoured our brothers in Zimbabwe than there are here. They had springboards in neighbouring states. As far as I know none of our neighbours, not even Zimbabwe, will allow guerrillas to use their soil as a springboard to attack South Africa.

So there are no areas here that can be liberated in that way. In fact I would regard KwaZulu as almost a liberated area. The fact that I have a base here makes it, in the South African sense, a liberated area from which I can engage in the liberation struggle on South African soil.

Blose Killings: 3 held

114

POST

12/8/80

THREE men have been arrested by the police in connection with the killing of senior Inkatha official Mr Elias Blose (58) in Durban last week.

The three men, aged 21, 22 and 24, were detained by Durban's Murder and Robbery Squad detectives on Friday but news of the arrests was withheld until yesterday as follow-up investigations were in progress.

Two of the men were expected to appear in court yesterday while the

other might give evidence in court.

Detectives took possession of a pistol.

Mr Blose, an influential Inkatha leader and a member of the movement's policy-making Central Committee, was shot dead at point-blank range as he walked with his son, Zakhele, towards his shop early on Thursday.

A police spokesman said a man wearing a balaclava cap walked up to Mr Blose and his son, drew a gun and fired three shots from a distance of three metres.

Mr Blose, also a former Deputy Speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, died instantly.

The spokesman said that Mr Blose had attended an Inkatha meeting two days before the shooting.

Meanwhile the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and head of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has refused reports linking the death of Mr Blose to Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi referred to Mr Blose as being a man of integrity.

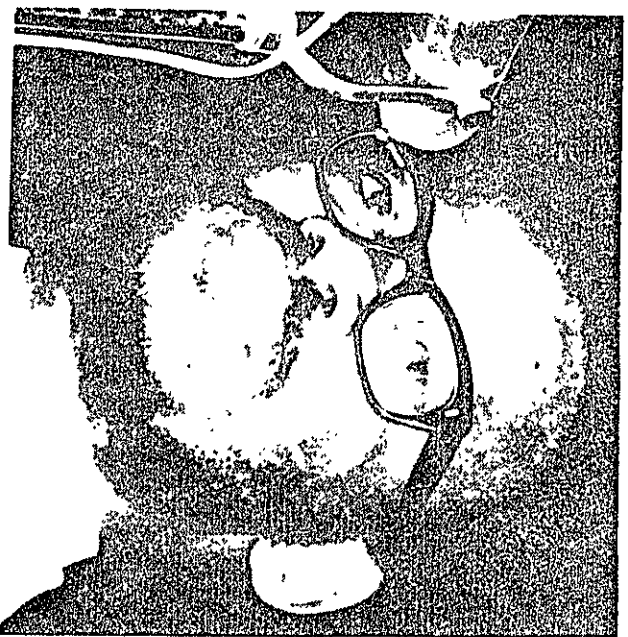
"His death has nothing to do with the Inkatha. For years there has been

a feud within the Ntuswa tribe of which he was an induna," Chief Buthelezi said.

He also said that because of trouble in that area Mr Blose had been forced to live in the Ezimngolweni district.

Two months ago two of his sons were involved in a fatal accident while fleeing from Ezimngolweni.

Mr Blose was involved with installing the current chief which sparked off great dissatisfaction among the Ntuswa.



Chief Buthelezi . . . "Killing had nothing to do with Inkatha."

Shooting in bank described

13/8/80
ARYMS

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Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — A Silverton siege hostage described to the Supreme Court here how fellow hostage, teenager Cindy Anderson was killed by bullets fired by a terrorist in his death throes.

Mr Igor Grobbelaar told the court today that on January 25 he was in the Silverton branch of the Volkskas Bank when it was attacked by three armed men. Miss Anderson was sitting next to him in his booth while they were being held hostage.

'She said she was very frightened and I put my arm around her,' said Mr Grobbelaar. 'When the shooting began I pulled her off the stool. I didn't see what happened to her then. After several shots, the terrorist fell into the booth. He had his gun in his hands and an armed grenade. I saw the grenade land about eight inches from my face. I grabbed it and threw it out of the booth.'

He said the grenade exploded, injuring him. 'Then the terrorist started firing. I turned to see in the direction he was

firing and saw Miss Anderson's head jerk and she fell forward. She was hit by the bullets. I kicked the gun up.'

Mr Grobbelaar said the police then overpowered the man.

This evidence was heard at the trial of Numbithi Johnson Lubisi, 28, and eight others who have pleaded not guilty to high treason, murder, 21 charges of attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances and taking part in terrorist activities.

Captain Christiaan de Swardt told the court he was called to the scene of the siege soon after 1 pm that day.

He looked into the bank and saw the hostages standing with their hands on their heads and the armed men with them. One of the men was sitting in front of a woman. The court heard he had dictated the terrorist's demands to her, as well as part of the freedom charter, which was passed on to the police.

(Proceeding).

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including the word "Proceeding" and other illegible scribbles.

13/8/80 ARGUS (101) (117)

Homeland plan unethical — chief

Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has described Government plans to give independent homelands more benefits than non-independent ones as 'unethical.'
He was reacting to a statement to the National-

ist Press by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in which he said the Government was seriously considering such a move.
Mr Botha said he believed discriminatory measures against citizens of independent homelands should be dropped and that they should get more

financial help than homelands which have not opted for independence.
'We are citizens of South Africa and we will not sell our birthright to anybody — not even if they give everything to these so-called independent states,' Chief Buthelezi said.

'As citizens, we have a right to share in the economy of the country. To try and use the wealth of the country for political ends is unethical.'
Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha's attitude was not new. 'They have always acted in this way. But what is surprising is that he is so brazen about it.'

Student outburst on Inkatha

Mercury Reporter

A STINGING attack on Inkatha is contained in the editorial of the August issue of *Senzani*, the students' magazine of the University of Zululand.

The editorial says this year's graduation ceremony was changed completely into an Inkatha rally.

Disregarding the students' resolution to observe graduation day as a strictly academic occasion, it adds, the Inkatha leadership, 'obstinate and dictatorial as it is' sent a 'large number of thugs armed with dangerous weapons'.

The article says Inkatha is not a liberation movement but a religious organisation. It is more a hero-worshipping body than it is ideologically orientated.

'Some people join in order to secure their positions either as teachers in KwaZulu schools or as KwaZulu civil servants, businessmen or pupils at schools headed by Inkatha fanatics,' the editorial maintains.

'However, some join Inkatha under the wrong impression that it is a national liberation movement... but the organisation is busy protecting and securing the interests of a single man.'

The organisation makes sure, it says, that this man is always in power, that he is listened to and that he is unopposed.

The editorial said Inkatha discredited authentic liberation movements and was against true black leaders and encouraged foreign investment both in KwaZulu and in South Africa.

'Inkatha must know that it is politically irrelevant to the real objectives of the black people of this country,' the article concludes.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, said yesterday that he had lodged a complaint about the tone of this publication to the chairman of the University Council, Dr Lawrence McCrystal, and the vice-chancellor of the university, Professor A K Nkabinde. Chief Buthelezi is also chancellor of the University of Zululand.

It was not fair criticism and was, in fact, an insult to the Zulu people and to millions of black people whose support of him had been proved by academic, empirical findings.

'Many of these hypocrites condemn foreign investment in South Africa when their own parents are employed by multinational corporations which operate in South Africa,' Chief Buthelezi remarked.

The students had scholarships from the same multi-national corporations against which they hurled empty slogans.

The University of Zululand gets substantial financial assistance from these corporations.

Why do they remain there?' he asked.

The Inkatha president continued: 'It is the public who must judge who the lunatics are — ourselves or the the people who burn down their own facilities at the university and who used stones to attack the public and Inkatha on the day of the graduation.'

That is the measure of their own civilisation.

Indians want their council scrapped

By Peter Sullivan
Political Correspondent

The last pillar of the Government's race-based council structure is set to collapse: the South African Indian Council wants itself scrapped.

This follows the surprise abolition of the Black Council last week and the Coloured Persons' Council this week.

The Minister of Indian Affairs (and Coloured Relations), Mr Marais Steyn, confirmed today that SAIC members had approached the Government to have the council scrapped.

"They will be speaking to us about it, but as

their request has already been made, I don't want to conduct a dialogue through the Press," he said.

"I don't work that way and you can appreciate my position."

Last week the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, summarily scrapped the Black Council after leaders of the non-independent homelands refused to serve on it.

This week Mr Botha told leaders of the Labour Party and the Freedom Party that he would not create institutions which the coloured people did not want.

11A
AAA

STAR 12/4/80

Mamkhulu is dedicated to her people

WHEN YOU enter the humble home of Miss Neanyiwe Ethel Wauchope in Dlamini, Soweto, you would never guess her sufferings until she tells you.

This mother of five, two of whom are committee members of political organisations in the country, recalls her days in detention very vividly.

'I feel terrible when I think of those torturing days of isolation. One wonders how the young ones take it,' says the soft-natured woman.

She spent a total of eleven months in detention under Section Six of the Terrorism Act. She was charged for allegedly inciting people to go for military training at a trial which lasted for six months.

One remarkable thing about Mamkhulu (as many youngsters call her) is her dedication to community work. At the moment she helps trace members of detainees' families and where necessary, explains the laws under which they are being held.

Where she finds severe destitution, Miss Wauchope and a few local women provide the families with food parcels.

By Sinnah Kunene

Her experiences under the security laws have made her a brave and vigorous woman, mother and granny. At 53, she is not ashamed of what she has been through. She tells her four grandchildren that in this country, everybody is likely to go to jail, be a priest, thief or church-goer.

LAWS

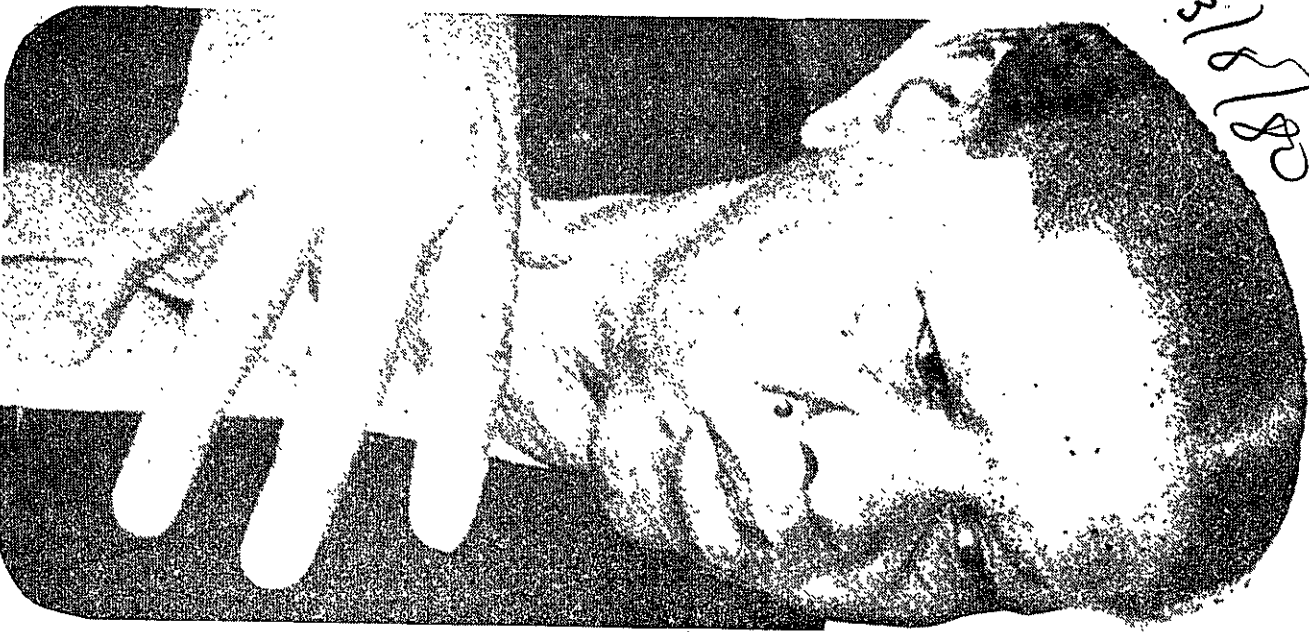
Born in a family of ten in Newclare, she talks of the "hey-days" in the densely populated township, where people

99-year-old father.

Mamkhulu has made many young friends in the township. She was a voluntary worker at a local youth club which was burnt down during the unrests. Although the building no longer exists, the club spirit is still alive. An antique piano in her dining-room is the main source of entertainment for the club members.

She was a staunch member of Women for Peace and the Anglican Women's Fellowship, until she was detained two years ago. She also played an active part in the Soweto Action Committee (Sac) which kept the ball rolling when all the members of the Committee of Ten were detained.

Her youngest daughter, Petunia, fled the country in 1978.



Neanyiwe Ethel Wauchope recalls her days in detention.



George Wauchope, the son she sent to the nearest police station on June 17, 1976, only to be detained by the security police for 273 days.

*11/4
Mrs
1980
13/8/80*

PHYSICS III 1980 : LECTURE PROGRAMME FOR SECOND TERM

July 21 TP	Aug. 25 SS	Oct. 6 NP
22 TP	26 SS	7 NP
23 QM	27 SS	8 NP
24 QM: TP, RL	28 SS: RL, SS*	9 NP: NP, NP*
25 QM	29 SS	10 KRUGER DAY
July 28 TP	Sep. 1 SETTLERS' DAY	Oct. 13 NP
29 AM	2 SS	14 NP
30 AM	3 SS	15)
31 AM : RL, TP	4 SS: SS*, RL	16) to be allocated
Aug. 1 AM	5 SS	17) later

MID-TERM VACATION

Aug. 4 TP	
5 AM	
6 AM	
7 AM: TP,	
8 AM	
Aug. 11 TP	
12 TP	
13 AM	
14 AM: RL, AM	
15 SS	
Aug. 18 TP	
19 SS	
20 SS:	
21 SS: TP*, RL	
22 SS	

with no laws
 "Many parents are ignorant of the fact that we all live politics. They believe that their children are indulging in affairs that are not their business while on the other hand, they (parents) are in the thick of it," she said.
 She vividly recalls how she led her third son, George, to detention in June 1976.
 It was a day after the 16th. A young woman was shot along the Pot-

indicates a tutorial (revision) session.

- ity (Mr. W.P. Hirst)
- Physics (Dr. J.D. Hey)
- Mechanics (Dr. G.N. Robertson)
- Molecular Physics (Dr. C.M. Comrie)
- Physics (Dr. C.M. Comrie)
- Physics (Prof. F.D. Brooks)



One wonders how the young ones take the isolation of detention, says Ncanyiwé Wauchope.

REMINDER:

TUTORIAL WORK AND CLASS RECORDS
 Tutorial assignments during the second term, the tutorial record, which will be determined

- (i) for Science students
 - (ii) for Engineering students
- The granting of a D.P. Certificate

EXAMINATIONS AND FINAL MARKS

- 29 Oct. am Paper 1: Quantum
- 15 Nov. am Paper 2: Thermal
- 17 Nov. pm Paper 3: Electrodynamics

The final mark F will be calculated as follows:

- (a) for Science students $F = 0.5C + 0.5E$
 - (b) for Engineering students $F = 0.3C + 0.7E$
- C = class record (%)
 E = exam mark (%) and

Sibeko: 11A
7 for trial

DAR ES SALAAM. — Seven former members of the Pan Africanist Congress are to go on trial in Dar es Salaam this month, charged with the assassination of PAC co-leader, Mr. David Sibeko, the Tanzanian News Agency announced yesterday.

Mr. Sibeko, the movement's 39-year-old foreign affairs director and a member of the three-man presidential committee, was shot dead in Dar es Salaam on June 11 last year.

The High Court trial will begin on August 20 as soon as the accused, who were arrested shortly after the shooting, have made their pleas. Twenty-three prosecution witnesses are expected to be called.

Two months ago 12 other former PAC guerrillas held in connection with the assassination were released because of lack of evidence. — Sapa-Reuter

THE LAST pillar of the Government's race-based council structure is set to collapse: The South African Indian Council wants itself scrapped.

This follows the surprise abolition of the Black Council last week and Coloured Persons Council this week.

The Minister of Indian Affairs (and Coloured Relations), Mr Marais Steyn, confirmed yesterday that SAIC members had approached the Government to have the Council scrapped.

Indian Council set for collapse

2/11/80 (11A)
105/14/8/80

"They will be speaking to us about it, but as their request has already been made, I don't want to conduct a dialogue through the Press.

"I don't work that way and you can appreciate my position," Mr Steyn said.

Last week the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, summarily scrapped the Black Council after leaders of the non-independent homelands refused to serve on it.

This week Mr Botha told leaders of the Labour Party and the Freedom Party he would not create institutions which the coloured people did not want.

On Tuesday Mr Steyn confirmed this meant the scrapping of the Coloured Persons Council, and said nobody would be nominated to it because coloured leaders had indicated it would become a "bone of contention."

12/1/76
100
119

Tambo seeks Mugabe backing

SALISBURY — The leader of the banned ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, is here for top level discussions with senior Zimbabwean Government officials on increased assistance for his movement.

Mr Tambo has already met the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, according to reliable sources.

He will have more talks with senior government officials before leaving here at the weekend.

Mr Tambo is expected to ask for diplomatic recognition of his organisation and for permission to establish offices.

Mr Mugabe's government has stated that it will not grant military bases to South Africa's "liberation movements" despite its support for the ANC and PAC.

It is not known whether Mr Tambo will press the Zimbabwean Government to review the issue of direct military assistance and sanctuary for guerrillas.

The ANC leader clearly intends to improve relations between his organisation which has historically been closely associated with Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu, and the ruling Zanu(PF) Party.

Part of the reluctance of Mr Mugabe's Zanu(PF) to render the same assistance it got from Mozambique to the ANC is attributed to the cool relations which existed between the two nationalist parties.

Zimbabwe has, however, jointly with Mozambique at the end of President Samora Machel's state visit last week, issued a communique pledging full support for the "liberation" movements in Southern Africa.

The communique also condemned South Africa's alleged sabotage of UN efforts to resolve the South West African conflict.

the Police about possibilities of ANC assassins assassinating me. ANC denies it, but states that I am, however, getting too close to the Government.

"Now the Republican Government in less than a month, through its Minister of Police, accuses me of trying to please ANC, and accuses me of insulting whites. This is a classical case of one being between the devil and the deep blue sea.

"In the circumstances I can only say that it is no longer clear to me because of the cacophony of these threats from all sides, who will do what to me, as far as the ANC and the South African Government are concerned.

"I can only say to both sides that I am beyond intimidation and I will take whatever comes. I have had white threats and black threats to my life for years now.

"If anything happens to me now that both ANC and the South African Government literally declare me fair game, through these sort of statements, it will be for other people in South Africa to know who the villain is."

UNCERTAINTY on how Chief Buthelezi, Inkatha and the African majority propose to dismantle race discrimination without threatening the survival and economic security of the white minority combines with Government reluctance to debate the two issues in a national convention to constitute one of the main obstacles to a black-white consensus on final goals.

Such a consensus is, in the final analysis, the only reliable guarantee of security and survival for all the peoples of South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi's supporters take the position that the Government's uncertainty about the wisdom of convening a constitutional conference in which all races will work together on the formulation of an acceptable guarantee should not be allowed to stand in the way of a Natal convention to demonstrate not only to most Afrikaners, but also to free Africa and the rest of the world, that those Africans, Afrikaners, Coloureds, English and Indians who do not want to see South Africa reduced to ashes have the will to meet and formulate a viable alternative to the *status quo*.

