

Black POLITICS

1983

AUGUST

# Mpetha given hero's welcome

CAPL Trib 1/8/83

11A

**Own Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Oscar Mpetha, the 81-year-old Cape Town community and trade union leader recently released on R1 bail after being sentenced for terrorism, was given a hero's welcome at a meeting in Soweto yesterday.

The frail and sickly Mpetha, his left leg in bandages, was carried on to the stage in a wheelchair at the launching of the Soweto Youth Congress (Sayco) at the Dube YWCA.

The crowd of about 300 immediately interrupted the meeting to stand, sing and chant praises to Mpetha for at least 15 minutes.

Mpetha, who was given a five-year sentence for terrorism last month but was released on bail pending an appeal, told the crowd he had vowed not to die "before I see freedom in this country".

Mpetha is the president of the Cape Town United Democratic Front (UDF), a former regional president of the African National Congress and former general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers Union. He served a 10-year sentence on Robben Island in the 1960s.

He suffers from diabetes and according to evidence at his trial in Cape Town, has only a few years to live.

He flew to Johannesburg to attend a national meeting of UDF leaders.



Oscar Mpetha, the 81-year-old Cape Town man who is on bail of R1 after being sentenced for terrorism, is welcomed by Ms Zinzi Mandela, daughter of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, at a Soweto meeting yesterday.

E. Post 1/8/83

# PE bus boycott call flops

By WILBERFORCE  
MDODA

POLICE vehicles were today patrolling the bus route between Veeplaas and Kwazakele after a call was made to the community to boycott buses because of increased fares.

Bus company officials were also on the scene.

There was sporadic stoning of buses but only slightly more than was usual for an average weekend, according to bus company officials.

Few people seemed to be walking to work and the bus services appeared

to be operating normally.

However, it was a blue Monday for pirate taxi operators who hoped more commuters would make use of their taxis because of a boycott.

Some of the operators claimed that policemen in camouflage uniforms stopped their cars and ordered passengers out.

Yesterday domestic workers were seen boarding trains at Swartkops station to return to the city where they boarded buses to the various suburbs in which they are employed.

The call to boycott buses in

the townships was made at a public meeting organised by an action committee of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation in New Brighton last week.

The managing director of PE Tramways, Mr Carl Coetzer, said in a statement today that passenger demand yesterday and so far today had followed "the normal heavy trend usually experienced at the end of the month and on Monday mornings.

"The bus service provided has been completely normal, including the extra journeys nor-

mally needed for Monday morning peak periods," he said.

"We are consequently unaware of any boycott by bus passengers anywhere throughout Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and surrounding districts.

"There were sporadic incidents of vandalism in the form of stonethrowing, which were slightly more than usual for the average weekend.

"Such damage as did occur was repaired immediately in terms of our normal maintenance procedure," he said.

New brand  
of racism  
is difficult  
to combat

# Boesak dominates WCC's racism briefing

Star 1/8/83

VANCOUVER — With the first cracks beginning to appear in the theological justification of apartheid, South African premier Mr P W Botha will have to find a new method to justify the "most vicious racial system in the world".

This is the opinion of Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, Methodist minister and theologian from the University of Cape Town, who was addressing the Sixth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) here.

Speaking on a forum on racism and theology forming part of the official proceedings, Professor Villa-Vicencio said the new brand of racism developing in South Africa is what he calls "laissez faire" racism.

"It is less doctrinaire, but far more difficult to combat."

He said one of the main characteristics of this brand of racism is that proponents are now prepared to acknowledge mistakes, and ask only to be granted more time.

"And President Reagan is always ready to oblige," he said.

The move through the new constitutional changes to co-opt Indians and coloureds into the white electorate will be used as a tremendous weapon in terms of persuading foreign countries that South Africa is moving towards change.

"With regard to the further implementation of the homeland policy, there is reason to believe that the laissez faire system will leave some blacks better off — at the cost of other blacks. It will make racism and discrimination increasingly less obvious," he said.

Professor Villa-Vicencio said it is today acknowledged that both race and class — the social and economic reality people find themselves in — are pertinent factors of oppression, both of which need attention from the churches.

The church in South Africa and the churches of the world will need to become more specific in identifying the problems they were facing, he said.

"The focus of the church and WCC programmes such as the PCR (Programme to Combat Racism) needs to be sharpened. It will have to be acknowledged that racism remains a crucial factor in today's society," Professor Villa-Vicencio said.

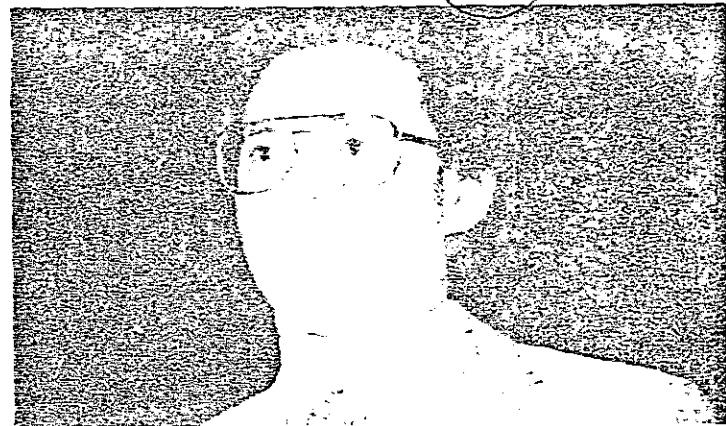
VANCOUVER — South African Dr Allan Boesak's overwhelming popularity and electrifying presence in Vancouver was confirmed on Friday when he dominated a special Press conference on racism.

Most of the 800 journalists directed their questions on the Programme to Combat Racism to Dr Boesak rather than the PCR director, the equally outspoken and able Dr Anwar Barkat of Pakistan.

Dr Boesak is attending the sixth general assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in his capacity as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), which is not a member. Only individual churches can be WCC members. The Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk (NGSK), to which Dr Boesak belongs and of which he is the assessor, is not a WCC member although it is a member of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

Friday's events effectively mean that Dr Boesak unofficially appeared as the chief WCC spokesman on the contentious PCR, which has been the target of severe criticism recently — notably from North American and West German churches — for its financial contributions to southern African guerilla groups.

A Reader's Digest article — distributed worldwide by the South African Government — and the United States news programme "60 Minutes" earlier this year both said money



Dr Allan Boesak ... his overwhelming popularity and electrifying presence were confirmed at the WCC Assembly in Vancouver.

## Carina le Grange, The Star's Religion Reporter at the WCC Assembly in Vancouver, sums up proceedings.

given to the groups was used to buy weapons, and this indicated WCC support for violence. SABC-TV also broadcast an edited version of the US programme recently during the Sunday night news.

During the conference, Dr Boesak corrected a journalist who had "viciously misrepresented" him in a theological debate Dr Boesak was involved in during the first week by suggesting he supported violence. He also attacked local Canadian media for the same reason.

"The lives of people are at stake here. For that reason alone, if for no other, please do not misrepresent me here," he said. On a question later during

the conference on whether he expected any action from the South African Government on his outspoken support for the PCR, Dr Boesak said it was impossible to say how the Government would act.

Earlier, he drew attention to how the African National Congress (ANC) had for "more than half a century" confined its struggle for justice to peaceful action.

"I do not think the church can ever support the use of violence, and there is no basis for this in the Gospel. My dilemma is however that, for example in South Africa, people have indeed tried all they could for peaceful solutions, but in vain."

## ANC chief addresses assembly

VANCOUVER — The secretary-general of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Alfred Nzo from Lusaka, was a speaker at the Sixth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) here at the weekend.

Also attending the public forum, at which the situation in South Africa as seen through the eyes of the ANC was the subject of Mr Nzo's invited speech, were at least seven other members of the ANC, including a white woman.

The forum — "Apartheid and South Africa" — was addressed by a member of the Angolan Council of Churches, the Rev Ntoni Nzinga, who told the audience that the effect of apartheid in South Africa was not confined to this country but also "spilled over to neighbouring countries such as Angola".

He also accused South Africa and the five Western countries involved in working out Namibia's independence — specifically the United States — of blocking efforts to work out a peaceful settlement.

The president of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Manas Buthelezi, was also sup-

posed to address the forum, but his address was postponed because of a technical hitch.

It was during a question session after Mr Nzinga's address that the ANC was mentioned and the Moderator, Ms Annette Hutchins, asked Mr Nzo to take the floor. Mr Nzo is one of two delegated observers from the ANC at the WCC.

The other, the Rev Barney Pitsoyana (Anglican Church), earlier told the audience that the "liberation issue had been enjoying a very low profile at the WCC.

"Most people here do not even know that there are senior representatives of the ANC present here as observers. We should play a much bigger role — if we do not, something vital will get lost in not allowing discussion with us. We should be able to present our case if the churches are prepared to listen as they say they are," he said.

"While most news reports do indeed create the impression of a high political content at the assembly, what is in fact more evident is the popularity of worship services at least three times a day and the sound theological basis of keynote speakers in their addresses," he said.

## Papal award for nurse professor

Religion Reporter  
PROFESSOR Patricia Paddy Harrison, first professor of nursing at the University of Cape Town, has received the highest award the Pope can bestow on a layman for service to the community.

The award, the Cross of Ecclesia et Pontifice, and a Papal scroll recognising her "many years of devoted service to nursing", were yesterday presented to Professor Harrison by Owen Cardinal McCann, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town.

At a special service for the Cape Town area Catholic Nurses' Guild, the Cardinal celebrated a Mass in thanksgiving for all that has been accomplished by nurses in the Cape Town area.

In his address Cardinal McCann said Christ required Christians to love their neighbours.

To illustrate the meaning of the word "neighbour", he used the parable of the Good Samaritan, who helped a wounded and suffering man when others would not.

"I wish to thank the nurses of this community, because they are all Good Samaritans," Cardinal McCann said. "You nurses are the ones who show mercy."



Professor Patricia Harrison

"We take for granted the whole system of nursing. But we should reflect on how much we owe them."

About 200 people attended the service, at which Cardinal McCann blessed the hands of nurses.

Professor Harrison, who trained as a nurse at Groote Schuur Hospital and spent most of her career training nurses, became the first professor of nursing at the University of Cape Town in 1981. She retired last year.

## UDF 'will stand for all races'

Political Staff  
THE United Democratic Front (UDF), to be launched at a meeting in Cape Town on August 20 in opposition to the Government's constitutional plan, will represent people of all colours and creeds, according to a statement from the movement's leadership.

The statement today said the date for the launching was decided on at a meeting of the UDF's national executive committee in Johannesburg at the weekend.

### Policy

The purpose of the meeting was to define a common approach and policy in resistance to the constitutional proposals and the envisaged new legislation on urban blacks.

The statement said the strength of the movement lay in the democratic nature of its composition.

It would be made up of trade unions as well as community, women's, student, religious, youth, sports, political, professional and business organisations and interest groups.

"All have clearly rejected the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills.

### Commitment

"All of us have recognised that these manoeuvres of the State are designed to weaken the people's resistance by dividing them, while entrenching apartheid.

"We have firmly and unanimously committed ourselves to the achievement of a democratic society under the banner of the UDF through active participation of thousands of members of our organisations.

"A declaration of policy and intent has evolved and it is in the process of being finalised," the statement read.



Mrs Marina Nathan

## Cape Rose Queen' dies

Staff Reporter

MRS MARINA NATHAN, known to all rose-growers as the "Rose Queen", has died.

Mrs Nathan and her late husband Dolfie devoted most of their best years to growing roses and won all the major rose competitions, including The Argus Trophy, in the Western Cape over a long period.

The highlight crowning their love for roses was when they received the Buller Memorial Medal.

They retired to Mui-zenberg from Pinelands and continued to show an active interest in roses.

A service will be held at Maitland Crematorium Chapel at 3.20pm on Wednesday.

## Grundlingh: Firearm found

Argus Correspondent  
PRETORIA. — Police believe they have found a firearm with which Pieter Grundlingh and Dawn Phillips allegedly shot and robbed four people in the Transvaal and Natal.

A police spokesman in Durban — where the couple

are to stand trial — said today the firearm was found on the East Rand at the weekend. It was reported stolen in Robertson in the Cape this year.

Ballistic tests are being done in Pretoria.

The couple, who were arrested after a country-wide manhunt last month, are to be tried in connection with the alleged murders of Mr Barend Greyvenstein, Mr Vernon Swart, Mr Gerald Meyer and Mr Martin Motosi.

If you would like an item published in Community Calendar, telephone The Argus news desk (41 3211) 48 hours in advance between 8.30 am and 3 pm, on weekdays, and before 11.30 am on Thursday for events from Friday to Monday afternoon.

### TODAY:

#### Ride Safe

If national servicemen require lifts or if anyone is willing to give a national serviceman a lift, ☎ 92 4911, Mrs L Burger.

#### Talk

### Fashion

B'nai B'rith fashion show at Raffles, President Hotel, at 9 pm. R12 includes cheese and wine, complimentary drinks, auction, lucky tickets, prizes and cabaret. ☎ 46 2618 Mrs Saacks.

### Senior citizens

Citizens' Advice Bureau is offering a free booklet, Concessions and Amenities, to senior citizens. For copies call at 516 CTC Building, Plein Street, between 9.30 am and 1 pm, or send a self-addressed, stamped foolscap envelope.

### Promotion

SA Association Against Painful Experiments on Animals and Beauty With-



from drugs. R3. ☎ 96 2259 Lydia or 96 4705 Kathy.

### Lecture

Bergvliet Adult Education Society: First of a se-

ture Theatre, Civic Centre, Cape Town at 8 pm and again on Wednesday. Members R4, non-members R8. ☎ 97 0533 Mrs A Kaleveld.

### Meeting

Mr Nic Olivier MP will speak on the new constitution in a PFP house meeting in Tygerhof at 8 pm. All welcome. ☎ 52 1906.

### COMING EVENTS:

#### Meetings

Rotary Club of Sea Point meets at Claridges on Wednesday at 12.30 pm for 1 pm.

False Bay Conservation Society special meeting in the hall, auditorium of

ment, Red Cross House or ☎ 71 7170 office hours.

### Fashion

Herzlia Primary School, Constantia, will present a contemporary dance group show with a summer fashion preview in the Podium Hall, Cape Town Civic Centre, on Wednesday at 9.45 am. Tickets available. ☎ 74 4238.

### Collection

Holy Cross Children's Home urgently needs collectors for Cape Town and southern suburbs for its street collection on Saturday.

### Dances

1st Constantia Scout Group annual dinner-dance at the Red Barn (MOTH hall), Tramore Road, Southfield on Saturday at

D. Dispatch 1/8/83 (11A)

## Bus boycott launched in PE

PORT ELIZABETH  
An estimated 500 people attended a meeting here in support of a bus boycott which was launched yesterday.

The meeting in Kwazakhele on Saturday was organised by the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation.

The bus company, PE Tramways, has said services will run as usual. No spokesmen could be contacted to establish whether the boycott call had had any effect yesterday.

Speakers at the meeting on Saturday urged people to prepare for the consequences of a boycott and also appealed to the audi-

ence to exercise self-discipline during the boycott.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Eastern Cape, Brigadier E. S. J. van Rensburg, commenting on the boycott call, said any form of intimidation was punishable with a jail sentence of up to ten years — DDC.

# Youth group launched

11A  
11/8/8

By ZWELAKHE  
SISULU

THE STRUGGLE of the youth must support the national democratic struggle that is fought by oppressed people. Dr Nthato Motlana told the inaugural conference of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) yesterday.

The packed, emotion-charged meeting was held at the Dube YWCA and was addressed by a number of speakers, including a surprise appearance by Mr Oscar Mpetha and Archie Gumede.

Mr Mpetha received a standing ovation from the audience and gave a short message of support from a wheelchair.

Dr Motlana urged Soyco to give clear and

vigorous guidance to the youth in Soweto.

Because the youth is energetic and tireless it can be helpful in popularising the ideas of peoples organisations and mobilising people around important community issues. Dr Motlana said.

Soyco's executive committee includes Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and Mr Mpho Mashinini, brother of Tsietsi Mashinini.

The full executive is

*Soweto*  
Mr Oupa Monareng (president), Miss Zinzi Mandela (vice-president), Mr Ephraim Butshingi (publicity secretary), Mr Tseko Tsheliane (administrative secretary), Mr Pule Thate (assistant administrative secretary), Mr Mandla Nkomfa (treasurer), and Mr Mpho Mashinini (co-ordinator).

Meanwhile in another meeting in Durban yesterday more than 600 people resolved not to pay the 20 to 80 per cent rent increases that come into effect today.

The meeting was convened by the Joint Rent Action Committee (Jorac).



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GOALIE: Bala'c.

advisor, drew a blank yesterday.

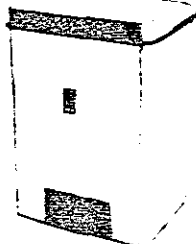
The secret disclosure

## HOME OF BARGAINS!



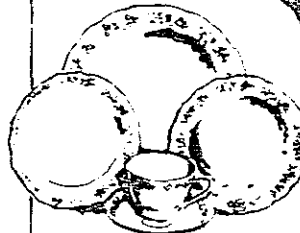
DIGITAL WATCHES

**399**



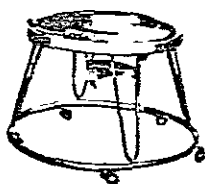
KROST PEDAL  
DUSTBINETTE

**699**



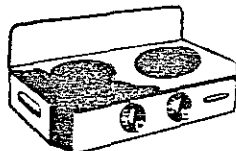
20 PCE DINNER SETS  
LYDIA POMPADOUR

**1199**



BABY WALKERS

**699**



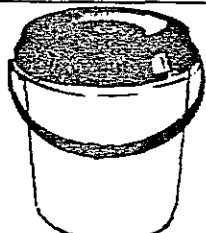
DOUBLE HOTPLATES

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24 PCE S/STEEL  
CUTLERY SETS

**699**



LARGE 20 LITRE  
BUCKET & LID

**299**



IRONING BOARDS

**799**



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ENAMEL POTS

**299**

# Anti-reform groups link to unite SA



*Star* 1/8/83

By Anthony Duigan

A national movement to link community and worker groups to oppose the Government's new constitutional proposals will be launched in Cape Town on August 20.

This latest move to mobilise support against the proposed three-tier Parliament and the new local government dispensation for urban blacks was announced in Johannesburg today by the United Democratic Front's national executive committee.

Black, Indian and coloured leaders met in Johannesburg at the weekend to "define a common approach and policy in resistance to the constitutional and Koornhof Bills", Mrs Alertina Sisulu, wife of imprisoned African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu and a member of the UDF's national executive, said today.

The reference to the Koornhof Bills concerns the "new deal" legislation which has already been passed or is before Parliament to give local authority power to urban black councils.

UDF beginnings go back to this January when delegates to an anti-SA Indian Council meeting in Johannesburg investigated the possibilities of a more representative body to oppose the Government.



# Domingo: why ~~League~~ League rejects proposals

~~11A~~ 11A ~~1/8/83~~ 1/8/83  
E-Post

CAPE TOWN — The Government's constitutional proposals entrenched apartheid and discrimination and sowed the seeds for greater division in the country, the national chairman of the Public Servants League, Mr Malcolm Domingo, said here.

Addressing a national meeting of chairmen of the League's 20 branches, Mr Domingo said the League wished to reply to the people who had criticised the decision taken at its annual meeting to reject the constitutional proposals.

- Criticism has been levelled at the organisation for entering the realm of politics.

Mr Domingo said the League — which was formed 13 years ago in response to the exclusion of blacks from the Public Servants Association — aimed to set right what was wrong in the Public Service and to fight for equal opportunities for all workers in the service.

"We cannot work with organisations or individuals who are accomplices of apartheid. We reject all those puppet bodies which are set up to misdirect our energies and misguide our workers," he said.

The constitutional proposals would "directly affect" League members as workers and were therefore of concern to them.

In an interview before the meeting, Mr Domingo said he believed that when the constitutional proposals became law there might be strong reaction from public servants who were "working for an intransigent employer who refuses to recognise us and tramples us as he pleases".

Despite its 27 000 membership the League is not formally recognised by the State because it does not have majority membership in all departments, said Mr Domingo. — Sapa

# SA politics and education linked, says non-race union



By Jean Hey,  
Education Reporter

The prevailing myth in South Africa is said to be that education and politics are separate issues.

Until teacher organisations realise the two are linked and are an intrinsic part of society, they have been warned, they will remain ineffectual.

This is the stand of the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa) which claims to be the country's only non-racial association of teachers.

It was formed 2½ years ago in response to the teaching crises of 1976 and 1980.

The boycotts during those years in black and coloured schools persuaded Neusa members that the conventional teacher organisations were unable to cope with the demands of education in South Africa.

Neusa's national president, Mr Michael Gardiner, believes Neusa is proof that a nonracial education organisation can work within the apartheid system — and serve a practical role.

It runs workshops for teachers to deal with common problems, and recently established an advice bureau for teachers, students and parents of all races.

"It is not just an agency for the bewildered and lost. We give guidance and show the alternatives to the problem. But the ultimate solution is in their hands."

That, says Mr Gardiner, is a new notion for teachers who have lived in an authoritarian country such as South Africa.

Neusa is also building a resource centre in Soweto for mathematics and science teachers.

Neusa has only a few hundred members includ-

ing students, parents and educationists.

"We have not campaigned for more members because we first wanted to define our stand. Now we are ready to increase our membership," says Mr Gardiner.

Recently a branch was established in Maritzburg.

Neusa's stand for non-racial education was clearly political.

"Teaching is the most divided profession in South Africa — and South Africa's political system is largely to blame.

"It has split teachers and students by race, and sometimes by language.

"We are convinced there is a need for an organisation like Neusa which gives a non-racial point of view, and which sees a strong relationship between education and the economic and social factors of society."

Neusa has been critic-

ised for participating in political events such as the Wilson-Rowntree and Republic Day boycotts.

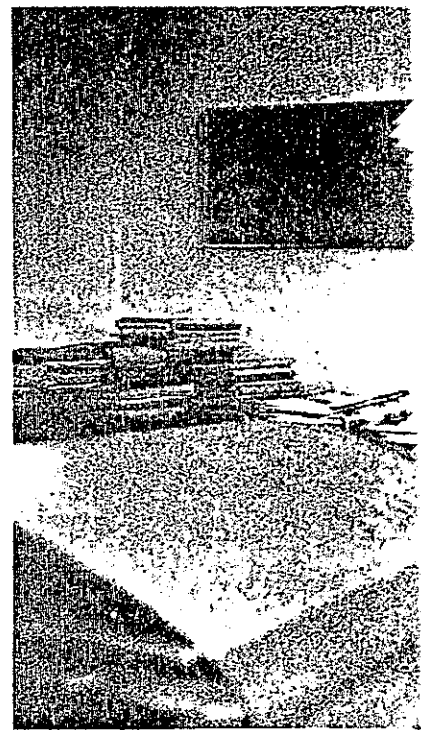
Its opposition to the De Lange report was also unpopular.

"We opposed the De Lange investigation because we saw it as a stalling move by the Government at a time of crisis in education.

"And we have been proved right — no significant change in education has yet come out of the report.

"Their committee also failed to represent the different communities in South Africa, and its findings reflect the interests of commerce rather than the whole South African society."

Mr Gardiner added that this stand could have cost Neusa financial support from large companies who had an interest in the report.



Mr Michael Gardiner: "We first wanted to define o

Neusa's national president, Mr Michael Gardiner: "Teaching is the most divided profession in South Africa — and South Africa's political system is largely to blame. It has split teachers and students by race, and sometimes by language. We are convinced there is need for an organisation like ours."

ANC headquarters in Maputo planned SA's worst urban terror attack

# Pretoria blast killed

# bombers

Argus Correspondent

MGUS 2/8/83

114

PRETORIA. — Two men from Mamelodi were responsible for the bomb blast which rocked Pretoria on May 20 this year.

Both were members of a safe-breaking gang and had previous convictions. Both had been publicly identified as connected with the banned African National Congress.

The men were killed in the blast. One was still in the vehicle which was parked in front of the Nedbank Centre. His body was hurled from the car by the explosion and disintegrated against a lamp-post.

His assistant arrived before the explosion and was driving a combi which he parked close-by in Schubart Street.

### Released

When the bomb exploded he was standing in Church Street opposite the car containing the bomb.

Details of the most intensive and comprehensive investigation in the 70-year history of the South African Police were given in Pretoria today by Major-General Frans Steenkamp, head of the Security Branch, at a Press conference.

According to a long statement the police have proof that this attack, as many others, was planned and initiated in the command and control centre of the ANC in Maputo and was carried out via Swaziland.

### Three days

Because the investigation is not yet complete names cannot yet be given.

Both men visited Swaziland shortly before May 20 where they were in contact with the ANC. One of the men returned to South Africa three days before the explosion.

Police also have proof that the men had contact with ANC terrorists who were involved with the planning and execution of the assassination of Warrant Officer Flip Selepe on November 7 last year, the attack on Voo-trekkerhoogte on August 12, 1981 and the attack on Sasol 3 at Secunda, on July 20 this year.

### Detentions

Benjamin Moloise was sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court earlier this year for the murder of Warrant-Officer Selepe.

A number of people were detained in terms of security legislation

(Turn to Page 4, col 7)



FLASHBACK to the bomb blast on May 20.

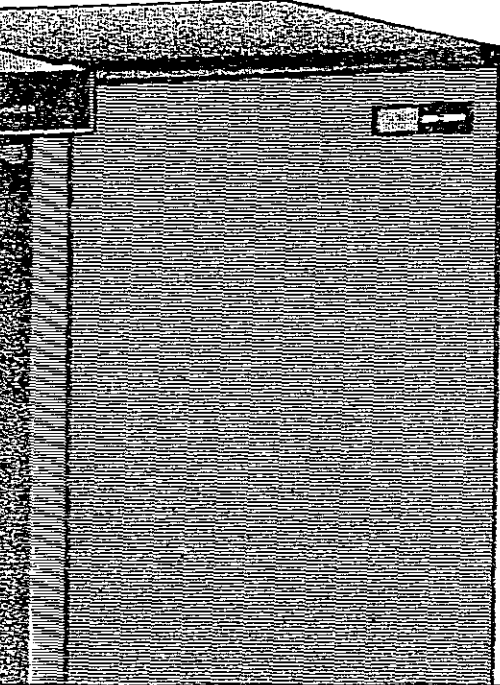
# ALS

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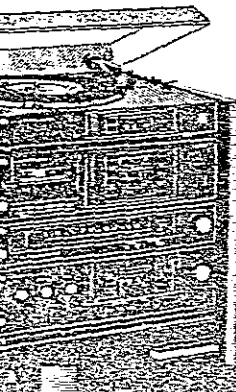


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## Mandela award 'for representing struggle'

*2/8/87*  
The Star Bureau *11/11/87*  
LONDON — Bishop Trevor Huddleston has written an appreciation of Nelson Mandela in The Guardian.

He said the fact that Mandela remained in jail despite a worldwide campaign for his release suggested that the South African Government saw him as a man "so greatly to be feared that he must be kept from all contact with the world".

In an appreciation on the Unesco award made recently to Mandela and King Juan Carlos of

Spain, the bishop said it was made because Mandela "represents the struggle against apartheid in all its evil forms".