Urgency is given to the need to make the demonstration by, among other things, white greed for land which has reduced the increasing rural population's ability to produce much of its food while unemployment has become a problem of deepening complexity in urban areas.

Land shortage combines with unemployment to constitute an explosive aspect of the 'race' problem. It is clear to me that the expropriation by the whites of large tracts of African land in the rural areas has summoned into action forces which could reduce South Africa to ashes.

The police are becoming increasingly powerless to stop clashes between these

Where Buthelezi wants to take the Whites

By JORDAN K NGUBANE

forces. The obvious answer is to give constructive focus to them; it is to make it clear to the land-hungry and jobless that the rich companies which have planted sugarcane and forests where the Africans once tilled their fields are determined to remove the evils produced by their concern with their profits.

Effective support for the Buthelezi Commission is one proof of the determination. Speedy movement to a Natal convention on the abolition of race discrimination in the province is another. The third is a consensus on final goals which will give all races in Natal a feeling of belonging. This feeling is the first precondition of security and survival for all minority groups.

Chief Buthelezi has worked harder than any

living South African leader for a political solution of the 'race' problem.

Such a solution is the only guarantee of security and survival for all the peoples of Natal.

Union transformed the main population groups — the Africans, Afrikaners and the English, who included the Jewish community — into monoliths. The monolith was a closed power structure in which the demands of racio-political survival prescribed destiny for, and imposed a unifying discipline on all its members.

Monolithism was imposed on the Africans by segregation. The blacks, who were not free to determine their destiny, reacted to this in ways which are related to Inkatha's present commitment to a political solution.

Each monolith had fundamental strengths, basic weaknesses and peculiar

concerns which determined goals, shaped policies and fixed priorities.

The fundamental strength of the English at Union lay in their dominant position in the economy. Their greatest weakness was that the structure of their society was such that they were eventually to become an unchangeable minority on the white side. Their source of strength gave them a vested interest in stability and a unitary State.

The Afrikaners were a largely land-based community. This gave them a political potential which eventually enabled them to gain absolute control of the Government in a society where a white skin was the main qualification for citizenship.

The point of real weakness in the Afrikaner monolith was that the Afrikaner in time presided over a power structure based on two pillars: African labour and English economic power.

The Afrikaner's peculiar concern was his survival problem. The differences between the two white monoliths made Union a united front of white monoliths which had unsolved identity prob-



to build the strength of his people is one of the terms of this mandate. The encouragement of foreign investments to provide jobs for an impoverished and unemployed mass of people is another.

The Buthelezi Commission's establishment is a third.

On all sides, Buthelezi is establishing machinery for the peaceful resolution of conflict.

Inkatha's political strength has already aroused interest in the African's economic potential. Khulani Holdings is an African-English company which is interested in the development of given areas in the African market. Via Afrika (KwaZulu) is an African-Afrikaner concern which is developing other aspects of the African market.

Early this year, Inkatha sent a cultural delegation, led by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu's Minister of Education, to Stellenbosch University. The students reciprocated by sending representatives to Inkatha's 1980 conference where they presented Inkatha's president with Stellenbosch's coat-of-arms.

The humiliation of the African people is the gravest threat to white security and survival. Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha are developing the strength of their people for the purpose of accelerating movement to a political resolution of conflict.

Now that the foundations laid down in 1910 are collapsing, the next move, which will take the whites nearer acceptable guarantees of security and survival, has to come from their side:

With the best will in the world, no racial group in this country can prescribe the others' destiny. The most enduring guarantee of survival the whites can have is one they will formulate in collaboration with the African majority, the coloureds and the Indians.

This, in prevailing conditions, is the challenge of the Buthelezi Commission.

4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification
University

A month later an Afrikaanse Studentebond mission arrived in Ulundi with an invitation to Inkatha to send observers to its conference.

The Africans responded to the weakness by developing a 'pincer strategy' which built and maximised African strength on the home front and extended the area of isolation for the white united front on the international plane. Its aim was to develop and use political weapons to move black and white to a political solution.

The fundamental strength of the Africans lay in their numbers, labour and consumer power. Their basic weakness was their servant status in the white man's world. The unitary State gave the white united front the freedom to exercise the power of a majority.

The Africans did not accept the destiny prescribed for them. They met in a unity conference in Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912, where they united into a new people whose destiny was to confront white domination with an alternative in the form of what Dr Pizley ka Isaka Seme called 'a new and unique civilization'. Non-racialism and co-operation across the colour line were some of the main features of this.

Chief Buthelezi has stated on several occasions that he and Inkatha adhere to the ideals of the 1912 unity conference. His performance in the years he has been involved in race politics suggests that he does not regard the fundamental concerns which determine African, Afrikaner and English attitudes as wholly irreconcilable. He wants a national convention to effect the reconciliation. He wants the coloureds and the Indians to be present at the convention. They, too, must have a say in the shaping of their country's future.

Buthelezi is not the type who is afraid of pursuing an unpopular course if the mandate given him by his supporters demands this. Involvement in the Zulu homeland administration

These developments are preparations of ground for what could one day become a serious dialogue on an alternative to the *status quo* which would guarantee the security and survival of all South Africans.

It is unlikely that the Lombard Report would have paid much attention to African representation in the dispensation it proposes for Natal if Buthelezi and Inkatha did not have behind them the power they built through the KwaZulu homeland administration.

African labour, the Afrikaner's political potential and English economic power have created a South Africa that is one-fifth free and prosperous. These people, who are white, are interested in stability. The remaining four-fifths, who are not white, are punished for their race. A South Africa that is four-fifths humiliated and poor and one-fifth free and affluent is like a house built to fall apart.

If, from the Afrikaner point of view, apartheid was relevant in 1910, the extension of the area of freedom in Africa, the isolation of white South Africa and the borders between the Republic and free Africa call for an altogether new and different guarantee of survival.

English economic power is to a large extent responsible for the seizure of African lands in KwaZulu and for the planting on these of vast sugarcane fields and forests. English financial power has established supermarkets in Natal's larger cities. In most of these it is white, coloured and Indian girls who operate the cash registers. African girls are relegated to jobs considered fit for a servant race: they wrap parcels.

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service

STAR 14/8/80 (TIA)

Indians may boycott celebrations

Political Staff

Pretoria's Indian community is expected to join the coloured boycott of the city's 125th anniversary celebrations.

Mr E Abramjee, chairman of the Laudium Management Committee, said today: "We have not had a chance to take a decision yet but I know a number of people here

feel the same way as the coloureds about taking part in celebrations."

He said he and his vice-chairman, Mr Usman Ahmed, would today attend the municipality's meeting to plan the celebrations. "But only as observers."

They would report back to their committee which would then take a deci-

sion whether or not to boycott the celebrations.

The Eersterust Management Committee refused to accept an invitation to today's meeting earlier this week, and issued a statement saying it would boycott the celebrations because they were not prepared to celebrate 125 years of oppression.

Reacting to the

coloured boycott, a city council spokesman today said: "It is a pity they have decided not to take part in the city's celebrations."

"They were invited in good faith by the City Council, which has invited other bodies and organisations."

(News by R Abbott, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Salisbury
office
for ANC
likely

11/17

The Star's Africa
News Service

SALISBURY — The African National Congress of South Africa is highly likely to open a diplomatic office in Salisbury but will definitely not be allowed to have military bases in Zimbabwe, according to sources here.

The ANC's president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, is in Salisbury for talks with Government leaders. Among other things he is appealing for Government help for his movement.

The source said Mr. Tambo would probably be assured of moral and diplomatic backing from Mr. Robert Mugabe's Government but would get very little other help.

11/17

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**Keep it,
says
Indian
Council
man**

Mercury Reporter

MR J B Patel, chairman of the Natal Committee of the South African Indian Council, said yesterday there was no justification for disbanding the council.

Commenting on a call by SAIC chairman Y S Chinsamy for the Indian Council to be scrapped because it did not represent the community, Mr Patel said if the Indian Council did not represent the Indian community, Mr Chinsamy should himself quit.

Calls

"The SAIC has always been an advisory body and will remain as such, even if the members are elected. If it is scrapped now it will destroy the channel of communication with the Government when crucial matters affecting a new political dispensation are being discussed."

He said the Indian community had been making calls for direct representation for all groups in Parliament.

Mr Chinsamy's plea followed a move by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to abandon plans for a nominated Coloured Persons' Council as well as the Black Council.

Mr Chinsamy could not be reached for comment last night.

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including "11/11/80" and "11/11/80".

Education Reporter

SOME schools in the Peninsula have lost as many as 300 pupils because of the boycott, aggravating the already serious drop-out problem and swelling the Cape's unemployment figures.

Many of those who dropped out have, ironically, been swallowed up by factories only too willing to employ cheap labour.

During the boycott, pupils protested strongly against being educated for cheap labour. 'But,' said one principal this week, 'the boycott has, unfortunately, promoted the cheap labour market.'

WORST HIT

Worst hit are schools in the sub-economic areas. 'Many parents are proud that their children are earning R29 a week in a factory,' said a principal, who has lost 280 pupils out of just over 800 since the boycott.

His normal drop-out rate is 100 a year and the biggest proportion come from his Standard 6 and 7 classes. Since the boycott, 90 of his matric pupils have dropped out.

'The sad thing,' said another principal, 'is that many of those who have left were average and above average pupils who would have passed at the end of the year.'

His school, which also serves a sub-economic area, started the year with over 1000 pupils. Since the boycott, 260 have dropped out, compared with 117 last year.

'OPTIONS WIDER'

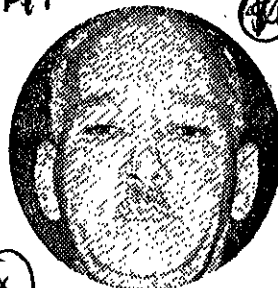
'The boycott accelerated the drop-out rate. Many parents decided to take their children out of school because they couldn't afford to keep them here if they were not productively involved,' he said.

He added most children from his school left because of economic circumstances. Attempts were made to convince parents that for their children's long-term future they should try to struggle on.

'With each standard they pass their options become wider,' he said.

A principal, who usually only loses between 10 and 15 pupils a year and has lost 130 out of 800 this year, said he had done a thorough job of trying to get the children back but had failed 100 percent.

Many school drop-outs 'cheap labour'



Professor
R E van der Ross

nights and at others on Saturday mornings, pupils are, according to all principals 'tremendously motivated, dedicated and self-disciplined'.

UNIVERSITY

'There is a strong feeling of earnestness on this campus,' said Professor R E van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape.

'Firstly, many of the students have realised that education is important and you cannot do without it and secondly, they are now faced with deadlines and just have to get down to it,' he said.

He added that since April, 430 out of the 4 153 students who enrolled at the beginning of the year, had dropped out. The university usually lost about 250, most of whom were first-year students.

Like all the school principals interviewed, Professor van der Ross felt the major advantage of the boycott was that it made the authorities aware of the situation.

INQUIRY

'It forced a lot of people to look at the total situation as well as the education system. I have no doubt that attention is being given to educational matters.'

'An example is the general inquiry into education, appointed by the Prime Minister. It will take time, but then things like this always do.'

'In an ironic way, I think the boycott also meant that the students and pupils have returned to the school bench with a heightened awareness and new perspective about the importance of education,' Professor van der Ross said.

LABOURERS

'Many of my good pupils have dropped out and most of them are still drifting around looking for jobs,' he said. 'Some of them have found jobs on the factory floor and some matric boys are even working as labourers.'

Even schools attended by pupils from affluent homes have been affected. One school that rarely suffers from a drop-out problem, has lost 18 pupils and there are still a number who haven't been accounted for.

'It is definitely abnormal,' said the principal. 'The majority of the pupils are in Standard 9 and I doubt very much whether they are in jobs.'

'I think the main reason for them leaving school is that they are afraid of the challenge having to catch up on all the work,' he added.

For those that remain at school, principals have nothing but praise. Working extra hours every day and at some schools at

By TONY STIRLING
Chief Reporter

THE last gunman to die in the Silverton bank siege fired a burst which wounded a police man — after being shot 11 times.

This was stated in evidence yesterday by Sergeant Hendrik Lombard, a member of the special police task force which carried out the attack on the three armed bank robbers seized the bank on January 25.

Relating the sequence of events, Sgt Lombard said the man was hit by two bullets fired by an anti-terrorist unit. Lieutenant Charles Swart, the bank's manager, was shot from his left side when he said he bent forward and the man, and another of the bank's staff, were killed.

Colonel De Swart, former but sets into the gunman.

After Col De Swart had fired at the man who was in one of the chairs there was a burst of three shots. All three hit me in the arm, Sgt Lombard said.

Sgt Lombard said he aimed both his shots at the man's upper body.

The gunman had ripped off

Bullet-riddled — but he kept on firing

The Silverton siege trial: All the details

THE accused in the Silverton trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court are Mr Numbani Johnson, 24, Mr Moses Molebetsi, 27, Mr Mholiwe Benjamin Tau, 26, Mr George Sison, 25, Mr Benjamin Radebe, 26, Mr Joyce Johannes Egudu, 26, and Mr Thomas Mgadi, 26.

They are appearing before Mr Justice De Villiers and two assessors on a charge of high treason, two charges of murder, 21 of attempted murder and one of robbery with aggravating circumstances.

He said Mrs Anna de Klerk, the other woman killed, died from a brain injury that could have resulted from a fall caused when she was thrown backwards on an explosion.

Miss De Klerk's body had a number of shrapnel wounds but none of these would have caused death.

There was a long struggle

Prof Loubser said he carried out post-mortems on the bodies of the three gunmen.

All had multiple bullet wounds and two of them could have died instantly from the injuries.

Some of these wounds were caused by shotgun pellets, he said.

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There are four alternative charges of taking part in terrorist activities.

All nine have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The two murder charges arise from the death of two women hostages during the siege of the Silverton branch of Volkskas Bank.

The charges of attempted murder arise from injuries to people during the siege and injuries to two men during an attack on the Soeknekaar police station.

Prof Loubser said he carried out post-mortems on the bodies of the three gunmen.

All had multiple bullet wounds and two of them could have died instantly from the injuries.

Some of these wounds were caused by shotgun pellets, he said.

However, in the case of the

the sequence in which the bullet wounds were sustained, but in his opinion the man would have been capable of continuing to fire despite the wounds he had sustained.

Mr Justice De Villiers asked if the use of a larger-calibre weapon, such as a 9mm gun, would not immediately have put the man out of action, if it had caused a similar wound to the one near the spine caused by the 0.223 rifle.

Dr Loubser's opinion was that no similar shot, from whatever calibre rifle, would have had this effect.

He said the 0.223 — which he had earlier described as "cut-throat" — had great velocity and produced tremendous energy.

Had this bullet passed a few centimetres to the anterior, the man would have been put out of action instantly.

Prof Loubser has been

reserved.

Mrs Anna Landman, a bank employee — who was in a cubicle with Miss Anderson — said her entire right elbow and 15cm of bone had been blown off during the siege shootout.

There were shots I saw my arm burst. My whole right elbow was blown away. I don't know where the shots came from," she said.

Mrs Landman said she was still suffering considerable pain, and her arm was completely rigid.

She said she was waiting to undergo a further operation to transplant bone into her right arm.

Another bank employee, Mrs Janita Van Wyk, said she remembered nothing after a "tremendous explosion."

She said she was hit twice in the region of the right hip.

"Remember someone trying to help me. I had a strange

lame feeling in my legs. I was taken to hospital.

"I have no idea where the bullets came from," she said.

Mrs Van Wyk said that as a result of her injuries she had difficulty in walking, wore a brace to support her back, and was to undergo a further operation. She said she had spent 5 1/2 weeks in hospital.

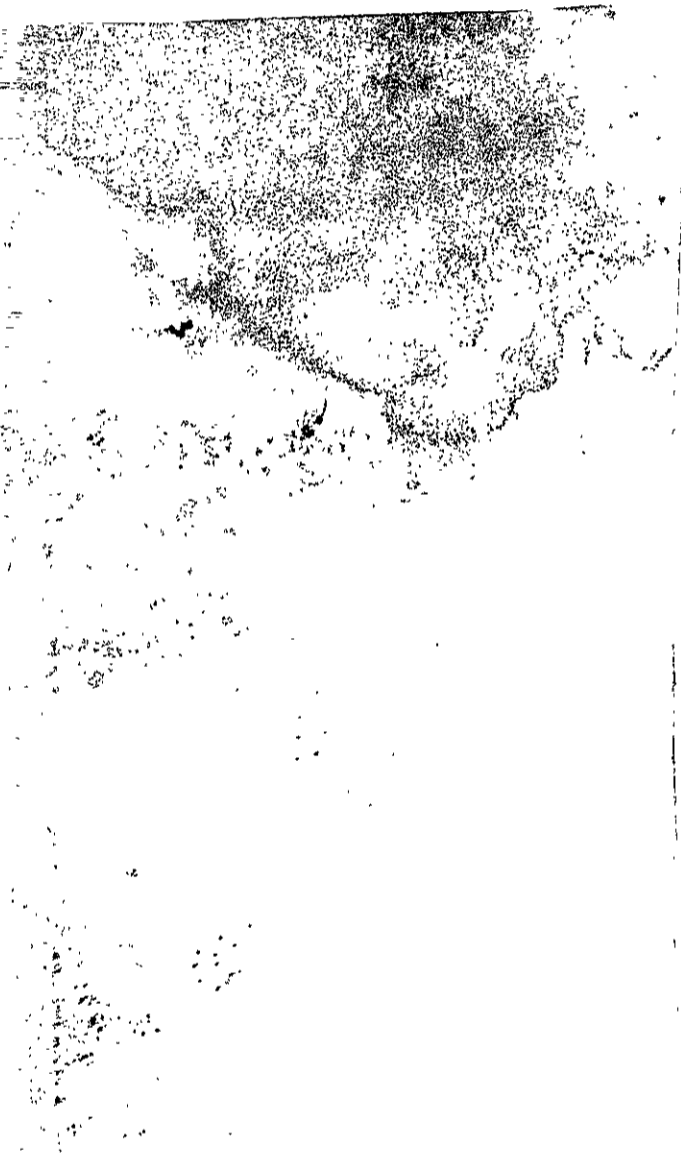
A further eight bank employees and clients, six of whom sustained shrapnel or bullet wounds or both in the siege, gave evidence.

None was able to say who had happened to Mrs De Klerk, and none of those hit by bullets were able to say by whom they had been shot.

One of the witnesses, Mr D J Christie, said he had sustained a shrapnel wound and one from a shotgun pellet, which was still lodged in his right arm.

His doctor had confirmed to him that it was a shotgun pellet.

The trial was adjourned to August 25 as both Mr Justice De Villiers and Mr Browde have other commitments to meet in the interim.



ANC to open office in Salisbury

C.T.
11A
15/4/80

Own Correspondent

SALISBURY. — The African National Congress will soon establish a political and diplomatic presence in Salisbury, after talks between its leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe. The banned South African nationalist movement will open offices in the capital soon.

Top-level discussions are being held between a seven-man ANC delegation and senior government officials here.

Mr Tambo's delegation has held meetings with the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Simon Muzenda, and the Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa.

No military bases

The Zimbabwe Government has been assured that the ANC has no intention of establishing secret military bases in Zimbabwe.

Sources said the Zimbabwe Government had been told of the ANC's willingness to negotiate with Pretoria for a new political dispensation, provided that its condition for the release of all political detainees was met.

Mr Tambo's delegation is expected to leave Salisbury at the weekend.

(11A)
15/8/88

Buthelezi attacks ANC and the Govt

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday made a scathing attack on the South African Government and the African National Congress.

He was reacting to a Sunday newspaper report in which the Minister of Police, Mr L le Grange, allegedly accused him of trying to please the ANC and of insulting whites in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said it made him feel strange to be in a position which was forced on him by both the Government, through Mr Le Grange, and the ANC, through spokesmen such as Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Oliver Tambo.

The ANC declared him "fair game" when Mr Tambo described him earlier as an "interloper" between the oppressor and the oppressed.

"In other words, he meant

that I am an obstruction between both factions on both sides of the colour line, which are spoiling for violent confrontation.

"When I asked Mr Tambo about alleged threats to my life from his organisation, he stated that it is the South African Government that wants to kill me and that they want to use them as the cover for what they intend doing," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the newspaper statement, which was allegedly made by the Commissioner of Police about the possibility of the ANC assassinating him had been denied by the ANC which stated that "I am getting too close to the Government".

"Now the Government, in less than a month, through its Minister of Police, accuses me of trying to please the ANC, and accuses me of insulting whites," he said. — Sapa.

The Star

Friday August 15 1980

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE ***

DAVID THEBEHALI (right) chairman of the Soweto Council that was elected on a 5 percent vote of the community, is often criticised as a "dummy" leader. Here he vigorously defends his position.



11A
STAR
15/8/80

Big mouths can't build houses

This article is reprinted from *Frontline*, the new South African magazine of news analysis and opinion. Other contributors in the current issue of *Frontline* include Dr Nthato Motlana, Dr Willem de Klerk and Dr R A M Salojee.

OUR so-called "real" leaders have been recklessly issuing rhetorical, idealistic statements that have raised false hopes in the minds of the masses and thus created unprecedented confusion in the African community. The popular fashion, which is dangerously detrimental to the African, is for the messianic and holier-than-thou histrionics that are employed to run down other Africans.

Who is a leader in the African community? Who is the spokesman on political, economic, and social issues, in the African community? Who is, to use the popular Black Consciousness phraseology, "relevant" or "irrelevant?"

Leadership is a scarce commodity in the African community. The scarcer the commodity the more ruthless the struggle to possess it. In this case, the more ruthless too the struggle for scraps of white liberal recognition and media attention.

Some people become puffed up with imaginary power, indulging in exhibitionism to give the impression that they are talking on behalf of the masses.

The result of this leadership fight is a real atmosphere of rivalry, envy and mutual backbiting that defiles the whole community and gives the liberals the opportunity to neutralise whatever power Africans may have had by playing off one faction against another.

Among others, the Soweto Council has been denounced by these activist groups. They accused us of the low percentage poll.

They repeatedly say that we do not represent the people of Soweto.

When it comes to politics we are in complete agreement with these activists. When it comes to the demand for political rights we do not represent the African community — that is not and it will never be a "plank" or platform for the Soweto Council.

But regardless of the low poll we know and the residents know that when we speak of housing, job opportunities, educational facilities, and a better environment to live in, we are talking their language. We have established that we have the support of the residents. We have proved it in black and white, and we challenge anybody to say that we do not have support.

"The Braamfontein liberals say that the Committee of Ten are the real leaders of Soweto. What a sick joke!"

In 1978, before finally deciding on the electricity project, we sent out 57 000 questionnaires to the registered tenants of Soweto. We asked them whether they wanted electricity to be provided by the Soweto Council. 32 000 responded positively. Ask any research organisation if this is not a high return. If the residents did not accept the Soweto Council as an authority they would not have replied to the questionnaires. If we were hated as some of the Soweto

political anarchists repeatedly say, why this response?

The African Silent Majority is behind us, and that is why this Council will remain as a living institution to provide for and look after the Civic needs of the residents.

Recently we undertook a survey in areas that were regarded as sub-economic during the Johannesburg City Council days. The areas are Mofolo South, Jabavu, Orlando East. The response was very good. Nobody said: "Soweto Council . . .? I will not have anything to do with it."

Soweto Council is doing tremendously well. We are responding to the needs of the residents and there is no confusion or uncertainty on our aims and objectives. Our critics are jealously waiting to participate in the on-coming elections.

THE Braamfontein liberals have been saying in Parliament and in their cocktail party circles that the Committee of Ten are the real leaders of Soweto. What a sick joke! After all the publicity given to the so-called real leaders, they organise a conference to "go public." What happened? The conference, to the disappointment of the foreign journalists, was a failure.

"The African silent majority is behind us. . ."

It failed to start at the scheduled time. The excuse was "the residents go shopping on Saturday morning, that is why we did not start on time." They are the "real leaders." They are supposed to know the habits and lifestyles of the residents!

Yet the media always have to inflate the attendance figures for their public meetings in Soweto. Why? To give the impression that they have support.

This organisation does not bother me and my Soweto Council. There is nothing they can do for the residents. They cannot build houses; they cannot create jobs for the residents; they cannot install electricity in Soweto; they cannot change the environment of the residents. The Soweto Council and only the Soweto Council can do that. Soweto residents are not such fools as to support a sterile organisation which is toothless.

It is significant to observe that when the Committee of Ten started (they were not elected) they issued what appeared to be a policy statement. "We are not prepared to negotiate or talk to anybody but the Prime Minister of the land, Mr B. J. Vorster."

Mr Vorster said: "You go and jump in the lake." For some politically queer reason they thought that they were so strong that they could demand and dictate to the government.

They said no Soweto Council participation; but some of their members (the Lolwanas? the Mosalas?) are waiting for the coming elections. Why are they enthusiastically forming civic associations throughout Soweto? To prepare for the elections. Our "real leaders" have no principles — their stances are like chameleons — political opportunists of the first order.

The same thing applies to our "real leaders" in education. They called for the mass resignation of teachers. The Soweto teacher responded to this demand. He resigned. What happened to leaders who were "forcing" the teachers to resign? The liberals created jobs for them. They have very good salaried jobs, and the teacher who followed their advice is walking the

streets of Soweto without a job. Responsible teachers rescinded their resignations and realised that they were taken for a political ride. You can be reassured that the teacher will never be fooled again.

The "real leaders" make statements of no-negotiation with the powers that be — until the so-called demands are fulfilled. Then they hold meetings with the Broederbond, representatives of government agencies, etc. This political rigmarole confuses Mr Average.

Mr Average does not understand why our "real leaders" send their children to white private schools, and then tell our children to boycott schools and refuse to write examinations.

Mr Average does not understand why our "real leaders" are negotiating privately with whites to start businesses in Soweto and then shout that whites are not wanted here.

WE were told that the masses are against negotiations and consultations with the Government. That the masses were against the Regional Committees created by Dr Koornhof. Research was undertaken by The Star newspaper, and the masses said they supported consultation and participation in those regional committees. Can we say that our so-called real leaders reflect the opinions of the masses?

As everyone knows, I am often accused of being a sell-out. The "Muzorewa of South Africa." But when people make this accusation, they are often not sure what they mean. Some say it is because I am legitimising government-created platforms. Others assume that because I make use of the platforms which are available, I am therefore also involved in politically collaborating with the Government in trying to rob blacks of their birthright.

Let us be clear on this. I do not stop Dr Motlana calling for one-man-one-vote. I do not disagree with him on that. I too want a day when blacks are full and equal citizens in an undivided country. I want that day no less strongly than anyone else does.

"The best way of improving Mr Average's lot is by co-operating with the authorities."

But that is not going to happen overnight, and what do you do in the meantime?

Mr Average has got practical problems. He has housing problems, job problems, food problems. Do you help him, or do you grind salt in his wounds to make sure he knows he is oppressed? Do you do what is realistically possible to make his life a better life, or do you keep telling him he must be angry until you finally persuade him that he is angry?

My opinion of progress is that you help him improve his lot, and I state as a fact that the best way of doing so is by co-operating with the established authorities.

Those who disagree are welcome to their opinions. History may show that they were right regarding the long-term needs. But my field is the short-term, day-to-day needs. The primary needs. The things which can only be belittled by those who are already living in comfort.

If those people are to be honest, they should stop knocking on my back door to ask me for help with their electricity and their sewerage repairs and the practical things which their big mouths and their liberal friends do not provide for them.

S. POST 1/18/80
ANC forges links with
Zimbabwe Government

THE African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa will most likely open a diplomatic office in Salisbury, but will not be allowed to have military bases in Zimbabwe, according to sources there.

The ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, is currently on an unofficial visit to Salisbury for talks with Government leaders. Among other things Mr Tambo is appealing for government help and recognition for his movement.

Mr Tambo arrived at the start of the Heroes' Day weekend and attended the state funeral of Zimbabwe war heroes.

The source said Mr Tambo would probably be assured of moral and diplomatic backing from Mr Robert Mugabe's government, but he would get very little other help outside of being permitted to establish an office in the capital.

The meeting is an important breakthrough for the ANC which, through its links with Moscow, has always been closer to Mr Joshua Nkomo's Patriotic Front than to Mr Mugabe's Zanu-PF party. — SUNDAY POST Correspondent.

Witness says 6 accused were trained in Angola

17/8/80 SUN TRIB

JAA

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JAA

THE terror of the Silverton Siege was relived this week as several of the victims, still crippled after the attack, gave evidence in the Silverton trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

And a mystery witness said six of the accused received military training in Angola.

Appearing before the court are Mr Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi, 28, Mr Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 20, Mr Naphtali Manan, 24, Mr Ikanyeng Moses Molebatsi, 27, Mr Hlohle Benjamin Grant Shezi, 24, Mr Jeremiah Radebe, 26, Mr Boyce Johannes Bogale, 26, and Mr Thomas Mngadi, 26, who have pleaded not guilty to high treason, murder, attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances and taking part in terrorist activities.

Their appearance follows the attack on the Silverton branch of the Volkskas Bank on January 25 and on the Soekmekaar police station on January 4.

The court heard how the police surrounded the bank and Captain Mickey de Swardt, then with Pretoria's murder and robbery squad, negotiated between his superiors and the three gunmen all afternoon.

The gunmen, armed with AK 47 machine guns and hand grenades, demanded the release of John Mange and Nelson Mandela and the return of a bag containing grenades, a bayonet and bullets

Tribune Reporter

which they left outside the bank.

At about 6.30pm they threatened to start shooting the hostages.

Captain de Swardt said he was ordered by his superiors to give a code word for the hidden police sharpshooters in the bank when he considered it safe for them to shoot without injuring the hostages.

Standing unarmed inside the bank, he gave the code word at 7.05pm, the court heard, and the two gunmen on the public side of the counter died instantly in a hail of bullets fired by police on the mezzanine floor.

Captain de Swart then ran outside, took a firearm from a policeman and helped a member of the task force overcome the third gunman, whom he considered the leader, he told the court.

This gunman was behind the counter in a booth next to several hostages.

He was wounded four times by Lieutenant Charles Brazelle when he and other members of the task force ran up the stairs from the basement. Seeing the man fall forward, Lieutenant Brazelle ordered the others to stop firing, but, as he fell a grenade rolled out of his hands into the booth where Miss Cindy Anderson, Mr Igor Grobbelaar and other hostages were lying.

Mr Grobbelaar told the court it landed about 20 centimetres from his face and he grabbed it and

threw it away from him. It exploded, injuring Lieutenant Brazelle.

The gunman started firing his machine gun as he fell and Mr Grobbelaar said he saw Cindy Anderson jerk and fall forward. Medical evidence was that she died instantly from a bullet through the thorax and skull.

When police stormed the bank two grenades exploded in all and the force of one of the explosions caused Mrs Anna de Klerk — who was sitting on the counter of the same teller's booth — to fall, cracking her skull. She died hours later.

The third gunman was shot at least 10 times by the police before he was overpowered and his AK47 rifle wrested from him as he died.

The mystery witness, a 26-year-old black man, said he had been a member of the ANC for nearly three years, when he gave himself up to the Security Police last year.

He said he went over the border into Swaziland in January 1977, and contacted ANC members. He then went to Maputo and from there he and six others left for military training at an MPLA camp in Angola. The court heard they were taught urban guerilla warfare.

The witness said he recognised six of the accused men as having undergone military training in Angola. They were Mr Lubisi, Mr Molebatsi, Mr Shezi, Mr Radebe, Mr Bogale and Mr Mngadi.

Mrs Bessie du Preez and Mrs Annatjie Landman, both bank employees, each gave evidence this week with an arm in a steel harness, called a Hoffman apparatus.

Mrs Landman, who can barely walk, said she was sitting on the counter when the firing started. She couldn't get on the floor because the teller's booth was full of people.

"There were shots, I saw my right arm exploding," she said. "Then I lost consciousness."

**Ex-ANC
secretary
refused
passport**

Pietermaritzburg Bureau
NINETY-five-year-old Mr Selby Msimang, a newspaper columnist and former general secretary for the banned African National Congress, has been denied a passport to visit his daughter in Swaziland.

No reasons were given by the Department of the Interior for refusing Mr Msimang a passport.

Mr Msimang, regular columnist for the Durban-based *Ilanga* and the only surviving founder member of the African National Congress, applied for renewal of his travel documents in March.

'I want to find out why they are withholding my documents,' said Mr Msimang. 'It is absurd for anybody to think a man of my age could be a danger to the State.'

Resigned

'I resigned from the ANC when I suspected communists were infiltrating the hierarchy and realised the policy of the organisation was being changed.'

'I have visited my daughter, Mrs Gugu Nxumalo, at the University of Swaziland every year for several years now. This time she had to come to me for a couple of days.'

Mr Msimang said he was visited by Security Police earlier this year after he had planned a trip to friends in the Transkei. Eventually he abandoned the trip.

A senior Security Police spokesman confirmed that Mr Msimang was visited but denied any knowledge of his passport renewal being refused.

New twist in Sibeko trial

DAR ES SALAAM — Two men accused in the 1979 slaying of David Maphunzana Sibeko, leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress have indicated they believe the case should be treated as political, not criminal.

The two are among seven PAC members, who are to stand trial for Mr Sibeko's murder on Wednesday in the local High Court.

"I am not a criminal," said one of the accused, Shindo Mahlaangu, (24), in a statement released on Friday. "I am a freedom fighter."

According to his statement James Hlongwana, (21), another of the accused, has called on the Tanzanian government to consider the case as a political one.

MURDER

The statements were made during a preliminary inquiry in November into the murder of Mr Sibeko, who was shot in the head point-blank in June 1977, at his flat here.

Twenty-two people were committed to trial following the inquiry, but 12 of the accused were freed last May for insufficient evidence.

Another accused, 21-year-old Titus Soni, alias Joe, said in his statement that a PAC group was concerned about mismanagement of party business.

"We were frustrated because our leaders do not visit us in the camps," he said.

"They live abroad and go to Dar es Salaam when there is a meeting or to collect some money," Mr Soni's statement said.

Also released in court on Friday was a statement from fellow PAC leader Vusumuzi Make,

who was at the Sibeko flat at the time of the murder.

According to Mr Make, two men armed with pistols and one brandishing a large knife went to the flat on June 11, 1979, ordered Mr Sibeko to surrender, then stole his wallet and money.

One man fired on Mr Make, who rushed into another room and locked

the door, the statement said.

He said he then heard another shot. When the group left, Mr Make said that he found Mr Sibeko lying in a pool of blood.

The other accused are Daniel Monnakgotla (28), Garbet Nhlapo (alias Smash) (24), Abraham Tatu Reuben Zwane (alias Tecko) (24) and Ingram Mazibuko (25).

11/11 post 18/8/80



On his opposition to violence as a means of change:

It is sometimes difficult to maintain this opposition. My stand on violence is not ideological in the sense of being a pacifist. If a person were to hit me I would hit back.

My adherence to my stand is mainly for pragmatic reasons. One has a responsibility. Any general must try as hard as he can to protect the lives of his people. But at the same time I acknowledge that if the Government or the whites are intransigent, then I may have to lead my people through those dark waters of violence myself. I have always emphasised that the options of my people are not capable of getting angry to the extent that they don't care whether they die. My reading of the situation makes me believe that one cannot say that as of now the majority of black people want to die. But that does not mean to say that tomorrow that might not be so. The shift may be very sudden. Something may just flip

over and we may find ourselves engulfed in violence.

I have had a very unfortunate kind of backlash. When the people of Zimbabwe solve their problems with a large element of violence, there are people who criticise me when I talk of non-violence.

I don't get upset. I understand this criticism. I am a realist and a pragmatic politician. I cannot ignore the logistical problems that black people face. But I say this without trying to underplay what our brothers achieved by the Sasol kind of thing, in indicating the seriousness with which they are determined to proceed with the armed struggle.

On possible National Party participation in the Buthelezi Commission which is investigating the future of Natal:

I am not optimistic about the NP participating.

Of course it is desirable for them to participate and it would make it easier for the commission to get information from departments in Pretoria if they took part. But I don't think we can sacrific-

ice our principles.

I have reservations about the Lombard plan, but one can't shoot it down because it is stimulating a debate which is overdue... I just wonder, was he a feeler for the Government?

On white attitudes towards a multiracial administration in Natal:

I am not very optimistic, but I am encouraged by the business community. I don't think the business community has suddenly become different for their kith and kin. I think they realise what is in their interests — that you cannot fragment Natal through destroying the golden egg. Obviously their are whites who think differently.

The commission will deliver a report within a year. It could be an interim report or a final one.

On Inkatha's role in the future:

I believe that during the past five years Inkatha has demonstrated to the people what it can do practically. There are people who say that the Government

I have never been a racist although we have white oppression I have never believed all whites are ogres... I think God for this reason cause I think it can distort one's personality.

is intransigent and that violence is the only thing. However, I do not believe that we have exhausted non-violent strategies.

I am saddened by divisions in our black community. I know that a lot of time is frittered away fighting battles between ourselves as brothers in the black community. I just don't know how one gets rid of this.

We are all bedevilled by a certain one-upmanship element because some of the differences are not based on ideology. People must realise that there are issues on which they must sink their differences and that situations of disaster promote the common cause.

Handwritten signature and initials (WVTH and IIA).

Now there are some people who say that the thing that angers people is participation in the so-called Bantustan policy, but that is nonsense. In Angola, Zimbabwe or Mozambique there is no Bantustan policy, but just look at the divisions there.

by some people. I believe will be with us for a long time. We have got a good example of a disaster with this drought. I have told Inkatha members that this tests them.

I believe our people have never used their worker power. We have not exhausted even some of the non-violent and practical strategies to bring people to the conference table. The growing of food is not unrelated to the liberation struggle. If you are going to stay away the first thing you must worry about is that if you are not going to work, what will you eat? The growing of food is one of the challenges we face and I encourage this at a grass roots level.

So when I talk of a more paramilitary influence within Inkatha, that is rather to emphasise a spirit of commitment and discipline, rather than to emphasise the military aspect. We in Inkatha are not allowed to have guns.