The bishop wrote "He, together with his companions on Robben Island and in Pollsmoor Prison, is the victim of racial discrimination as it is practised by the only country in the world whose political, social, educational and economic structures are based on racism.

"The Unesco award is a reminder to the world of the waste and the tragedy of such a policy."

management group in the public service would also get increases

### QUESTION RAISED

Mr Domingo said the increases for MPs and President's Council members raised a question: "Has the economy recovered sufficiently for them to allow themselves such increases?"

Even if public servants were to receive salary increases, they should receive more than 27 percent because of the difference in salary structures, he said.

"If a salary increase in the public service did not exceed 27 percent, public servants would not accept it," he said.

Dr Cameron said the Public Servants' Association found it acceptable that the link between parliamentary and public service salaries had been scrapped and that every group was now being paid "in accordance with its own norms and criteria."

The association saw this as part of the principle of salary differentiation, he said.



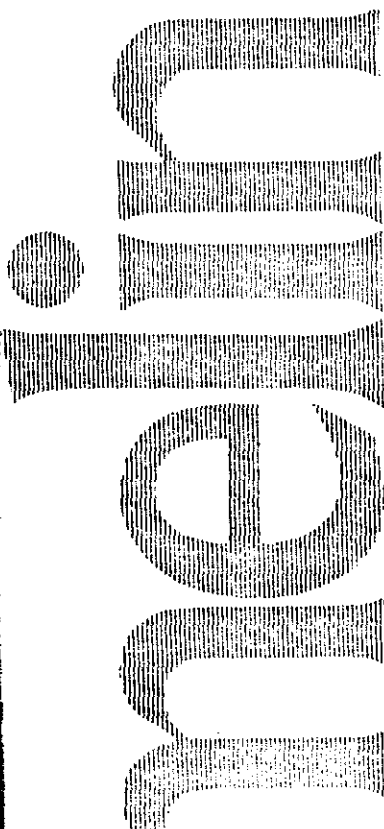
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## DAMELIN EXTRA LESSONS



### SATURDAY MORNINGS

CLASS	SUBJECT	TIME	
STD 10	Mathematics (HG)	8:15 - 9:15	
	Mathematics (SG)	8:15 - 9:15	
	Physical Science	9:25 - 10:25	
	Afrikaans	9:25 - 10:25	
	Mathematics (HG)	9:25 - 10:25	
	Physical Science	10:35 - 11:35	
	French	10:35 - 11:35	
STD 9	English	11:45 - 12:45	
	Biology	11:45 - 12:45	
	STD 8	Physical Science	8:15 - 9:15
		Mathematics	9:25 - 10:25
		Afrikaans	10:35 - 11:35
English		10:35 - 11:35	
STD 7	Biology	10:35 - 11:35	
	Mathematics	8:15 - 9:15	
	Mathematics	9:25 - 10:25	
	Physical Science	9:25 - 10:25	
STD 6	Physical Science	9:25 - 10:25	
	Afrikaans	10:35 - 11:35	

# Anti-apartheid

## men ask Britain

### to hammer SA

The Star/Bureau

2/8/83

LONDON — The Anti-Apartheid Movement has urged the British Government to take a much tougher line with South Africa — including support for comprehensive and mandatory international sanctions.

In a 12-page memorandum presented to Mr Malcolm Rifkind, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, the movement said it was convinced that British policies toward South Africa were not only short-sighted and dangerous, but could do no good in the long run for the people of Britain.

A major review of policy was needed — a review that would help bring independence to Namibia, combat South Africa's aggression against black states, strengthen the limited British measures to isolate South Africa and contribute to the elimination of apartheid.

The points were made when Mr Rifkind met Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the AAM, Mr John Hughes, the Labour Party MP who is chairman of the movement, Mr Mike Terry, executive secretary, and Miss Jan Clements, head of the London committee.

At a Press conference after the meeting, Archbishop Huddleston made it clear that Mr Rifkind's responses did not indicate any imminent changes of policy on the part of the Thatcher Government.

However, the deputation appeared satisfied that Mr Rifkind had assured them that the British Government remained convinced that the withdrawal of Cuban

troops from Angola should not be a prerequisite for a Namibian settlement

In its memorandum the AAM said that it seemed British policy towards Namibia appeared to be aligned with the United States in insisting that Namibian independence is dependent on developments in Angola — which are not the responsibility of the Namibian people.

If the British Government abandoned its endorsement of linkage of Cuban withdrawal to a settlement, and persuaded the United States to do likewise, the last obstacle would fall away.

The memo said that Britain's most urgent task, however, was to adopt a policy designed to combat South Africa's "aggression and destabilisation" in Southern Africa.

This would require tough unilateral and collective diplomatic action — including initiatives at the UN Security Council to have South Africa's policies declared a threat to international peace and security.

This would open the way for mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter Seven of the UN Charter.

The AAM also called for a ban on all forms of nuclear collaboration with South Africa, effective measures to stop the recruitment by South Africa of nuclear scientists and experts in Britain, the termination of the "no-visa" agreement, support for an oil embargo, opposition to all further International Monetary Fund loans and a stop to all new British investment in South Africa.

# Mass UDF rally expected to draw thousands of people

By SAM MABE

A MASS rally expected to attract thousands of people from all over the country is to be held in Cape Town later this month at the launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

At a Press conference held in Johannesburg yesterday, the UDF's interim Publicity Secretary, Mr Zak Yacoob, announced that the launching would take place on August 20.

The decision to launch the UDF nationally was taken at a meeting held at the weekend by African and Indian leaders from various parts of South Africa.

The leaders included, among others, veteran worker and Cape Town community leader Mr Oscar Mphetha, who is currently out on R1 bail pending the outcome of an appeal against a five-year jail sentence passed on him under the Terrorism Act.

The formation of the UDF, whose regional branches in the Transvaal, Natal and Western Cape were launched over the past few months, was a direct result of the controversial constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills against which the UDF is rallying.

"It is a united front in which all organisations will keep their identity

and independence but co-operate in opposing the President's Council, the new parliament and Koornhof plans," said a UDF press statement.

"The conscience and the moral impulses of all freedom-loving people of South Africa have been aroused. People have been moved to reject these pernicious and evil laws which consolidate the heresy of apartheid.

"Whilst the UDF articulates the viewpoint of the broad cross-section of people, we accept as fundamental that the



**UDF LEADERS:** Some of the leading delegates at the conference held by the United Democratic Front in Khotso House, Johannesburg, yesterday included (left to right), Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Dr A Saloojee, Mr Archie Gumede, Mr Zac Yacoob and Mr Yunus Mohammed.

main burden of exploitation and discrimination falls on the poor.

"Accordingly, the main thrust of the organisation is directed towards the participation

of working people in the workplace, in communities and wherever they may be.

"The grand design of apartheid is to fragment our people's unity. And

those who deliberately refrain from helping us to maximise this unity, advance the cause of the enemy and delay the cause of democracy," added the statement.

Sowetan 2/8/83 (11A)



**FULL CRY:** Mr Oscar Mpheta, the fiery trade unionist from Cape Town was in full cry in Soweto at the weekend where he addressed the in-

augural congress of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) and a meeting of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

# MOT IS S

**EAST RAND** communities fear a wave of gangland-type killings after a gunman pumped nine bullets into a prosperous KwaThema businesswoman at her home over the weekend.

A knock at the door announced the death of Mrs Lena Reginah Makgalemele (51) who was watching television in her living room with her son Solomon and two family friends.

Miss Dudu Makgalemele, daughter of the dead woman, opened the kitchen door for the lone killer. The killer demanded to see her mother and was ushered into the sitting room. Nonchalantly, he asked to talk to Mrs Makgalemele privately, and she took him to the dining-room.

Moments later Mrs Makgalemele screamed that she was cornered with a killer.

The gunman ordered everybody to lie on the floor, and shouted at them to "shut up".

Everybody did as told and the killer fired nine shots into Mrs Makgalemele. As she collapsed, the man walked out of the house and disappeared into the night.

Mrs Makgalemele was dead. Blood soaked the carpet, inches from where she had earlier been sitting watching television. Dudu, her brother, Solomon and friends called the police.

Major S S Mokoena, chief of the KwaThema branch of the CID, has confirmed the killing of Mrs Makgalemele who belonged to several organisations. Police, he said, were still investigating. No arrests have been made.

Mrs Makgalemele, said Major Mokoena, died a terrible death. When police arrived at her home they found nine spent cartridges

## Thirty-one detained

Sowetan 2/8/83

By SAM MABE

**THIRTYONE** students, who include four community leaders in Vryburg, near Kimberley, were arrested in pre-dawn raids at their homes yesterday in connection with unrest at Bopaganang High School on Friday.

The arrests were confirmed by a police public relations officer in Kimberley, Major Pat Hicks, who said police were investigating possible charges of public violence.

He said that damage to the school and to teachers' property was caused in the unrest. The SOWETAN learnt that five teachers were beaten up during the unrest, which ended after police intervention.

is presently mobilising mass resistance against removal of Huhudi residents to Bophuthatswana, are Messrs Johnson Kgasu, Eddie Tau, Khotso Kgasu and Bhekisizwe Ndlovu.

The four are believed to have been arrested at about 3am after they arrived home from Soweto, where they had attended the launching of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco).

Friday's unrest is alleged to have been caused by the expulsion of several students who were accused by the principal of instigating a street march and the chanting of the National

the unrest included:

- Corporal punishment for owing school fees;
- Objection to students' payment of library and medical fees;
- Suspension of sports activities;
- Shortage of text and prescribed books; and
- teachers who come to class unprepared for lessons.

The unrest at the school started on Friday after the morning devotions when there was stone-throwing and staff-room windows were smashed.

The students dispersed after the arrival of police. After the five-hour unrest, some students are said to have demanded that an ur-

# Anti-apartheid group is to go national

11A

By ANTON HARBER  
Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) is to be launched as a national movement to oppose the Government's constitutional proposals and the "Koornhof Bills" at a People's Rally in Cape Town on August 20.

This will bring together some trade unions and dozens of community, student and women's organisations into the broadest opposition front this country has seen for at least two decades.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, UDF leaders from all over the country also announced they had held talks with the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and had appointed a delegation to approach the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) about joining UDF.

They firmly denied a suggestion that they were a "Charterist" organisation, saying their doors were open to "all political groupings and people who have different approaches to the struggle".

The conference was addressed by Professor Zac Yacoob, Mr Yunus Mohammed and Mr Archie Gumede from UDF Natal, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Dr R A M Saloojee from the Transvaal, and Mr Oscar Mpetsha and Mr Trevor Manuel from the Western Cape.

The seven — representing the three regional UDFs that have been formed in the past six months — met this weekend to plan the national launching.

In a statement released yesterday, they said the constitutional and Koornhof Bills were "designed to weaken the people's resistance by dividing them whilst entrenching apartheid".

"People have been moved to reject these

pernicious and evil laws which consolidate the heresy of apartheid.

"We have firmly and unanimously committed ourselves to the achievement of a democratic society under the banner of the UDF through the active participation of thousands of our members."

They called on all organisations to join the UDF "to further resistance to these Bills" under the slogan "Apartheid divides, UDF unites".

A declaration of policy and intent was being finalised. An interim statement of principles adopted recently declared a commitment to democracy and the creation of a non-racial unitary state undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations. It also committed members to "unity in struggle regardless of race, religion or colour".

Asked what form of activity UDF would undertake, Mr Mohammed said their priorities were the education of people on the Bills. The people themselves would then decide how to react, he said.

Asked about their relationship with Fosatu, Prof Yacoob said they had no formal relationship at the moment, but the weekend meeting had appointed a national delegation to approach Fosatu.

He also said the possibility of co-operation with the Black Alliance, led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was "very remote".

Any organisation that subscribed to the UDF's statement of principles could be considered for membership, Mr Mohammed said.

He gave no details of the talks with Azapo.

UDF member-organisations now include the SA Allied Workers Union, the Council of Unions of SA, the Soweto Civic Association, the Western Cape branch of the Media Workers Association of SA, the Federation of SA Women, the Islamic Council of SA and the Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses.

# Nats 'don't need that power'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN. — South Africa needed less unfettered executive power and not more as proposed in the new constitution, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, said last night.

Addressing a public meeting in Gordon's Bay, Mr Andrew said the outstanding features of Nationalist government over the past 35 years included abuse of power, circumventing the courts, and withholding information from the public.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the Government was asking for support for constitutional proposals that provided for a powerful executive President with autocratic powers, the specific curtailing of the powers of the courts in key areas, and a marked reduction in the ability of opposition parties to call the Government to account.

The Government had spent more than R62 000 on printing and distributing 660 000 leaflets propagating National Party policy in the canvassing for support for its constitutional proposals. The leaflets were paid for by black, white, Indian, and coloured taxpayers.

The latest example of this "blatant abuse" was an information newsletter containing numerous misleading statements and half-truths. For example, it stated that whites, coloureds, and Indians would have equal franchise, but no mention was made of the fact that white domination was entrenched throughout the constitution.

Mr Andrew said the Government did not deserve to be trusted with additional powers. It had persistently abused its powers in the past and there was no indication of a change of heart.

"There are some astonishing provisions in the constitutional proposals. When all three Houses of Parliament have no confidence in the President or his Cabinet, they can pass resolutions accordingly. But what happens? Parliament is dissolved and the President and his Cabinet re-



CONT. →

main in office. "It is rather like having a law which says that if a jury finds a man guilty of murder, it is the jury that is hanged."

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, reports Sapa, said last night the Progressive Federal Party had studied the proposed new constitution and found it was not good enough for South Africa.

Addressing a public meeting in the Rondebosch town hall, he said a "yes" vote in the forthcoming referendum would strengthen the Right wing of the political spectrum in the Republic. The constitutional plan of the Government had caused a split in Government ranks. "The Nats are bleeding and the only way this can stop is with genuine reform consolidating the moderates against the Right wing," Dr Slabbert said.





Dr R A M Saloojee (left) and Mr Archie Gumede at a Press conference announcing the national launching of the United Democratic Front.

# Prix bike crash

CAPE TIMES  
2/8/83  
40  
530

## 'ANC idealist' tried to recruit

Staff Reporter

HEADLEY Moses King, an Internal Security Act detainee since February 7 this year, was yesterday convicted in the Paarl Regional Court on a charge of participating in the activities of the banned African National Congress.

Mr A J Burger found that King, 27, of Gross Road, Athlone, participated in the activities of the ANC by receiving documents and money that he had submitted reports to the ANC about conditions in the Cape and that he had "introduced" a Mr Michael Benjamin Coetzee to the ANC.

The State alleged that from September to December 1982, at or near Cape Town or Maseru, Lesotho, King attended ANC meetings and tried to recruit members.

He had previously pleaded not guilty.

### 'Swept up'

Professor Jakes Gerwel, Professor in Afrikaans at the University of the Western Cape, said: "Mr King was swept up in the events of the seventies and was motivated by the highest idealism."

Questioned by the prosecutor, Mr R B Borwick, Professor Gerwel said the Freedom Charter was discussed freely by students.

In mitigation of sentence Mr A M Omar, appearing for King, said King's idealism was directed by the boycotts and other events that occurred in the 1970s. He had an unselfish desire to serve people and did not advocate violence.

Mr Omar said it was also not illegal for people to subscribe to the Freedom Charter. Students were bound to become involved in idealistic thoughts and because of this, the court should sentence King with caution, he said.

### 'We hate them'

Lieutenant-Colonel Johannes Griebenauw of the security police

started 23-lap race. Kenny Roberts, said a "strange" yellow-and-red crossed flag none of the riders understood had been flown and had added to the confusion.

The race organizers have not yet explained why they did not halt the event more quickly — or announce the tragedy sooner.

Silverstone has a terrible reputation for motor-cycle

accidents and there was a catalogue of serious crashes during practice for Saturday's Grand Prix.

There were six practice crashes which resulted in one rider suffering a fractured skull, another an amputated toe, broken wrist and foot, and another a seriously injured leg. Three other riders crashed without serious injury.

mediately. Barry Sheene, "Bionic Man" who surd a similarly horrifying h on the same circuit a ago and whose legs are held together by steel and plates, was equalngry.

e was among the riders slowed and voluntarily ed a halt to the race in fifth lap.

he winner of the re-



r Stephen Wrottesley, centre, who has ended his career with the Cape ven a farewell party yesterday by local policemen, with whom he worked im are, from left, Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, a police liaison officer for ape, Brigadier J G Odendaal, Western Cape Divisional Inspector for crime igadier Dries van den Heever, Chief CI officer for the Western Cape, Briga- Divisional Inspector, and Captain Jan Calitz, also a liaison officer. Mr Wrot- he Cape Times in 1977, and was crime reporter for four years. He was nstrumental in highlighting police pay grievances in 1981.

## Baboon still has her dead baby

Environment Reporter

THE Cape Point baboon whose baby was hit by a car and killed on Thursday last week was seen still carrying its dead child on Sunday.

The Cape Times received several phone calls from people who witnessed the pitiful sight yesterday.

A photograph of the baboon carrying its bleeding child was published in the Cape Times on Friday. Mr John Spence, curator of the Tygerberg Zoo, said yesterday that a baboon would either desert its dead child immediately or carry it around until it decomposed.

"In captivity, we usually take the dead away, but I am not sure what occurs in the wild," he said.

Mr Spence said it was quite usual behaviour for the baboon to pick at the child's hair. It was either cleaning it or looking for deposits of salt on the hair caused by perspiration.

## Names of bus smash victims

Staff Reporter

FOUR children under the age of 16 died with nine men and women in Saturday's horror smash when a fully-loaded bus of day-trippers collided with a derelict stationary lorry on the West Coast Road near Atlantis.

The names of 12 of the victims were released late yesterday. One person has not yet been

## Durban council votes

one has a terrible  
1 for motor-cycle

other riders crashed with-  
out serious injury.



who has ended his career with the Cape by local policemen, with whom he worked hard van Rooyen, a police liaison officer for Western Cape Divisional Inspector for crime Chief CI officer for the Western Cape, Brigain Jan Calitz, also a liaison officer. Mr Wrot was crime reporter for four years. He was police pay grievances in 1981.

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iration.

## council votes facilities

Some councillors  
City feared an adverse affect  
last on tourism and warned  
000 that the government  
the would intervene. Speak-  
er after conservative  
speaker called for separate  
facilities but equal facilities  
for all races in the city.

Councillors in favour  
of opening the facilities  
said the area in question,  
which includes the aquar-  
ium and the amusement  
park, were already de facto  
multi-racial. The South Afri-

## Names of bus smash victims

Staff Reporter

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victims were released  
late yesterday. One per-  
son has not yet been  
identified.

Names

The names of the 12  
are: Denzil Keating, 6,  
of Elsie's River; Christo-  
pher Steenveld, 14, of  
Matroosfontein; Farieda  
Andrews, 15, of Bonte-  
heuwel; Joan Lawrence,  
55, of Manenberg; An-  
thony Esterhuizen, 28, of  
Elsie's River; Johanna  
Ezel, 15, Albertus Faro,  
40, Adam September, 49,  
Victor Veira, 54, all of  
Clarke's Estate, Elsie's  
River; Neville Godfrey  
Hartley, 39, of Bishop  
Lavis; David Booysen,  
30, of Epping Forest and  
Sandra Lawrence, 20, of  
Elsie's River.

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should sentence King  
with caution, he said.

## 'We hate them'

Lieutenant-Colonel  
Johannes Griebenauf  
of the security police  
said:

"It is very clear that  
the ANC's main aim is  
terror and sabotage in  
South Africa. At the  
time of King's visit to  
Maseru it was a melting  
pot for terrorist units.

"We hate them be-  
cause they don't attack  
us — their enemy —  
openly, but harm inno-  
cent people in a coward-  
ly fashion."

Sentence will be  
passed today and King  
was remanded.

Mr A J Burger is the  
magistrate. Mr R B Borich  
appears for the State. Mr  
Omar is instructed by Mr R  
Vassen of Omar, Vassen,  
Abercrombie, Sonn and Co.

the work of a food technologist.

6.38: Platepraatjies. Johan Stemmet chats to recording artists about their latest releases. Tonight: Veteran boeremusiekmaker Nico van Rensburg and his orchestra.

6.53: Sportfokus. Review of the WP Centenary rugby celebrations and an announcement on the Rapport cycle tour.

7.30: Johannes Meintjies — Spel Met Maskers. This programme looks at the influence of the environment of writer and painter Johannes Meintjies, who spent most of his life on the family farm, Groot Zeekoiegat, in the Stormberge.

8.00: News

8.28: Weather

8.35: Newsfocus: An in-depth analysis of important events in the news.

8.49: Police File

9.04: Shogun. Blackthorne struggles to understand Samurai etiquette while Mariko, his teacher, explains that he must be concerned only with the present. But the threat to the village continues to haunt him and when Yabu refuses to rescind his decree, Blackthorne attempts to commit suicide in the honoured Japanese tradition.

9.53: Sergio Mendez. World-famous band leader Sergio Mendez performs some of his greatest hits.

10.44: News.

10.59: Epilogue. The Rev Derek Stone of Kempton Park.

TV2

6.32: Umakho (Cuore di Mama).

7.00: Izindaba (News).

7.10: Jikefele (Magazine Programme).

9.00: Izindaba (News).

9.27: Imozulu (Weather).

9.29: Ezenkolo/iphunga Elimnandi (Epilogue).

## ★Times Choice★

★ TONIGHT'S CHOICE — TV1 at 7.30pm: A look at the life and work of the painter and writer Johannes Meintjies.

## TV2 review

PROBABLY it will be quite some time before Monday offers the kind of excellently-balanced viewing expected from a general magazine programme.

Sometimes one fails to understand why are we so starved of such good programmes like the one that featured a profile on academic and lecturer Dr Dorothy Malaka.

However, the reference to the unassuming and amiable Dr Malaka as one of the few black women in South Africa

to reach this high level of education, was, in my opinion, misleading. That statement alone shows that our people at Auckland Park are not doing their homework properly.

Masityelele was lively as usual. This item featured a unique occasion where old friends and fans of Letta Mbali gathered in grand style to launch her new album in absentia. Host Bertha Khele even had time to speak to the Soweto International star via a long distance call to the United States.

JOE GUWA



CHOOSING a winner on "Follow that Star" can be tough when they're all lousy, said one televiewer last night. And after Saturday's film on the "Royal Romance", you can't blame one viewer for calling the Queen Mother "a plaas tannie".

Mrs L Hendricks of Greenhaven agreed with Ronnie Wilson when he said it was tough to choose a winner on "Follow that Star". "Especially when they're all lousy," she said.

Alison Massey of Claremont chose Ricky and the Spitfires as winners of last night's "Follow that Star". "They're young and talented and

Nel up against Professor Boshoff on Sunday night. "Again it has shown that Professor Boshoff's idea of an independent coloured and a similar white homeland is impossible in South Africa," he said. "The stance that Mr Nel took against Professor Boshoff needs to be complimented. I would also like to see consultation between Van Zyl Siabbert, Vause Raw and PW," said Mr Baynes, who thanked all those who wrote to him regarding the subject in an earlier Teleview.

Mr Barry Clarke of Zeekoievel wished the SABC would have both Professor Boshoff and

# United front against reforms

Political Correspondent  
A NEW national and multi-racial body opposed to the Nationalist constitutional proposals is to be launched in Mitchells Plain later this month.

The decision was taken by provincial leaders of the United Democrat-

ic Front (UDF) who gathered in Johannesburg at the week-end

The six-month-old movement, comprising a variety of organizations, formed units in the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape after a call by the Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World

Alliance of Reformed Churches, for a united front against the government's constitutional plan.

Its other main purpose is to oppose the legislation on black people proposed by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

The UDF leadership said in a statement after the week-end meeting that the movement would be launched nationally at a "peoples' mass rally" in Cape Town on August 20.

A spokesman for Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary-general of the UDF, said yesterday that the launch would actually be a two-day meeting at the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain.

The mass rally would be on the evening of Saturday, August 20, but delegates from affiliated organizations would meet on Saturday afternoon and conclude their discussions next morning.

The week-end statement said the UDF's strength lay in its democratic nature.

"The central characteristic of the UDF is that it is made up of trade unions as well as community, women's, student, religious, youth, sports, political, professional and business organizations and interest groups.

"These organizations represent people of all colours and creeds from all strata of South African society. All have clearly rejected the constitution and Koornhof bills.

"All of us have recognized that these manoeuvres of the State are designed to weaken the people's resistance by dividing them whilst entrenching apartheid.

"We have firmly and unanimously committed ourselves to the achievement of a democratic society under the banner of the UDF through active participation of thousands of members of our organizations."

A declaration of policy and intent was in the process of being finalized, the statement said.



Crime reporter Stephen Wrc Times, was given a farewell closely. With him are, from the Western Cape, Brigadier prevention, Brigadier Dries vadier J Kotze, Divisional Inspe tesley joined the Cape Time instrumental in

## Kronendal furniture goes for R276 000

By GWEN M MILLS

THE Kronendal Hout Bay collection of important Capé furniture was yesterday sold at an auction, which attracted a record attendance, for R276 027 under the hammer of Stephan Welz of Sotheby's.

The amount makes the sale one of the most important. The collection — a museum collection of copper and a vast quantity of blue-and-white porcelain, both of which have acquired honorary Africana status — was assembled by the owners Malcolm Tait and Alasdair Wyllie.

The classic H-shaped 18th Century Cape Dutch house at Hout Bay was restored by the owners, and the fine collection of furnishings reflects the life-style and good taste of these popular and well-known restaurateurs.

The amount of R290 000 — the highest bid for Kronendal manor house — was offered by Mr and Mrs John Silburn of Durban. If this is confirmed today the new owners hope to run a restaurant at Kronendal.

## Slabbert: Salaries no secret

THERE had been regular communication between the government and opposition parties regarding the increase in salaries of MPs and cabinet ministers, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said in a statement yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said he wished to clarify any possible misunderstanding.

"From the evidence, it is quite clear that the same percentage increase was given to all categories and that there was regular communication between members of government and opposition parties on the negotiations that were taking place in this regard.

"It was also agreed that the matter would not become an issue of party political dispute and I wish to emphasize that I did not issue a statement in this regard.

"It would be totally unacceptable for me or any opposition party to exploit this issue for party-political gain, particularly as we stand to benefit personally from any readjustments," the statement said. — Sapa

## Ba her

THE Ca car and carrying The C from pec day.

A phot child wa Mr Jol said yes its dead it decom

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TRAUCEDC SIZES

By Anthony Duigan

Black politics has emerged from the repression of the 1960s and 1970s into a new phase of vibrancy.

This is clear from the events of the past six months and, in particular, from this week's decision to launch nationally a broad-based community movement to oppose the Government's constitutional proposals.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), which was recently formed in Natal, Transvaal and the Western Cape to co-ordinate community resistance to the proposed three-tier ethnic Parliament and the Government's "new deal" legislation giving local authority status to urban black councils, is to go national at a "Peoples' Rally" to be held in Cape Town on August 20 and 21.

This was announced in Johannesburg yesterday by the national executive committee of the UDF — which includes Mrs Albertina Sisulu, executive member of the Federation of South African Women; Mr Oscar Mphetha, veteran Cape trade unionist; Mr Zac Yacoob of the Natal Indian Congress; Mr Trevor Manuel of the Cape UDF executive; Dr R A M Saloojee, vice-president of the Transvaal Indian Congress; and Mr Archie Gumede, Durban attorney and president of the UDF in Natal.

A national body was given impetus by the speech made on January 23 at the Transvaal Anti-SA Indian Council congress by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

"There is no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisa-

# A new and vital spirit pervades black politics

11A  
Star 2/8/83



Mr Oscar Mphetha . . .  
veteran trade unionist.

tions and sports bodies should not unite in the struggle for a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa, pool their resources, and inform the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name," Dr Boesak told the congress in the Johannesburg City Hall.

In a statement issued at a Press conference yesterday the UDF national executive committee said the main thrust of the organisation was directed towards the participation of working people "in the workplace, in the communities — wherever they may be".

The August 20 launch was "the first phase of the process — and a momentous step along the road to freedom".

"Our response to the crisis facing us today is the politics of refusal. It is the only dignified response black people can give in this situation. In order to do this we need a united front."

— Dr Allan Boesak,  
President of the  
World Alliance of  
Reformed Churches,  
speaking at the  
Transvaal Anti-SA  
Indian Council  
Congress in January.

A second black national movement, also dedicated to opposing the new constitution and government-approved bodies, was launched at the time the UDF was doing its grassroots organising.

The National Forum was set up just over a month ago when about 200 black organisations met at Hammanskraal, outside Pretoria, and endorsed the "Manifesto of the Azanian People".

The manifesto directs its opposition to "racial capitalism" and affirms the principles of "anti-racism", "non-collaboration with the oppressor and its political instruments", "independent working class organisation" and "opposition to all



Mrs Albertina Sisulu . . .  
women's champion.

alliances with ruling-class parties".

The manifesto also lays down the establishment of a "Worker Republic of Azania", worker control of commerce and industry and full state involvement in education, health and the provision of housing.

Among the 88 community, student and labour organisations which have tied their colours to the UDF most are major supporters of the Freedom Charter, a manifesto adopted by the all-race Congress Alliance which met at Kliptown, near Johannesburg, in June 1955.

The Freedom Charter, like the Azanian Manifesto, also calls for the nationalisation of

commerce and industry and a redistribution of land and wealth.

But it is expressly non-racial and affirms that South Africa belongs to "all who live in it, black and white".

The Forum and the UDF follow, very broadly, the two main streams that have emerged in black political philosophy in the past few years — black consciousness and non-racial socialism as represented by the Freedom Charter.

At the same time, these national movements have seen a blurring of some differences that have driven blacks into the two, often opposing, camps in the past. Today both movements are playing down their differences which seem to centre on the role of whites in the process of "liberation".

It was incorrect to link the UDF directly to the Charter, Mr Manuel said yesterday. The main thing was to link all truly democratic organisations working against the Government.

At the same time Dr Neville Alexander, a former Robben Island prisoner, told the National Forum conference: "There are many among the whites who are committed to the ideal of liberation and who are prepared to make sacrifices. They must be allowed to play a part in the struggle — but the leadership of the struggle must remain with the black working class."

By Jo-Anne Collinge  
The first of the "reform era" trio of Koornhof laws — the Black Local Authorities Act — came into operation this week.

Already it has attracted new participants in the official system of local politics, who are preparing to contest elections later this year.

Equally, it has drawn together a range of organisations committed to an all-out campaign for a boycott of the new institutions.

The participants argue a politics of pragmatism — a piecemeal approach to change. The opponents, who include the organisations of the United Democratic Front, insist that municipal matters are but one element in the grand design of apartheid.

They link the Koornhof laws to the debate on the constitution, and insist the issue is full representation for all in the central institutions of government.

### ECONOMIC ILLS

Without conceding on principle, the critics of the law also get down to arguing the nuts-and-bolts of the scheme — and this boils down to questions of finance and control.

In announcing his decision to fight elections under the new scheme last week, the Rev Sam Buti, of the Save Alexandra Party, declared that he would be going for "a fully-fledged municipality, legal in all respects, and comparable to any white municipality — or nothing else".

He portrayed this as the solution to the economic ills of the township.

The African League, a newcomer to the political scene, has made it clear that it sees local authority control as a vital element in the economic development of black urban areas. Conceived as a black business organisation, the African League has entered the fray of local politics as a civic means to an economic end.

But the boycott proponents regard these arguments as cart-before-the-horse. The local authorities have to be financially viable, they insist, before they can contribute to the upliftment of the area in general.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, which is a member of the Anti-Community Council movement, says the prerequisites for healthy local authorities in the townships are:

- An adequate base of rateable property held by freehold title.
- Substantial industrial and commercial presence.

# New municipality law the pros and cons are lining up

Jan 2/8/83 (11A)

● Heavy subsidisation of development of infrastructure.

● Diversion of rates from cities to their dormitory townships.

Dr Motlana argues that Sowetans have contributed to the development of Johannesburg not only in "sweat equity" but by spending heavily in the city.

"It is estimated 50 percent of the Central Business District income is from Soweto," he says. "Our people are helping pave the streets of Parktown."

He regards it as a curious reversal of practices elsewhere.

"In most civilised countries it is assumed the wealthy give the poor a leg up. Look at the aid programmes for depressed municipalities in Britain, for instance."

He also speaks bitterly of the injustice of blacks footing the bill for the development backlog arising from the Nationalist view that blacks are temporary sojourners in the cities. Paying belatedly, and at much higher rates, for electricity and adequate drainage was an "unbearable burden".

### BUDGET SHORTFALL

The new Act concerns itself mainly with the structures and procedures of local councils and speaks little of finance. There are indications that the income of the new authorities would be little different from that of the present community councils — based on residential rentals and service charges.

There is also the provision that debts and assets of the present councils will be assumed by the new authorities.

For the Soweto townships this does not bode well. The Soweto Council budgeted for a loss of R13,2 million during 1983/4 on an operating budget of R66,1 million. The "baby" of the Greater Soweto family, Dobsonville, will fall R1,3 million short on a R6 million budget.

Alexandra Township is likely to break even in the coming financial year, says the regional manager of the West Rand Administration Board, Mr Gert Steyn.

... 1980 against the ...

**'Support  
for  
UDF  
in Natal'**

11A

Mercury Reporter

THERE was encouraging support for the newly formed Natal regional branch of the United Democratic Front, a movement committed to fighting for a 'united, non-racial South Africa', Prof Jerry Coovadia, branch chairman, said yesterday.

The UDF, representing black, coloured and Indian community organisations, will be officially launched as a national movement in Cape Town on August 20.

Several black and Indian leaders met in Johannesburg at the weekend to complete arrangements for the establishment of a movement which is broadly based on the principles of the Freedom Charter — a document adopted by anti-apartheid activists in 1955 and embodying a redistribution of wealth and political power in South Africa.

In Natal Mr Archie Gumede has been elected president with Prof Coovadia as chairman and Mr Virgil Bonhomme as vice-chairman.

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# Hendrickse and MP fight coloured removals

**Mall Correspondent**

**PORT ELIZABETH** — The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, says the removal of people from Willowdene, an isolated coloured area in "white" Port Elizabeth, is evil.

In an interview yesterday Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party had fought removals from Willowdene since 1969 and was continuing the battle at ministerial level.

Mr Hendrickse said the housing shortage was so urgent that to move people from houses and demolish the houses, even if they were inadequate, was evil.

A spokesman for the department of Community Development said yesterday that the Minister, Mr Pen Kotze, had refused a call from the MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess, to place a moratorium on the demolition of the 219 houses, the last coloured enclave in the city's white group area.

Demolition of the houses began in 1980, but was halted in 1982 on the recommendation of the then Director of Housing, Mr D J Cleary, when it became apparent that no funds for new housing projects would become available for at least three years.

Later, when the council was poised to go ahead with repairs to the electrical wiring of the houses, the Department of Community Development halted this. Since then the department has refused permission for the work to go ahead irrespective of the source of finance.

Mr Malcomess said he would not give up the fight against the demolition of more than 200 houses in the face of the housing shortage in the city. He would seek an interview with Mr Kotze during the special parliamentary session starting next week.

"The Minister's decision is reminiscent of District Six in Cape Town, with the big difference that it is taking place in 1983 against the back-

ground of the Government's new dispensation which will give coloured people a seat in Parliament.

"Despite this they are apparently not acceptable as neighbours adjacent to a white urban area."

Mr Malcomess said that at present about 4 000 to 6 000 families needed houses.

"People are going to be uprooted whether they like it or not and as a result they will have to pay more rent and spend more on transport," said Mr Malcomess.

Willowdene was built as a housing scheme for coloured people in the 1950s. In 1969 the area was included in the white group area of the city and since then has been scheduled for demolition.

In 1979 in spite of opposition from the coloured management committee the council's community services committee decided to demolish the houses as they fell vacant, as the National Housing Commission had instructed it to do.



# Pretoria blast killed bombers

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shortly after the blast and the detentions were instrumental in expediting the investigation.

Teams from the Security Branch, the CID, the Counter-Insurgency Unit and the South African Criminal Bureau took part in the probe.

The scientific contributions of the Forensic Science Laboratory under the command of Major-General K P Neethling enabled the investigating team to complete the reconstruction of events.

Other facts mentioned are:

- The vehicle in which the bomb exploded was a cream 1982 model Colt Galant which was stolen on June 19 last year from private premises in Edenvale.

- The engine number of the car was obliterated by an electric grinder in Mamelodi on the morning of May 20 — the day of the blast — and police have taken possession of the grinder.

- Only one man was in the car when it was parked in front of the Nedbank Centre. The

bomb exploded before he could leave it.

- His assistant arrived in a second car and took up position in Church Street opposite the car bomb, presumably to check whether everything was in order.

- Their plan was to detonate the bomb by remote control when conditions were favourable. A technical fault caused the bomb to explode prematurely, killing the driver of the car instantly. His assistant, who was standing on the northern curb of Church Street, was seriously injured in

the lower half of his body and was dead on arrival at hospital.

- The combi was found parked in Schubart Street after the blast. Clothes belonging to the dead driver of the Colt were found in the combi and it was obvious that it was to be used as the get-away vehicle.

- R3 000 was found in the house of the owner of the combi and "information indicated that the money had been paid to the deceased by the ANC to carry out this dastardly act".

Many pieces of body found at the scene of the blast were used in the investigation which helped to prove that two people were responsible for the blast.

About 50 kg of military explosives of unknown origin and a quantity of shrapnel was used in the construction of the explosive device.

A forensic investigation identified human remains and debris. After a study of the whole scene, there was a strong possibility that there was at least one person in the immediate vicinity of the explosion who disintegrated almost completely.

Serological (serum) examinations of human remains showed the presence of blood groups O and MN which indicated that one person was possibly in the vehicle during the explosion.

According to the police statement: "Information received during investigation confirmed previous intelligence that terrorists are recruited more and more from the ranks of the criminal element. After a short training course they are made available for the actual execution of terrorist acts."

The statement added that the investigation was continuing and a post-mortem examination would be held soon. Information which had led to the success of the investigation so far had been obtained from black members of the community who approached the police of their own accord.

General Steenkamp said the South African Police wished to thank the public for their self-control.



**Own Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Brilliant police detective work has identified the bombers in the Pretoria car-bomb blast in May as two convicted Reef criminals recruited by the African National Congress, which had provided them with R3 000.



**Joe Slovo ...**  
named as the  
mastermind of the  
Pretoria blast.

Police forensic experts matched together tissue and bone recovered at the scene of the blast in their painstaking identity analysis lasting more than a month.

Disclosing for the first time details of the investigation into South Africa's worst terror attack, the chief of the security police, Major-General Frans Steenkamp, said yesterday that:

● The ANC is recruiting criminals to carry out acts of urban terror throughout the country. The recruits are given short periods of training in neighbouring States.

● Several people have been arrested by security police in connection with the Pretoria blast and other terrorist ac-

tivities, and are still being held.

● The exiled leader of the South African Communist Party, Joe Slovo — based in Maputo — was the mastermind behind the Pretoria blast.

● One of the terrorists virtually disintegrated in the blast. Parts of his body were flung out of the car, while his fellow terrorist, who was standing across the road, was cut down by shards of glass and died on the way to hospital.

● Terrorists launched a rocket attack on the Sasol oil refinery at Secunda just two weeks

ago, before fleeing back to Swaziland. And at least one of these terrorists was involved in the rocket attack on Voortrekkerhoogte Military base in August 1981.

● Two more hired ANC "mercenaries" died in bomb blasts early this year. And a number of bombs — planted at various government buildings, including courts — were found by police before they were detonated.

● ANC "mercenaries" were also responsible for the bombing of the Koeberg nuclear power station.

The police operation to identify the culprits began within minutes of the Pretoria blast. Police combed the area in which 19 people died and 217 were injured, collecting human remains and debris.

### Gruesome

Then, in a gruesome matching process, detectives, headed by Major-General Lothar Neethling of the South African Police Forensic Bureau, literally pieced together the evidence.

Fragments of the shattered body of the terrorist in the car were found up to 140m apart. First, police found a kombi

parked in nearby Schubarb street. Inside they found a remote control radio with which the bombers had planned to detonate the bomb.

In the kombi they discovered clothing belonging to the as-yet-unidentified driver of the bomb-car. They also lifted fingerprints in the kombi and matched them with the prints of a known convicted burglar — an expert safecracker.

This gave police the identity of one of the bombers. His body was found in the mortuary and detectives were able at this stage to put together a picture of how the bombing had been planned.

At his home, police discovered the R3 000 and had information that the ANC had paid this to the two men.

This led them to another Mamelodi house where they found an angle grinder ... and traces of metal filings from the car engine were found on the grinder.

The car had been stolen on the East Rand in June 1982, 11 months before the blast.

Establishing the identity of the second man was far more difficult, and it was here that the

forensic work eventually paid off.

The remains of a spinal column found in an open piece of ground close to the scene was matched with tissue found 100m away at Corner House.

Blood tests of these and several other pieces of tissue and bone fragments contained the bloodgroups O and MN.

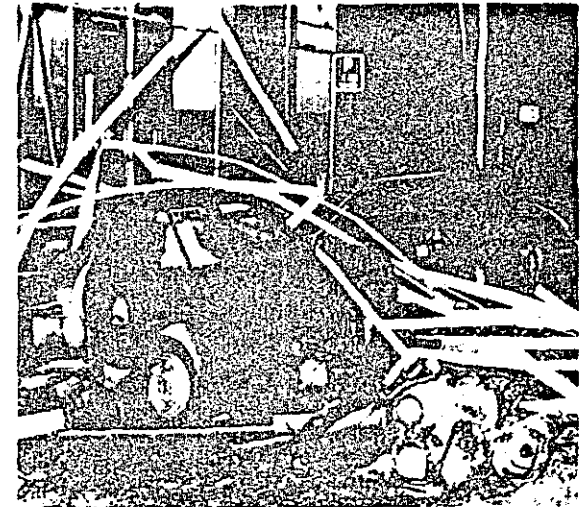
This matched the known blood-groups of the two men involved in the bombing — the blood-groups being known because both had criminal records.

Police also found the upper portion of a pair of men's light-coloured trousers in the debris of the car.

A brown snakeskin-type belt was attached to the trousers and people who had seen the driver of the bomb-car in Mamelodi identified the clothing as those which had been worn by the man.

The two saboteurs both visited Swaziland shortly before the blast and were in contact with the ANC during their visit there.

The names of the two men could not be released at this stage as the police investigation had not yet been "finalised".



**Flashback:** Part of the wreckage after the blast in May this year. On the ground is an engine which was ripped from a car parked near the scene of the explosion.

## Owner of get-away car can't be reached

**Own Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Mr J C Sabatier, the Edenvale company representative whose white Colt Galant was stolen on June 19 last year and used in the terror blast as a get-away car, could not be reached last night.

His daughter, Miss Carol Sabatier, said he was travelling and would be back only on Friday.

Mrs Sabatier declined to be interviewed saying: "I am not talking to the press," before putting the phone down.

Their car was found abandoned in Mamelodi township after the blast.

# Muslims told it's a matter of conscience

11A

3/2/83

Mercury

Mercury Reporter

THE Jamiatul-Ulema of Natal, a committee of Muslim theologians, has come out against the Government's constitutional proposals, describing them as un-Islamic.

But some Muslims yesterday said the Jamiat had left the door open for politicians to participate in the planned new politi-

cal dispensation should they consider this wise.

'We feel it must be a matter of conscience,' a senior Jamiat spokesman said yesterday when approached for further comment.

In a carefully worded Press statement the Jamiat earlier had urged South Africans to turn to prayer for 'wisdom to ne-

gotiate a just and peaceful solution' to problems facing the country.

The spokesman said that in the light of the Koran and the Prophet's guidance, the constitutional proposals were unacceptable as they violated the principles of Islam because they entrenched apartheid.

'The Jamiatul-Ulema is unequivocally committed to the principles of Islam and accordingly opposes any violation or disregard of these principles.

'The proposed constitutional dispensation, in spite of being an attempt to accommodate the ever-growing demands for political participation, represents a perpetuation of the existing system,' he said.

But he added that the Jamiat was not making a pronouncement on whether Muslims should participate in the new set-up.

As Muslims were a minority group it had been left to politicians to decide if it would be in the best interests of the community to take part.

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# Ngoyi to be honoured

3/8/83

(11A)

By ZWELAKHE SISULU

**THE TOMBSTONE** of the legendary president of the banned African National Congress Women's League, Lillian Ngoyi, will be unveiled on August 14 and several events have been organised to coincide with the unveiling.

The unveiling of Mrs Ngoyi's tombstone will be part of a week's programme organised by the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) to mark the march by 20 000 women to the Pretoria Union Buildings to protest against the pass laws.

The organisation will have a Focus Week starting on August 7 and ending with the unveil-

ing on August 14.

A photographic exhibition of the women's march and a discussion on the Women's Charter will be some of the highlights.

A Women's Day commemoration service will be held at Glyn Thomas at 7.30 pm on August 9 and a paper on the Women's Charter in perspective will be delivered at the YWCA at 7.30 pm on August 10.

A statement issued by Fedsaw highlighted the plight of women under the pass laws.

"In South Africa women do not have what is considered basic rights throughout the world; the right to live with their husbands and



**LILLIAN NGOYI: Tombstone to be unveiled.**

lead a normal family life," the statement said.

Women were used as a pool of labour with limited education and skills and forced into taking menial jobs.

Women, the statement added, were also subjected to various forms of discrimination. "Besides racial discrimination African women in South Africa are subjected to a system of sexual domination which is reflected in many institutions," it read.

# ANC <sup>112</sup> activist gets <sup>CAPE TIMES</sup> 1 year <sup>3/8/83</sup>

By RONALD MORRIS

HEADLEY Moses King was sentenced in the Paarl Regional Court yesterday to an effective 12 months' imprisonment for taking part in activities of the African National Congress.

Mr A J Burger sentenced King to 18 months, but suspended six months for four years on condition that he does not contravene Section 13 of the Internal Security Act again.

Mr Burger found that King, 27, of Gross Street, Athlone, participated in the activities of the ANC by receiving documents and money, submitting reports on the Cape to the ANC and "introducing" a Mr Michael Benjamin Coetzee to the ANC.

The State alleged that from September to December 1982, at or near Cape Town or Maseru, Lesotho, King attended ANC meetings and tried to recruit members.

He previously pleaded not guilty.

## 'Mercy'

Passing sentence in a courtroom packed with friends, relatives, and policemen, Mr Burger said: "It is not the aim of the courts to destroy a person, but to show mercy.

"His conduct should be seen in the atmosphere of youthful idealism. He is the product of the prevailing circumstances and the living conditions of other people.

"There has been evidence that his conduct was only the tip of an iceberg in the intricate machinery of the ANC. He played a minor role, but the end result could have been the horror — such as the Pretoria bomb blast — which hacks at the fibres of a civilized society.

"One must, however, guard against seeing the accused as the personification of the ANC's militancy."

Mr R B Rorich appeared for the State. Mr A M Omar instructed by Mr R Vassen, of Omar Vassen, Abercrombie, Sonn and Co appeared for King.

# Statements valid in terrorism trial

ZWELITSHA — Pre-trial statements by three accused in a terrorism case had been made voluntarily and were admissible as evidence, the Ciskei Supreme Court in Zwelitsha ruled yesterday.

Mr Justice D S de Wet gave the ruling after defence counsel claimed that the statements by Mr William Duna, 31, Mr Dumisani Maninjwa, 31, and Mr Luyanda Mayekiso, 33, had not been voluntary.

They and Mr Bayi Keye, 32, have pleaded not guilty to charges of taking part in terrorist activities, being members of the banned ANC, recruiting people to undergo

military training in Lesotho and being in possession of banned literature.

Mr Justice De Wet said Mr Duna was evasive when questioned.

He denied that some questions were put to him by the magistrate during the taking down of the confessions. "Both magistrate and court interpreter gave evidence to this effect and I accept their evidence as true."

The judge said Mr Maninjwa's evidence was vague under cross-examination, and Mr Mayekiso was an unsatisfactory witness.

Judgement will be passed today. — Sapa.

# to ANC hit

By CHRIS OLCKERS

**AN EXTRAORDINARY** story of elaborate police detective work has identified the Pretoria saboteurs as two convicted Reef criminals recruited by the African National Congress and paid R3 000 for the terror blast.

Police forensic experts matched together tissue and bone recovered at the scene of the car bomb blast in their painstaking identity analysis lasting more than a month.

Disclosing details for the first time of the investigation into South Africa's worst terror attack, Chief of Security Police, Major-General Frans Steenkamp, revealed yesterday that:

●The ANC is recruiting criminals to carry out acts of urban terrorism throughout the country. Recruits are given short periods of training in neighbouring states before being dispatched by white organisers of the sabotage missions;

●Several people have been arrested by Security Police in connection with the Pretoria blast and other terrorist activities, and are still being held. The exiled leader of the South African Communist Party, Joe Slovo — based in Maputo — was named as the mastermind of the Pretoria blast;

●One of the terrorists virtually disintegrated in the blast. Parts of his body were flung out of the car while the other saboteur, who was standing across the road, was lacerated by shards of glass and debris, and died on his way to hospital;

●Terrorists launched a rocket attack on the Sasol oil refinery at Secunda just two weeks ago before fleeing back to Swaziland. At least one of these terrorists was involved in the rocket attack on Voortrekkerhoogte Military base in August '81; and

●Two more hired ANC "mercenaries" died in bomb blasts early this year. A number of bombs — planted at various Government buildings, including courts — were found by police before they were detonated. ANC "mercenaries" were also responsible for the bombing of the K-Most nuclear power station in the Cape.

Police investigations began within minutes of the blast. Police combed the area, in which 19 people died and 217 were injured, collecting human remains and debris.

Then, in a remarkable matching-up process, detectives, headed by Major-General Dr Lothar Neethling of the SAP Forensic Bureau, literally pieced together the evidence.

First, police found a Kombi parked in nearby Schubart Street. Inside they discovered a remote control radio with which the bombers had planned to detonate the car bomb.

In the Kombi they also discovered clothing belonging to the as-yet-unidentified driver of the car in which the bomb was placed. They also lifted fingerprints in the Kombi and matched them with the prints of a known convicted burglar — an expert safe-breaker.

This gave police the identity of one of the saboteurs. His body was found in the Pretoria mortuary and detectives were able at this stage to reconstruct how the bombing had been planned.

At the dead man's home police discovered the R3 000 which the ANC had allegedly paid to the two men involved. This led police to an axle grinder... and traces of metal filings from the car engine were found on the grinder.

The car had been stolen on the East Rand in June '82 — 11 months before the blast.

Establishing the identity of

Mail Reporter

**THE ANC "mercenaries" had planned to detonate the Pretoria car bomb from a safe distance by way of a remote-controlled radio device.**

The 50kg-bomb exploded prematurely and police later recovered the device from a van parked around the corner from the scene

of the second man was far more difficult, and it was here that complicated forensic work eventually paid off.

The remains of a spinal column found in an open piece of ground close to the scene was matched with tissue found 100m away at Corner House.

Then it was discovered that three pieces of skull, and tissue found in Church Street West matched tissue taken from the roof of the K-Most building.

Blood tests of these and several other pieces of tissue and bone fragments contained the bloodgroups O and MN.

This matched the known

of the blast, in which the men had planned to make their getaway.

They had also planned to explode the killer bomb once Air Force staff personnel had left Poynton Building, and if they had succeeded scores more would have been killed.

But their inexperience led to their deaths.



Pretoria, May 20... police sift through the wreckage of the terror blast in Church Street.

## Death came by remote controlled

Experts said yesterday the device, which police claim had been set on an extremely sensitive wavelength, could have been detonated by virtually any interference.

"The car bomb could have exploded anywhere, anytime. A radio signal from an ambulance, taxi or even a bleeper could have caused

the radio to detonate the

When police doors were still in were never many other ton Building, on May 20

bloodgroups of the two men involved in the bombing — the bloodgroups being known because both had criminal records.

Police also found the upper portion of a pair of light coloured trousers in the debris of the car.

A brown snakeskin-type belt was attached to the trousers and blacks who had seen the driver of the car in Mamelodi identified the clothing as that worn by the dead man.

Gen Steenkamp said the police investigation into the blast was continuing.

"The information received, which has led to the success of the investigation so far,

has been obtained from black members of the community, who approached the police with information on their own accord," he added.

There was no evidence, however, that the Palestinian Liberation Organisation had been directly involved in the attack — as had been suggested — although it was a well-known fact that ANC terrorists were trained and advised by the PLO, he said.

He also disclosed that no whites had been detained in connection with the blast.

The two saboteurs both visited Swaziland shortly before the blast and were in contact with the ANC during their visit there.

"One of the deceased returned to South Africa only three days prior to the bomb blast.