On the recognition of group identity:

We in Inkatha recognise cultural identity. We recognise it as a fact — we cannot wish it away. But I think most blacks would agree with me that cultural identity has been ab-



On the development of Inkatha along paramilitary lines!

This is something which has been misunderstood.

used under the separate development policy.

On racism:

I have never been a racist and for that I thank the Almighty. Although we have white oppression I have never believed that all whites are ogres and should be killed. I thank God for this because I think it can distort one's personality.

I remember talking to a girl who is in exile. I was frightened by her bitterness. I could understand it of course — I was not criticising her. She was so very bitter. I ultimately said to her: "My sister, I am very frightened for your sake because the bitterness will corrode your own soul."

On the talks between the Prime Minister and the SA Council of Churches:

This is a very positive thing for which both the Prime Minister and the SACC should be commended. There were tensions there which did not serve any purpose and did not help to solve problems.

In a way I am a bit amused because many people have denigrated me for talking to the Government as if that is treachery. But when our brothers in the SACC talk

to the Government it is just the opposite.

However, all of us must applaud when people talk like that. Only good can come from it, even if they don't agree. The reactions of some of the participants reminded me of my own reactions after Vorster tried to sell us apartheid for seven hours or more, without listening to us. It is a good thing that the church goes to see this for themselves and understand our problems.



On complaints that he is too sensitive to criticism:

Of course people in politics must be criticised and I accept that some people accuse me of being sensitive. Quite often when I am falsely accused and I come out strongly, then they say I can't reply to everything. But that is how I have survived.



BUTHELEZI NOW

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu and leader of the powerful Inkatha movement, occupies a unique position on South Africa's political landscape. Last week he was attacked by the exiled African National Congress,

On what will bring him back to the conference table in the wake of his boycott of the recent talks between the Prime Minister and homeland leaders:

I think we must get away from the theory that where the Government comes to us with a fait accompli, we must accept holus bolus what they have on the table for us.

When I took into account that we had given evidence to the Schlebusch Commission and that this was ignored; and that we had a statement of intent which was ig-

nored; and that legislation was passed to implement the Schlebusch proposals, then I did not see the point in going to the talks.

If the Prime Minister had included blacks in the President's Council it would have been difficult for me to refuse, although I do have reservations as to the representation. What sort of representation would we have there as blacks, as the majority? These are things I would like to discuss, assuming we were invited to be on the council. That would be a change of direction because for the first time we would be sitting there, not as a permanent body, but as an interim body which forces us as South Africans to look at what

formulas would advance us to full participation by all race groups in decision-making.

I do not regret the decision to stay away from last week's meeting. What happened there vindicated my stand because in fact one of my colleagues phoned me and said that the whole thing was a disaster. He said that the man bullied them and he treated them like schoolchildren. He said I must have been very well guided not to have attended. I would say my staying away had a lot to do with the scrapping of the black advisory council, apart from the contribution by my colleagues.



On the performance of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, during his nearly two years in office:

For a Nationalist leader he has said some very profound things. There are speeches which created hope. The problem came when, during the no-confidence debate of this year's session of Parliament, he denied that he had given anyone any hopes. He accused the Opposition and the English Press of having infused these into our minds, but they were not responsible for this.

I have always been a realist. Even Mr Botha cannot get us what we want with a stroke of a pen. But I am disappointed in him because I was mistaken to think that he had changed his direction away from the track followed by his predecessors.

I fear a certain kind of Afrikaner psychology: That if they give a finger to us, when we will want the whole hand. But I believe that if the Prime Minister were to move, the majority of white people would not revolt. I think there are many things which prove this.



There was the election at Fauresmith, and even the HNP has never really got off the ground. So the excuse that they have such a strong rightwing really does not hold water.



On the deteriorating relations between Inkatha and the African National Congress:

My reaction to this is one of dismay and surprise. In spite of their very provocative statements from Lusaka, almost every day, my feelings are ones of distress because I do not believe

for a moment that this advances our black cause. I don't think any of us can gain anything from attacks and counter-attacks. Who are we fighting? We are fighting the Pretoria regime.

When they requested me and Inkatha members to go overseas and meet them, we did so in a spirit of brotherhood in

commitment to one cause, even if we differed on strategy.

Some people say I went there for approval. I did not, of course I have survived in black politics in South Africa in spite of not having their support, except for Mr Tambo (the acting president of the ANC)

This is the kind of argument which happens

within a family because I still say we belong to the same family. I do not see it as my role to go on a campaign to attack them. But when they distort or misinterpret my intentions, I have an obligation to put these things right.

There are many people in Inkatha who were in the ANC, former Robben Island prisoners, who are just as dismayed as I am.



which claims he collaborates with apartheid – and he has been criticised by Government Ministers for boycotting recent talks between the Prime Minister and homeland leaders. A commission of inquiry he has created to investigate the future of Natal could have a far-reaching influence on the constitutional future of South Africa.



In an interview with Political Reporter, TOM DUFF, Chief Buthelezi gives his views on a wide range of issues.



The Mandela daughters, Zinzi (left) and Zeni.

Mandela kids set for India

11/10
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In fact she is the only one who has not got a passport because her sister, who is married and lives in Swaziland already has a passport.

At this stage the two girls cannot divulge their itinerary until they have all the necessary documents. But they hope to do a lot of travelling abroad.

Zeni will be accompanied by her husband Mr Thumbunzi Dlamini while Zinzi will travel with a friend, Mr Oupa Sekamela.

THE TWO Mandela daughters Zeni and Zinzi are preparing to go to India to accept the Jawaharlal Nehru Award on behalf of their father, the jailed former leader of the banned African National Congress.

The decision to let the two girls represent their father was arrived at when the South African government refused to allow the jailed leader travel to India and also subsequent applications by his wife Winnie were turned down.

The Jawaharlal Nehru Award is the highest humanitarian honour the Indian government can confer.

The Press Trust of India has done. Changes into it with the members, will

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PP 20/8/85 (SAP) (11/1)

Teach blacks capitalism call

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— Blacks in South Africa were not part of the free enterprise system, and they should be encouraged to become part of it, Mr Bob Harvey, chairman of a major supermarket retailing chain, said here.

Speaking at a Jaycees meeting he said blacks tended to regard themselves as "socialists".

"Blacks so far this century in South Africa have never had free enterprise."

They had restrictions on freedom of movement and home ownership which whites took for granted in a free enterprise system.

"Blacks tend to describe themselves among others as socialists," he said.

"The most difficult thing is to convince blacks that there will be no exploitation — a big risk — but one that we have proved wrong in partnership with them," Mr Harvey said.

At another Jaycees meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, labour experts warned about inroads which the skilled labour shortage was making into South Africa's economic boom.

The shortage was reaching crisis propor-

tions, said Prof Gideon Jacobs, director of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Witwatersrand University.

It was limiting the benefit derived from the economic boom, generating high inflation and aggravating unemployment.

Mr Ronnie Webb, vice-president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa told the meeting that the country lacked the skilled workers to maintain the momentum of the economic upsurge.

The government would

have to "urgently review training statues and ancillary programmes" he said.

"We must set out to train people, irrespective of race, to fill jobs," Prof Jacobs said.

"We must allow all existing training facilities, whether universities, teacher training colleges, technikons or technical colleges, to be filled to the full extent of their capacity with students on the basis of merit, not race."

He pointed out that Bantu education had left a legacy which would take many years to overcome. — DDR-SAPA.

Mandela girls to accept father's award

191 8/80 ARKUS
12/12/80 (11A)

Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. —
The two Mandela daughters, Zenzi Dlamini and Zinzi, are preparing to go to India to accept the Jawaharlal Nehru award on behalf of their father — the jailed African National Congress leader.

The decision to let the two girls represent their father was taken when the South African Government refused to allow the jailed leader to travel to India.

Subsequent applications by his wife Winnie to accept the award were turned down.

The Jawaharlal Nehru award is the highest humanitarian honour the Indian Government can confer.

The Press Trust of India said the award was con-

ferred on Mandela in recognition of 'his staunch support of freedom and individual liberty, justice and peace.'

Although there is no date fixed for the ceremony the Indian Government had hoped to hold the function some time early this year.

Zinzi said she anticipated no problems as far as their travel documents were concerned.

She said she did not have a passport but her sister, who is married and lives in Swaziland, had one.

At this stage the two girls cannot divulge their itinerary until they have all the necessary documents, but they hope to do a lot of travelling abroad.

Zenzi will be accompanied by her husband, Mr Thumbumzu Dlamini, while Zinzi will travel with a friend, Mr Oupa Sekamela.

Leaders of all race groups join on council

20/8/80 ARMS (11) 50



Mr F Sonn

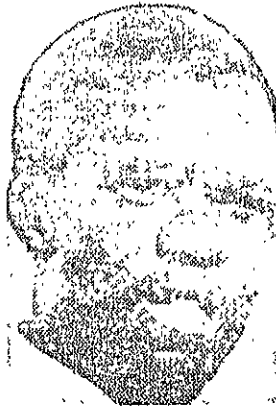
PRETORIA. — Leaders in the fields of finance, business management, manpower research and government from all major race groups have been invited to serve on the Executive Committee of the Human Sciences Research Council which will investigate education in South Africa.

The names of the committee members were disclosed by Dr J G Garbers, the president of the HSRC. Nineteen of the members are white and six are black, Indian or coloured. One possible member, currently abroad and unable to react to the invitation, may yet accept, in which case the non-white representation will increase by one.

THE MEMBERS

The members are Professor J P de Lange, Chairman and Rector of Rand Afrikaans University; Dr J G Garbers, President of the HSRC; Professor A N Boyce, Head of Financial Policy in the Department of Finance; Dr R M Cingo, Inspector of Schools in the Department of Education and Training.

Dr K B Hartshorne, consultant at the Centre for Continuing Education in



Professor A C Nkabinde

the University of the Witwatersrand.

Professor J H Jooste, Director of the Transvaal Education Department; Professor S R Maharaj, Dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of Durban-Westville; Mr P R Nel, former Director of Indian Education and a member of the Natal Education Department

AN INSPECTOR

Professor A C Nkabinde, Rector of the Uni-

versity of Zululand, Mr R D Nobin, an inspector of schools in the Department of Indian Affairs.

Mr M C O'Dowd, a director of Anglo American; Mr A Pitendrigh, Director of the Natal Technicon and Dr P Smit, Vice-President for Research Development of the HSRC

The other 11 members are: Mr F Sonn, Director of the Peninsula Technicon; Mr J B Haasbroek, Director of the SA Institute for Educational Research; HSRC.

Mr J F Steyn, Chief Secretary of the Transvaal Teachers' Union; Professor N J Swart, Vice-Rector of Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

MANPOWER

Professor P J van der Merwe, Deputy Chairman of the National Manpower Commission; Professor R E van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape.

Professor F van der Stoep, Dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of Pretoria; Professor N T van Loggerenberg, Dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of the Orange Free State.

Dr R H Venter, deputy director of University Affairs in the Department of Education; Professor W B Vosloo, Head of the Department of Government and Public Administration at the University of Stellenbosch; and Mrs C C Regmat, a teacher at Westfield High School.

Dr Garbers emphasised that the committee had been independently constituted by the HSRC, and that the members were chosen in their personal capacities and not as representatives of their organisations. — Sapa.



Professor R E van der Ross

S. Top 21/8/50 (11A)

Blacks urged to join political debate

Political Reporter

Groups and individuals who remained outside the Government-initiated debate on the constitution would become politically irrelevant, former Progressive Federal Party MP, Mr Japie Basson, said last night.

However, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said the fatal flaw in the efforts to create a new dispensation in South Africa was the exclusion of blacks from the President's Council.

Both men spoke at a

meeting of the current affairs discussion group, Peil '99, on the subject of "the black voice in constitutional dialogue."

Mr Basson urged blacks not to remain involved only in protest politics, but to involve themselves in the constitutional debate. He believed it was extremely short-sighted to boycott the President's Council.

He said political debate in South Africa was going to be between the Government and the President's Council and elected black leaders. Those people who

remained outside this process would remain politically irrelevant.

Mr Basson said people should differentiate between principle and method. The Government had accepted the principle that all population groups should be drawn into the constitution-making process.

Bishop Tutu said the Prime Minister had a better perception of reality than his predecessors. Possibly this was because he was advised more by the military than by the police.

He pointed out that the South African Government had promoted negotiations between various groups in Zimbabwe and SWA/Namibia, but refrained from setting up such round-table talks inside the country.

The fatal flaw in the President's Council was the exclusion of blacks. There was no hope for a peaceful solution to the country's problems unless the acknowledged and elected leaders of all groups were allowed to get around a table and negotiate.

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6

Warring Zulus to consider white as church leader

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

THE four-year dispute over the leadership of the 100 000-member Nazareth Zulu church, which has already cost several lives, could be resolved if a white university professor is made temporary leader of the sect, the Supreme Court here was told yesterday.

In papers before Mr Justice Howard, a pastor of the church, Rev Zakharia Khuzwayo, said the dispute over the leadership had begun when the founder of the church, Rev J Shembe, died in December 1976 without naming a successor.

A struggle for the leadership had ensued between Londa and Amos Shembe and many had died as the opposing factions clashed, Mr Khuzwayo said.

This had forced him to go to the Supreme Court, he said when asking that summons be issued

asking church members to either support or oppose an application for the appointment of Prof Johannes Maree, a former principal of the University of Zululand and Zulu linguist, as temporary trustee of the church's trust fund.

This would place the professor in the same position as the former titular head of the church and would enable him impartially to appoint a new advisory and executive committee for the trust.

These bodies were competent to elect a new leader and it was hoped the person chosen would have his election condoned by the Supreme Court and the warring factions, Mr Khuzwayo said.

Granting the request, Mr Justice Howard said Mr Khuzwayo could serve the summons on church members by having it published in a Zulu paper.

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Coloureds have grave doubts on CMC future

By Lynda Loxton
Johannesburg's coloured leaders have serious doubts whether they should continue to serve as members of the Coloured Management Committee.

This emerged yesterday as the CMC held its first

meeting in two months and welcomed back its chairman, Mr Ismail (Miley) Richards, and the representative for Eldorado Park Ward 3, Mr Mohammed Dangor.

The two men were detained two months ago at the height of the schools

boycott and were recently released.

Mr Richards yesterday thanked his colleagues for their "stand of solidarity" by refusing to attend CMC meetings until he and Mr Dangor were charged or released.

"In the same breath, I

must express my disgust and disappointment at the Johannesburg City Council, and in particular the management committee, for its attitude to our detention," he said.

The council refused to condemn the detentions and call for the release of the two men.

Mr Richards said he had believed the CMC was an "integral part of the council," but its attitude had made him wonder whether it was worth it. He would consult his constituents before he made any final decision.

Mr Don Mateman (Eldorado Park, Ward 2) said he was perturbed that elected representatives, who expressed the fears and frustrations of the people, could be picked up and locked away.

Mr J A Bouah (Riverlea, Ext 1) said CMC members were already held in suspicion because they served on the committee. "Is it necessary for us to be detained because of what we do for our community?"

Fetches from homes

TWO MORE HELD IN NYANGA

11A
23/8/50
Hw

Cape

By Aneez Sallie

THE detention last week of top civic leaders has been followed by that of two of their colleagues on the Nyanga Residents' Association (NRA).

Mr Melford Sturman (59), the vice-chairman of the NRA, and Mr Edward Kweza (44), the association's secretary, were fetched from their Nyanga homes at 5 am on Saturday by security police.

The chief of the Cape Town security police, Colonel Henrie Kotze, said the men were being held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

The chairman of the Crossroads Residents' Association, Mr Johnson Nxoxobongwana, was detained on Thursday and released after questioning.

He said police wanted to know who was responsible for the Nyanga unrest.

Mr Oscar Mpetsha and Mr Leon Mqhakaya were arrested at their Nyanga homes at 4 am on Wednesday morning by detectives of the Murder and Robbery Squad and held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which allows for 48 hours' detention before a charge is laid.

On Thursday they were transferred to Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act which allows for 11 days' detention without trial. The matter is now the concern of the Security Police.

Mr Mpetsha, a diabetic in need of medication, is chairman of the Nyanga Residents' Association (NRA) and a national organiser with the Food and Canning Workers' Union. He is 71 years old.

Mr Mqhakaya is assistant secretary of the NRA and an organiser with the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers' Union.

Last week civic and trade union spokesmen condemned the detentions and called for a top-level inquiry into the Nyanga unrest.

They were the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Guguletu Residents' Association and the Coordinating Civic Council.

This week three more organisations added their protests.

① An executive meeting of the Jewellers' and Goldsmiths' Union deplored the violence at Nyanga and Crossroads, and condemned the arrests.

② Executive members of the Lotus River Ratepayers' and Tenants' Association condemned the detentions and called for the two men, and all other detainees, to be charged or released.

③ The South African Allied Workers' Union condemned the detentions 'in the strongest possible terms'.

Mr S K Kikine, general secretary of the union, said the authorities should negotiate with the men instead of hauling them away in the middle of the night.

August 9 was National Women's Day.

New Living looks back at when ...

Twenty thousand women sang a song of defiance

"STRYDOM you have struck a rock, you have tampered with the women."

These lines, sung by 20 000 heroic women of the 1950's epitomises the spirit and determination which lay behind all the massive pass protests during this decade.

During those years the organisation and unity between all the oppressed women of South Africa became evident. Their struggle against passes was a dominant issue and most of the liberation movements rallied to the women's lead.

The two most significant women's organisations which emerged at

this time were the African National Congress Womens League (ANCWL) and the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). The ANCWL was directly affiliated to this body.

One of the driving forces in the Federation from the beginning was Lillian Ngoyi. She had come into political prominence during the defiance campaign in 1952, joined the ANC and became very active in the ANC Women's League. Ngoyi was elected President of both the NACWL and FSAW, thus strengthening the link between the two organisations.

Some other affiliated organisations of the Fe-

deration were the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation, the Cape Housewives League, The League of Non European Women, and the Food and Canning Workers Union.

The idea of a Women's Federation was first acted upon in 1953. Women from all over the country got together and decided that a National Federation be established. On April 17 1954 the Federation of South African Women held its first national conference. Here it was decided to take up all issues of women's rights. The Women's Charter was also adopted at the conference.

The charter advocated a non racial policy and called for various women's sections of the liberation movements to work together. It called for the removal of racial and class discriminations. It called for the right to vote, the right to education, medical care and proper homes.

The charter also sought to express the needs and aspirations of all the wo-



Lillian Ngoyi, president of the ANCWL

men of South Africa and to bring about the emancipation of women from the special disabilities they suffered under laws, customs and conventions.

To understand the nature of and the reasons for the protests in the 1950's one must look at the South African economy and South African capitalism in the 1950's. The large capitalist industries relied mostly on migratory labour from rural areas.

However in the 1950's urbanisation increased tremendously, as can be seen by the great influx of women into the cities. Family units were then established in the urban areas rather than having the men oscillating between the rural and urban areas. But this was not in the State's interest and they decided to implement measures which would keep the women in the rural areas.

To ensure that women did stay in the rural areas, fulfilling their role as reproducers of the work force, the state attempted once again (it had first attempted to do so in 1913 but had failed) to issue passes to women.

Women were also in a vulnerable position because of their status as a reserve army of labour. They could be drawn into the industrial economy in large numbers but in times of economic crisis they were the first to be expelled.