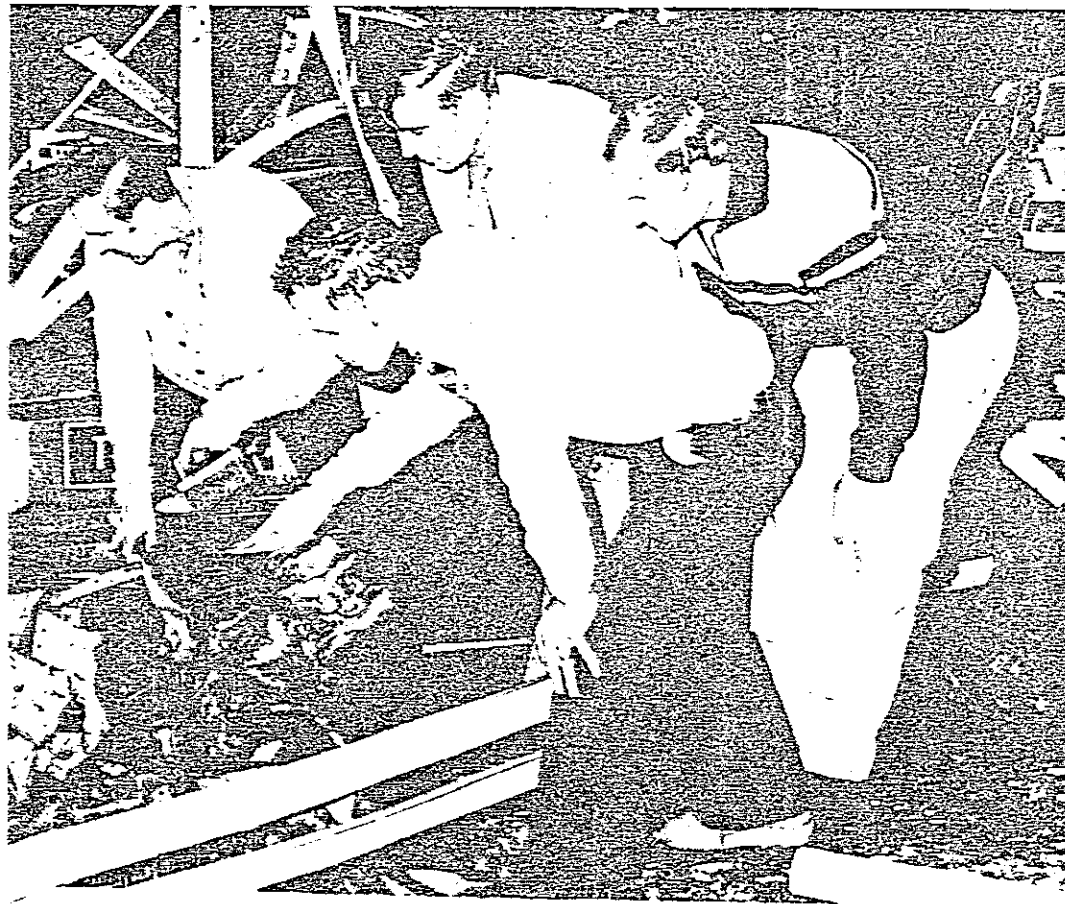
"Proof has also been found that both deceased had contact with ANC members in Maputo and Swaziland, and with the ANC terrorists who were involved with the planning and execution of the assassination of Warrant Officer Flip Selepe on November 7, 1982, the attack on Voortrekkerhoogte on August 12, 1981, and the attack on Sasol 3 at Secunda on July 20 this year.

Both were members of a safe-breaking gang and had previous criminal convictions.

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# Injured killers



terror blast in Church Street West in which 19 people died and 217 were injured.

## Controlled device

the de- the radio to send out the signal to  
ad been detonate the charge," one expert  
itive wa- said.  
detonat-  
ference.

When police found the van, it's  
doors were still open and the radio  
was still inside, but it's passengers  
were never to come back — like the  
many other victims who left Poynton  
Building shortly before 4.21pm  
on May 20 this year.

the deceased re-  
South Africa only  
prior to the bomb

Their names could not be  
released at this stage, as the  
police investigation into the  
blast had not yet been  
"finalised."

as also been found  
deceased had con-  
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● See Page 2

# Doubts that ANC used hired killers

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE police statement on the use of criminals by the outlawed African National Congress in the Pretoria terror bomb attack was yesterday regarded with scepticism by Mr Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, but considered plausible by a usually well-informed foreign observer.

Mr Lodge, who has made a detailed study of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress and who has given evidence as an expert witness in security trials, was reacting to the statement by Major-General Francois Steenkamp, Chief of the Security Police, that the terror bomb was placed by two members of a safe-breaking gang.

"Information which came to light during the investigation confirmed previous intelligence that terrorists are recruited more and more from the ranks of the criminal element," General Steenkamp said.

"After a short training course they are then made available for the actual execution of terrorist acts."

The police investigation was a team effort involving the Security Police, the CID, the Counter-Insurgency Unit, the SA Criminal Bureau and the Forensic Science Laboratory, General Steenkamp added.

But Mr Lodge said of the struggle between the Security Forces and the ANC: "In a conflict of this nature, any objective analysis should be very cautious of propaganda generated by both sides."

He found it "unlikely" that the ANC would recruit criminals, given its access, as previous police statements have made clear, to highly-trained and highly-motivated insurgents in its camps.

It made no sense, he contended, to use criminals for a terror attack when there were men specially trained in insurgency, assassination and terror (in the Soviet Union, East Germany and Angola, according to the Rabie Commission).

He said General Steenkamp's statement conflicted with earlier expositions by top police officers of ANC methods, which, according to police accounts, involved sending in small specialist units to fulfil specific tasks, including information-gathering on the target, hiding of arms and explosives and execution of the attack.

"Police have previously suggested tasks (set by the ANC commanders) are carefully graded and then entrusted to people with specialised training," Mr Lodge added.

Gen Steenkamp told newsmen that R3 000 had been found in the home of one of the criminals who, he said, died when the car-bomb they were assigned to plant exploded prematurely.

Gen Steenkamp added: "Information indicates that the money had been paid to the deceased by the ANC to carry out this dastardly act."

Mr Lodge commented: "If the men were safebreakers it is reasonable to assume that the money came from safebreaking."

A foreign observer said, however, he found the police report on the use of hired criminals credible.

Commenting on the Pretoria bomb blast, in which 19 people were killed and more than 215 injured, he said: "It didn't fit the pattern of previous ANC attacks. It was more like a hired gun operation. It was consistent with that."

A European intelligence agency was at one time even convinced that the ANC had gone to Europe to get professional hitmen for the attack, he continued.

He had no reason to question the police statement and had admiration for their competence. "They did a pretty good job. When you crack this sort of thing in so short a time it is pretty good."

But, he said, the police statement about the use of hired criminals by the ANC had important implications.

"It calls into question the belief that the ANC has a lot of highly trained and motivated recruits at its disposal. It may mean that the ANC is weaker than Pretoria says it is and that the total onslaught is weaker than it is said to be."

In an apparent reference to South Africa's raids into neighbouring countries which host ANC cadres, he said: "It means that the South African Government is not in so much trouble that it has to be nasty. It can afford to play it cool."

General Steenkamp could not be contacted for comment yesterday, but he told SABC-TV last night that the ANC was holding back its best men and using criminals for gruesome attacks because criminals were conscienceless.

# ANC reject association with bomb hitmen

# POLICE CLAIM DENIED



HEADER: Maponyar

THE African National Congress yesterday denied that two people killed in the Pretoria bomb blast were ANC members, or that they were hired criminals assigned to carry out the task.

At a Press conference in Pretoria on Tuesday, the South African Police said two criminals with known ANC connections were responsible for the blast and that they had died in the explosion.

In a statement from its headquarters in Lusaka, the ANC vehemently denied that the two men were in any way connected to the organisation.

Speculation had been that the ANC was hiring criminal hitmen so as to preserve its members for more dangerous assignments.

As more facts emerge about the explosion, it is now thought that the remote control device that triggered it could have been activated prematurely by any radio waves in the area.

According to Sapa the chief of the Security Police, Major-General Eric Stuur, the

## OWN CORRESPONDENT

vice was set on a very sensitive wavelength and could have been triggered by any police radio, ambulance or even a bleeper in the area.

Investigating teams, however, could not pinpoint the cause of the explosion.

It has been speculated that the microbus in which the remote control device was found was going to be used as a getaway vehicle.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le

Grange, said he was satisfied with the investigations conducted by the police. "I am proud to be a member of their team," he said.

Meanwhile Professor Willem Kleynhans, head of the political department at the University of South Africa (Unisa) has warned that acts of "terrorism" in South Africa will escalate.

"As long as blacks are not included in the decision-making process of the country, acts of terrorism will continue to

increase," Prof Kleynhans said.

He added: "If ample opportunities are not created for blacks to have a meaningful say in the political running of the country, then we should prepare ourselves for radical movements escalating urban attacks and protest among those without proper political power."

Whether the ANC used criminals or not was irrelevant: "The root causes leading to these sabotage attacks are political," said Prof Kleynhans.

## Wrab to abide by ruling

By SAM MABE *343* *260*

THE WEST Rand Administration Board announced yesterday that it was going to implement the Rikhotso Supreme Court ruling which gives qualifying migrant workers the rights to live permanently in urban areas.

At a Press conference held in Johannesburg, Mr John Knoetze, said he was perturbed by insinuations by "certain

*Sowetan 4/8/83*  
are anxious to carry it out." He refuted reports that some workers had been turned back by Wrab officials who said they could only attend to 100 people a day.

A person who has worked continuously for one employer for a period of 10 years in the prescribed area, despite the fact that he returns to his employer on the call-in card system on a yearly basis, complies with the provisions of

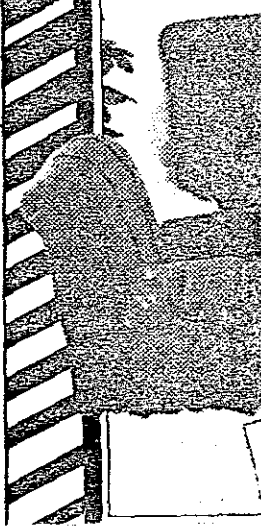
were entitled to the rights if the qualifying periods ended after the dates of "independence" of these states, as certain provisions in the Urban Areas Act appear to negate this.

Mr Knoetze also said that applications from such workers were processed and kept on record until clarity is obtained from Pretoria.

He said that so far endorsements to remain in the urban areas have

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# CLAIM DENIED

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According to Sapa the chief of the Security Police, Major-General Frans Steenkamp, said a remote control device was found in a microbus parked near a car.

General Steenkamp said it had been established that the radio de-

## OWN CORRESPONDENT

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*343*  
By SAM MABE *Sowetan 4/8/88*  
*266*

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At a Press conference held in Johannesburg, Mr John Knoetze, said he was perturbed by insinuations by "certain organisations" that Wrab was dragging its feet in implementing the ruling.

He said the Supreme Court's decision was law. "We accept it and

are anxious to carry it out." He refuted reports that some workers had been turned back by Wrab officials who said they could only attend to 100 people a day.

A person who has worked continuously for one employer for a period of 10 years in the prescribed area, despite the fact that he returns to his employer on the call-in card system on a yearly basis, complies with the provisions of Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act.

He said Pretoria had been asked for a ruling in respect of whether workers from the four "independent states"

were entitled to the rights if the qualifying periods ended after the dates of "independence" of these states, as certain provisions in the Urban Areas Act appear to negate this.

Mr Knoetze also said that applications from such workers were processed and kept on record until clarity is obtained from Pretoria.

He said that so far endorsements to remain in the urban areas have been granted to 2 355 workers employed in Wrab's area of jurisdiction and that in the Johannesburg office, 130 cases were being dealt with per day.

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Long Wait  
— PAGE 6

INSIDE TODAY  
Spot ball winner  
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(11A) August  
1983

# AZASO

## TRIBUTE TO WOMEN



Helen Joseph and Dora Tamana

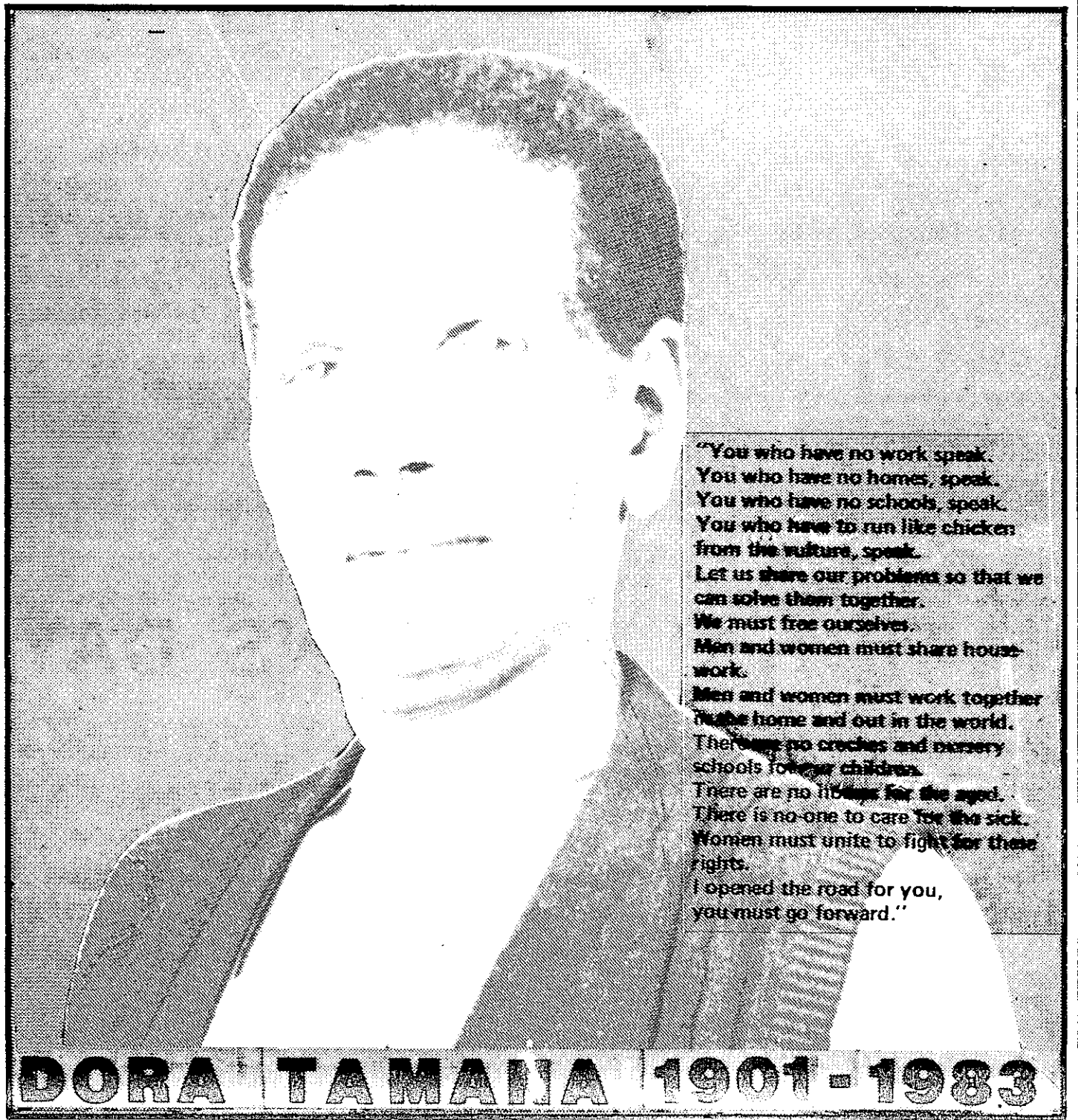
"Exploitative society promotes the ideology, culture and education that serves its interests. It does so with women, just as it does with colonised society. All are deliberately kept in ignorance with a view to making them resigned to their position, of instilling in them an attitude of passivity and servility".

SAMORA MACHEL

azaso

# HAMBA KAKUHLE QABANE

## FAREWELL COMRADE DORA



"You who have no work, speak.  
You who have no homes, speak.  
You who have no schools, speak.  
You who have to run like chickens  
from the vultures, speak.  
Let us share our problems so that we  
can solve them together.  
We must free ourselves.  
Men and women must share house-  
work.  
Men and women must work together  
in the home and out in the world.  
There are no crèches and nursery  
schools for our children.  
There are no hospitals for the aged.  
There is no one to care for the sick.  
Women must unite to fight for these  
rights.  
I opened the road for you,  
you must go forward."

DORA TAMALIA 1901-1983

# Women focus on their lot

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MOM  
4/8/83  
By ANTON HARBER  
Political Reporter

THE Federation of South African Women is to hold a series of meetings as part of a "Focus on Women" week, climaxing in the commemoration of National Women's Day next Tuesday.

National Women's Day is the anniversary of the day in 1956 when 20 000 women from all over South Africa marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria to present a petition to the Prime Minister.

The petition opposed the pass laws, which were being applied for the first time to women as well as men.

The main meeting will be held on Sunday and will be addressed by the president of the FSAW, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, as well as Mr Curtis Nkondo and Ms Zinzi Mandela.

The meeting, according to a statement issued by the FSAW, will focus on forced removals, health problems, child care, pass laws, maternity leave, wages and the effect of the Rikhotso judgment on women in rural areas.

The meeting, to be held at the Dube YWCA at 12.30pm, will also look at the Women's Charter, a document adopted in 1956 at the same time as the Freedom Charter.

Next Tuesday, veteran women's leader Mrs Helen Joseph will address a meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand and an FSAW meeting will be held in the evening at Glenn Thomas House, Baragwanath Hospital.

On Wednesday at 7pm, Mrs Sisulu will address a meeting at the Dube YWCA focusing on the Women's Charter. Ms Amanda Kwadi, a prominent FSAW leader, will speak at Wits University on next Thursday.

Cape Times 2/18/63 (114) The Ca

# 'Mailed threats': Man's bail estreated

Staff Reporter

BAIL of R300 for a Woodstock community worker, Mohammed Cloete, was yesterday finally estreated after he failed to appear before a Cape Town Regional Court to face charges involving the alleged posting of threatening letters to security policemen.

Mr Cloete, of Duke Street, allegedly contravened section 27/2 (b) of

Act 7 of 1958 by sending threatening letters to certain Cape Town security policemen in December last year.

In previous court appearances, Mr Cloete said he was a community worker for the Church Urban Planning Commission and had been employed by them for 18 months when he was arrested while working on a project near Crossroads.



11A 100M 4/8/83

# Azapo wants end to inter-group friction

**Political Reporter**  
THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has committed itself to "creating a climate conducive to reducing friction among organisations of the oppressed".

This, coming the day after the United Democratic Front appealed to other organisations to join it for the sake of unity, may signify an improvement in relations between the two major black opposition groups.

The two groups — broadly defined as supporters of black consciousness and supporters of the Freedom Charter — have held talks recently and these are expected to continue.

On Monday, UDF leaders said at a Press conference they were not a "Charterist" organisation and appealed to all those who subscribed to their broad declaration of principles to join them.

Reacting to this yesterday,

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, publicity secretary of Azapo, confirmed that they had held a formal meeting with UDF leaders.

Azapo, the leading exponent of black consciousness, was waiting for the UDF leaders to come back to them for further talks. The last round of talks have been delayed.

Mr Mkhabela said Azapo would be bound by its commitment to reduce friction between the groups, whatever the outcome of the talks.

"We won't go around trying to score points off them. The ideal for which we strive is more important than some people would like it to be," he said.

Azapo is a member of the National Forum (NF), a body that brought together mainly black consciousness groups and which was launched at roughly the same time as the UDF.

# ANC rejects blast claims

*CAME Times 4/8/83*

From JOHN BATTERSBY *114*

LONDON. — The African National Congress in a statement issued in Lusaka, has denied that "ANC mercenaries" were killed in the bomb blast which killed 19 people in Pretoria in May this year.

Responding to the South African Police claim that those involved in the May 20 attack were "hired ANC mercenaries" whose device exploded prematurely and killed them, the ANC statement said: "The SA Police and defence forces, continuing their psychological warfare, are once again peddling a blatant fabrication about the Umkhonto combatants in the May 20 Air Force HQ attack."

"Having failed to turn the South African people against the ANC by convincing them that the ANC are killing the oppressed, they now seek to convince us that the ANC is killing itself."

"We reiterate once more that those killed were essentially SAAF and military personnel, which might explain why some have to be passed off as 'ANC mercenaries' as the regime cannot publicly acknowledge their employment in its secret services," the statement said.

A spokesman for the ANC office in London said yesterday that it had not yet received the Lusaka statement but that it sounded authentic.

It was unlikely that the London office would add to the Lusaka statement, he said.

# Mandela is still a candidate, says lawyer

Own Correspondent

Star 4/8/83

DURBAN — Nelson Mandela has not turned down his nomination as chancellor of the University of Natal, his Johannesburg legal representative said today.

Mr Ismail Ayob said: "Through past experience, I know Nelson Mandela would have accepted the nomination."

He said he had told Maritzburg SRC president Mr Cormac Cullinan yesterday that Mr Mandela had not withdrawn his nomination.

Mr Cullinan had said that while the Maritzburg campus would stick with its nominee Dr Alan Paton, Mr Mandela was still a candidate as the Durban campus and the medical school had chosen him.

# Press given synopsis of closed hearing

## Pietermaritzburg Bureau

IN A surprise move yesterday, Pressmen at the trial of an alleged terrorist were given a synopsis of evidence given in camera by three State witnesses.

An order in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act has barred spectators and the Press from hearing any evidence in the trial of alleged terrorist, Mr Siphiwe Makhathini which started in the Supreme Court here this week.

Mr I Slabbert, the prosecutor, said the orders were made to protect the identities of his witnesses.

In making a formal application for the gist of the evidence to be released yesterday, defence counsel Gerald Alexander, SC, said: 'The Press is concerned about the lack of information from these proceedings. I have discussed this with Mr Slabbert and we ask you to change your ruling so that information can be given to the Press, respecting at all times the need to protect the identities of the witnesses.'

Mr Justice van Heerden authorised counsel to issue a written synopsis of the evidence, saying the intention of the in camera order had not been to place a veil of secrecy over the proceedings, but to protect the identities of the witnesses.

The statement read later to the Press said evidence had been led that the accused had arrived in Dar-es-Salaam in November 1977 as a member of the Pan African Congress. While there he had received instruction in dialectic materialism, historical materialism, and the works of Mao Tse-tung.

After the split in the PAC which followed the death of its leader, Mr Robert Sobukwe, he left the PAC and joined the ANC.

It was contended on behalf of the accused that

he arrived in Tanzania and received no training.

Evidence was also heard that the accused and an accomplice took up residence in a black township near Durban during April and May 1982.

It was claimed the men possessed machineguns of Czechoslovakian origin and explosives, and that they admitted to being members of the ANC who had entered South Africa.

According to evidence the accused and his accomplice were responsible for an explosion at the labour offices in Moodie Street in Pinetown in May 1982.

The same day the accused left for Durban in possession of what was described as a "cheese-like substance".

The following morning, a Saturday, there were reports in the Natal Mercury of two explosions the previous day — one of which was in Pinetown.

### Activities

'There was evidence to the effect that the bomb had been planted in Pinetown when the building was vacant.

'It was contended on behalf of the accused that he had no knowledge of his companion's plans or activities.'

Mr Makhathini, 26, from Kwa Mashu, is facing 18 counts relating to terrorist activities and three bomb blasts in the Durban area last year.

On Tuesday Mr Makhathini pleaded not guilty to 16 of these charges, but admitted having possessed a gun and ammunition without a permit.

He also admitted having been in Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique between 1977 and 1982, but said he had not undergone training of any sort.

The hearing resumes at 10 a m today.

By TONY WEAVER  
Mail Africa Bureau

**WINDHOEK** — Three South West Africa security policemen are being sued for a total of R148 000 following the death in detention of Mr Johannes Kakuva in August, 1980.

In June this year, Mr Justice Chris Mouton ruled that Mr Kakuva, a farmer from Kaokoland, be declared dead and that he had died while in Security Police custody.

The three policemen are Captain Patrick King, who was in charge of the Security Police Centre at the Kaokoland capital of Opuwa at the time of the detention, and Lieutenant Johannes Harmse and Sergeant Ruben Ipinge, both of whom were stationed in Opuwa at the time of Mr Kakuva's death.

Five people are suing the

# 5 sue SWA security policemen for death

policemen.

Mrs Urianga Kakuva, wife of the dead man, and her brother-in-law, Mr Wilpard Kakuva, are suing as joint guardians of the Kakuvas nine children.

Mr Kakuva is claiming R20 000 for loss of personal maintenance, and R45 000 for loss of maintenance for her children, while Mr Kakuva is claiming R45 000 for loss of maintenance for the children.

Mr Napeheri Ndereru, Mr Gustav Hao and Mr Petrus Mbaumba are jointly claim-

ing R38 000 because of their "unlawful detention" at the same time as Mr Kakuva, and for "pain, suffering and crimen injuria".

At the time of the original hearing Mr Justice Mouton criticised the manner in which the Security Police had handled their investigations and found they had assaulted seven of the detainees.

He also found that Mr Ndereru had been bound and then locked in a gas cylinder cubicle for six days.

Mr Ndereru told the court

in June that during the night he heard Mr Kakuva's screams fading away as he was being interrogated.

He said that later that night, while in the gas cylinder cubicle, Mr Kakuva's body was hurled into the cubicle on top of him.

The men were detained because the Security Police had alleged they were collaborating with Swapo guerrillas.

Mr Justice Mouton found at the time that "in all cases the information and reaction of the Security Police was unsatisfactory".

5 000 sign racial protes

Political Repo

MORE THAN 5 000 have signed a petition for integration in Berea and Joch...

One of the petitioners, Mr J H S...

said yesterday handed it to the Con Party MP for Jeppe van der Merwe. Measures were still co...

and they considered it a great success. "We just wanted clear no to integrat...

think we succeeded he said.

Mr Steenkamp said a friend organised tion in their person...

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we do not like the what is happening.

The petition w when a National P ber of Parliame member of the council suggested meeting that a Hillbrow buildin clared "coloured".

POLITICAL comment in the Mr Popoona, Michael St Michael Stern, mentions a Paul Marovitz cartoon by Dave Gaskett at the J...

# Unions likely to shun political ties

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN  
Labour Correspondent

**ATTEMPTS** by the United Democratic Front and other political groups to persuade major trade union groupings like the Federation of SA Trade Unions to join them seem set to fail.

The UDF revealed earlier this week that it had appointed a sub-committee to approach the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) and sound it out about joining the front.

Yesterday, Fosatu's general secretary, Mr Joe Foster, said it had received no approach from the UDF since it revealed its intention to woo Fosatu.

But he added that Cape Town emerging unions had already decided against joining any of the political and community groups which have emerged in the area. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that Fosatu or any of the major Cape-based unions would agree to join the UDF.

It is understood that the General Workers Union, the two food and canning workers unions and the Cape Municipal Workers Association have taken

the same stance as Fosatu on direct links with political and community groups.

The unions have instead launched their own independent efforts to rally members against the Government's constitutional proposals and Dr Piet Koorndorff's Orderly Movement of Black Persons Bill.

Despite the stance against direct union membership of these organisations, Mr Foster said Fosatu encouraged its members to support and join community organisations.

"But this a different matter to joining as an organisation and for some reason these bodies seem to prefer approaching unions rather than their members."

He said any approach by the UDF or other groups would have to be referred to Fosatu's central committee. "I am not the only person in Fosatu and all our decisions are taken on the basis of a democratic mandate," he said.

But he pointed to the decision by the Cape unions as an indicator of the likely response.

"In the Cape as well as nationally,

there are rival community and political groups and we obviously have members in both camps. So we could not join any of them without alienating a group of our members," he said.

One Cape union, he said, had decided to join the UDF, but had then been confronted with an angry response by members who belonged to a community organisation opposed to the UDF. It had then been forced to change its stance.

"It is this sort of situation which we are anxious to avoid," he said.

Mr Foster added that unions were also concerned about joining committees in which they would have to carry out the decisions of the committee, rather than of their members.

He said the unions' independent action against the constitutional proposals had taken the form of mass worker meetings organised by the unions.

Several of these had been held, he said, and had been a success. "As soon as union members have the details of the new constitution explained to them, they tend to reject them," he said.

# Three held for boy's ritual murder

**MBABANE** — A woman and two teenage boys have been arrested in northern Swaziland's Pigg's Peak area in connection with the ritual murder of a 15-year-old boy.

Bheki Dlamini was found

last Friday with his tongue and right eye removed.

The arrests were made after a 12-year-old boy is reported to have told police about his own part in the murder.