Thus the oppression of women in South Africa was due to a large extent to structural factors and to the fact that women were already oppressed on these levels - racially, sexually and due to their class position.

Both the ANCWL and the Federation were aware of these issues and attempted to deal with the problems constructively.

One of the Federation's most important resolutions was to "strive to remove all laws that restrict free movement". So in 1955 the Federation began their campaign against passes for women.

In the Orange Free State, Winburg women were the first to receive passes. Lillian Ngoyi met with them to discuss the issue and the women realised the implications of the issuing of passes to women. They then marched to the magistrate's office in protest and burnt their passes.

The anti-pass campaigns also occurred extensively in the rural areas. Perhaps the most well known of these was the Bafu-tse women of Zeerust in 1957. These women refused to take passes and strongly opposed the implementation of the Bantu Authorities Act. Their protest lasted for a year.

Protests

In October 1958 2 000 women were arrested in Johannesburg during two weeks of demonstrations against the issue of passes.

Although protests were based mainly around the issue of passes, these escalated in many places to protests over other grievances such as wages, migrancy, cattle dipping and beerhalls and Bantu Education.

The Federation, for instance, fought for accommodation for young male migrants forced to sleep in the open on the ground. They succeeded in getting them alternate accommodation.

The Federation also fought proposed increases in sub economic housing in 1954. They organised a nationwide campaign against these increases which they saw as an attack on the already low standard of living of the people.

Of course the Federation had a large part in the organisation and planning of the Congress of the People in 1955. They canvassed for women's demands to be included in the Freedom Charter. A meeting was called in Johannesburg in May to discuss "WHAT WOMEN DEMAND".

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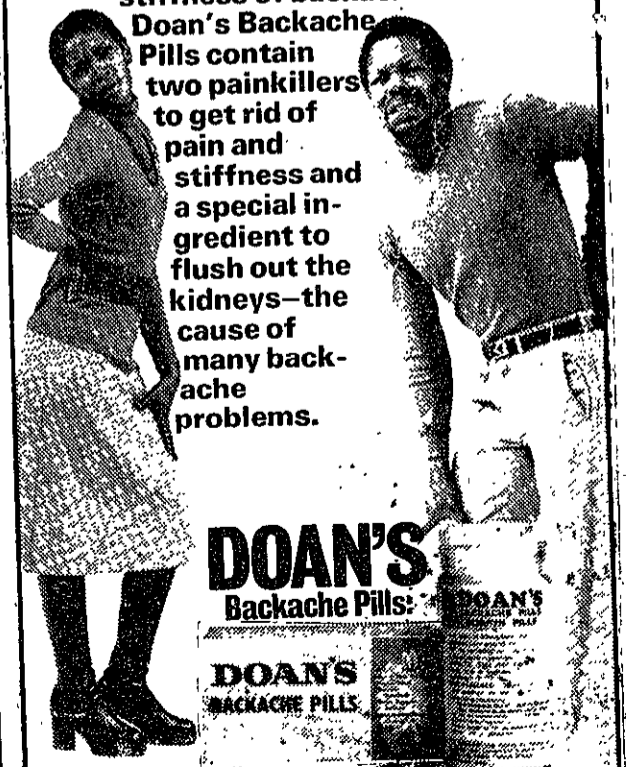
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On August 7th the Federation organised a "Congress of Mothers" in Johannesburg to discuss how the women of South Africa would help to implement the aims of the Freedom Charter.

But passes remained the burning issue of the 50's.

Together with the ANCWL, the Federation formed a Joint Planning Committee to organise in the massive demonstration on Pretoria on August 9, 1956.

20 000 women from all over South Africa scraped train fares together and travelled to Pretoria. Led by Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa and Sophie Williams the women marched through the city and gathered in the amphitheatre outside the Union buildings. They stood for 30 minutes in silent protest and they then sang "Strydom you have struck a rock, you have tampered with the women".

The determination and great unity of the women in organising, attending and merely getting to the August 9th demonstration proved the Federation to be a strong political force.

However a major setback occurred on December 5th when Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Martha Methlaka, Frances Baard and Bertha Mashaba, executive members of the Federation were among the 156 people arrested and charged with treason.

Stricter

As time went on, each new demonstration by women against passes was met with stricter state legislation.

For instance, the Nursing Amendment Act which made it compulsory for nurses and trainee nurses to have identity numbers which could only be issued on passes. The Federation organised a large demonstration at Baragwanath hospital. Their protest was met by armed police.

In 1957 the State clamped down on domestic workers declaring that they must have passes to be employed legally. The Congress of Democrats in conjunction with the Federation worked extremely hard in white areas telling employers that passes for women were not yet compulsory by law.

In January 1958 the ANC formally took up the issue of passes since it was seen that the Government was succeeding in getting passes to more and more women. A national Anti-Pass Planning Council was established.

Both the Federation and the ANC were at pains to remain within the law. They saw their strategy as consisting of mass displays of non violent protest. To this end 1959 was optimistically called "the greatest anti pass year" by the Planning Council.

But the campaign against passes could not be sustained and all momentum gradually ground to a halt. After the massacre at the demonstration at Sharpeville in March of 1960 a State of emergency was called and the ANC and the PAC were

banned. Their banning marked the end of the mass non violent resistance programmes of the 50's.

After 1960 the Federation slowly but definitely began to decline. Its third National Conference in Port Elizabeth in September 1961 was well attended and delegates were in good spirits. However, the tolerated limits within which the Federation could act were severely restricted. Their leaders were banned and the organisation as a whole was on the defensive and in 1964 the Federation crumbled, never formally

disolved, but with its programme driven underground.

Struggle

The Federation of South African Women provided a new dimension to the struggle for liberation. It rejected the role of women as tea makers and typists that characterised most previous political activity of women. It insisted on equal treatment for women in the Congress Alliance, made autonomous decisions and saw clearly that women were

a political force in their own right.

It urged women to unify along non racial lines and stressed their solidarity as mothers. The federation never lost sight of the broader goals and worked continually for general liberation, realising that women could not be united on the basis of their sex alone, and that their struggle was also the struggle of the whole people.

● This article first appeared in Saspu National, the new national newspaper of the South African Students' Press Union.

Women's struggle was the struggle of the people



Helen Joseph

Make the meal exciting. Enjoy Tastic Rice tonight.



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Question 8 (ii)

1. As the economy grows ^(increases) the demand for manufacturing goods are greater than that of agricultural goods.

- 2. Banbustan they look
- 3. A pull back
- 4. Push back

each step one takes from day to day is determined for one by the system of racism which is older than 1948. Those who operate in the racist South African Parliament, which legislates with the government for the rest of us, are praised as "pure and uncontaminated by the system". Those who are educated in all-white schools and universities, and who work within labour laws which discriminate against the black man, are not "working within the system".

All these are often depicted as our knights in shining armour. There is the arrogance of whites which is lauded, when they do mischief among black workers, in an attempt to alienate me, as "an enemy of the people", when I

and loss of temper, you now accuse me of being oversensitive and of having a robust temper like him.

I have never seen anything more racist in the columns of your paper before. When Inkatha gives evidence to the Schiebusch Commission and it is totally ignored you expect me like a good native to accept that. When I appealed to Mr Botha to declare a moratorium on constitutional experimentation, long before the legislation that has caused the present impasse was passed, and he ignored this, my response in staying away from a meeting which would have formalised confrontation between me and the Prime Minister, you then accuse me of being oversensitive, and you attribute this to what you call my robust temper. Can you be more racist than this, Sir!

Where is all the talk in which I have been written-off editorially and through the cocktail circuit, because I am not militant enough? When stones were exchanged with bullets in 1976 and 1977 your editorials emphasised the necessity for the Government to seek accommodation for blacks. When I act so responsibly by staying away from confrontation you do not appeal to the Government to do something constructive soon, as you responded to

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
President of Inkatha
Chief Minister of KwaZulu
and Chairman, South
African Black Alliance

population increases

social security
mine workers

The Relation :

Product

Production doubles.

Elasticity of Income

$$E_I = \frac{\frac{\Delta Q}{Q}}{\frac{\Delta P}{P}} \times \frac{P}{Q} = \frac{\Delta Q}{Q} \times \frac{P}{\Delta P}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta Q &= \frac{\Delta P}{P} \times E_I \times Q \\ &= \frac{100}{100} \times 0,5 \times 50 \\ &= 25 \end{aligned}$$

New Q_s for agricultural goods is

$$25 + 50 = 75$$

Manufacture	T. Product
50	100
100	200
1,5	

$$\frac{\Delta Q}{Q}$$

$$E_I = \frac{\Delta Q}{Q} \times \frac{P}{\Delta P}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \Delta Q &= \frac{\Delta P}{P} \times E_I \times Q \\ &= \frac{100}{100} \times 1,5 \times 50 \\ &= 1,5 \times 50 = 75 \end{aligned}$$

New Q_d for manufacturing goods is

$$\begin{aligned} &= 75 + 50 \\ &= 125 \end{aligned}$$

demand for manufacturing goods is greater than demand for agricultural goods during

The Botha with the difference

Thozamile Botha's public career lasted a mere six headline-hitting months. But they were six months that had a big impact even in the highly volatile environment of black society in the Eastern Cape. BRIAN POTTINGER assesses the rapid rise and fall of the most unusual of the Bothas. Pictures by Riaan de Villiers and Siphwo Ralo

EARLY on Sunday morning, May 4, Thozamile Botha left his four-roomed house in one of Port Elizabeth's townships and like many black political leaders before him chose the path to exile. Three days later he entered Maseru to a boisterous welcome from other South African exiles.

For the 33-year-old teacher-activist-industrial worker it was the end of a tumultuous six months that saw him rise from the obscurity of a trainee foreman job at Ford Motor Company to an international symbol of opposition to apartheid.

His detention, banning and self-imposed exile added the stamp of martyrdom to a leader whose political career within South Africa was characterised by State harassment, a certain confusion in strategy, a lot of luck and not a little courage.

Thozamile Botha (the security police could never get over the irony of the surname) was no stranger to politics before October last year.

As a student at Fort Hare University during the 1976 and 1977 disturbances he became involved in the renaissance of politicisation that was sweeping black South African youth.

There was the inevitable run-in with the law. In October 1977 he was detained for three months as Vice President of the Association of Science and Technology, charged with inciting public violence and later acquitted. His involvement with a 'Save The Children's Fund' to provide defence money for children charged with public violence, hardly endeared him further to the authorities.

October 1977 and the full weight of the Government crack-down on black political movements temporarily muted the opposition of the dissidents.

Two years later, from October 1979 onwards Botha initiated a political renaissance of his own that began quietly at

the level of civic affairs and escalated rapidly and dramatically.

With the encouragement and driving rhetoric of Botha a number of township residents' associations were formed with the intention of creating an over-arching body to represent the interests of the black community against an administration board perceived by many blacks to be indifferent and a community council seen by many as opportunistic.

The initiative drew an astonishing response from the black community of Port Elizabeth. At the inauguration meetings of the various branch bodies residents turned up in their hundreds, often in thousands, to listen to botha's oratory.

Originally much of the attention of the blossoming organisations was directed towards civic issues: rents in the townships, the quality of the services, the actions of the administration board and the community council.

In October of last year Botha even led a delegation of 'middle-class' blacks to meet the Director of the East Cape Administration Board to iron out difficulties in implementation of the 99-year-leasehold scheme, a scheme Botha was only two months later to brand 'a devil designed to divide blacks'.

As Botha was well aware, however, in South Africa civic issues could not be meaningfully divided from national political issues and the rhetoric became increasingly 'political'.

The strands of Botha's fame as both a township political leader and a labour activist came together dramatically on October 30 last year with two events of importance.

The first was that Botha resigned from Ford Motor Company, allegedly under

pressure from management to choose between his job as a trainee foreman and his time-consuming involvement with his association.

The second was that the inaugural meeting of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation was held at New Brighton's Centenary Hall that evening to launch the central executive of the branch residents' groups.

Pebeo's inaugural meeting drew an estimated 9 000 residents who packed into the huge hall to enjoy the botha rhetoric, the swelling protest songs and the sea of black power salutes.

In searching for comparisons old-time political observers in the townships spoke nostalgically of the hey-day of the ANC in the Eastern Cape when equally huge crowds would turn out to listen to black leaders.

What immediately struck the observer was the range of people present at the rally. Neatly dressed, middle-aged white-collar workers, labourers, elderly men and women and, most significantly, many young people and students dressed in kaftans and wearing leather Africa insignia around their necks.

The speech-making was fiery and overtly political. Pebeo's constitution as read out to the meeting embraced 'fighting for civic rights, citizenship issues, seeking participation in political decision making at the national level, and the right of blacks to freehold anywhere in South Africa'.

All points received an enthusiastic welcome from the crowd.

The next day, October 31, the industrial dispute at Ford began. The entire black staff of 700 at the company's Struandale plant walked out before the incredulous gaze of management after the company had failed to meet a 12 noon deadline to bring Botha to the plant to 'put his side of the case' over his resignation.

LIA



It was Ford's first strike in South Africa and one of the most serious in the history of the country's motor industry. For South Africa's industrial relations the implications of the strike are still being assessed.

Three days after the walk-out management was forced to negotiate a conciliation with the workers. Botha was reinstated, all workers paid for time they were out, all was forgiven and forgotten.

For Botha it was his major break. From being a local-level politician his name became inextricably bound with the Ford dispute. The image of him being carried shoulder high by the jubilant workers was captured by international TV and his name was made.

Ironically, the indications were that the strike at Ford was neither initiated nor anticipated by Botha. Subsequent to the first strike he was to confide that although he had been immensely impressed by the worker's solidarity, he had had no idea of what they intended.

Later, he was to refuse to address a meeting of striking workers at another major Port Elizabeth company, General Tyre, and was persistently to emphasise that although Pebco fully supported the striking workers, it was not itself responsible for the strikes.

The Ford disputes did not, however,

end with the reinstatement of Botha. After a series of work stoppages over a number of grievances — the majority of them with a heavy political component — Ford Motor Company fired all 788 black staff at the Struandale plant.

Sympathy strikes — although over different issues — broke out at General Tyre and Adamas Paper Mill in Port Elizabeth and by mid-November more than 1 400 black workers were on the streets after strike action, although most were reinstated after a short while.

On the Ford front the dispute settled into a drawn-out contest of wills between management and workers. Immediately

PLEASE TURN OVER

11A

Heady success before the slippery slide

CONTINUED

Botha was thrown into a leadership role as the workers found their union, the United Automobile Workers, a FOSATU black union, unresponsive to their wildcat action, inflexible and indeed suspicious of the political background to the dispute.

Management offered to re-employ all the dismissed workers and began a snail-pace recruitment of individual dismissed workers. The bulk of the dismissed workers refused to return however unless assured of a mass reinstatement of all workers without loss of benefits.

Worker unity held for a while under Botha's indefatigable enthusiasm. A Workers Committee was formed, relief funds raised and a South African Council of Churches grant sought.

But as the money began to run out workers started trickling back and by early January 276 had returned.

Bitterness developed between the returned workers and those still out. Although Botha constantly called for his followers to remain calm, petrol bombs were thrown at the homes of two returned workers in mid-December. More than 48 dismissed workers were rounded up in a police clampdown. 22 were eventually charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and convicted of intimidation.

As Christmas came and passed without any sign of resolution of the dispute, the mood of the strikers became despairing.

But the position of the workers had meanwhile attracted international attention and expressions of support from a range of bodies. The US Government — mindful of the negative publicity the strike was causing for all multinationals — began to take a close interest.

US Consul General in Cape Town Alan Lukens, and the Vice Consul, Chuck Ohlgren, put in a number of appearances. Meetings between the Americans and the various parties were held. Although denied by all parties it was clear the Americans were putting pressure on Ford to settle the issue quickly.

On January 9 at a secret management-union-workers indaba at one of the city's five-star hotels, attended by Lukens, a compromise was thrashed out whereby Ford agreed to reinstate all the dismissed



workers. The workers hailed it as a victory; Ford said it was satisfied.

And then political developments in Pebco out-stripped labour events. The day after the settlement Botha and three other Pebco leaders were detained.

The background to the detentions of the Pebco executive lay incomparably less in Botha's labour involvement than in political developments in the Eastern Cape during the last part of 1979.

While the Ford dispute had been slowly unfolding, Pebco had continued under Botha as a vibrant and growing political-civic organisation adopting an increasingly radical stand on a range of political issues.

As far as the Ford dispute was concerned the organisation declared itself fully in support of the Workers Committee — most of the Committee were Pebco people anyway — and offered all material support.

Botha's antagonism to the Government-created structures, the community councils and homelands, became more emphasised. So did opposition to the 'divisive strategies' such as the creation of a buffer black middle class.

The basic policy and tactical standpoints of Pebco remained internal organisational discipline, non-violence and rejection of 'negotiations' with Government or its creatures until such time as the Government was prepared to discuss meaningful participation in power.

At the same time the organisation spoke about creating an overarching Eastern Cape organisation. Invitations for

'coloured' and Indian bodies to form affiliates to Pebco were made but the constitution still remained closed to whites.

By January, the fledgling civic organisation had reached a position of enviable strength. The prestige of its leader — still tied to the Ford dispute — was immense in the townships. The Ford dispute had given Botha international stature. Pebco was representing a large urban black constituency untroubled by the youth-elder split that was later to plague it. In short, Pebco had everything going for it.

Then in a moment of critical strategic oversight, it all slipped.

During a heady Sunday Rally on January 6, the Pebco executive announced its intentions to launch a range of boycotts in protest against a number of grievances.

A boycott of white shops was called in support of the dismissed Ford workers, then still three days away from settlement of the dispute. A rents boycott was threatened in protest against recent service charge increases; a bus boycott mooted against proposed bus fare increases.

But more serious, the rally also agreed to a one day work stay-away on Monday, January 15 to demonstrate solidarity for the people of Walmer township, a small 'black spot' on the city's southern flank destined for demolition later this year.

Silent protest pickets within the township were also proposed to coincide with a tour of the township that Monday morning by East Cape Administration Board officials and other interested parties.

For the authorities — alarmed by the increasing stridency of Pebco — it was apparently the last straw.