He said the woman tied Bheki up as he was eating, and the two boys then hammered two nails through his head. After removing his right eye and his tongue, the boy's body was dumped under a large rock. — Sapa.

# 'link with A racism'

mented by a fourth 'R' — 'racism'.

"In a strange kind of inverted litany, one speaker listed various kinds of 'racist' offences.

"Summing up, the headmaster gave an example of 'unconscious racism'. A teacher might say of a pupil, 'what does it matter if he's not so good with numbers? He has this wonderful sense of rhythm'.

"That," said the headmaster solemnly and sternly, "is racism.

"There is a link between the SA policeman and the English schoolmaster.

# Weather Mail

THE Weather Bureau's forecast for today. —

**TRANSVAAL:** — Fine and mild to warm but hot over the lowveld. It will become cold over the south-western parts.

**FREE STATE and CAPE north of the Orange:** — Fine and mild becoming partly cloudy and cold except over the northern Free State.

**CAPE south of the Orange:** — Cloudy and cold over the south-western parts with showers spreading to the southern parts. Snow-falls will occur over the south-western Cape mountains spreading to the southern and south-eastern Cape mountains. Over the rest of the province it will be partly cloudy and cold but mild in the east at first.

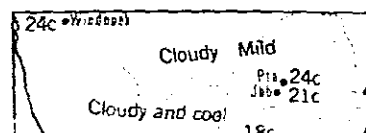
**NATAL:** — Fine and hot with berg winds becoming partly cloudy and colder over the southern parts.

**SOUTH WEST AFRICA:** — Fine and warm becoming colder over the southern parts.

**BOTSWANA:** — Fine and warm becoming colder over the southern parts. — Sapa.

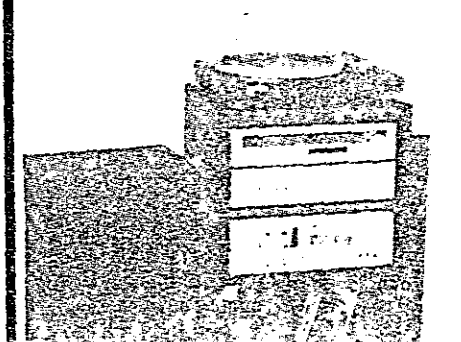
TEMPERATURES ARE CELSIUS MAXIMUMS EXPECTED FOR EACH CITY.

Rand Daily Mail  
Weather Station  
YESTERDAY, THURSDAY  
August 4, 1983  
Temperatures:  
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**HI-FI AMPLIFIERS**  
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**COMPLETE HI-FI SYSTEM**



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Police  
*CAPE TOWN 5/8/83*  
reject  
ANC  
denial

PRETORIA. — Police have rejected "with contempt" an African National Congress denial that two of its members were among those killed in the Pretoria car bomb blast on May 20 this year.

A senior security police spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday that the ANC had made the denial because they felt ashamed that they were using criminals to do their "dirty work".

In a statement issued in Lusaka on Wednesday, the congress denied that two ANC saboteurs were among the 19 people killed in the Pretoria blast.

They also denied that the saboteurs were convicted criminals hired to plant the bomb.

The head of the security police, Major-General Frans Steenkamp, said this week that the ANC was using people with criminal backgrounds in its sabotage attacks. — Sapa

● Pretoria car bomb:  
Men's relatives talk,  
page 2

Cape Times 5/18/83 (114) ~~887~~

# Pretoria car bomb: Men's relatives talk

**Own Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Relatives have said that as far as they were aware the taxi-driver accused by the police of having planted a car bomb which killed 19 people in Pretoria in May had no political affiliations.

The taxi-driver's niece — her uncle cannot be identified on the instructions of the police — said he was dedicated to his family and had no interest in politics.

She said her uncle left his home on the afternoon of May 20 to transport people to Mamelodi from a roofing company.

He had parked his car in a street a stone's throw from the scene of the bomb blast because he often bought groceries from a nearby department store.

His body was discovered by his family at the government mortuary on May 31.

The niece also denied that police had found R3 000 hidden in his house, as stated in newspaper reports this week.

However, she claimed that the man's wife had been detained by the police for questioning since June 20. She was still in detention.

Her uncle is survived by his wife and five children.

● A hawker of Mamelodi who was identified

by the police this week as one of the ANC members responsible for the Pretoria bomb blast was described by family members as a quiet man.

The man — whom police say cannot be identified because investigations are continuing — was said by the police in Pretoria this week to be one of the ANC saboteurs.

His body was mangled by the blast and his family identified him by a snakeskin belt and a shirt.

He was identified at the Pretoria government mortuary on June 16. The bomb blast took place on May 20.

"He was so quiet that if he were a member of the ANC he would not even tell you about it," his sister said.

Three days before the bomb blast, the man had told his wife that he was visiting somebody in the Eastern Transvaal.

He then disappeared without trace until the search ended at the mortuary.

His sister said that during the three-week search for her brother his leather jacket had been found in a parked taxi belonging to a friend.

She added that during the search for her brother, the family had had to consult a lawyer in order to make inquiries with the security police.



**TUNING** into the news last night proved horrifying for one viewer who believed the mayhem in front of her until she was told it's wasn't for real. But she had already feared for the lives of her family and friends...

Getting no reply from the SABC in Cape Town last night, Mrs D Strata of Cape Town phoned Televiews. "I was totally appalled at last night's coverage of the surprise civil defence exercise.

"Can you imagine the shock and horror when I, never mind elderly people, turned on the TV during the news. I realized where it was taking place and feared for the lives of my family and friends.

"There was no caption indicating it was a civil defence exercise... Unless a person had watched from the beginning they had no way of knowing it was not in fact reality," she said.

Mrs J Riley of Rondebosch asked why SABC TV bothered using continuity announcers. "People are getting upset about the colour of their skin, so why doesn't SABC TV do without them? They really serve no purpose and sit there simpering with their expensive hairstyles which we've paid for."

Mr C J Willcock of Rondebosch asked why, if Ge Korsten was basically Afrikaans, but equally at home in English and Italian, he couldn't appear on English programmes occasionally.

Mr H R Walker of Rondebosch said the map used in the weather report showed the outline of Transkei "as looking very much like a man who is pleased with himself. The man has a broad smile... But what has Transkei got to be pleased about?"

Ardent Maude fan Mrs D Roberts of Somerset West was "very, very disappointed in the latest two episodes of the new series. It didn't even bring a giggle. It's an insult to our intelligence".

Miss MT Smith of Rondebosch, who watched The Games People Play, said: "Thank goodness for Tumbie Kuschlik. She

- 5.27: Programme Schedule. Exact of tonight's programmes
- 5.30: From The Book. Who Was Je Scripture reading by Kathy
- 5.34: Secret Valley. The Ghost of S Dan tells the story of his g who mysteriously vanished wards people swore they s Secret Valley. The Spider C the story and decide to take
- 6.00: News
- 6.14: Pop Shop.
- 6.33: The Facts Of Life. Plans for t a weekend camp with the Academy make Tootie app going along.
- 7.01: Sportsview. Presented by !
- 7.34: The People's Court. The c programme concern the sa doll's house and the illega card.
- 8.00: Nuus
- 8.28: Weer
- 8.35: Nuusfokus. An in-depth ana events in the news.
- 8.53: Derrick. Die Besluit. Derric and in tonight's episode a on the express train bet Munich. Derrick soon fi wrong man was murderer the intended victim. But b for the man to be mu strange and pathetic brot to do with it?
- 9.56: Kleinmusiek uit Frankryk. visit Bulgaria.
- 10.22: Arsene Lupin. Rudolph r mond magnate, is stay Hotel. He is visited by A little later is found murd
- 11.25: Vroue By Die Kruispad. Hanna is a divorcee who After the divorce she had and when she entertains evening, she can't un mother is so upset.
- 12.01: Nuus.
- 12.16: Oordenking. The Rev Dr

## TV2

- 6.32: Ihashi Lensimbi.
- 7.00: Iindaba (News).
- 7.10: Jikelele (Magazine Pro. Kumnandi Ekhaya (Good Tir stolen money and retu. Ezemidlalo (Sport). Ziyabuyic). Featuring Mara Louv It Together, I Can't Live Stop Myself and Take by William C Faure.
- 9.00: Izindaba (News).
- 9.27: Isibikezelo Sezulu (Wer
- 9.29: Iphunga Elimnandi/Ezer

## TV2 review

SOME of Jikelele's to s sports presenters seem scre to be struggling with in- Te interviews where people vie of different races are in- and involved. T  
 It was rather unpleas- wa. ant for Victor Mpiyake. the

# Alleged death threat

**Staff Reporter**  
**A POLLSMOOR** prisoner who allegedly swore at and threatened to kill a woman in Kloof Street during May this year, was granted R50 bail when he appeared in the Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Mr Harry English, 55, whose address was given as Pollsmoor Prison, was later remanded to August 18.

He is alleged to have sworn at a Ms Torina de Klerk on May 23 in

Kloof Street and to have then threatened to kill her.

A Valkenburg Hospital psychiatrists' report described Mr English as a chronic alcoholic whose progress depended on placement in a rehabilitation centre.

Mr English told the court he had been in prison "quite a long time" since being charged and asked the magistrate, Mr B Carroll, if he could not be granted bail.

# Students vote for Paton

**MARITZBURG.** — More than 1 000 students of the University of Natal here yesterday supported the nomination of author Dr Alan Paton as Chancellor.

In- he to ter go a a ce- ec- of sto. 4 old lay 1 a the lat- the ice ere y a md an tea me sen the sti- yet ice- us- the aal pre- ter- yet ket i. et al nis- ise tid- ept for for use, ion ned Mr Mr lay. by sur- ark hat ack sic ur- son ert on-



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# The black struggle

WHILE white women were fighting a ladylike and legal battle for the right to vote, black women were already opting to go to jail in a very different struggle.

For blacks in the early 20th century, enfranchisement of women was not an issue. The issues that did concern them were far more basic — rents, prices, housing, work and the many laws that discriminated against the black community as a whole.

The longest battle blacks have fought has been against the pass laws, the mechanism through which the State controls black labour, and under which people have to submit to a mass of bureaucratic restrictions on their movement — or face arrest.

The extension of pass laws to women, first in the Orange Free State and later in the rest of South Africa, invoked bitter anger. They were seen as a serious threat to family life: if women were arrested, who would look after the children?

## Wide scope

In the OFS in the early 1900s, the scope of the pass laws was very wide. Passes blacks could be required to possess included residential permits, visitors' passes, work-seeking permits and many others. There were even washerwomen's and entertainment permits.

Their enforcement after 1910 unleashed a campaign of such fierceness and intensity by women that it startled the Government as well as politicians all over the country.

The flashpoint came in June 1913 when a group of women from Bloemfontein presenting a petition to the mayor were arrested for not having passes. What had been a peaceful campaign became open defiance.

About 600 women marched on the Magistrate's Court and to the town hall, where they were met by policemen with truncheons. Thirty-four women arrested and convicted as a result of the ensuing clash decided to go to jail rather than pay a fine.

Their protest was taken up in other Free State towns, and soon there were reports of jails overflowing as women volunteered themselves for arrest.



look back on their involvement in the campaigns of the 50s with pride.

Among them is the current chairwoman of the Western Cape-based United Women's organisation (UWO), "Mama" Zihlangu, who talked about her initiation into politics "outside the church" in 1948.

"There was something growing in 1948. That was when my husband started to become interested in politics. I went along to some of the meetings, but I didn't know what they were speaking about because the men didn't want anyone to disturb them," she recalled.

She was soon drawn in. "In 1950, after my third child, it was my turn to get somebody to come to lead me, and teach me and start to open my mind, and that was Mama Dora Tamana (a founder member of the FSAW and the UWO).

"After the third train we were arrested. The police were looking for a ringleader, and pointed to my husband and locked him up."

Mr Zihlangu was freed after lawyers put the residents' case for more carriages to the authorities. "And so they put it right, as it is now. Now there are only one or two first-class carriages, all the rest are third class."

Her second campaign, one fought by women alone, began when apartheid came to the market in Salt River. "We blacks were not allowed to go to the white side of the market to buy fresh vegetables. We were told to go to the other side, and buy stale vegetables.

## Own market

"We had to say something — the Government had to let us buy fresh vegetables. So we asked our white women friends to buy up as much of the fresh vegetables as they could afford and

mass of bureaucratic restrictions on their movement — or face arrest.

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### Arduous campaigns

These women were among the first casualties in the arduous anti-pass campaigns that raged over the next four decades and which saw thousands of women jailed and many others detained and banned.

The organisations involved in uniting women and planning the many demonstrations were either banned outright, as in the case of the African National Congress Women's League (established in 1943 and banned in 1960), or, like the Federation of South African Women (formed in 1953), they went into a decline as their leaders were banned, jailed or placed under house arrest.

But there are many women who remember these organisations in an era of legality, and



look back on their involvement in the campaigns of the 50s with pride.

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She was soon drawn in. "In 1950, after my third child, it was my turn to get somebody to come to lead me, and teach me and start to open my mind, and that was Mama Dora Tamana (a founder member of the FSAW and the UWO).

"I became a member of the Women's League of the ANC. The organisation at that time was the ANC, and our organisation was the ANC Women's League. It was the first women's organisation, but it was banned in the 1960s, so there's not a lot I can say."

Mama Zihlangu's first two political campaigns were over strictly bread-and-butter issues. In the 1950s there was only one third-class carriage on trains to Langa. The rest were first or second class, and reserved for whites, a fact which incensed township residents as "there were no Europeans going to the townships".

"What we did was board all the first- and second-class carriages. There were hundreds of people involved, they were hanging from the windows like flowers, the flowers of the train.

"After the third train we were arrested. The police were looking for a ringleader, and pointed to my husband and locked him up."

Mr Zihlangu was freed after lawyers put the residents' case for more carriages to the authorities. "And so they put it right, as it is now. Now there are only one or two first-class carriages, all the rest are third class."

Her second campaign, one fought by women alone, began when apartheid came to the market in Salt River. "We blacks were not allowed to go to the white side of the market to buy fresh vegetables. We were told to go to the other side, and buy stale vegetables.

### Own market

"We had to say something — the Government had to let us buy fresh vegetables. So we asked our white women friends to buy up as much of the fresh vegetables as they could afford and bring it to Langa so we could have our own market there."

As a result, there was a lot of waste, but the campaign was won. "They had to feed the stale vegetables to the pigs."

Afterwards, she threw herself into the anti-pass campaign that was spreading throughout South Africa and that was to reach a climax with the march of 20 000 women to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on August 9, 1956. Mama Zihlangu, no longer afraid of being involved in politics, was among those who went.

In her words: "I felt now there was nothing to be afraid of; it was better to say something. I felt we had to fight these books because they were ugly...."

● Monday: The march to Pretoria.

## POLITICS

(11A)

# Rise of the UDF

FM 5/8/83

One of the most broadly-based political movements in SA since the Congress Alliance of the Fifties is to be launched nationally under the banner of the United Democratic Front (UDF) at a "people's rally" in Cape Town in a fortnight.

Opposed to government's constitutional plans for coloureds and Indians, and against the "Koornhof Bills" affecting urban Africans, the UDF says "these manoeuvres of the State are designed to weaken the people's resistance by dividing them whilst entrenching apartheid." The front is committed to the creation of a democratic, non-racial, unitary state in SA.

Its coming campaigns seem set to have an important influence on the outcome of government's possible referendums to test coloured and Indian opinion on the constitutional proposals.

In the background, however, is another would-be popular organisation also pitched against government's constitutional proposals — the socialistic-cum-black consciousness (BC) influenced National Forum Committee (NFC). The extent to which their existence will fracture the black cause — specifically for the "hearts and minds" of the people in a broader context — remains to be seen.

The apparent UDF-NFC friction (*Current Affairs* July 15 and 29) has been seen as a fundamentally "charterist versus BC" fall-out. The UDF rejects the label "charterist" and points out that some of its constituents, like the Islamic Council of SA,

could hardly be so described. "All political groupings and people who have different approaches to the struggle have a place in the UDF (provided they accept UDF principles)," it explains. "The UDF is an organisation that unites all freedom-loving people who reject apartheid."

The NFC says, similarly, that it is not necessarily a BC organisation and that it is open to groups of different ideological persuasion. However, it excludes whites (for the present). The UDF does not.

### Trade unions

According to UDF spokesman, Zac Yacoob, "there are no antagonistic forces and feuds" between the two camps. In fact, "We do see the NFC as making a contribution," he added. "The UDF is committed to working together on a day-to-day basis, campaigning and gathering organisations who combine to reject the President's Council proposals and the Koornhof Bills ... We do not see the NFC as opposed to us." Yacoob said the NFC "wrongly assumed that the Freedom Charter was the basis of the UDF." He did rule out co-operating with them "later."

The difference between the two groupings is that the UDF has been built up regionally and has been developing a programme of action over the past six months, whereas the NFC had so far only convened one conference (at Hammanskraal), explained Yacoob.

Among the array of civic, political, stu-

dent, women's and church groups affiliated to the UDF's regional branches in the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape, are various trade unions such as the SA Allied Workers (Saawu) and the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa).

The UDF plans to formally approach the 100 000-strong Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu), the best organised non-racial union federation in SA. Although UDF sources say that Fosatu has "indicated that they are supportive," whether they will "actually affiliate is the question."

The NFC, too, claims allegiance of a number of similar organisations and takes an overtly more "workerist" stance.

Cusa, interestingly, serves on both the NFC and UDF. Cusa general-secretary, Piroshaw Camay, says that his federation's policy is "to participate in all organisations opposed to the constitutional proposals since our membership is spread across BC and so-called 'charterists'." He explains that Cusa's founders were firmly committed to a non-racial society in SA that would "basically be achieved through black leadership."

## OWEN HORWOOD

### Gossip victim again?

If Finance Minister Owen Horwood is nearing the end of his public career, an event of which even the NP organs *Beeld*, *Burg-*

## MUSLIMS DIVIDED

The government's new constitutional proposals are threatening to split SA's Muslim community. The Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA), the national body to which most Muslim groups are affiliated, has rejected the constitution because it claims it entrenches ethnicity and does not meet the aspirations of blacks.

But several influential Muslim groups are now saying that the ICSA has no right to meddle in politics. Trustees of the Juma Masjid Trust, the body which controls the Grey Street mosque, as well as the Sydenham Muslim Association, have resigned from the council in protest.

Executive director of the ICSA, Ibrahim Bawa, denies that the constitution is polarising opinion in the Muslim community. He says Muslims throughout the country generally support the stand taken by the ICSA and those that

don't are motivated mainly by self-interest. Several of the breakaway trustees are members of the South African Indian Council and could be in line for seats in the proposed Indian chamber of deputies in the tri-cameral parliament.

Says Bawa: "These people are partly motivated by the glitter of office and the opportunities it opens up for them." According to him, the ICSA made its position on the constitution known as far back as 1977 when it rejected the government's original proposals. On the question of the ICSA making political pronouncements, he says: "Islam is a way of life. It governs everything that one does. It contains economic doctrines as well as religious and political ones."

However, dissent in the Muslim community runs deep. Prominent Durban businessman, Mohamed Suleman, recently warned that the Muslim community could find itself out of step if it

heeded the ICSA's call to reject the proposals. "The Muslim community, small as it is, is part and parcel of the Indian community. And if the new constitution is pushed down the throats of the Indian people, as may well happen, Muslims faithful to the ICSA call will find themselves at a grave disadvantage."

Bawa, however, says the ICSA took its stand on a matter of conscience. He says there is no compulsion on Muslims to accept its viewpoint. Further affirmation of the ICSA's position came last week when the powerful Jamaat-e-ulema, a school of Muslim theologians, also rejected the government's proposals as "un-Islamic." Some say the Jamaat-e-ulema's decision draws the debate to a close. For, while Muslims could turn their backs on the ICSA, they cannot do the same to the Jamaat, which is the supreme Muslim authority on Islamic matters in Natal.

4/21/83

# A clearer picture of the 'new diplomacy'

By Peter Sullivan,  
Political Correspondent

There are two truisms in South Africa's "new diplomacy" essential to any understanding of it: we are destabilising our neighbours, and the military men have taken over from the diplomats.

With these two guiding principles, the picture of what South Africa is doing in Southern Africa is clearer.

This decade's diplomacy differs from others because it follows the collapse of the Portuguese empire coupled to the emergence of Zimbabwe.

Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe won their independence through the barrel of a gun. Violence and revolution succeeded, whereas in Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and even Zambia peaceful independence won.

South Africa elected a new Prime Minister and achieved black trade unions.

Mr P W Botha injected power into the State Security Council and gave it the benefit of co-ordinated intelligence.

## CYNICAL

Military men had started their ascendancy over diplomats, and events in neighbouring states assured the military of a continued rise.

Why destabilise? This is a question which puzzles all observers. The idea of having your neighbours fighting off attempted coups simply to stop them fighting you seems too cynical to be true.

South Africa's destabilisation is aimed at showing its neighbours the perils of internal resistance movements.

This is a way for them to learn the South African Government's feelings about the African National Congress (ANC).

Seen from South Africa's viewpoint neighbouring governments face a choice: give succour and protection to the ANC, or side against internal interference in South Africa.

Swaziland played ball, Lesotho and Mozambique did not. Zimbabwe did a high-wire balancing act — which it continues to do.

While all the countries have unwritten permission from the OAU to trade freely with South Africa, they plead they cannot act against the ANC because of OAU pressure.

## REALISTIC

South Africa says it is time to be realistic.

"Our neighbours are attempting to destabilise us by helping the ANC to blow up Sasol, railways and civilians in Pretoria," the Government's argument goes.

"All we are looking for is an agreement on non-support for subversive movements."

And that, in a nutshell, is the reason for destabilisation.

And the State Security Council? It will continue to run African diplomacy until the partners change, and neighbours realise the complexity of government in the real world.

All-pervasive security is needed to allow internal changes within an orderly structure; this is the Government's argument.

It realises the danger of having to support foreign regimes should "client" subversives become government.

It believes neighbours will live in peace under agreements not to support subversives.

Cloud-cuckoo-land? Perhaps. But the Government's perception of reality is the one South Africans have to live with.

(11A) ~~2/23~~ 7/8/81  
SAP rejects ANC denial of members' deaths in blast

POLICE have rejected "with contempt" an African National Congress denial that two of its members were among those killed in the Pretoria car-bomb blast on May 20.

A senior Security Police spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday the ANC had made the denial because they felt ashamed that they were using criminals to do their "dirty work."

In a statement issued in Lusaka yesterday, the Con-

gress denied that two ANC saboteurs were among the 19 people killed in the Pretoria blast and that the saboteurs were convicted criminals hired to plant the bomb.

The head of the Security Police, Major-General Frans Steenkamp, said this week the ANC was using people with criminal backgrounds in their sabotage attacks as it was cheaper and did not require the use of ANC men trained abroad at great expense. — Sapa.

# Historic march to be recalled

By SAM MABE

THE HISTORIC march to Pretoria in 1956 by about 20 000 women who were protesting against the issuing of passbooks to black women will be commemorated at a service to be held at Jiswa Centre in Lenasia on Sunday.

The service, to mark the 27th anniversary of the protest march, is scheduled to start at 3.30 pm and will be addressed by Mrs Rita Ndzanga, of the General and Allied Workers' Union (Gawu), and Mrs Vesta Smith, a Noord-gesicht community leader who is also a member of

the Anti-President's Council Committee.

Another service will be held at the Dube YWCA at 11 am and on Sunday at 12 noon. On Tuesday evening at 7 pm another service will be held at Glynn Thomas.

In a statement released yesterday, the Federation of South African Women called on all women to attend the services to remember the "defiant and courageous protest march by mothers, wives and all South African women who stood up and de-

manded that they be treated with dignity."

The statement said further that it was for this reason that August 9 would always be remembered with pride as a day on which "we struggled for a free and democratic society."

- A regional council meeting of the United Democratic Front will be held at Khotso House tomorrow at 2 pm where preparations for the national launching of the organisation on August 20 will be made.

# Sacos boss on permit charge

A SECURITY policeman conceded that Mr Frank van der Horst, president of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) was within five metres of the boundary of New Brighton, an African township in Port Elizabeth, when he was arrested and charged with being in an African township without a permit.

This admission was made by Warrant Officer N Coetzee during cross-examination at a hearing at the Port Elizabeth Magistrate's Court where

Mr van der Horst appeared on Friday on a charge of contravening the Urban Areas Consolidation Act.

Mr Coetzee told the court that the blue car Mr van der Horst was about to enter was parked a short distance from the pre-cast wall which formed the boundary of the New Brighton railway station.

He admitted that the railway station was not part of the township. Mr Coetzee said that "he doubted" whether the

area beyond the railway station was railway property.

## RAILWAY

He told the court: "People were selling fruit outside the wall, and railway police would not allow this on railway property."

In reply to a question from Mr S Desai, who appeared for Mr Van der Horst, Mr Coetzee said he had not checked the title deeds of the property and that he did not know the exact bound-

C. Herald 6/8/83

aries of the railway station.

Earlier in the hearing, Mr Coetzee said that he had received an order to be on the lookout for a blue Opel Kadett and had noticed this car was travelling with a red Ford Escort.

Another security policeman, Captain D Hattingh, told the court he had followed the national organiser of the Motor Assemblies and Component Workers' Union of South Africa, Mr Government Zini, who was driv-

ing a red Ford Escort to the airport.

He said: "I saw Mr Zini enter the airport and I also saw somebody in the Escort signal the driver of the Opel Kadett. The Escort then drove off.

"I followed the Escort to the foot of the bridge which crosses the New Brighton police station. Here Mr van der Horst climbed the steps of the bridge. I relayed a message to policemen to be on the lookout for Mr van der Horst.

The case was adjourned to August 25.

The charges stem out of an incident on April 10 when Mr van der Horst was arrested for allegedly entering New Brighton. He was to be the guest speaker at the third annual congress of the Motor Assemblies and Component Workers' Union of South Africa.

Mr J L Kitchener was on the bench. Mr H S Goosen appeared for the State and Mr S Desai represented Mr van der Horst.

~~PFP~~ (117) ~~to take~~  
CAPE TIMES 5/8/83  
PFP to take  
up the issue  
of PC salaries

Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party is to take up the issue of President's Council salaries following a government refusal to confirm reported increases for the advisory body.

The 55 councillors have in the past received the same salaries as members of Parliament, while the five committee chairmen have been paid at the same rate as cabinet ministers.

Both ministers and MPs received a 27 per cent increase on July 1, but neither the President's Council nor the government departments responsible will say whether this also applies to the council.

After a council spokesman had refused to give any information on the issue, the Cape Times approached the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood and was referred from there to the Prime Minister's Department, which is responsible for the President's Council.

A spokesman for the Prime Minister's Department said yesterday that it was not the task of the department to

give out information of this nature.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, PFP MP for Green Point and opposition spokesman on the issue, said he would take the matter up in Parliament unless the President's Council salaries were published before session resumed next week.

**'No excuse'**

"There is no excuse for this secretiveness," he said in a statement.

"President's Councillors receive their salaries out of taxpayers' money and the public is entitled to know what they are paid."

Mr Van der Merwe said recent salary adjustments for parliamentarians had quite correctly been announced, because the government was in the difficult position of having to decide its own salaries.

"It is no less than correct that full details be made public so that members of the public who feel they are overpaid can take a tough line against them. It makes no sense to spare President's Councillors this criticism," he said.



# ANC show of solidarity for SA women's day

London Bureau <sup>18/8</sup> LONDON. — The women's section of the African National Congress will dominate this year's celebration of South African Women's Day on Tuesday.

The ANC women have organised a meeting-cum-cultural event to be held in a hall in London's Red Lion Square.

The occasion, which is intended to be an international day of solidarity with the women of South Africa, will be celebrated with speeches,

a number of songs by the ANC choir, and a dramatic presentation of the "women's struggle against oppression and exploitation in Southern Africa".

The speakers include Eleanor Khanyile, Shirley Mashiane, former labour MP Joan Lester, and Bience Gawanda of Swapo.

August 9 marks the anniversary of the march on Pretoria in 1956 by 20 000 women protesting against the pass laws.

# Revelations from the 'fifth horseman'

Colonel Gaddafi, often called the fifth horseman of the Apocalypse, does not usually give interviews to the Western Press. But after inviting President Mitterrand to Tripoli, and with Libya's policies on Chad and the PLO's internal split under fire, he spoke to Eric Rouleau of Le Monde.

Q. What would you propose to President Mitterrand so that France could play a positive role in resolving the conflict in Chad?

A. Absolutely nothing. I recognise no role for France in Chad or anywhere else on the continent. Africa is for Africans as Europe is for Europeans. The anachronistic concepts which inspire your government are detestable to our people and will finish by destroying French interest in the Third World. France can, of course, develop friendly and co-operative relationships with all countries. But France cannot act as a guardian and involve herself in the internal affairs of Chad, particularly not by giving military aid to one of the two parties to the conflict.

Q. But you are doing the same by arming and equipping the other party...

A. That's false. But even if I was giving arms to Mr Goukouni Oueddei's GUNT I would be helping the cause of the legitimate government of Chad. That is a coalition of 11 groups, crossing political, ethnic, tribal, and religious boundaries covering most of the country from the Muslim north to the Christian south. The GUNT was set up democratically under the wing of the Organisation of African Unity. France is supporting the minister of defence from this self-same government who occupied the capital Njamena by force, while the world's Press is unleashed against us, Africans, brothers, and neighbours because we have had the audacity to say that Goukouni Oueddei is still the legitimate President of Chad.

Colonel Gaddafi went on to produce a "revelation". According to him former United States Secretary of State Haig, one morning in the autumn of 1981, woke M Cheysson, France's Minister of Foreign Affairs, at dawn. He warned him that Libya was about to overthrow the Chad government of Goukouni Oueddei.

Goukouni, quickly warned by Paris, asked Colonel Gaddafi to pull his troops out of Chad immediately. "Ever since he has bitterly regretted this decision, because the retreat of our army made possible the victory of Hissene Habre.

"France is in poor company in Chad. She is standing beside the US transforming an internal conflict into a confrontation between imperialism and a people yearning for liberty.

She is working with Egypt, Sudan, Zaire — satellites of the US to keep the American puppet, Hissene Habre, in power.

Habre has actually promised to give the Americans bases in Chad eventually."



Colonel Gaddafi is particularly scathing in his references to President Mobutu of Zaire: "He is just a servant, he would never have dared send his own troops without the blessing of Washington and Tel Aviv.

"We are in favour of a peaceful solution, for negotiations between the warring parties without any outside interference, as the OAU bureau has recommended in the resolution adopted at Addis Ababa last July 16.

"We invited Habre and Goukouni to open a dialogue, but Habre categorically rejected the plan. Too bad. Resistance will continue until the defeat of American imperialism and its agents."

Q. You are always denouncing the United States and now developing your relations with the Soviet Union, but in the past you used also to condemn them for hegemonic designs. You even used to reproach your mentor Nasser for having got too close to the Soviet Union. Today there is talk of a Moscow-Tripoli alliance. How do you explain this change?

A. Our relations with the Soviet Union are being consolidated as the challenges of imperialism multiply. And, if the circumstances demand it I would not hesitate to conclude a friendship treaty with Moscow. But on the other hand we would stand up to

the Russians, too, if they started behaving like the Americans. It is true I have criticised Arab states which tie themselves to the Soviet Union, but I admit that my criticisms were not based on concrete personal experience. Since the death of Nasser, whose spiritual heirs we are, and the betrayal by Sadat, Libya sees herself as the guarantor of Arab/Soviet friendship in all areas — political, military, and ideological...

Q. But are there not pretty major divergencies between marxism and the doctrines of your Green Book?

A. Yes, of course there are huge differences between a marxist society and a state which belongs to the masses, like ours. But they are just two parallel tracks which both lead towards progress. That is certainly not the case with capitalism, which is in permanent collision with marxism.

Q. Another recent development in your policy has caused some surprise. You recently visited King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and King Hassan of Morocco, although over and over again you have called them reactionaries in league with imperialism. Have you also changed your mind about them?

A. These visits show the unity of the Arab nation. Both on the right and the left the Arabs have

the right to quarrel and make up — these are just family affairs.

Q. Was your meeting with King Hassan fruitful?

A. Yes, we agreed on the principle of a referendum in the Western Sahara.

Q. So have you now stopped delivering material help to the Polisario?

A. We have been supporting this movement since the Spanish occupation. Today the issue is self-determination and negotiation. We must give peace a chance.

Q. Are your relations with Algeria equally good?

A. Excellent.

Q. Despite the French planes taking arms to Habre being allowed to overfly Algerian air space?

A. I don't see the connection. That concerns only Algeria and Chad.

Q. What are the reasons behind your dislike of the leadership of Fatah and, in fact, of Yasser Arafat?

A. You are quite mistaken: Yasser Arafat is a man I like a great deal and who I consider as a personal friend, just like Abou and the other comrades. But those who began the uprising within Fatah are the real revolutionaries, men of the left with whom we naturally have something in common.

Q. So you are arming them in their fight against the Fatah leadership?

A. No, they don't need arms. We will continue to arm Fatah as in the past. But the fact is that these revolutionaries are in control of the apparatus of the Palestinian organisation. So they are the beneficiaries.

Q. Will you continue to support the various Islamic and leftist groups in Lebanon?

A. More than ever — we will give them unlimited aid to intensify their resistance to the Israeli occupation and the shameful agreement Tel Aviv forced on the government in Beirut.

Q. Are you still on good terms with Iran?

A. I support the Iranian revolution. That is why I have written to Khomeini asking him not to come down on the communists in the Tudeh party who are part of the revolutionary forces.

Colonel Gaddafi finished the interview by referring to the French Government again and his invitation. "Unfortunately, your leaders tend to procrastinate and waver. I know, because Chancellor Kreisky of Austria once told me that the United States has forbidden European countries to receive me.

"It will be a pity if the French Government gives in to this kind of blackmail." □ — *The Guardian*.

## ISSUE OF THE WEEK — FROM PAGE ONE

political groups, according to Dr Phatudi — in their pursuit of black unity and "a greater South Africa based on non-racialism and democracy" will take place at another meeting on October 5, says the Le-bowa leader.

This week the national executive committee of the United Democratic Front, a loose grouping of trade union, civic and student organisations, announced that it was to be launched as a national

organisation at a congress in Cape Town on August 20 and 21 to co-ordinate activity against the new constitution.

Three regional UDFs — in Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape — were set up during the last three months following the impetus for a national movement to oppose the Government given by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in a speech in Johannesburg

in January. In its statement of intent leading to the setting up of the regional bodies the UDF declared its belief in a unitary, non-racial South Africa. It called for a unity of "all democrats regardless of race, religion or colour" to fight the constitutional reform proposals.

Several of the leading constituents of the UDF are declared "Charterists", supporters of the Freedom Charter, a so-called democratic docu-

ment which was adopted as a declaration by the multiracial Congress Alliance in 1955.

At the same time the UDF leaders are denying that they have any specific Charterist leaning and they point out that their declaration is the only policy document they propose.

Among the "Charterists" who have pinned their colours to the UDF mast are the Congress of South African Students, the Azanian Students Organisation, the newly formed Soweto Youth

Congress, the Federation of South African Women and the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Just over a month ago the third umbrella political "think tank" to emerge was the National Forum. The initiative for this body came from the Azanian Peoples' Organisation.

Almost 200 organisations attended the Forum conference at Hamanskraal in June and accepted a declaration that it would "struggle for national liberation against the system of racial

capitalism".

Among those who attended the Forum launch were several organisations which have also allied themselves to the UDF. This is held up as a solid example of the efforts towards unifying the black political initiatives of the last few months.

Presently there are moves behind the scenes to link as many organisations as possible in the soon-to-be national UDF and to retain the National Forum as a think tank for political debate.

The idea is to unify the anti-government forces in the UDF, using the new constitutional proposals and the new dispensation for urban black local authorities as the rallying point for a programme of action in opposition.

But whatever the differences between the three main thrusts in black politics their firm commitment to a unitary South Africa as opposed to a white and several black states is a major unifying factor. □ — *Staff Reporter*.

## SUNDAY

4 000 celebrate Eucharist at WCC assembly service.

US envoy Stone meets Salvadoran leftist representative.

Death toll in Sri Lankan ethnic violence tops 200.

"Front-line" states agree to ban SA-based journalists.

## MONDAY

Chad President Habre feared trapped by rebels.

US and France to send military aid to Chad.

Fierce exchanges reported in Iran-Iraq war.

Press censored, leftists arrested in Sri Lanka.

## TUESDAY

US boffins say El Nino phenomenon may cause more weather disasters.

Chad demands Security Council meeting on Libyan air raids.

Libyan and US planes in no-shooting encounter over Gulf of Sidra.

US vetoes anti-Israel resolution in Security Council.

Uruguay bans all public political activity in constitution crisis.

## WEDNESDAY

Libya threatens to attack US carrier Eisenhower if it enters Gulf of Sirte.

Forest fires send 10 000 campers fleeing in south of France.

Poland's Solidarity underground calls nationwide demos for August 31.

Swedish monitors say 25 underground nuclear tests made world-wide this year.

## THURSDAY

Italian socialist Bettino Craxi's government sworn in.

Guerillas, government troops battling in six Salvador provinces.

40 die in guerilla attack on remote Peruvian village.

President Mobutu holds talks with President Reagan.

Spax 6/8/83 (11A)

Soweto 7/11/83

# Motlana talks



THE Chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, will be the main speaker at the resident's meeting in Soshanguve this Sunday.

1.30pm. A spokesman for the organisers. Mr P Madlala, said the meeting would focus on the formation of a civic organisation, the Mabopane East technikon issue and the proposed phasing out of Putco buses in the area.

# Crossroads

HUNDREDS of Crossroads residents huddled in the rain yesterday as demolitions in the squatter camp continued for the third successive day.

At least 16 official vehicles, including armoured personnel carriers, surrounded the sprawling shanty town and one resident claimed more than 40 vehicles were involved in the raid which started early yesterday and continued through the morning.

The squatters who huddled in the rain said they were legal residents of Crossroads.

Sowetan 5/8/73

# Congress

# claim is

# rejected

 By SELLO RABOTHATA

POLICE have rejected "with contempt" an African National Congress denial that two of its members were among those killed in the Pretoria car-bomb blast on May 20 this year.

A senior Security Police spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday the ANC had made the denial because they felt ashamed that they were using criminals to do their "dirty work".

In a statement issued

in Lusaka on Wednesday, the congress denied that two ANC saboteurs were among the 19 people killed in the Pretoria blast.

They also denied that the saboteurs were convicted criminals hired to plant the bomb.

#### SHOOT

Meanwhile, the South African Police would not go into details on their planned approach to roadblocks in view of a reported instruction from the ANC to its members to "shoot their way out" if confronted by police at roadblocks.

A police Public Relations Division spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that the head of the Security Branch, Major General F M A Steenkamp, had dealt with the aspects of ANC members "shooting their way out" at his Press conference this week, and had nothing to add to that statement.

The Security Police chief had said that the SAP had proof that the ANC had instructed its members to shoot their way out if confronted at a roadblock or by the police.

~~HAJ~~  
guilty in  
ANC trial

Mail Correspondent

PETERSBURG — Two former Turfloop students, Peter Mokaba, 24, and Jerome Joseph Maake, 20, have been convicted of offences under the Internal Security and Terrorism Acts and will be sentenced next Friday.

Mokaba was found guilty on five counts, including being an ANC member, receiving military training outside South Africa and setting up a dead letter box.

Maake was convicted on eight counts, including having a handgrenade and receiving military training.

A third accused, Miss Portia Nhlapo, was acquitted.

TWO friends — a former housebreaker who hawked clothes and a safecracker turned taxi driver — are the men, police say, who were paid by the African National Congress to plant the car bomb which killed 19 people in Pretoria on May 20.

Their families claim neither man was at all interested in politics. But police said this week they had proof that both had contact with ANC members in Maputo and Swaziland and with the ANC insurgents involved with the planning and execution of an assassination of a Security Policeman, and rocket attacks at Voortrekkerhoogte and Sasol III.

The Rand Daily Mail set out this week to talk to family and friends of the dead men, who may not be identified.

Those who were prepared to talk did so cautiously. In other instances people were suddenly not available after previous arrangements had been made to speak with them or had "gone to church" extremely late at night.

Some of them were scared. One had been questioned by the Security Police.

Of those interviewed, all

# 'The bombers' ... and what the families say

By MAIL REPORTERS

acknowledged that the two men had had criminal records, and served time in jail. They were not, however, prepared to accept that they had been working for the ANC.

A sister of one of the dead men, the hawker — who was 33, married, with two foster-children — told the Mail: "I cannot believe my brother could have done such a thing. He was not that kind of person. He was always very quiet and never talked about politics.

"In all these years, he never mentioned the ANC or any other political organisation. He was not a political man at all.

"They say that three days before the bomb my brother went to Danilton in the Eastern Transvaal.

"I think he went there to try to hawk clothes," she said.

Apparently he did tell his wife he was going to Danilton to see a friend.

When he did not return the family went to local hospitals in case he had met with an accident. It also appears that his leather jacket was found in a taxi belonging to his dead friend.

The family found no trace of him. Eventually the police visited the family to tell them he was dead. They asked his widow to identify his badly mangled remains but she was too distraught to do so.

So his mother was to be brought from Badplaats for the grisly task.

Practically the only identification available was a snakeskin belt and a shirt.

"It was only this week that we heard that the police say he was connected with the

ANC," said the sister.

The man's sister said their father, who had had two wives, had died several years ago. The marriages had yielded six children — four sisters and two brothers.

Her dead brother had been born in Badplaats in the Eastern Transvaal and had gone to a government school, but left after Standard Five.

At 16, he went to Mamelodi for a reference book, stayed on in the sprawling township and became a lift repairman.

Later he was convicted of housebreaking, and jailed for nine years, but received five years' remission.

After his release he took to hawking clothes for a living.

The man's sister said the family had greeted the allegation with shock and disbelief.

His widow was not avail-

able for comment.

The hawker's partner was a 43-year-old taxi driver married with five children. The eldest is 19 and the youngest nine.

His widow has been detained by police since June 20.

Relatives told the Mail he had been born in Nelspruit. His father and mother had died some years ago. He had one brother and two sisters.

He had spent four years in jail for safecracking but had never spoken of politics, they said.

One relative said he had left his home on the afternoon of May 20 to take people from a roofing company to Mamelodi, the relative claimed that the former safecracker had parked his car in Schubart Street, close to the scene of the horror blast, because he had been in the habit of buying groceries from a nearby department store.

His body was eventually identified by the family at the Government Mortuary on May 31.

Another relative said the dead man had been a devoted family man with no political background or even an interest in politics.

Relatives have called on the police to release the man's widow.

11A

~~SECRET~~

ROM 6/8/83

# Three in court on ANC charges

RDM  
6/8/83  
11A

Mail Reporter

MISS AMANDA KWADI, an executive member of the Federation of South African Women, and two others appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday, charged with participating in the activities of the African National Congress.

The other two were Mr George Moolwa, 35, an executive member of the Mohlakeng Civic Association, and Mr Samuel Tsele, 31, of Krugersdorp.

They were not asked to plead and the case was postponed until August 31.

In terms of a certificate supplied by the Attorney-General, Mr T Nothling, the three are not eligible for bail.

They are charged with participating in ANC activities in terms of Section 13 (1) (a) (iv) of the 1982 Internal Security Act, and with an alternative charge under the same Act.

They were arrested yesterday morning. No further details were given.

The accused were represented by Mrs Priscilla Jana and Mr Graham Dison.

MISS Kwadi is a prominent Soweto leader and has been detained a number of times by Security Police.

She has been a key figure in organising meetings next week to commemorate National Women's Day and was due to speak at meetings in Soweto and at the University of the Witwatersrand.

## Mabasa gets first 'official' trip abroad

(11A) *Staff Reporter*

IN THE first 'official' visit overseas by a South African black consciousness leader, Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) president Mr Lybon Mabasa arrived in Vancouver yesterday to attend the assembly of the World Council of Churches.

Azapo revealed details of Mr Mabasa's hush-hush visit only after he left Johannesburg on Friday.

Mr Mabasa is also co-convenor of the National Forum Committee, which was launched at Hammanskraal recently.

In a statement yesterday, an Azapo spokesman said Mr Mabasa would hold a "watching brief" at the WCC assembly, where he will join South African religious leaders Dr Allan Boesak, Bishop Manas Buthelezi and Bishop Desmond Tutu.

"Our religious leaders are at the WCC assembly. Mr Mabasa will speak to delegates from the political perspective," the spokesman said. "His visit is therefore supplementing that of the religious leaders."

Mr Mabasa is also expected to visit Europe and the United States.

He is a founder-member of Azapo, which was launched as the main black consciousness organisation in 1978 after the SA Students' Organisation (Saso) and Black People's Convention (BPC) were outlawed in the massive government crackdown of October, 1977.

Shortly after Azapo's formation, Mr Mabasa was detained with other executive members, and then banned.

None of the previous presidents of Azapo, Saso and BPC — the late Steve Biko, Mr Hlaku Rachidi, Mr Curtis Nkondo and Mr Khehla Mthembu — travelled abroad in their official capacities.



## Buthelezi in Lesotho

11A (S) Mercury Correspondent 6/8/83

MASERU—Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu flew into a tense Maseru yesterday afternoon for a three-day official visit.

This is believed to be his first visit as an official guest of the Government.

Chief Buthelezi is understood to have had several important meetings including a courtesy call on the king during the afternoon.

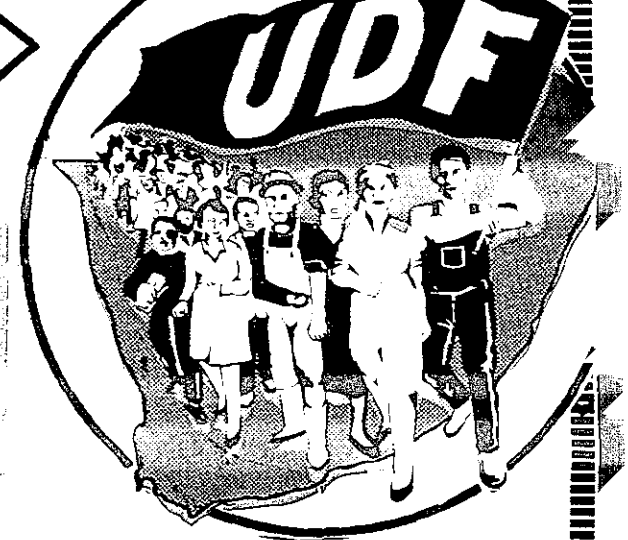
Observers believed it would be surprising if the question of an ANC presence in Maseru were not one topic to be discussed.

UDF yakha abumbano  
— iApartheid idala  
inhlukano!

UDF verenig —  
Apartheid verdeel!

UDF ke kopanyo  
— Apartheid ke  
kahlogango!

UDF iyahlula!  
— iApartheid  
iyahlula!



# UDF NEWS

Vol. 1, No.1.

11A

August 1983

# UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!

**THIS IS OUR CALL TO UNITY!  
THIS IS OUR CALL TO  
ORGANISE!  
THIS IS OUR CALL TO FREEDOM!**

We are now at a critical stage in our struggle for a free, democratic and non-racial country. More than ever before, the hour demands unity and organisation.

That hour has come. Thousands of our people are going to Cape Town On August 20 to launch a national UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

Workers, students, priests, teachers, youth and leaders of all races will come to this great founding rally from all corners of our land.

To create one united force for freedom is an urgent task. It cannot wait.

The government is passing a new constitution and Koornhof's laws which threaten our freedom struggle.

We know why the government is passing these new laws. It is because it cannot rule us in the old way. Through our organisations we have become too strong for them to do that anymore.

The government says that the new constitution gives Coloured and Indian people a say in the running of the country.

But this is not true. Apartheid will stay for the benefit of the few.

**We reject this government plan.**

The new constitution will try to divide us along racial lines — Africans on the one side, Coloureds and Indians with the whites on the other.

**We must oppose this attempt to divide us.**

We have done so before, and we will do so again.

We must unite to oppose Koornhof's new plans. If these plans become law, they will make the pass laws worse. It will be impossible for any of our African people to live in the cities without a house or a job.

Koornhof also wants to strengthen his puppet community councils that rule the townships.

**We must oppose these attempts to control us.**

We have long battled to cleanse our country of oppression, racism and exploitation. Our history speaks proudly of our opposition to apartheid's pass laws, Group Areas Act, resettlement, low wages and poor schooling.

We have rejected the Matanzimas and the Mphaphus.

To the Coloured Representative Council, we said no. And we refused to vote for the South African Indian Council or for the community councils.

The oppressors' bulldozers, bullets and brutality have hurt us. But they have not stopped us.

We have made progress. More and more people have joined the ranks of our struggle.

Our organisations have united our people inside the factories, within the townships, in the countryside and in the schools and universities. We have organised as

## OUR LEADERS SAY ...



'The politics of refusal needs a united front. Churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations and sports bodies should unite, pool resources, and inform the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name.' — Dr Alan Bosak, president World Council of Reformed Churches.



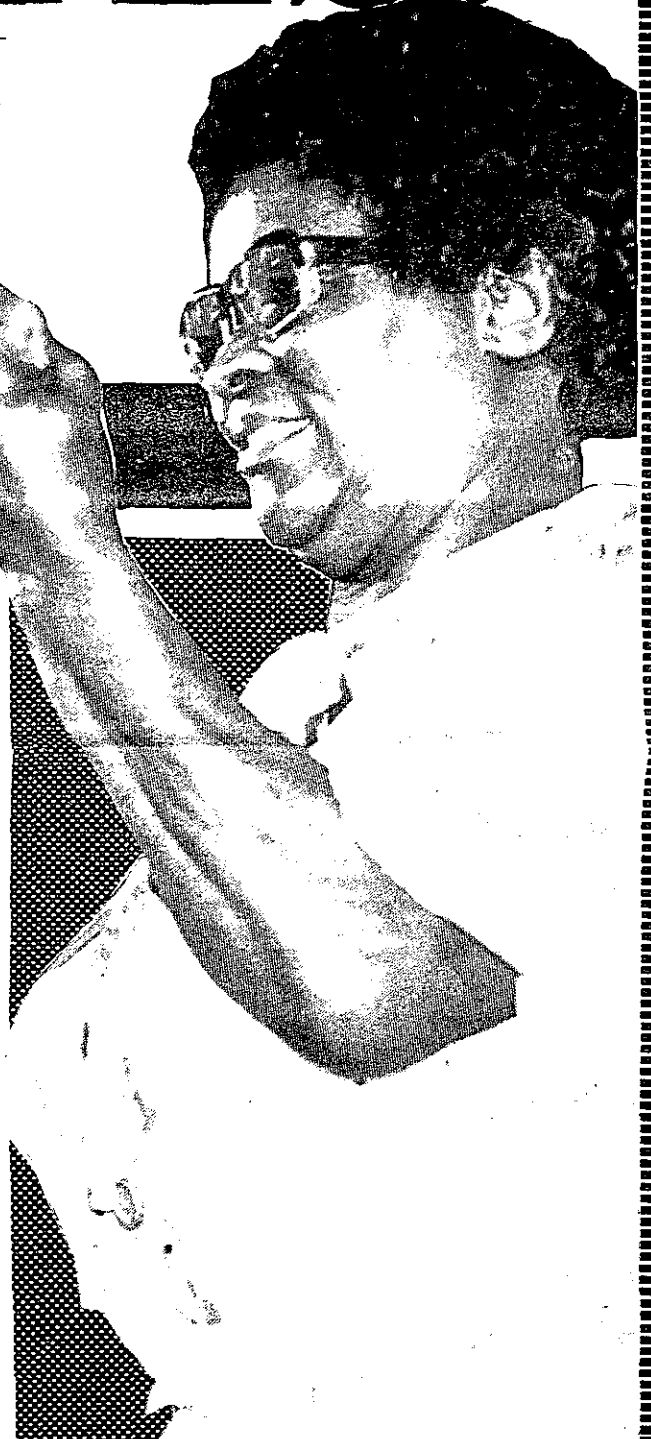
'We are all aiming at achieving a new South Africa. We cannot achieve that goal unless we unite. Unity is strength. The National Party is in pieces because it is threatened by the unity of the people. The more we unite the nearer we are to our goal.' — Oscar Mpetha, president Western Cape UDF.



'The government's new proposals are an admission that the present constitution has failed to preserve apartheid. They are destined to fail in the wake of mounting resistance.' — Archie Gumede, president Natal UDF.



'All democrats must strive to build the UDF into a mass organisation so it can perform its historic task of ending the division that is causing so much conflict in our country.' — George Sewpersadh, Natal Indian Congress.



'UDF is a breakthrough for the people of this country in our struggle for justice, peace and freedom. UDF will shake the pillars of Apartheid. United we will win ...' — Albertina Sisulu, Federation of South African Women.

women, as believers and as sportspeople.

**Now we have made ourselves still stronger.**

In the Transvaal, Cape and Natal, our people's organisations have joined together in new organisations — a United Democratic Front in each province.

**Our historic task now is to bring together all these organisations and all freedom-loving people into one national UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.**

Our duty is to form one united force for freedom, marching under one banner with tried and tested leaders.

The UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT says NO to the plans to entrench minority rule, to divide us and strengthen the sell-outs to send our people to starve in the Bantustans.

The UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT says YES to a UNITED DEMOCRATIC NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA.

**WE MUST ORGANISE FOR OUR RIGHTS!**

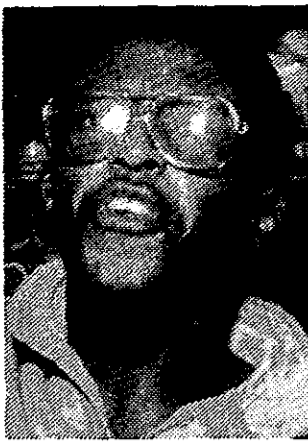
**WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR ORGANISATIONS!**

**WE MUST UNITE WHERE WE ARE DIVIDED!**

**FORWARD TO A UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT!**



Helen Joseph is 'listed' and may not be quoted. She will be at the national UDF launch on August 20.



The ruling class has mobilised big business, the army and all its forces on all fronts to continue subjugating us. Azaso feels that a broad united and democratic front like the UDF is one of the means to counter the attempt to sugarcoat the bitter pill of apartheid for the oppressed and exploited. — Tiego Masanaka, president AZASO.