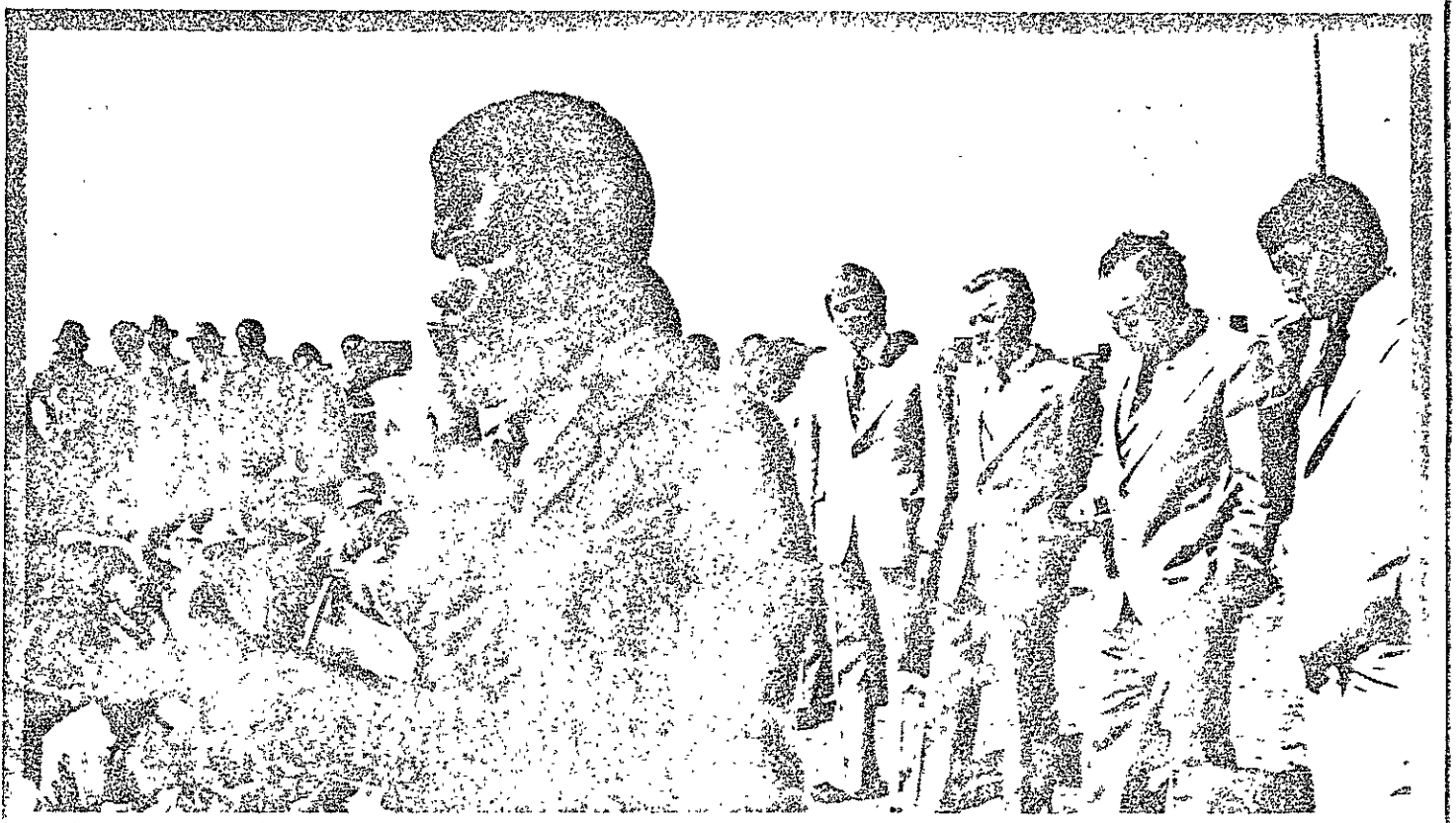
The Government had watched Botha's successes at the Labour negotiating table, seen the rise of Pebco to a point where it totally eclipsed the prestige of the community councils, observed the range and quantity of support enjoyed by the organisation, noted the international interest in the movement.

On Wednesday, January 9, the Ford dispute was resolved. The relief felt by Pebco at the successful resolution of the unrest was overshadowed by concern at the implications of the impending protest demonstration in Walmer. Executive members began talking about calling off the general strike because it was 'over-hasty'.

On Thursday, January 18, it was decided to hold a public meeting in Walmer township to discuss matters with the black residents. Botha indicated privately that he would call off the strike at the Walmer meeting.

He never got the chance. Half an hour





before the meeting was due to begin security police seized Botha from outside the hall before an angry crowd and hustled him into detention. A number of other top Pebco people, including the vice president Mr Pahlo Tshume and a steering committee member Mr Mono Badela, were also detained.

When the dust and reargas settled on a tense Port Elizabeth a few days later it was clear that Pebco had been eviscerated of its leadership.

Botha, the other two senior Pebco members, and a fourth man Mr Don Qeqe, a prominent township businessman and sports administrator, were held for questioning under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act. At the end of the prescribed two weeks Qeqe was released, Botha, Badela and Tshume remained in detention, amid a mounting clamour of public concern, for another six weeks before being released on February 27. They were immediately served with tough restriction orders.

For Botha the order meant that he was unable to continue working at Ford. He and his wife attempted to make ends meet by hawking vegetables and living on a SACC grant. The frustrations of the twilight world of the banned person became too much and on May 5 he quietly slipped out of Port Elizabeth and into exile.

For Pebco itself the detention, banning and exile of Botha spelt a long and as yet unresolved period of upheaval. Leadership of the body passed to Wilson Skosana, a more cautious leader who steered the organisation clear of any

hasty actions over the treatment of its leaders — often in the face of strong opposition from the younger elements.

Declining membership, especially among the young, has affected the organisation, and its only action so far — a boycott of liquor outlets in the townships — has been unsuccessful.

Increasingly the organisation is turning to educational and lower key civic issues.

In retrospect, the greatest problem faced by Pebco was the inexperience of its own leadership. Botha appeared outstripped by events. His successes, some of them fortuitous, followed each other in a heady rapidity that made it easy for strategic misjudgments in timing and circumstances. Black political leaders outside the Government-created structures never get the chance to make more than one mistake. Botha certainly didn't.

In a few short months Botha's status and prestige reached astonishing proportions. Comment on Botha and his organisation came from a range of sources.

Die Beeld commented: 'Place will have to be found for the Motlanas and Thozamile Bothas. They are not just agitators per se. They are fighting for their rights just as heroic Afrikaners once fought and struggled for our rights against foreign and unsympathetic governments and administrations.'

In his address to the Solarz Congressional sub-committee on African Affairs

in Washington Mr Richard Moose, Assistant Secretary of State, warned that it was impossible for the US Government to have sympathy with actions such as 'suppressing legitimate, constructive black leaders such as Botha of Port Elizabeth, who are attempting to reform the system and improve the lot of black people'.

Pebco under Botha had diffuse loose connections with a number of other political bodies in South Africa. Botha himself had contact with Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Committee of Ten and Mr Curtis Nkondo of the Azanian People's Organisation. At the same time Pebco drew support from the local branch of the Congress of South African Students.

Botha's relations with the banned ANC are a little more difficult to determine. The authorities apparently remained fairly convinced that Pebco had close contacts with the ANC. It is also understood that Botha met ANC delegates on a brief Lesotho visit last year.

Close associates of Botha, however, do not believe that he has been or has sought membership of the ANC although his position as an exile may change that.

For Pebco itself the state action may have effectively quashed a black political organisation with a definite constituency (containing many students, youngsters and survivors of the '76 and '77 disturbances), an open constitution, a non-violent charter and a public platform on which black fears and aspirations are clearly and unequivocally announced. Loss of that platform should be of concern to whites no less than blacks.

11A

TOP-RANKING officials of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) this week called for the resignation of the organisation's chairman, Mr Wilson Skosana. They described his leadership as "ineffective".

One branch official accused Mr Skosana of remaining "strangely silent" during the crises in the township "as if nothing is happening around him."

Officials also allege Mr Skosana met with community councillors and officials from the Eastern Cape Administration Board, thereby violating the organisation's policy.

And members have complained about the lack of mass meetings, which attracted up to 10 000 during the Ford strikes, since Mr Skosana took over.

Mr Skosana took over as chairman when Mr Thozamile Botha was banned earlier this year. The former Pebco chairman is now living in exile in Lesotho.

As a result of the general discontent, high rank-

VICTOR MPOFU in Port Elizabeth

ing officials from several Pebco branches wrote Mr Skosana a letter expelling him from the organisation. Their decision can only become effective once passed by the Pebco executive.

The decision to expell Mr Skosana was taken by the Zwide, Kwazakhele, KwaFord and New Brighton branches. This was confirmed by Mr J Mdongwe of the association's Council of Advisors.

He said Pebco should have become involved in

Members
call on
leader
to quit

11/10
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24/8/85

statement released this week.

The secretary of the Kwazakhele Residents' Association, Mr Sandile Manase, told SUNDAY POST that some Pebco branches were struggling to stay alive after police detained their leaders. He said Mr Skosana had failed to come to their rescue.

Mr Skosana denied receiving any correspondence from his organisation asking him to step down. He told SUNDAY POST the matter should be allowed to take its course.

A founder member of Pebco, Mr W D May, said he was surprised by the move but that members should be expelled constitutionally and in an orderly manner.

Meanwhile, a top Pebco official and physician in Korsten, Dr J Modliar, was this week questioned about the organisation by security police.

the schools boycott, the Zwide rent crisis and the crisis facing Kwazakhele hostel-dwellers. He also complained about the lack of communication between the branches.

An executive member of the Zwide branch, Mr Herbert Matshaka, said Mr Skosana was a weak leader. "At a time when he is expected to add his voice as the leader of Pebco, he has decided to remain strangely silent as if nothing is happening around him," he said in a

Crucial conference: Soweto 10 gear up

By Z B MOLEFE

THE Soweto Committee of Ten will hold its crucial congress either on September 10 or 26.

Committee chairman Dr Nthato Motlana told **SUNDAY POST** yesterday that the final date for the conference was still to be decided on.

He added: "We have not decided on a definite date yet. September 10 or 26 have been suggested, but we are looking at that. Soon we will make an announcement on the date of the conference."

Dr Motlana would not say much about the conference at this stage, but many observers see it as crucial in the affairs of Soweto.

Undoubtedly the latest rent hikes will be a hot topic. Today the Com-



Motlana

mittee and a number of other black organisations meet at the Holy Cross Anglican Church to discuss the rent increases as anger mounts in the sprawling black township.

Other aspects of the rent increases which are likely to be discussed at today's meeting include the threat of eviction hanging over

Mr Chris Mokoditso. The formerly banned black consciousness leader was this week ordered to pay arrears of R2,35 on his August rent — or be locked out of his home.

But, according to Mr Nico Malan, chief executive officer of the Soweto Council, it is against council policy to threaten residents with eviction before about three months have elapsed.

● Yesterday our sister paper **SATURDAY POST** reported: "According to our records Mr Thebehali (chairman of the Soweto Council) paid R2 short of his November rent last year and we could not establish this week if he was served with an eviction order for this or not."

This man represents a new generation. He is a director of the giant Anglo American Corporation. But progress is needed at other levels, too



Widened

As a result of restrictive labour practices, the gap between the average white and non-white income widened in every sector of the economy from World War 2 until 1970, when the trend was reversed.

One of the reasons for the recent narrowing of the wage gap is the improvement in the occupational position and status of non-white workers.

Another, however, is the increasing emphasis on minimum wages. It is to be hoped that in the future the gap will be narrowed more by improved occupational mobility for blacks rather than by the appeal for minimum wages.

The latter can only lead to greater mechanisation and fewer job opportunities.

DR A. L. VILAKAZI

24/8/80 SUN TIM 11A

If the blacks don't get their chance, whites will suffer

WHITES have nothing to fear from black advancement. But they have a great deal to fear if they try to stop the process.

Any attempt by white trade unionists to apply the brakes to economic growth will lower the living standards of all South Africa's people — including those very workers they seek to protect.

Most of the fears of conservative white organised labour to the new dispensation are connected to job security, income maintenance and occupational — especially artisan — standards.

These fears are nurtured by leaders who keep dragging the precarious position of white labour during the Great Depression into modern-day discussions.

They conveniently forget that during the late 1920s about 30 per cent of whites were employed in agriculture, that whites were ill prepared educationally and otherwise for alternative occupations and were bound, by tradition, to the land.

Dropped

Since then employment of whites in agriculture has dropped from 166 000 in 1926 to just over 80 000 today.

While employment opportunities have increased more than tenfold in manufacturing, white employment as a percentage of total employment has decreased from about 40 to approximately 22 over the past 50 years.

Over this same time span, however, white employment in Government and local government services has increased from three per cent to more than 18 per cent of total white employment, with the numbers increasing eighteenfold.

Moreover, during the last 50 years, the number of eco-

Professor Blackie Swart of the Institute for Labour Relations at Unisa defines the scope of South Africa's manpower needs.

nomically active whites has grown from 33 per cent to more than 43 per cent.

It must be remembered that the vast majority of white employment is in the primary labour market, characterised by stable job opportunities.

Whites are vastly more mobile, both geographically and occupationally, because of superior skills, experience, education, access to information and lack of labour market restrictions.

The educational level and, thus, the investment in human capital, of South African whites, is on a par with that in the US — the country with the highest educational level in the world.

Looking to the future, estimates show that of the new entrants into the labour market up to the year 2000 only seven per cent of those employed will be white, as opposed to 18 per cent at the moment.

This must bring one to the logical conclusion that to attain a real economic growth rate of five per cent — which is hardly sufficient to contain the unemployment problem — enhanced occupational and geographical mobility of the black and brown population groups is a must.

The removal of legal re-

strictions, although necessary, is not sufficient to solve these problems.

To overcome the lack of skills, experience, education and information, simultaneous labour market programmes on a number of different fronts are needed.

By hindering this process through "putting on the brakes" wherever possible, and thereby "protecting the interests of white workers", verkramptes are contributing to a lowering of the living standards of the very people they are supposed to protect.

Proof

Developments during the 70s are ample proof of this. Improvement in living standards can be achieved only through improved productivity of the whole work force.

Since white standards compare very favourably with the rest of the industrialised world, and since their relative numbers are growing fewer, the increased contribution that can be expected from them is getting smaller.

Towards the year 2000 they will have to rely more and more on the vast numbers of brown and black employees to make a bigger

contribution individually and collectively to achieve the required growth in the economy and to ensure that employment opportunities are available to those who are willing and able to work.

It is projected that the number of black and brown people employed in the professional and managerial categories should more than double from 180 000 to 375 000 between 1979 and 1987, when they will represent 37 per cent of total employment in these categories compared with 28 per cent during 1979.

In the clerical, sales and related professions non-white employment should increase from 300 000 to 520 000 over the same period and as a percentage of total employment from 34 to 42.

Between 1969 and 1979 the number of white artisans and apprentices increased by only 8 500 — or less than five per cent.

Non-whites in these categories doubled and should increase nearly threefold by 1987.

Whites as a percentage of the total number of artisans and apprentices have decreased from 86 per cent during 1969 to 77 per cent during 1979 and should be down to 57 per cent by 1987.

Whereas nearly 40 per cent of total non-white employment (excluding employment in agricultural and domestic services) during 1969 was in the labourer category, this percentage should have shrunk to less than 25 per cent by 1987 — again indicating improved occupational mobility.

With the professional, managerial, clerical, sales, and artisan categories combined, the black and brown

population groups made up 21 per cent during 1969, 30 per cent in 1979 and by 1987 should represent 40 per cent of total employment in these professions.

It is clear from these statistics that whites who are willing and able to work not only have nothing to fear from the new labour dispensation but, since they dominate the managerial, professional and skilled professions, stand to gain substantially from any movement towards the application of the free market principles in the labour field.

Autonomy

The full implementation of the principles of trade union autonomy in the labour field and the availability of training to all employees irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, as proposed by the Wiehahn Commission and accepted by the Government, is therefore of prime importance.

Fortunately, it seems that the Department of Manpower Utilisation, under Mr Fanie Botha, is well on its way to doing just this.

The implementation of these principles, although necessary, is unfortunately not sufficient without the full implementation of the recommendations of the Riekert report, the slow application of which is a major cause for concern.

These imperfections are manifest in the critical shortage of skilled labour being experienced by just about everybody in the private and public sectors.

And these shortages of qualified non-white workers have made a substantial contribution to the white-non-white wage differentials in South Africa.

ANC (111)

will not
S. POST
drive out
24/8/80
whites

ALTHOUGH the African National Congress, as "the only alternative to the present regime in South Africa", is dedicated to the principle of black majority rule, it has no intention of driving out the whites.

This was said in a letter from Mr Y Zungu, chief representative of the ANC (South Africa), which was given major prominence in The Times newspaper of London on Friday.

The letter, from a London address, is in response to a recent editorial in the newspaper. The editorial argued that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, needed to be "rescued" from sliding into political stasis.

The letter says: "The reforms of Botha lie in shambles precisely because they were designed to adapt and retain apartheid — not remove it — and essentially because they ignored the genuine aspirations of the people of South Africa.

"Surely the time has come — especially now, when the men in Pretoria show neither the capacity, the courage nor the desire to effect fundamental change — for all reasonable people to support the struggle of the people of South Africa for a just and non-racial society as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

"Any solution which does not recognise and enshrine the principle of majority rule in South Africa is doomed."

25/8/80
ST/BR
11/18

Any wonder we're ruled by fear?

Some of the people who shout loudest for change are often among the main barriers against it.

Obviously everybody assumes now that the white right-wing is the main factor impeding change.

They are the people who are used to the system they have and think it was laid down by God, and they fear the unknown which change would bring.

Speak of change to them and they talk of chaos in the Belgian Congo and the flight of whites from Mozambique. They often challenge me to quote a single example of a country to the north of us where change has been good for the whites.

But, in all or nearly all countries of Africa whites are still living peacefully and prosperously. They are not discriminated against and they have not had hordes invading them or bullying them.

Also, there is no suitable example to quote in all of Africa which even remotely resembles South Africa. Culturally, historically, geographically, and demographically, we are very different.

In South Africa, whites and other non-Africans make up nearly a third of the population, as opposed to figures like one percent and four percent elsewhere, and nobody suggests that they are just colonists or settlers with no role in the future.

They argue that there is no power-sharing in the rest of Africa. That is factually wrong — there

It is not only the right-wingers who are impeding change in South Africa, Dr NTHATO MOTLANA, chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, writes in his regular column in Frontline magazine. Here is reprinted a shortened version of the article.

their treacherous behaviour.

With them there are the so-called middle-class blacks, who have token appointments in well-paid jobs and whose obsequious behaviour towards their masters makes one want to bring up. It is truly indescribable to see how such highly placed people debase themselves.

The tragedy is that these are the people on whom whites rely for their assessments of black thinking.

These people impede change by giving whites the appearance that they approve of everything and anything that the whites expect them to approve.

It is not only the well-known, white-favoured "leaders" who cause this problem. There are many, many other people as well. The ordinary man in the street who speaks with one tongue to his white boss and with a different tongue when he is at home or in the shebeen. How many there are who do that!

With so many of the same people effectively impeding change, even unintentionally, it is no wonder that we are so dominated by the fear that it will end up in the turmoil and disaster which we would all prefer to avoid.

are plenty of whites with roles in government all over Africa.

But what they mean by "no power-sharing" is that the governments of Africa have not created special systems of taking account of white interests. In that they are right, and the governments of Africa are right not to do so. We will share power, yes, but on a man for man basis, not on a racial basis.

These right-wingers may seem a major barrier now, but once they have faced up to the inevitability of majority rule, they could become our best allies.

They, like us, have no place to run to. They, like us, have a natural need to take care of the peace and the future of our joint country.

With their strong sense of duty and principle, they will have other motivations than merely maximising their short-term wealth.

As for the white liberals, who do not face any

direct competition with blacks and who therefore contemplate change without the same fear as the rightwingers, they are a major impediment to real change.

They urge change on others, and they will then hide behind legalistic jargon to keep their suburbs and their schools pure of any blacks except for the approved few who give them the appearance of tolerance.

Then there are the unshamed black puppets, those who obediently conform to government policies. Some of them even smile while they benefit from carrying out the greatest perversities of government policy. Even decent Nationalists know that these things, like the division of the country into these fraudulent mini-states, are abhorrent.