'We see the UDF as bringing together and uniting individuals, groups, and organisations in a common programme of action. This is to demand an end to oppression, to demand one-person-one-vote, and a unitary and free South Africa.' — Amanda Kwadi, Federation of South African Women.

# UNITE!

## STOP THE STATE'S PLAN TO DIVIDE US

**THE government's new plans are the President's Council, (PC), parliament and Koornhof's laws.**

These plans try to fool us, divide us, control us through sell-outs, and make Coloured and Indian youth fight in Botha's army.

The government is determined to keep us oppressed. But more and more of us are opposing it.

Strikes and demonstrations, school, bus and rent boycotts, have exploded all over the country.

### WHAT THE PARLIAMENT WILL MEAN TO US ALL

**PC and the new parliament mean...**

**The government tries to divide us**

It will look as if Coloured and Indian people are part of the apartheid government.

**Coloured and Indian youth called-up**

The new parliament could order Coloured and Indian youth to fight in the army.

**Apartheid stays**

The pass laws, the Group Areas Act and other unjust laws will remain. The second-class Coloured and Indian vote cannot change this.

**Sell-outs will be stronger**

Coloured and Indian sell-outs in the racist parliament will control Coloured and Indian houses, rents and education.

**Paying for oppression**

The new parliament will be able to set extra taxes. Coloured and Indian people will have to pay for Hendrikse's and Rajbansi's rewards.

Our people are realising the need for united and strong people's organisations.

The government is worried. It wants to stop our people's march to freedom.

It responds with detentions, teargas and even bullets. Now it is also trying to fool us that it wants to improve our lives.

But there is only a new form of exploitation and oppression in the PC, the new parliament and Koornhof's plans.

**PC and the new parliament are a government plan to try to divide us.**

The government wants to fool us that Coloured and Indians will share in Apartheid's power and privileges. But they only want to use the masses of our Coloured and Indian people.

There will be four whites to every two Coloureds and one Indian in the racist parliament. So Apartheid will stay. A tiny group of sell-outs will be rewarded.

**Koornhof's new plans try to divide African townspeople from migrant workers.**

Only a small group of Africans will be allowed to stay and work in town. Migrants and country people will have to starve in the bantustans.

The government knows we will not be fooled. It knows we will oppose efforts to divide us.

**So the government's new laws also plan to control us even more. They will try to do this by making their puppets stronger.**

The new parliament will give



UDF leaders announcing the national UDF rally to be held on 20 August in Cape Town. From l to r — Archie Gumede, President of Natal UDF, Zac Yacoob, interim publicity secretary of UDF, Yunus Mohammed and Trevor Manuel, both of the UDF national inter-secretariat committee.

the Hendrikse's and Rajbansi's control over Coloured and Indian people's rents, pensions, education, health and houses.

Koornhof's new community councils will still dance to their master's tune. Only now they will be stronger.

**If the sell-outs can't keep us in line the government still has more tricks.**

Already there is more

repression. Militant students have to leave school under the 'age restrictions'. The Church is now the target of a government inquiry.

**Now with the new parliament, Botha could order Coloured and Indian youth to fight in his army.**

The government's new plans mean that we will be further oppressed, further controlled

— and further from freedom.

If with open hands, we beg the apartheid animal to stop its plans, our fingers can easily be broken. But if we clench a fist, then we are strong.

We are making such a fist. The UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT will oppose Botha's plans.

**With unity and organisation we will win.**

## PIET'S PLANS

**Koornhof's plans are in three laws aimed at African people:**

- The Black Local Authorities Act.
- The Black Community Development Bill.
- The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill.

These plans mean:

**The pass laws to be worse**

The government wants only one in every four Africans in the towns. Those with no house or job will have to starve in the bantustans.

**City people to be divided from migrant workers**

The government will fine city people if they shelter migrant people who have no permit.

The few African people legally in the cities will be given jobs. People in the bantustans will get work only if there are any jobs left over.

So the government hopes to weaken the unity of Africans.

**'Illegals' to be fined, jailed and without work**

● If Africans get caught in town at night with no permit, the fine is R500 or 6 months jail.

● If caught in a job with no permit, the same thing could happen.

● Employers will be scared to give 'illegals' jobs because they could be fined R5000 or jailed for a year.

**Sell-outs will be stronger**

The puppet community councils will own land and have their own police. They will also control who gets the few houses and who gets evicted.

**Paying for oppression**

Africans will have to pay out of starvation wages for so-called services and community councillors' rewards.

## WHAT THE UDF IS ALL ABOUT

**WHAT IS THE UDF?**

The UDF unites all freedom-loving people who reject apartheid. We show our strength in this broad front.

People with different approaches to the struggle have a place in the United Democratic Front.

It is the duty of all of us to build this powerful and representative unity.

Organisations will keep their independence in the UDF. But we will work together to oppose the President's Council, the new parliament and Koornhof's plans.

**HOW DID THE IDEA OF A UDF ARISE?**

Allan Boesak's call for unity and joint action against the government's new plans planted the seed that is growing into a massive national United Democratic Front.

The call was made at the Anti-South African Indian Council (Anti-Saic) conference on January 23 this year and has echoed countrywide since then.

**WHAT HAS BEEN THE PROGRESS TO DATE?**

Natal was the first region to launch a regional United Democratic Front. More than 40 organisations elected an executive committee in May. At its head is Archie Gumede.

Soon after this, nearly 40 community, worker, student and other organisations agreed to form the Transvaal United

Democratic Front. A leading person in the consultative committee is Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

On July 24, Western Cape organisations launched their regional United Democratic Front with Oscar Mpetha as president.

The Eastern Cape continue their work to build a regional UDF.

Many more organisations are joining the regional UDFs. **WHAT ARE THE TASKS AHEAD?**

The task now is to form a national United Democratic Front. This will unite all the regional UDFs and their organisations.

**HAS THIS HAPPENED BEFORE?**

In 1936, many people's

organisations met in the All African Convention to condemn Hertzog's laws. These laws took away the vote and 77% of the land from Africans.

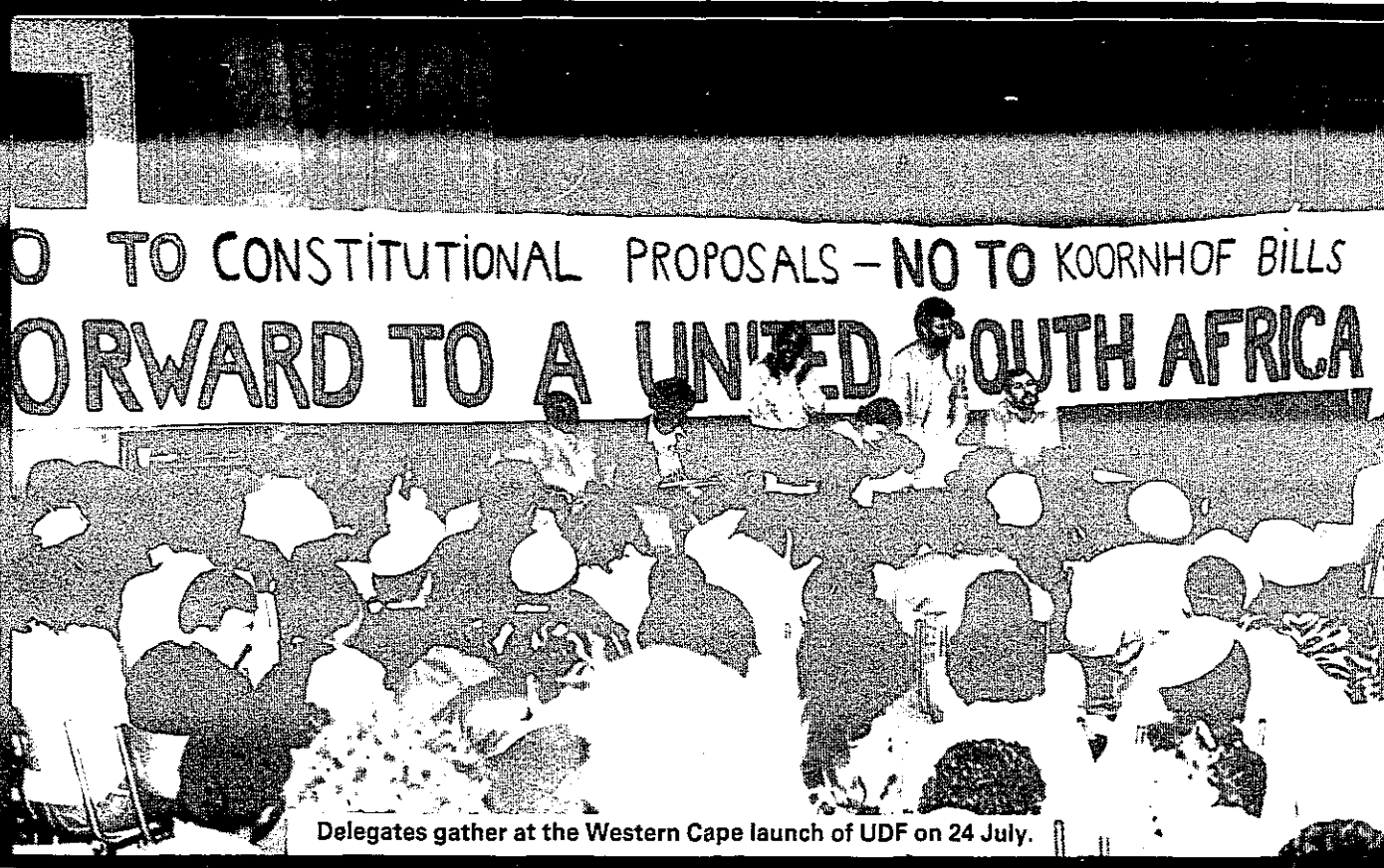
The Congress of the People was held on 26 June 1955 in Kliptown. It drew up the historic Freedom Charter. The Congress Alliance that called this meeting was the most powerful front in our history.

**HOW THE UDF WILL WORK**

Within each regional UDF, area committees are being organised. These committees are in direct contact with the grassroots. This makes it possible to mobilise every section of our people.

The national conference will elect the national leaders.

# UDF VERENIG



Delegates gather at the Western Cape launch of UDF on 24 July.



Oscar Mpetha salutes delegates after being elected President of the Western Cape UDF.

## APARTHEID VERDEEL

**ONS ROEP VIR EENHEID!**  
**ONS ROEP VIR ORGANISASIE!**  
**ONS ROEP VIR VRYHEID!**

Ons is in 'n moeilike tyd vir ons geveg vir 'n vry en demokratiese land. Dit het tyd geword dat ons saamstaan en organiseer.

Die tyd het nou aangebreek.

Mense wat vryheid liefhet sal in hul duisende op 21 Augustus in Kaapstad saamkom om die nasionale UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT te stig.

Werkers, studente, huisvrouens, predikante, onderwysers, jeug en leiers van alle rasse van dwarsoor die land sal hierdie konferensie bywoon.

Die belangrikste taak is om 'n enkele sterk mag op te bou. Hierdie taak is dringend. Dit kan nie uitgestel word nie.

Die regering is besig om 'n nuwe grondwet en wette te maak wat ons stryd vir vryheid bedreig.

Ons weet waarom die regering nou met hierdie nuwe wette wil kom. Die ou maniere wat hulle gebruik het om ons te onderdruk, werk nie meer nie. Die mag van ons organisasies het dit onmoontlik vir hulle gemaak om so aan te hou.

Volgens P.W. Botha, die nuwe wette sal 'Kleurlinge' en 'Indiers' 'n se in die regering gee. Maar Botha wil verseker dat Apartheid sal voortbestaan.

**Ons verwerp hierdie planne.**

Die nuwe grondwet wil ons verder volgens ras verdeel — 'Africans' aan die een kant en 'Kleurlinge' en 'Indiers' saam met die regering aan die anderkant.

**Ons sal dit nie toelaat nie.**

Ons het verdeling in die verlede teengestaan en ons sal dit weer doen.

Ons moet saamstaan om Koornhof se nuwe planne teen te staan.

Sodra hierdie planne wet raak, sal hulle die paswette selfs erger maak. Hulle wil he dat 'Africans' in die 'tuislande' van honger sterf, liever as om werk in die stede te soek. Dit sal onmoontlik vir die 'Africans' wees om in die stede te woon sonder goedgekeurde behuising.

Die mense het alreeds die puppet 'Community Councils' total verwerp. Maar nou wil die regering vir hulle selfs sterker maak.

Ons kan nie toelaat dat ons so' gebruik word nie.



This refers to the commitment to democracy and non-racialism which are the cornerstones to total worker control in the worker struggle. — Dennis Neer — secretary-general, MACWUSA and GWUSA.



'Now is the time for a democratic organisation nationwide to combine their strength as part of the UDF and with a united voice say No to divide and rule, No to Apartheid in whatever new form.' — Kate Phillip, president NUSAS.



'Our day-to-day problems of housing, rents, and transport cannot be solved by the government's proposals. We must counter the proposals' attempts at co-optation and entrenchment of white minority rule.' — Prof Ismail Mohammed, chair Transvaal Anti-PC Committee.



'UDF is the only organisation to bring together individuals and organisations who do not necessarily subscribe to the same political objectives, but who object to PC and the 'homelands'. UDF educates and mobilizes for united action.' — Thozamile Gqwetha, president SAAWU.

Ons veg al lank om ontslae te raak onderdrukking, rassisme en uitbuiting. Ons geskiedenis vertel van sterk weerstand teen die apartheids pasette, group areas, lae lone en swak opvoeding.

Ons het die Matanzima's en die Mpephu's verwerp. Ons het geweier om te stem vir die C.R.C., die S.A.I.C. en vir Community Councils.

Die regering het ons wel beseer met hul bulldozers, hul gewere en hul wreedheid. Maar hulle het ons nie gekeer nie!

Ons het baie oorwinnings gehad. Al hoe meer mense ondersteun daagliks ons stryd vir vryheid.

Ons organisasies verenig ons in die fabriek, in die lokasies en in die skole. Ons organiseer as vrouens, as gelowigers en as sportspersone.

**Nou is ons selfs sterker.**

In die Transvaal, Kaap en Natal is daar 'n saamtrek van ons organisasies in 'n nuwe organisasie, die UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, in elke provinsie.

Die tyd het nou aangebreek dat al hierdie organisasies alle mense wat vryheid hiefhet, saam moet kom in een nasionale United Democratic Front.

**Ons taak is om 'n verenigde mag vir vryheid te bou.**

Die UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT se NEE! vir wette wat sal beteken dat werkers hongere lere verdien, dat mense in die 'tuislande' van hongerte sterf en dat die minderheid regeer.

Die UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT see JA! vir 'n verenigde, demokratiese, nie-rassistiese Suid Afrika.

**ONS MOET ORGANISEER VIR ONS REGTE!**

**ONS MOET ONS ORGANISASIES VERSTERKI!**

**ONS MOET SAAMSTAAN WAAR ONS VERDEEL IS!**

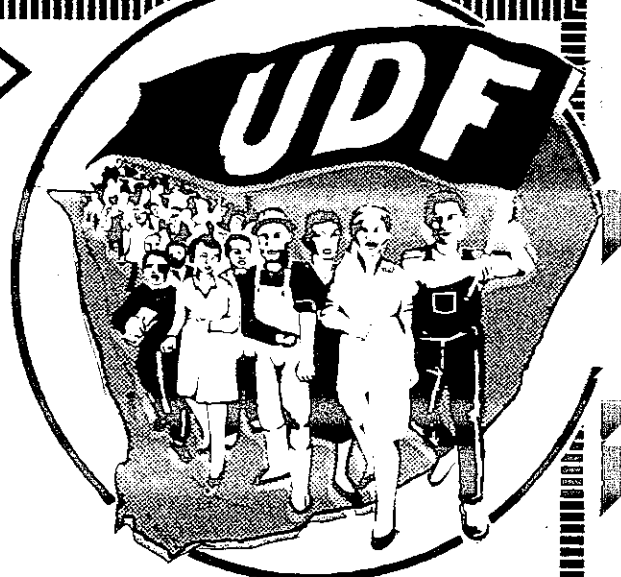
**VOORVAARTS MET DIE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT!!!**

UDF unites —  
Apartheid divides!

iUDF yakha  
ubumbano  
— iApartheid idala  
inhlukano

UDF verenig —  
Apartheid verdeel!

# UDF NEWS



Vol. 1, No.1.

August 1983

## I UDF I YADIBANISA I APARTHEID I YAHLULA

**OLU LUMEMEZO NOBIZO  
LOMANYANO!  
OLU LUMEMEZO LOM-  
ZABALAZO!  
OLU LUBIZO  
OLUSINGISELE  
ENKULULEKWENI!**

Ngoku sifikelele kwindima ebalulekileyo kumwabalazo olumzima lokuzuzwa ilizwe lethu elikhululekileyo. loluntu lonke nelingenacalulo.

Ngaphezu kwayo yonke into, le yure ifuna ukuba simanyane, senze umzabalazo. Sekukudala sisilwa intshutshiso, ucalulo kunye nengcinezelo.

I lixa lifikile lokuba abathandi benkululeko nogwangco bahlangane e-Kapa. Bakhe umzimba omkulu i-UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT ngomhla wama 20-21 August 1983.

Lomsebenzi ungxamisekile ufuna amadoda. Lo msebenzi awunakulinda.

Urulumente yujhona ngoku afuna ukwenza umgaqo kunye nemithetho yelixwe emitsha. Lo mgqo siseko nalemithetho mitsha (Kooorhof Bills) kukoko icacile ukuba iza nobunzi kuluntu lonke.

Siyayazi injongo zikarulumente ekwenzeni lemithetho mitsha. Kungokuba akanakho ukusilawula ngendlela endala. Ngenxa yemibutho yethu enamandla, kuya kubanzima kurulumente ukusicinezela ngokuthanda kwakhe ngalandlela indala.

Ngoku urulumente uzama ukubonisa ilizwe liphela ukuba kukho mnyinyiva awenzayo, nje ngoko esithi uza kunika abebala kunye namandiya inxaxeba ekulawuleni eli lizwe lethu.

Siyayazi ukuthi lonto bayithethayo ngamapunge, akukhonto injalo. Akukgo nqubelela kwinto ayenzayo kwananjalo kungekho nanguquleko kwimithetho ka-  
rulumente.

Eyona nto emasiyilindele yitshutshiso nengcinezelo engaphezulu eza nenzuzo kubambalwa kuphela.

### **Siyayazi esinjongo zikarulumente.**

Lomgaqo - siseko umtsha uyilwa ngabo benza ucalucalulo nangabo baxhaphazayo nabamfifithi begazi labantu.

Indlu-wisa-mthetho iyakusoloko iyindlu yongcinezelo, yocalulo, ephethwe ngegqudu ngabamhlophe bengekho abona bantu baninzi beli loMzantsi Africa. Iyakuba yayabantu abathile kuphela. Iyakuba ngurulumente obatha ngegqudu.

U P.W. Botha uyakuba nguzwilakhe yinto yonke. Umgqo-siseko omtsha injongo zawo kukudala ucalulo phakathi kwabebala namandiya kunye kunye nathi. Thina asikhange sinikwe inxaxheba ekuyileni nokulungiselela ikamva yelilizwe.

**Kunyanzelekile ukuba siwulwe ngamandla lomthetho kunye neli yelenqe lukusicalucalula.**

Kuyakufuneka simanyane ekulweni imithetho emitsha ka Koornhof.

Le mithetho yobunswela bulungisa yaka Koornhof iza nengcin ezelengathethekiyo.

Ikwaza nobunzima obungathethekiyo



'The PC proposals and Koornhof's bills will bring greater hardships and further divisions. We must reject them.' — Wilfred Rhodes, chair CAHAC.



'Let all democratic people reject these plans. Let nothing divide us.' — Joseph Merks, vice-president Western Cape UDF.



Sheikh Nazeem Mohammed: Chairman of the Muslim Judicial Council and a patron of the UDF.



'We reject the PC/constitution plans and Koornhof's bills. Let us unite under the UDF' — Dorothy Zihlangu, chair United Womens Organisation.



'Umanyano ngamandla. Ngoku ngakumbi simanyana sisondele kwinkalo esijonge kuyo.' — Oscar Mpetha, president Western Cape UDF.

bamapass. Iza kuthintela abalambayo emaphandleni ukuza kufuna imisebenzi ezidolophini. Lemithetho ikwaza nentshutshiso kwabo bahlali abasezidolophini ngaphandle komthetho.

Amagunya oofanakalo wamabhunga abemi ezilalini lawo aliwa ngabemi ayakwandiswa ukuze yenze imisebenzi emdaka yikwarulumente. Kucacile ukuthi urulumente akayi kufaka isandla ekujongeni nezinto zelali.

Kukwacacile ukuthi abemi bofuneka behlawule ngaphezulu nangona imivuzo yabo iphantsi kakhulu. Lonto iyakuthetha ukuthi sizakuhlawulela intshutshiso nengcinezelo yethu.

**Koko kyakunyanzeleka ukuthi siyilwe lemizamo yokusicinezela ngakumbi.**

**Sekukudala sinyamazela intlalo ibuhlungu phantsi kukarulumente wohlolekayo no wengcinezelo. Sekukudala singcungcuthaka phantsi kwentlalo ebuhlungu ezitlongweni.**

**Kuyoyonke lonto, siyenzile indima kumzabalazo wethu. Kungoku nje seba bininzi abantu abezimisele ukuwenza lo mzabalazo.**

Abasebenzi kwimizi yemveliso, abalimi, abantwana bezikolo, amakhosikazi namadoda, iincubabuchopho nabo

sibemengeenyawo, zibambene ngeezandla ekulweni intshutshiso, ucalulo nokuzama inkululeko nge lethu ixesha.

Imibutho yethu ibamanyile abantu, nje ngabasebenzi kwimizi- mveliso abemi ezilalini, abalimi emaphandleni, kunye nabafundi ezikololweni nakwidyuniversity. Siwenzile umzabalazo, nje ngamakhosikazi, nje ngamakholwa, ngabadlali na njengabathandi bendululeko.

Apho sithe seva khona ingcinezelo nentshutshiso asisonganga zandla, siwenzile umzabalazo, samanyana sama ngeenyawo.

Khona ngoku sithe sazinika amanye amandla.

Phesha kwe Ligwa, ekoloni nase Natal, imibutho yabantu abaneenjongo eziphangaleleyo ithe yamanyana yayila imibutho yee United Democratic Fronts.

**Kodwa owana msebenzi wethu ngoku kukudibanisa yonke lemibutho kunye nebo bonke abantu abacinezelweyo kuzo zonke imbombo zalo mdibaniso kummibutho umnye we UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.**

Ubizo nawona msebenzi wethu kukwenza umanyano lomntu wonke, sibheke phambili phantsi komemezo olunye, silandele

iinkokheli zethu esizithembu ileyo

I UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT ithi HAYI kwincinezelo, HAYI kuxhaphazolwamandla.

I UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT ithi HAYI kwimithetho yolawulo lwabambalwa kubaninzi, ithi HAYI ukuba abantu bafe yindlala emakhayeni, HAYI kwimivuzo yobukhoboka.

I UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT ithi EWE kwilizwe elimanyanayo, ulolawulwa luluntu lonke, olungenacalulo no lwahlulwa bubuzwe, ibala no butyebi.

**MASIMANYANE APHO SIHLUKA HLUKANEYO!**

**MASIZABALAZE**

**XASISODWAI**

**MASIQINISE IMIBUTHO**

**YETHU!**

**PHAMBILI Ku**

**UNITED**

**DEMOCRATIC**

**FRONT!!!**

# Support for UDF growing

(11A)

S. Times

1983

August

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

**SUPPORT** for the United Democratic Front (UDF) is growing and, on the eve of its national launch, this body has the backing of about 100 South African organisations.

The Front was born after a dramatic call for unity by Dr Alan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, at an Anti-South African Indian Council conference in January this year.

"All political groupings and people who have different approaches to the struggle (for democracy) have a place in the United Democratic Front," says a UDF statement issued this week.

The Front will be launched in Cape Town next week and delegates from all over the country will attend the two-day gathering.

The aim of the UDF is to mobilise opposition to the President's Council, the Constitutional Bill and the "Koornhof Bills".

## Inequalities

"They do not begin to redress the intrinsic economic and social inequalities, which have been the deliberate result of centuries of white domination," says the UDF statement.

Since January, the Front has grown into a national organisation with broad-based regional branches. It has support from civic, political, youth, church, labour and women's organisations.

Supporters in the Western Cape include the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), the United Women's Organisation (UWO), the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) and the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco).

Mr Trevor Manuel, the UDF's Western Cape secretary, said that contrary to newspaper reports, the Front has support from both black and white bodies and is not an opposition grouping to the National Forum Committee — backed by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) — which met in the Transvaal recently.

"There are on-going discussions between Azapo and the UDF.

"The Forum is basically a forum for discussion, whereas the Front has been set up specifically to oppose the proposals.

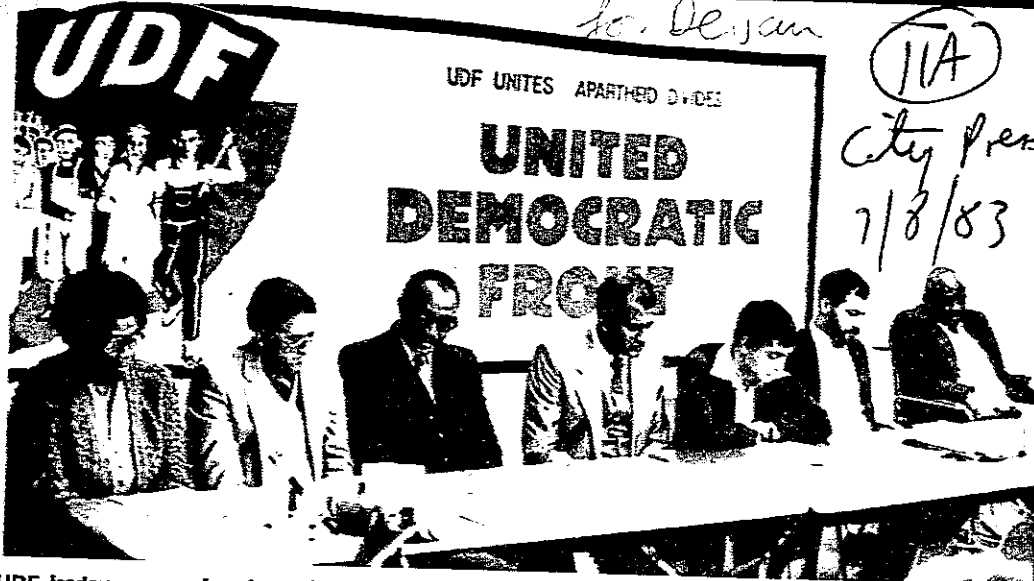
"We will have an open-door policy to the National Forum, but definitely not to bodies like the Black Alliance.

"The Labour Party is part of the Alliance and our fundamental policies just differ too much".