Since their bread depends on them being obedient puppets one can perhaps understand — though not forgive —

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WM 25/8/86

Chief slams Zulu students for ill-will

BMM
11A

African Affairs Reporter

SOME students of the University of Zululand carried with them the disease of ill-will and they exploited their privileged position instead of serving the principle of equal opportunity and equal treatment of all people as set out in Inkatha's constitution, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu said at the weekend.

Speaking at a prayer meeting at Eshowe, the chief said some students acted with some lecturing staff to form an alliance against parents, the peasants, the poor and the workers. Their behaviour had not fostered the spirit of unity.

Chief Buthelezi said they had not helped promote and encourage the development of the people. They had not helped to establish contact with other cultural groups and they did not help to stamp out exploitation, corruption and intimidation.

In fact, they employed intimidation and that encouraged corruption. They had groups which hounded other students and terrorised them, he said.

Inkatha needed to find ways and means of standing with the majority of students to resist that scourge in their midst.

He said there was need to find ways and means of standing together with those academics who were true to the calling.

'We need to strengthen the hand of any move in the Senate or the University Council which aims to

put the matters right.

He sympathised with the silent majority of students at the University of Zululand but thought it a mystery why they chose to be silent.

[Handwritten scribbles and signatures at the bottom of the page]

Angry AME parish breaks ties with US

By EDMUND JAYIYA

THE Orlando, West Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church yesterday broke its ties with the American church leadership.

At an emotion-charged meeting at the church yesterday, parishioners said they had no confidence in the "American." They added that the general conference rejected their infrastructure and instead set up a commis-

sion to come to the country.

They have so far rejected the commission because of its terms of reference.

The commission, they said was intended to make recommendations on how the 15th district should be reformed or delimited.

They said that for 84 years, the AME Church in the 15th district (South Africa) had been flooded with 22 American bishops.

They added that their infrastructure was designed to assist in the administration of their district

in terms relevant to their local conditions.

They added that the "charges" against Bishop D Ming were reported to the preliminary inquiry committee, the Bishop's Council and the judicial council which were relevant main organs of the AME Church throughout the world.

They also said that concrete charges were dismissed on the grounds that "there was no sufficient evidence."

The Rev T V Khumalo said: "Our 33 delegates who attended the gener-

al conference paid for their trip. They were not sponsored by anybody but the church.

"Before going to the general conference, we agreed that we should break away if our infrastructure was rejected."

However, discussion was not allowed, "and we had no alternative but to sever ties".

Mr O V Hleza, church elder said: "We will not allow any American bishop to come here. We are sick and tired of these bishops. They have rejected our infrastructure.

so why do they send these Americans here? "Our fathers have paid money to build this church and now these Americans say the church belongs to them. No ways, this time I have had enough," he added amid shouts.

Mrs M Tsagae, church elder, was applauded when she said that people were not aware that they were breaking with the American leadership not the AME. "We are no longer going to talk of American leadership but African. We should be united if we want to win any

struggle. We are not going to attend the forthcoming annual conference."

Mr Rassie Rasekoala, church steward, said that their affiliation to and association with the Americans had in the past led to colonisation, psychological oppression and exploitation.

He added that they were not going to tolerate oppression in the church by their own brothers who should know better from their long history of slavery.

11/19
25/8/80
1051

We're behind Mings, says Mrs Mathhare

1114 POST 26/8/80

By Edmund Jayiya
THE president of Women's Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church, Mrs Nkele Mathhare yesterday said they were not bothered by the breakaway because "only a minority is involved."

Mrs Mathhare added that they were sick and tired of the dissidents who were publicly denigrating the name of the church.

She said about 99 per cent of the people were behind Bishop D G Mings.

"These dissidents

claim that procedures used by the mother church are foreign. I think they should do their homework properly.

"We follow the discipline of the church and Robert's Rule of Order — which is our parliamentary authority on procedures," she said.

She added: "It is quite amazing for these church people to say that procedures are foreign because they are the people who are supposed to know how the church is run. They instead run to the press where they vent their spleen on Bishop Mings.

"I want the public to

know that not everybody has pulled out of the American leadership. We are still under the mother church and our church will go on despite the breakaway.

"They claim Bishop Ming was guilty of maladministration and corruption. If he was, the General Conference would have suspended him. They were asked in the Conference whether they wanted to break away but they said no."

And Rev A W M Mathhare also of AME church said he was deeply concerned about the future of the AME, not only in South Afri-

ca but the whole of Africa. He said unless people came to grips with real issues confronting them daily in their lives as a Church, then they would fail to account for their stewardship to God.

Breaking away from AME, he added, was not the solution to their indigenous problems.

"The General Conference took upon itself to set up a commission of inquiry into the rumblings of the 15th District and that would also include the whole of Africa in order to examine the future of AME church in Africa," he said.



Mrs Nkele Mathhare.

Non-whites demand: end management committees

2/18/64
5/19/64
(11A)

Own Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — More than 200 coloured and Indian management committees throughout the country have demanded the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, scrap the system and give all South Africans equal representation on town and city councils, irrespective of race.

They made the demand at a meeting with Mr Steyn over the weekend when a six-man delegation representing the Association of Management Committees warned that they would pursue the matter — possibly seeking a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha — if there was no acceptable response.

Mr Steyn was told bluntly that the management committee system had become a farce in the eyes of most coloured and Indian people and that nothing short of the non-racial administration of South Africa's towns and cities would satisfy them.

The meeting took place in a "cordial atmosphere," though Mr Steyn was given "a sharp, clear image of our attitude," a member of the delegation said today. "He was left under no illusions and appeared to sympathise to some extent with what we had to say.

"We left him with a lot to think about, and we arranged to see him again on this matter in the near future. We made it clear that we would pursue the

issue relentlessly. Nobody wants the management committees. We are only keeping them alive so as to give ourselves a platform from which to make our views known."

When the management committee system was introduced in 1963, the Government indicated that the bodies would be given increasing powers in the administration of local affairs most intimately involving coloured and Indian communities.

But 17 years later, they remain largely advisory appendages to white town and city councils, with almost no executive powers and there have been persistent complaints that they are ignored on many issues affecting the lives of coloured and Indian residents.

Although the Government has hinted at increased powers for the committees and a thorough overhaul of the system, this is unlikely to satisfy any but the most rural of management committees.

The Government, according to members of the delegation, is unlikely to make any fundamental change to its present policy until the President's Council has been able to review basic constitutional issues.

"That was the gist of Mr Steyn's message to us, but I think he forgets that we have also rejected the President's Council," a member of the delegation said.

(News by H. S. Robertsh, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

1/25
1/18
1/19

A-G gets docket on ANC news report

Political Reports

POLICE have completed investigating the publication of reports about an interview with a leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC) by the pro-Nationalist newspaper, Die Transvaler.

The SAP Directorate of Public Relations said yesterday that the docket had been sent to the Attorney-General. And a spokesman for the Transvaal Attorney-General's office said: "It is receiving attention."

The investigation outcome is being watched closely, particularly by newspapers, because it could determine what they may or may not publish, in terms of security laws, about organisations such as the ANC.

Die Transvaler published reports on June 21 based on an interview given to the New York Times by an ANC vice-chairman, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The Rand Daily Mail later asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, if Die Transvaler had been given permission to publish the views. He said through a spokesman that no permission had been given and that the matter would be referred to the AG.

The "Mail" also sought permission to publish a report on the New York Times interview. It was refused.

Last month the Attorney-General, Mr J Nothing, said he was awaiting the outcome of the police investigation.

KwaZulu civil servant raps students

SIR — Through your valuable newspaper I would like to comment on an article published on August 13. The title was: 'Student outburst on Inkatha'.

I feel we, the parents of the students, are going through a very difficult time when we are constantly abused by our own children. In the magazine referred to, the students attack a great leader of Africa and an organisation which we respect.

In particular I am reacting to the paragraph which reads:

'Some people join in order to secure their positions either as teachers in KwaZulu schools or as KwaZulu civil servants, businessmen or pupils at schools headed by Inkatha fanatics.'

Facts

As an old civil servant of some 25 year's standing and closely associated with the employment and promotion machinery in the KwaZulu Government service, I feel students must make sure of their facts before they commit themselves to paper.

Nowhere in the whole process of employment and promotion is membership of Inkatha involved. In fact, the appointment and promotion machinery employed in KwaZulu is similar to any in the civilised world in that these are done purely on merit.

Stupid

It is time these students were told to stop making stupid insinuations about the Government service and civil servants.

Normally we, civil servants do not go to the Press with our complaints, but I do not feel we are forbidden from defending ourselves when recklessly attacked, as was done in the students' magazine referred to.

BEKAMANDOSI CELE
Private Bag X11
Ulundi
3838

STAR 2/11/80 (11)
ANC moves in on SA's
vacant seats at UN

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The African National Congress has begun to occupy the seats allocated for South Africa at the United Nations.

According to sources close to the ANC this was part of the policy of "asserting ANC legitimacy."

Mr Johnny Makatini, chief ANC observer at the UN, was seen sitting in the seats marked for the South African delegation in a meeting in the Trusteeship Council chamber

last week when it was discussing "Namibia day."

The ANC presence was noticed after a remark by the chairman of the special committee against apartheid, Mr Akparode Clark, ambassador of Nigeria, that it might be a sign of the future.

South Africa has not taken its seat at the United Nations since 1974.

Mr Johann Eiselen, press spokesman for the South African UN mission said "all the facts" were being looked into before any action would be taken or protest lodged.

27/8/80 MKWS

V d Ross would be reluctant to serve

By Hugh Robertson

THE Rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor R. S. van der Ross, firmly demed today that he had been invited to serve on the President's Council and made it clear he would be reluctant to serve even if he were asked to.

There has been persistent speculation in recent weeks that in spite of some misgivings Professor van der Ross would become one of the leading coloured members of the council and might even head one of its committees.

TWO ASPECTS

In an interview today, following yesterday's appointments to the President's Council, Professor van der Ross said: 'I have not been approached directly or indirectly to serve on this body and I want to make that clear. If I were asked, there are two major considerations I would have to take into account in making my decision.

'The first is the exclusion of blacks from the council. While this would not be an absolutely decisive consideration — since I think there is still a chance of blacks coming into the council in future — it would be an extremely important one.

VITAL ROLE

'But far more crucial is my attachment to my present job, to the university and to my students. I feel very strongly that it is here that I can play a vital role in the community

(Continued on Page 3, col 5)

V d Ross

(Continued from Page 1)

which will be of tremendous significance.

'Also, in my present position I have means at my disposal to influence some of the political developments in the country. I do not think I would have quite the same powers if I were to join the President's Council.'

Professor van der Ross said he was sensitive to the possibilities of the council and said he believed that yesterday's appointments, as well as the changes to the Cabinet, 'by and large support a progressive line of thinking.'

The Labour Party, meanwhile, has responded cautiously to yesterday's appointments. The party's national chairman, Mr David Curry, said today: 'We are pleased that the Prime Minister has drawn some verligtes into the Cabinet.

'But we will judge them according to how they perform and how they respond to the verkrampte element still inside the National Party. These appointments in themselves are not enough to show us light at the end of the tunnel.'

(News by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Offer to host talks on SWA

The Star Bureau NEW YORK — The Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, has suggested that his country act as host for a conference that would bring South Africa and its adversary, Swapo, together for the first time.

Such a conference would be similar to the Lancaster House talks in London last year that produced a formula for Zimbabwe's independence.

The suggestion came in an interview Mr Mugabe granted to John Burns of The New York Times.

Burns quotes Mr Mugabe as saying: "We would be happy to host that conference and we would be happy for South Africa to come."

PROGRESS

The Prime Minister added that if it was necessary he would meet South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to smooth the way.

Mr Mugabe, who meets President Carter in Washington, today, told The New York Times that he wanted to hear from Mr Garter what steps the US Government had in mind to speed up progress towards black majority rule in SWA/Namibia and to end apartheid in South

Mugabe urges United Nations

aid for Swapo,

PAC and ANC

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, yesterday urged the world community to help the "liberation movements" of South Africa.

In his first speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations since he spoke here as a Marxist resistance fighter in 1978, Mr Mugabe also pledged his Government's allegiance to the Palestine Liberation Organisation and said he recognised the Polisario as the new state of western Sahara.

Zimbabwe was admitted as the 153rd member state of the United Nations on Monday.

The world's body applauded Mr Mugabe when he recalled the determina-

and the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa.

In a speech that clearly identified him with the Third World, Mr Mugabe also gave "the gratitude of Zimbabwe" to those nations which gave support to "the liberation struggle."

He paid special tribute to Britain for having convened the Lancaster House talks after having supported the "minority white regime." "We join hands with her in reconciliation and friendship," he said.

At a Press conference at the United Nations later, Mr Mugabe said his Government would work through the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to assist Swapo in Namibia.

He said that, during his talks with President Carter in Washington today he would urge the United

But he added, that maintaining dialogue with South Africa was important.

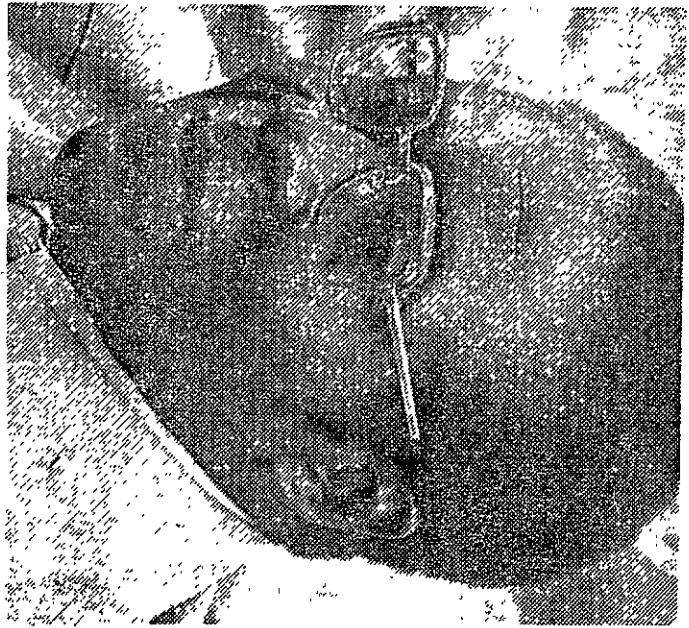
He scoffed at a question that suggested his country's stability had been threatened by the charges brought against his former Minister of Manpower, Mr Edgar Tekere. He said the army was loyal to his Government.

Mr Mugabe will meet 400 leading Americans at a reception at the White House today.

The reception, hosted by President Jimmy Carter, has been a last-minute addition to the Zimbabwean leader's crowded Washington programme.

Mr Mugabe will be the guest of honour today at a lunch hosted by the Secretary of State, Senator Edmund Muskie.

Then he will go to the capital for a meeting with members of the Congressional Black Caucus. He may meet indepen-



Mr Mugabe . . . willing to host talks.

Handwritten notes in the right margin: "S.M.R.", "11 APR", "21/1/79", and "20/1/79".

He said: "It is in the interests of our region and in the interests of Zimbabwe, that we have a peaceful South Africa next to us."

"It is similarly in our interest that Namibia is independent."

NUJOMA

Swapo's President, Mr Sam Nujoma, will address an international conference in Paris next month which the movement has called to secure support for a fresh and more aggressive campaign against South African control over SWA/Namibia.

A Swapo statement said the three-day conference would start on September 11 and among those attending would be foreign ministers and senior representatives of black African and other countries.

tion of the Government of former prime minister Ian Smith to never allow majority rule.

He urged the international community to give aid to Swapo, and to give increased support to the African National Congress

States to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to assist in the "total liberation" of southern Africa.

"Why should the United States come to South Africa's aid with its power of veto against the wishes of the entire international community?" he said.

dent presidential candidate John Anderson who is due to meet members of the black caucus.

Mr Mugabe will then have 45 minutes with the President—a meeting that will be dominated by discussion of Zimbabwe's great need for additional foreign aid.

PAC killing

DAR ES SALAAM

Seven exiled members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress were yesterday committed for trial in the Tanzanian High Court on a charge of murdering the OPAC president Mr. David Sibeko. The trial starts on November 11.

STAR 2/11/60



Policemen threatened Mrs Mandela—Suzman

27/8/80
ARCMS
11A

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said Mrs Helen Suzman was welcome to discuss with him a complaint that she was ordered by Security Police to leave the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

An angry Mrs Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, said today she had obtained a permit from a magistrate to visit Mrs Mandela at her Brandfort home yesterday.

Mrs Mandela, the wife of the jailed leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, is banned and restricted to Brandfort.

She said that after talking to Mrs Mandela for about 45 minutes, two men who identified themselves as Security Police arrived and gave Mrs Mandela five minutes to make Mrs Suzman leave.

Mrs Suzman said she decided to leave to prevent any action being taken against Mrs Mandela, because the two policemen had threatened to arrest

her if Mrs Suzman did not go.

Mrs Suzman, who was in Bloemfontein to address the youth branch of the PFP, today expressed concern about Mrs Mandela's position and said she would complain to the Minister of Police about the incident.

'It was an absolute scandal,' she said.

Mr le Grange refused to comment on the issue today, but said Mrs Suzman was welcome to discuss it with him.

Handwritten notes:
Mrs Mandela
Mrs Suzman
Brandfort
11A



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi
28/8/80 ARMS

ANC has 'no hope of freeing SA blacks'

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The present leadership of the African National Congress was no more than a mission in exile and had no hope whatever of liberating the black man in South Africa, Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has said.

Speaking at the Gezin-sila Township near Eshowe, Chief Buthelezi said: 'It is balderdash to talk of liberation coming from beyond our borders.

'We know that the myth of the armed struggle as the only means of bringing liberation is a destructive myth,' he said.

The ANC leadership in exile would have to learn to submit to the will of black people in South Africa, who would never accept alien solutions imposed on them from outside.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC was guilty of backing stupid schemes like the free Mandela campaign and was also destroying black unity by siding with fringe groups in South Africa.

It is fully said that those who call for the armed struggle show the unity by their reckless, dogmatic cocksureness, which is no more than the blustering of the weak.

He again warned blacks that the road ahead was going to be very tough. 'I have repeatedly said that I understand those who grow weary and pessimistic and flee the country to seek military training. Our road is a difficult road, and there must be those who cannot walk its length.'

Chief Buthelezi said those leaving South Africa to undergo military training could hope for nothing more than 'honourable failure' because of the forces stacked against them.

He bitterly attacked what he termed a 'small clique of students in control at the University of Zululand' who were constantly denigrating Inkatha and had recently described Zulu regiments and Inkatha supporters as 'thugs' in a student magazine.

Protest on UN seats possible

11A
9/20
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The South African Government is weighing a possible protest to the United Nations over the use of its delegation's seats by the African National Congress in a recent UN forum.

No protest has yet been lodged, according to a spokesman for the South African mission to the UN.

The spokesman, Mr Johan Eiselen, indicated that the mission was making a legal assessment of the incident before deciding whether to complain to UN officials.

The decision would be based "on what happened, why it was allowed to happen, and whether there is anything in the UN charter that allows a non-member to take a member's seat," Mr Eiselen said.

ANC representatives sat in seats designated formally for the South African delegation during a "Namibia Day" commemorative meeting in the UN's Trusteeship Council chamber last week.

Funeral of PAC man's dad

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THE FATHER of Mr Mike Muëndane, a former member of the Pan Africanist Congress will be buried tomorrow.

He was Mr. Petros. Muëndane (80), of 735 Mhlu-pheki Street, Daveyton. He died after a long illness last week.

Mr. Muëndane, Jr. fled the country in 1976 after being banished to Tzaneen.

He was banished after serving a seven-year sentence on Robben Island for sabotage. He now lives in exile in London.

A funeral service will be held from 1.30 at the Roman Catholic Church.

ANC plans branch office in Paris

20m
27/8/80
(1/3)

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — The African National Congress, ANC, is planning to open a branch office in the French capital soon. The office would concentrate on raising funds and support in France and organise and co-ordinate anti-Pretoria actions in French-speaking Africa.

The ANC's main European bureau has always been in London but clearly the ANC has realised there are vast untapped support and funds in France and the French-speaking world.

At present the ANC is also represented in, among other countries, Sweden, Algeria, Senegal, Egypt, Zimbabwe, the United Nations and Canada.

The ANC headquarters are in Lusaka.

Although there are no details on how large its Paris office will be, or who will open it, it is recalled that in the past six months an ANC member, Alexander Moumbaris, who escaped from Pretoria Central Prison last December, has been extremely active in Paris leading anti-Pretoria campaigns.

It is more than likely that he will be given a leading role in the new office.

The ANC's Paris office will join three other organisations there which are active in fighting apartheid.

They are The Movement Against Racism and Apartheid, the Anti-Outspan or Anti-Apartheid Movement and the French Association for Friendship and Solidarity for Africans.

11A 29/8/80 Argans

ANC took seats at UN

Argus Bureau

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No protest has yet been lodged, according to a spokesman for the South African mission to the UN.

The spokesman, Mr Johan Eiselen, indicated

that the mission was making a legalistic assessment of the incident before deciding whether or not to complain to UN officials.

'I do not know that a protest will be lodged,' he said.

'That will depend on what happened, why it was allowed to happen, and whether there is anything in the UN Charter that allows a non-member to take a member's seat.

'In liaison with Pretoria, a decision will be made whether some protest will

be made or whether it should be ignored.'

Representatives of the ANC sat in seats designated formally for the South African delegation during a 'Namibia Day' commemorative meeting in the UN's Trusteeship Council chamber last week.

The African Nationalist movement has not taken the delegates' seats reserved by South Africa's nameplate in the General Assembly, which the Government has not filled

since being expelled from the Assembly in 1974. South Africa has nonetheless remained a member of the UN.

The incident occurred during a special commemorative meeting to which all permanent delegations had been invited and for which seating had been designated.

Usually the only nameplates in the trusteeship council chamber are for the 24 member-states of the UN's decolonisation committee.

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including the phrase "more capital" and other illegible scribbles.

FUNDS SHOCK AS PLAIN BOOY AGTS

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3-18-80
Cape Arnold

COMPRO, the Combined Mitchell's Plain Residents' Association, has suspended all operations to raise money — believed to run into thousands — for its welfare and development trust.

For some time Compro has been receiving money from big business to support the planned trust.

The controversial decision to suspend all these activities comes a week after Compro had ordered an inquiry into the fund set up to pay Mitchell's Plain bus fare crusader Paul Patience's R12 000 legal costs bill. He had lost his court battle to have bus fares reduced.

It is believed that the latest decision was taken by only a small majority, with many people in favour of continuing the trust.

Many Compro projects, including a community advice office, and youth and pre-school programmes could be affected.

Sources close to Compro said there was a fear that they would develop into another 'social welfare' body if they accepted the funds. They felt that this was not the original purpose

for which Compro had been created — to make known the needs of Mitchell's Plain residents, and to fight to have their needs seen to.

We're not supposed to do the authorities' jobs for them,' one said. We don't want to become another Urban Foundation-type of organisation that hands out money in an attempt to defuse the people's frustrations.

The chairman of Compro, Mr James Petersen, could not be contacted for comment on Wednesday.

Journalist's whereabouts unknown

THE whereabouts of Miss Zubeida Jaffer, the Cape Times journalist detained on Monday morning under Section 22 of the Internal Security Act, is still unknown.

At the time of going to Press, Miss Jaffer's mother, Mrs R Jaffer, was thought to be making inquiries at Caledon Square as to where her daughter had been taken.

Miss Jaffer was fetched from her home in Wynberg on Tuesday morning by security police.

Trade union and civic leader Oscar Mpehtha was due to be released from detention on Thursday this week — the day his detention order expires.

Mr Mpehtha is chairman of the Nyanga Residents' Association and a national organiser with the Food and Canning Workers' Union.

Mr Mpehtha's son, Temba, was detained on Saturday and is believed to be held under section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

Mr Oscar Mpehtha's fellow civic leader, Mr Leon Mqhekezvi, who was detained with him on August 13, was released on Friday together with seven schoolgirls aged from 12 to 17. (See Page 19.)

Cabinet changes insignificant - black leaders

THE new Cabinet reshuffle has been dismissed by black leaders as being 'insignificant'. Several interviewed this week said the changes would make no difference to the plight of blacks.

Among the drastic Cabinet changes announced by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, were the appointment of Mr Marais Steyn, Minister of Coloured and of Indian Affairs, as South Africa's ambassador in London.

His place will be filled by Mr Chris Heunis, who caused a stir recently when he suggested blacks could not think for themselves, because they objected to the President's Council after whites had told them to do so.

PORTFOLIO

Mr Heunis will head Internal Affairs — a new portfolio which includes coloured and Indian affairs.

As Minister of Transport, Mr Heunis also recently used armed Road Transportation Board inspectors against private taxi drivers.

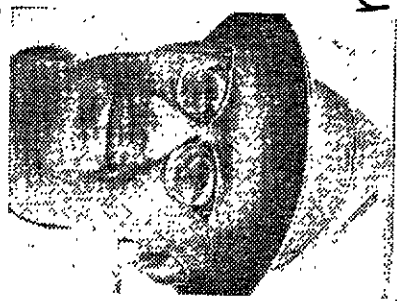
Mr Hassan Howa, president of the SA Council in Sport said: 'We have to say in the Cabinet, we didn't elect these people, it makes no difference to us.'

Dr Allan Boesak, university chaplain at University of the Western Cape, said the Cabinet changes could not change anything.

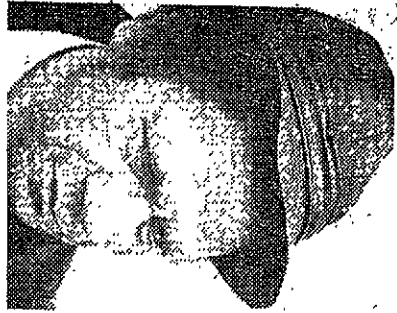
In reality, Government offices still undermine the dignity of blacks, he said, whether they are executed hastily, or with a 'conscience heart'.

W.P. Steyn

MARAIS STEYN has been 'bulldozed' out of the Cabinet and is making his way to London. Chris Heunis, recently Minister of Transport, will be taking over. We asked the people what they think of these new appointments.



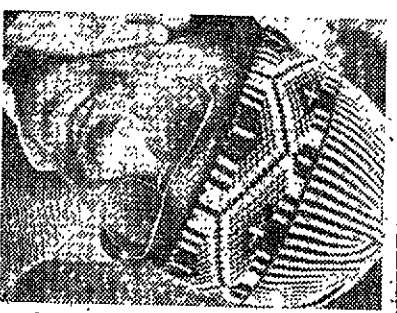
MR H Carew, Bridgetown: 'Steyn handed the schools issue badly and should have been kicked out long ago. Mr Heunis's comments are wrong.'



MR John Jacobs, Cape Town: 'Steyn! Who's he? I've never heard of Heunis either. I don't know what to make of the new appointments.'



MR Hassiem Saïe, Crassy Park: 'Good riddance to Steyn. I don't like him because he gave our schoolchildren a raw deal.'



MR Raymond de Moray, Bridgetown: 'I'm glad Steyn's gone, but I don't know what to make of Heunis. The Government appoint people to suit themselves.'



MISS Evelyn Keating, Bonteheuvel: 'I don't know why they don't get somebody other than Heunis to take over because he insulted us.'

On Mr Heunis's appointment, Dr. Boesak said: 'It's going to be hard to speak to a man who believes we cannot think for ourselves, that we have been indoctrinated by white liberals.' Mr Dawood Khan, chairman of the Western Cape Traders' Association who was detained for two months recently, said Mr Steyn had made a mess of his portfolios.

'I'm very glad he's out. He was ineffective, and in any case, we now want to play a full part in the decision-making process, and not have somebody like him acting on our behalf.'

Mr Leonard Mosala, member of Soweto's Committee of 10 said: 'The new changes make no difference whatsoever from a black point of view. It is just not possible for anything really new to come unless social and political structures are first changed.'

A prominent Pretoria Indian leader and former Indian Council member, Mr Joe Carrim said: 'I do not doubt the sincerity of the Prime Minister in trying to bring about change, but the President's Council appointments are an exercise in futility. We are trying to delude ourselves that the council can produce results without involving blacks. Some may see all this as exciting news, but the moves are hopelessly inadequate.'

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Talks on
local
government

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C. W. H. H. H.
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DIRECT representation on local government bodies for coloured and Indians is to be negotiated on a national basis.

This follows a meeting last week between the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, and management committee representatives.

Included on the ad hoc committee were Mr David Curry, chairman of the Labour Party's national executive, Mr J A Rabie and Mr D Pillay from the Transvaal, Mr B Grobelaar from the Free State and Mr Y Muller of the Natal Association of Local affairs committees.

Mr Muller who led the delegation, said: 'The Minister agreed that there have to be negotiations for direct representations in the interim period, before a new dispensation is arrived at.'

SEPS

We won't budge, Labour

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PRIME Minister P W Botha may have torpedoed any hope of the coloured Labour Party taking part in the President's Council by remarks he made this week about retaining apartheid laws.

Mr Botha was speaking in support of Simonstown Nationalist candidate Mr John Wiley on Thursday night.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, dismissed rumours in Government circles that his party was considering serving on the soon-to-be announced President's Council "for a trial period".

He said rumours and speculation to this effect were "conjecture" and that his party remained determined to boycott the council while it excluded the black majority.

"If anything, the amazing public admission by Mr Botha on Thursday that apart from a few insignificant cosmetic changes, the status quo would

Coloureds still spurn council

BY NORMAN WEST

remain unchanged, has further strengthened our determination to have nothing to do with the President's Council," Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Botha said the only way to retain stability in South Africa was through the official policy of separate development and that there would be no major move away from present Nationalist policies.

Blacks, Mr Botha said, would remain SA citizens only until their homelands attained independence.

Separate, open and mixed beaches would be retained because "if you throw everything open to all people and all people do what they like, I tell you, you will have confrontation and chaos".

He said he would protect white rights irrespective of whether it led to confrontation.

Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party's national executive would meet in Kimberley on September 6 and 7, but he saw it as a "total impossibility" that the party would change its 1979 congress resolution to have no truck with any consultative or advisory body which excluded the black majority.

"We are also honour and morally bound by a South African Black Alliance (SABA) decision, taken at our last meeting in Durban in June this year, that units of SABA would not support the President's Council.

"The main pillars of SABA are the Zulu-based Inkatha cultural movement of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, the Reform Party of the South African Indian Council (SAIC) and the Labour Party.

"We have no intention of breaking our ties with SABA. Take into consideration also that Inkatha itself has denounced the council and so has the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

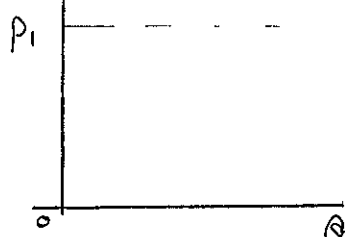
"They cannot dictate to the Labour Party but we are honour bound as part of the alliance not to go contrary to SABA decisions.

"Rumours, therefore, that we might change our stance and serve on the council 'under duress' are completely without foundation," said Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Hendrickse said that the Prime Minister, by spelling out clearly the retention of the main aspects of Nationalist policies, has exposed the proposed council as "nothing but a farce".

Report by Norman West 77 Burg Street Cape Town

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COMMUNISM IN THE THAT IS FROM OCCUPATION



Mr Napoleon Letsoko . . . "no point in sitting around." Pic by Moe Alogoski.

BY SAM MADE

MR NAPOLEON LETSOKO was 25 when he was sent to Robben Island in 1963 after being convicted for sabotage by a Rand Supreme Court judge. He is now 42, but looks 32.

He is tall, slim and upright. His face and general physical appearance bear no testimony to the 17 years he spent away from his family, his friends and Soweto, his birth-place and the township he loves.

When I met him at his Orlando Post Lane this week, the former Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) member boasted about his physical fitness and his love of sport.

"I love tennis and am good at it. I can jump over anything as high as the roof of this house," he said, pointing to the bare corrugated-iron roof above the verandah of his two-roomed home which has been converted into a third room.

He has been out of prison for only a week and is already gearing himself to finding a job and living like every other man in his neighbourhood.

"I have already analysed the situation and have found that one cannot afford to waste time sitting around and doing nothing. I realise that unemployment is rife and

'It would be too much like a cell's

the cost of living high.

"My priority right now is to get a job. Somebody promised me a clerical job somewhere but I don't think I would like to work in an office. It would again be too much like being locked up in a cell. I would rather work outdoors.

Having not tasted a drop of alcohol for 17 years, Mr Letsoko said nothing could stop him from spending the rest of his life without drinks.

Except to say he occasionally saw Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, on the island, Mr Letsoko refused to comment on "anything political."

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Labour Party urged to back the ANC...

LONDON: Britain's opposition Labour Party is to be urged at its annual conference next month to give "practical support" to the banned African National Congress of South Africa.

This is one of several resolutions on the agenda for the five-day conference which opens in Blackpool on September 29.

The resolution on the ANC expresses concern at the low level of support for the guerrilla movement and calls on the conference to instruct Labour's national executive committee to consult the ANC "with a view to formulating and implementing proposals for practical support."

Another resolution urges a future Labour government to legislate that Dutch multi-national corporations must pay workers in South Africa and Namibia above subsistence level wages and provide education for their children.

The resolution demands that a Labour administration should make a full investigation into "multi-nationals investing overseas where there is concern that the people of these countries are exploited (e.g. South Africa and Namibia)."

The only resolution on Namibia calls for an immediate ban on the importation of uranium from the territory. — Sapa.

ANC out to 'raise its flag' in America and UN

THE African National Congress is launching an unprecedented push in the United States to match its aggressive new United Nations stance.

Its aim — to rally mass American support while asserting itself as the "legitimate" challenger to the official South African presence at the UN.

Spurring it on and dictating the timing is the American success of Zimbabwe Pre-

mier Robert Mugabe, who has received more exposure and acclaim than any visiting African leader.

The ANC hopes to tap this Mugabe-generated awareness and sympathy.

Already, it is claiming a first lobbying success with the US Congress and it is behind an audacious bid to block the South African Government's plans to open a new diplomatic post in

California. Eventually, a string of ANC information offices across the US is visualised.

At the UN, its takeover of the vacant South African seat in the trusteeship council chamber is being trumpeted as "just the start" of a campaign "preparing the public for some day pulling down the South African flag and raising the ANC flag".

Base for both the US and

UN thrusts is a new office in a smart Manhattan block used by several UN embassies, including that of oil-rich Kuwait.

Subsidised by a R160,000 grant voted through the General Assembly last year, this bustling centre is in stark contrast to the ANC presence of the past — under-manned and, it seemed, poorly funded.

Heading the operation is

By Richard Walker, New York

the soft-spoken Mr Joinstone Makatini, a fluent French speaker drafted here from North Africa after an internal ANC upheaval about 18 months ago.

Backing him is a team of about a dozen fulltime and part-time aides.

For the first time, an ANC outpost has also been set up

in Washington, where it is working closely with TransAfrica, the black American lobbying organisation.

As a first success, it is claiming the failure so far of a move to make the Sullivan code of conduct a legal requirement for US companies in South Africa.

Sullivan was hotly rejected

from San Francisco of the SA Consul-General.

Armed with a new "speakers' bureau" — they include well-established figures like Professor Ben Magubane — it is also popping up at conferences across the country.

Earlier this month, Mr Makatini's attendance helped spur the National Bar Association to endorse comprehensive sanctions.

The association, the major grouping of black lawyers, also made a special Nelson Mandela award, which is going to the imprisoned leader's wife.

This weekend Mr Makatini is flying to Lagos to join leader Oliver Tambo for strategy talks, including plans for a September 25 Security Council session on the Republic, where a large turnout of African liberation movements can.

Foreign Ministers will chorus a sanctions demand. The ANC, like the PAC, has the right to participate in UN Assembly debates related only to apartheid. Its status was boosted last year when the assembly according to it and the PAC — the cash grant to ensure due and proper representation of the people of South Africa through their liberation movements.

its flag' in America and UN

11A 5, time 3:45:50

Black athlete stoned

by RENE DU PREEZ

FOR promising black athlete Jerry Magobalo glory on the athletics track means being pelted with stones and abused by fellow youths.

It is all because he has joined the previously all-white Celtic Harriers Athletics Club.

Jerry, 18, a middle-distance runner and high-school pupil at Langa, has been accused of being an "informer" and not fighting for "the cause".

He emphatically denies this and says his move to Celtic Harriers from the Guguletu

Athletics Club has not changed him.

"Members of the Young Ideas Athletics Club in Guguletu have refused to train with me because of my affiliation to Celtic Harriers," he said.

"I am only interested in reaching the top in the athletics world.

"My move to Celtic Harriers, where facilities and coaching programmes are far more advanced, will help me realise this ambition.

"If athletes like Sydney Maree can go abroad to further their athletics careers, why can't I join the club where I think my talents can be best developed?"

"I am not blaming the Guguletu authorities for the lack of facilities."

Jerry is a cousin of Lesotho's Olympic marathon runner, Vincent Rakabaele.

Yesterday he took part in the Kodak Fun Run 8-km cross-country race. He was watched by his most ardent fan, his mother, Mary Magobalo.

Support the ANC,^{5/16/57} urges Mugabe^{3/18/67}

THE Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, has urged the world community to help the liberation movements of South Africa.

He was addressing the United Nations General Assembly, of which Zimbabwe was this week admitted as the 113rd member.

He urged the international community to give aid to Swaziland, and to give increased support to the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress of South Africa.

In a Press conference at the United Nations later, he said that during his talks with President Carter in Washington he would urge the United States to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to assist in the "total liberation of Southern Africa".

Meanwhile, "South Africa has four or five years to get its house in order . . . after that both Zimbabwe and Mozambique will be forced by circumstances to provide bases for ANC and PAC guerrillas."

So said an earnest, intelligent young Zimbabwean, who left school six years ago to join the Mugabe guerrillas in the bush. This week he was in Washington as part of the delegation that came with Prime Minister Mugabe.

For the next four, five or six years the countries of Zimbabwe and Mozambique will concentrate on economic recovery and economic development.

But, once the economies are on track again, both leaders will be forced (with a greater or lesser degree of reluctance) to provide bases for ANC and PAC guerrillas who want to operate in South Africa.

"As black Africans, they will have no choice in the matter."

"When, just as happened in Zimbabwe -- but on a vastly expanded and more bloody scale -- the war would begin in earnest in South Africa, he said. — SUNDAY MORNING