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# 'NO' GETS LOUDER



UDF leaders announcing the national launch. (From left) Albertina Sisulu (Women's Federation), Dr R A M Saloojee (Transvaal Indian Congress), Archie Gumede (Natal UDF), Zac Yacoob (UDF), Yumus Mohammed (Natal UDF), Trevor Manuel (Western Cape UDF) and Oscar Mpetha (Western Cape UDF).

CP Reporter

HUNDREDS of people from all corners of the country are making arrangements to travel to the mammoth people's rally and national launching of the United Democratic Front in Cape Town in two weeks time.

More than 400 people are expected from the Cape and Natal alone to form the front, dedicated to fighting the Government's new constitution and the so-called Koomhof Bills.

The Transvaal UDF general council is meeting on Saturday to elect an executive to lead the province's official delegation of about 80 people to the conference.

At least 100 more people from Transvaal UDF member organisations are also expected to make the trip to the people's rally.

## UDF national front gets together

Reports from Cape Town are that feverish organisation is underway to ensure the massive meeting goes off without a hitch.

Thousands of people are expected at the meeting, which could be the most representative gathering of apartheid opponents since the Congress of the People in 1955.

The national launching follows the formation of UDF's in the Transvaal, Western Cape and Natal, with more than 100 member organisations.

At Monday's Press conference in Johannesburg, Western Cape UDF secretary Trevor Manuel told newsmen the Freedom Charter was not the basis for UDF unity.

Observers interpreted this as leaving the door open for participation by organisations like Azapo in the UDF at some later stage.

Although it is understood there have been informal talks between leading Azapo and UDF members in their private capacities in recent

weeks, Azapo's attitude still appears to be hostile.

Foremost the minds of delegates to the Cape Town conference will be the development of policy and a programme of action against the new constitution and the "Koomhof Bills".

The first challenge likely to confront the UDF will be the forthcoming community council elections in the townships, and this issue should be near the top of the agenda.

# US honours Boesak

AMERICAN civil rights leaders have invited Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, to address the more than 300 000 people who are expected to gather at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on August 27 to commemorate the 1963 civil rights march on the US capital.

Dr Boesak will be the only foreign speaker at the huge gathering, which is to be attended by some of the most important political and religious personalities in the US.

Among the American speakers will be Mrs Loretta King, widow of the Rev Martin Luther King, spiritual leader of the American civil rights movement.

Such champions of the civil rights movement as senator Edward Kennedy, are also expected to be among the small group

of selected American speakers

Dr Boesak confirmed that he would be addressing the gathering and said: "I am greatly honoured and also numbed"

The ceremony is to be televised live by all three major national networks in the US, reaching an audience of more than 80-million in the US and many more elsewhere in the world

Parts of the ceremony will also be broadcast internationally by the Voice of America and other Radio networks.



BOESAK: Honoured.

In 1963 more than 300 000 people from all parts of the US converged at the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to press for improved black civil rights.

# Life

BELFAST — IR former, Mr Christ Black, sent 22 comrades to prison sentences totalling years last week than go back behind bars himself.

However, he faces a different kind of sentence now — a life of looking over his shoulder for assault from the clandestine organisation who vowed to kill him.

Mr Black (29), wife Kathleen and children have smuggled abroad

# Mortar attack

ISRAELI troops near Beirut came under grenade and mortar attack early yesterday as Shi'ite Moslem villagers in southern Lebanon began a day of protest against the Israeli occupation.

Military sources said four rocket-propelled grenades and a number of mortar bombs were fired at an Israeli position near the town of Hadath, on the eastern outskirts of the capital.

One of the grenades landed close to the nearby base of British troops serving with the four-nation Beirut peace force, the sources said.

The Israelis replied with tank and cannon fire directed towards the Hay Es-Sillom superb of Beirut, which is patrolled by the multi-national force.

An Israeli military spokesman outside Beirut confirmed the attack on the position, but said there were no casualties.

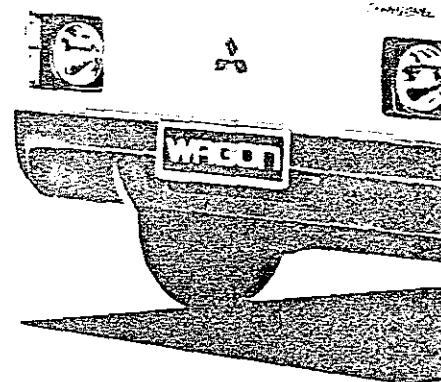
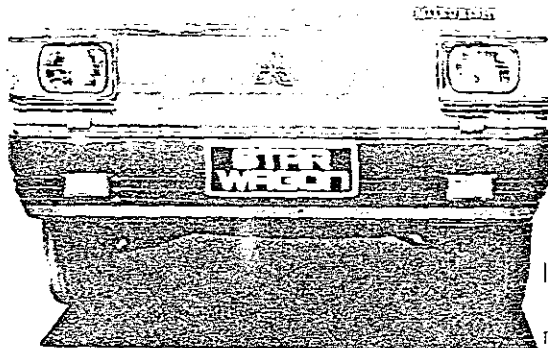
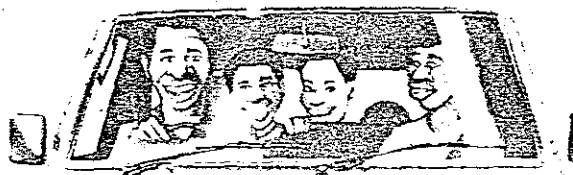
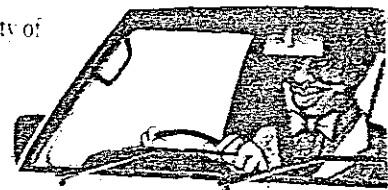
In southern Lebanon, Shi'ite Moslems gathered in Mosques and halls for a day of peaceful protest against the 14-month-old Israeli occupation of the south. The demonstration was called by the Shi'ite paramilitary organisation, Amal, against the arrest of an Amal militant from the village of Kfar Melki, 12 km east of Sidon. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Curfew lifted

# NEW FROM MITSUBISHI FUN—SPACE— ECONOMY BY THE WAY

## JAZZ ON WHEELS.

For long or short trips. Where you need plenty of space for passengers and luggage. The Mitsubishi Wagon. Plenty of power for the heaviest loads. Great pulling power on hills. Fantastic prices. Low running costs. Extra roof height gives extra comfort. This is the Wagon the South African motoring experts have raved about. No matter how hard you punish it, it just keeps going and going.



## MOVING PERFORMANCE

The new 1 800 cm<sup>3</sup> 5-speed Starwagon: luxury and driving comfort of a conventional station wagon reach of your pocket. It is all you could ever wish for in a motoring need. Features like a full luxury interior, electric windows, four speaker radio, tape stereo and more. practically turn this beautiful vehicle into a luxury home on wheels. increases luggage space. You practically have a big



# Politics and the worker interests

11A  
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NOV 8/8/83  
RELATIONS between unions and political groups has been in the news of late.

Two bodies formed to fight Government constitutional proposals, the United Democratic Front and the National Forum Committee, have both seemed eager to win the membership of trade unions.

Last week the UDF said it had appointed a committee to approach the biggest emerging union group, Fosatu, to request it to join.

Since the unions are the biggest focus of black mobilisation in the country, winning their support is obviously crucial to the new bodies.

In some cases they have succeeded — the Council of Unions of SA has joined both groups and unions like the SA Allied Workers Union have backed UDF.

But they are certain to find unions like Fosatu, the General Workers Union and the food and canning unions much harder to woo.

These unions fear that, by joining a particular group, they could alienate members who do not support it. But there is another reason for their stance.

For some time, Fosatu in particular has argued that previous black union movements made a mistake by allying themselves directly with political movements.

These movements are, of course, made up not only of workers but of professionals, business people and the like.

Unionists argue that, because the "elite" have more education and time at their disposal than workers, they usually come to take up the key leadership positions in the political movement.

This, they add, means worker interests take a back seat and unions may be called on to take action which fits the priorities of the "elite" leaders of these movements, but may conflict with worker priorities.

So groups like Fosatu tend to prefer independent action on these issues, while building up leadership skills among workers.

So in Cape Town the unions have organised their own campaign on the constitution.

Of course, this is not a universal view among emerging unions. Some argue that unions who fail to join political movements are turning their back on the political aspirations of blacks.

Whether this will become a bone of contention in the present union unity talks remains to be seen.

## Labour Week



By STEPHEN  
FRIEDMAN

~~FOIA~~ (11A) - LOM 8/8/83

TALKING of union views on community issues, a little-heralded development in Fosatu's East Rand local may have major ramifications for the factory floor.

Shop stewards at at least one Fosatu plant in the area have begun taking up community issues with their employer with some success.

They say they are using factory muscle to persuade employers to take up township issues because the townships exist to serve industry and employers have a duty to see that the quality of life in them is improved.

As a result, Fosatu's local in the area now wants union members at other plants to take up community issues.

As part of this effort, they plan to form "zone committees" comprised of workers representing each area of a particular township.

The idea is that these would tell the unions which issues are worrying residents in their

area and stewards would then take them up. How much success they will have remains to be seen.

But this does confirm again that community issues are becoming part of the bargaining agenda.

# ANC behind temple blast

## SP Chief

By EMILIA JAROSCHEK  
Crime Reporter

A COMMUNIST limpet mine was used in the explosion at the Temple Israel in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, at the weekend, Security Police said last night.

Major-General Frans Steenkamp, Chief of the South African Security Police, said information he had indicated that the African National Congress was behind the attack.

The blast, which occurred on Saturday, damaged large portions of the temple — hours before the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, and top dignitaries were to have attended a religious ceremony there.

Gen Steenkamp said last night: "Remnants of a limpet mine of communist origin were found at the scene.

"Similar types of limpet mines have been used only by the ANC in previous attacks in this country so far.

"This leads me to believe

that the ANC was behind the explosion. However, investigations are at an early stage and far from complete so I cannot commit myself," Gen Steenkamp said.

He said no arrests had been made so far.

Reports from London shortly after the attack were that the ANC had denied responsibility.

The explosion occurred at 5.57am on Saturday.

The blast may have occurred prematurely. Mr and Mrs Viljoen were to have been seated at 10am and other dignitaries were to arrive even earlier. They included the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen and the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr Alan Gadd.

The occasion was a Gold Jubilee Service to mark the 50th anniversary of Progressive Judaism in Johannesburg.

● See Page 2

## Cold will linger longer

Mall Reporter

COLD front conditions which caused weekend temperatures in the Transvaal to drop will continue today with showers and fog patches.

The Weather Bureau predicts cloudy cold conditions in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand area with scattered rain

clearing partly later.

Minimum and maximum temperatures for Johannesburg are 5C and 14C and for Pretoria, 6C and 16C.

The rest of the Transvaal will be fine to partly cloudy and cool but cold in the south and cloudy over the south and east with early showers or fog patches clearing later.

cloud of oily smoke into the sky.

not only to assess the situation but also to give what advice and assistance we can in the efforts to minimise damage from the escaping oil."

● Three of the 36-member crew of the Castillo de Bellver — all of them engine-room staff — are missing, believed dead.

Most of the survivors, who included two women, were picked up by the passing vessel Harvest Carina, and taken to Saldanha. All but the master of the tanker, Captain Alfonso Cibera, and the third engineer, Mr German Gracia Juan, and his wife left Cape Town for Johannesburg by air yesterday on their way to Spain.

## or the coolboys

and Weynand were taken to Mozambican immigration

ys told Mozambican journalists about Mozambique that corporal punishment



# Mandela still nominated

OWN Correspondent

*(S)*  
DURBAN — The nomination of Nelson Mandela as Chancellor of the University of Natal will stand unless Mandela rejects the nomination, says Mr Jonathan Taylor, president of the Students Representative Council on the Durban campus.

Responding to conflicting reports about whether Mandela would accept the nomination, he said Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, had told him today that Mrs Winnie Mandela was

*(11A) Haw 8/8/83*  
applying for travel documents to enable her to travel to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town where her husband is being held

"She will discuss the issue of the chancellorship with him and then give a Press statement as to whether Mandela accepts our nomination.

"We are disregarding the telex message the university received from lawyer P J De Waal to the effect that Mandela would not accept the nomination," Mr Taylor said

S4A 11A RDM 2/8/83

# Police reply to questions on blast

By WIM VANVOLSEM

QUESTIONS about details released at a police conference last week on the investigation into the Pretoria car bomb blast were put to the SAP's Directorate of Public Relations yesterday by the Rand Daily Mail, and these are the answers supplied by Colonel Chris Coetzee of the directorate

● MAIL: What proof do the police have that the exiled leader of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, was behind the planning of the

blast? (Police named Mr Slovo — based in Maputo — as the mastermind of the attack.)

SAP: We know that the ANC are responsible for the blast. We also know that ANC planning is handled by Mr Slovo. Whether Mr Slovo was personally involved in the planning of this particular attack, we cannot say. We assume that he was involved in the planning.

● MAIL: What proof do the police have that the R3 000 found at the house of the

bombers, was money paid to them by the ANC for doing the job?

SAP: Information received indicates that the two bombers were paid R3 000 by the ANC, and that money was found in their house

● MAIL: What do police think is the reason for the ANC now using hired criminals to do jobs for them? (At the Press conference police said the two bombers were convicted Reef criminals recruited by the ANC to carry out the blast.)

SAP: Experts on terrorism

have pointed out that it is a worldwide phenomenon that terrorist organisations recruit criminals to carry out the mean jobs for them, so that their own people wouldn't get hurt. It is done all over the world.

● MAIL: Will those who have been held in connection with the blast be charged and if so when?

SAP: They are being held under the Internal Security Act. (This means that the police may hold them for a lengthy period without bringing charges against them.)

## Police release pictures of car-blast pair

Pretoria Bureau

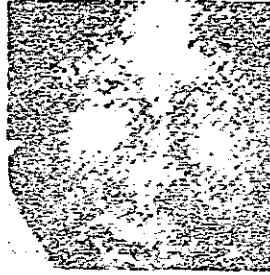
THE names and pictures of the two Mamelodi men police say were responsible for the Pretoria Church Street car-bomb blast in May were released to the Sunday Times at the weekend.

The two are Freddy Butana Shongwe, 35, and Bakayi Ezekiel Maseko, 42. The Sunday Times said permission was obtained from the Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, to publish

the names and pictures of the two men.

Early last week the police prohibited newspapers from publishing the names because they were still investigating.

The police said both men had criminal records and were paid by the banned African National Congress to plant the bomb which killed 19 people and injured more than 120 on May 20. Both men were killed in the blast.



EZEKIEL MASEKO  
Killed in blast



FREDDY SHONGWE  
Killed in blast

S4A 11A RDM 2/8/83

### Soldier killed by landmine

DEFENCE Headquarters have announced the death in a landmine explosion in the Operational Area on Friday of Rifleman Johannes Jacobus Cristoffel Stols, 20.

He was the son of Mrs F P Stols, of Regent's Park, Johannesburg. — Sapa.

# Sisulu elected

(11A) ~~2/24~~ Mercury  
'as a warning'  
27/8/83  
after her arrest

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the veteran black leader who is in custody after being arrested by police on Friday, was elected Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front on Saturday.

The Transvaal council of the UDF elected her 'as a great homage and as a warning to the State' at a meeting here.

Mrs Sisulu is due to appear in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court today.

She is being held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act.

She is the president of the Federation of South African Women and wife of Walter Sisulu, who is serving a life sentence for treason.

She was recently released from a banning order after spending 17 years under restriction.

Mrs Sisulu would have led the Transvaal delegation to the national launching of the UDF in Cape Town in two weeks.



# Striking rock

This is FAIRBAI rights. T of

ARGUS 8/8/83

(11A) (215)

*'Wayi thint' abafazi  
Wayi thint' imbokotho...'  
(You have tampered with the women  
You have struck against rock...)*

EVERYBODY knew the protest song, but nobody knew who had composed it. "Mama" Zihlangu, chairwoman of the United Women's Organisation, remembers how, through this song, the 20 000 women who went to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on August 9 1956, expressed their anger at the Government over the extension of passes to women.

The Nationalist Government had come to power in 1948 and its new apartheid measures were most forcibly felt by women. In 1952 the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act passed through Parliament, extending passes, under the new name of reference books, to women.

The reaction was furious. Unrest spread around the country as successive municipalities announced that they were to begin registering women and enforcing other new influx control measures.

## Demonstrations

The Women's League of the African National Congress (ANCWL) organised demonstrations and rallies in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Oudtshoorn, Stellenbosch and many other towns.

The resistance spurred the formation of the major women's organisation of the 50s, the Federation of South African Women (FSAW), which held its inaugural congress in the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on April 17 1954.

Delegates and observers from women's organisations all over the country came, and to free the women's energies for the conference, men volunteers were relegated to the kitchen to do the catering.

Ida Mtswana, president of the ANCWL, was elected its first national president, and trade unionist Ray Alexander, who had played a key role in organising the conference, became its secretary.

Four prominent woman activists were elected vice presidents: Gladys Smith (Western Cape), Lilian Ngoyi (Transvaal), Florence Matomela (Eastern Cape) and Bertha Mkhize (Natal).

Among the committee members were Dora Tamana, Albertina Sisulu, Helen Joseph, Fatima Meer and others well known for their involvement in women's organisations, trade unions and politics.

The conference set out its aims in a Women's Charter calling for women's rights, but also stressing unity with men: "We women do not form a society separate from men... As women we share the problems and anxieties of our men and join hands with them to remove social evils and obstacles to progress."

With other organisations, it took up campaigns against the destruction of the township of Sophiatown, outside Johannesburg, under the Group Areas Act, and against the introduction of Bantu education.

## Anti-pass campaign

But its real work began after the announcement by the Government that it intended to start issuing women with reference books from January 1956, which was met with vehement resistance from women all over the country. The anti-pass campaign was to rage on until the early 60s.

Passes were first issued in Winburg, and two months later, the burnings began. Many Winburg women were arrested and charged with theft. There were huge demonstrations by women of other towns — Pretoria, Evaton, Durban, Klerksdorp, Brakpan and Bethlehem were among those that saw rallies and marches as anger mounted.

With other organisations, the FSAW began planning the Pretoria demonstration. Mama Zihlangu recalls the mood at the time: "We hated these books. We wouldn't take them, so they locked us up. We felt we had to burn these books because they were ugly."

## To see Strijdom

She was one of the ANCWL delegates chosen to represent the women of the Western Cape in Pretoria on August 9. "We sent our deputation there and many others went. Church people... everyone, because this reference book was something that could hurt us. Our aim was to see (Prime Minister) Strijdom."

Mama Zihlangu remembers the long train journey and the exhaustion of the many women who made it. She remembers how many dozed off in the sun while they were waiting in the amphitheatre in front of the Union Buildings for Strijdom to come out.

"We never saw him. I don't know how he left or if he was not there, but we never saw him. We were all singing 'Strijdom! Wayi thint' abafazi, wayi thint' imbokotho', our be

Everybody knew that song, but I do composed it.

"The people were cross, more Strijdom. I don't know why he didn't think he was frightened. It was a you couldn't find your friends in it

After a long wait, the women's thousands of individually signed petitions were taken into the Union Buildings the protests had been delivered stood in silence for half an hour; the African national anthem, Nkomo Afrika.

"That was August 9," said Mama Zihlangu. "Afterwards, although we were a we had done something. We came to see the people that we didn't see Strijdom worked hard and organised more we did not want to take the referendum."

## Violent clash

The anti-pass campaign continued. In 1956 there was a violent clash between the women and police in Lichtenburg. Two women were killed. Rural women in Zeerust were massed for either refusing to accept their passes, and there was mass action on the Reef and in Natal until the late 50s.

The news of Sharpeville, where police testers were shot dead, shocked the country.

That the campaigns were being led by the ANCWL and the FSAW did not go to the Government. The ANC was banned and with it, the Women's League; Lilian Ngoyi was banned and confined to township in 1961; Florence Matomela was banned in the same year and later imprisoned for furthering the aim of the FSAW. Ray Alexander, banned, went to Zambia.

## Regroupings

With its leadership severely weakened by the crackdown that followed Sharpeville, the FSAW went into a decline. Then began a lull from which the women's movement recently began emerging, with the formation of new organisations. In Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban and the Reef.

In 1981, the United Women's Organisation held its inaugural conference in Cape Town. It is a growing organisation with 19 chapters and about 600 members in the Western Cape. UWO is organising a rally in Cape Town for International Women's Day to commemorate the struggles of the past and the march towards a new South Africa.

Chairwoman Mama Zihlangu will be a proud past at the meeting, and a sage to women for the future: "To build a new South Africa, if we unite we will build it."

**This is the final instalment of JEAN FAIRBAIRN'S series on the fight for women's rights. The period covered marks the high point of women in politics in South Africa.**



...i, wayi thint' imbokotho', our beautiful song. Everybody knew that song, but I don't know who composed it.

The people were cross, more at not seeing Strijdom. I don't know why he didn't come ... I think he was frightened. It was a huge crowd, I couldn't find your friends in it."

After a long wait, the women collected thousands of individually signed petitions which were taken into the Union Buildings. When all the protests had been delivered, the women stood in silence for half an hour, before singing the African national anthem, Nkosi sikelel' ika.

"That was August 9," said Mama Zihlangu. "Everwards, although we were angry, we felt we had done something. We came back and told people that we didn't see Strijdom. And we worked hard and organised more and more ... I did not want to take the reference book."

### Violent clash

The anti-pass campaign continued. Late in 1960 there was a violent clash between protesters and police in Lichtenburg. Two people were killed. Rural women in Zeerust went to jail en masse for either refusing to accept or burning their passes, and there was massive resistance in the Reef and in Natal until the 1960s.

The news of Sharpeville, where 69 pass protesters were shot dead, shocked the entire country.

That the campaigns were backed by the FSAW and the FSAW did not go unnoticed by the Government. The ANC was banned in 1960, with it, the Women's League; Helen Joseph, banned in 1957, was banned again in 1962; N Ngoyi was banned and confined to Orlam township in 1961; Florence Matomela was banned in the same year and later charged and imprisoned for furthering the aims of the ANC; Alexander, banned, went into exile in Swaziland.

### Regroupings

With its leadership severely depleted in the aftermath that followed Sharpeville, the FSAW went into a decline. Then began the period of rebirth from which the women's movement only slowly began emerging, with regroupings and formation of new organisations in the Cape, Elizabeth, East London, Durban and the Transvaal.

In 1981, the United Women's Organisation held its inaugural conference in Cape Town. Today it is a growing organisation with 19 branches and 1,600 members in the Western Cape. The UWO is organising a rally in Cape Town for National Women's Day to commemorate the struggle of the past and the march to Pretoria 27 years ago.

Our woman Mama Zihlangu will be recalling the shared past at the meeting, and had this message to women for the future: "To the women of South Africa, if we unite we will be able to create a new South Africa."



Albertina Sisulu



Helen Joseph



# Mandela won't accept nomination, and that's official

11A  
8.8/83

## Mercury Reporter

THE University of Natal has been told officially that jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela had declined to accept his nomination for chancellorship.

Mrs Winnie Mandela instructed her lawyers to send a telegram to the university confirming the decision, which came after widespread confusion over whether her husband was to stand for the post.

Mrs Mandela asked her lawyer's wife, Mrs P J de Waal, to send the telegram on her behalf to the rector of the university, stating that it was both her and her husband's wish that the nomination be turned down.

Mrs de Waal said last night Mrs Mandela had contacted Mr Mandela about two weeks ago and apparently based the decision on what she had heard from her husband.

Last week author Alan Paton announced that he

would withdraw his nomination for the chancellorship if Mandela stood for the post.

He refused yesterday to comment, beyond referring to an earlier statement that he knew he would distress his supporters, but he could in no circumstances enter into competition with Mandela.

The president of the SRC, Mr John Taylor, said it was now certain that Dr Paton would succeed Dr B Armitage as chancellor.

## Ailing Mpetha 'satisfactory'

CAPE TOWN — Veteran trade unionist and community leader Oscar Mpetha was in a satisfactory condition in Groote Schuur Hospital today.

A hospital spokesman said Mpetha's condition

was no different to that when he was admitted yesterday.

Mpetha (75), a diabetic, was given a five-year sentence for terrorism last month but was released on R1 bail pending appeal. — Sapa.

Rec 8/8/83 (11A)

1104

# Magistrate refuses ~~23~~ bail for Mrs Sisulu ~~118~~

*Jul 8/8/85*  
Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today charged with furthering the aims of a banned organisation

She appeared with Mr Thami Mali before Mr H Van Heerden and bail for both accused was refused

Her case was postponed to August 17 when a provisional trial date is to be set.

The case was to have been heard at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court today but the venue was changed at the last minute.

Mrs Sisulu, president of the Transvaal United Democratic Front and the Federation of South African Women, was arrested by police in Soweto on Friday

Shortly after her arrest police in Pretoria said she was being held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act.

## A job for Albertina

*Aug 21 1983*  
*(11)*  
Mrs Albertina Sisulu, arrested under the Criminal Procedure Act on Friday, was elected Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front in Johannesburg at the weekend.

A 27-member executive committee was formed to manage the fledgling political group which will be launched on August 20 in Cape Town.

11A

# Detained Mrs Sisulu is elected party Tvl chief

By ANTON HARBER  
Political Reporter  
MRS ALBERTINA SISULU, who is in custody after being arrested by police on Friday, was elected Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front at the weekend.

The Transvaal regional council of the UDF elected her unopposed "as a great homage and as a warning to the State" at a meeting in Johannesburg.

Mrs Sisulu, who is due to appear in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court today, will replace Dr R A M Salojee, who headed the interim committee that established the UDF.

According to a police statement, Mrs Sisulu is being held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act. Police said at the time of her arrest that she was being charged for involvement in the activities of the banned African National Congress.

Mrs Sisulu is the president of the Federation of South African Women and is the wife of Walter Sisulu, the ANC leader now serving a life sentence for activities of the organisation.

She recently had her ban-

ning order lifted after spending 17 years under house arrest or other restrictions.

Dr Salojee told the meeting that he announced the arrest of the "mother of our nation" with "bitter resentment".

"At a time when there seems to be a belief that the State is softening up, we find the heavy hand of oppression being brought down on us once again.

"The State has thrown down a gauntlet to the oppressed to marshal themselves to oppose harassment," he said.

Mrs Sisulu will now head the Transvaal delegation to the national launching of the UDF in Cape Town in two weeks time — provided she is no longer in custody.

The meeting also elected five vice-presidents. They are the Rev Frank Chikane, Mr Curtis Nkondo, Mr H Shabangu, Dr R A M Salojee and Mr Hans Kgaletwa.

Mr Mohammed Valley and Mr P Molefe were elected joint secretaries and Mrs Rita Ndzanga and Mr Eric Moloi were elected joint treasurers.

Jan 9/8/83

Azapo (IA)  
at WCC  
assembly

The president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Lybon Mabasa, is at the World Council of Churches Assembly in Vancouver "to keep a watching brief on proceedings as far as they affect the internal position in South Africa".

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, confirmed today that Mr Mabasa had left for Vancouver on Friday.

Mr Mkhabela did not expect Azapo would get an opportunity to address the conference, but Mr Mabasa's visit would provide invaluable contacts for Black Consciousness organisations.

# Mrs Mandela seeks to discuss varsity post with husband

MARITZBURG — Mrs Winnie Mandela will ask permission to visit her husband, the jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, to discuss his nomination as the University of Natal's Chancellor.

According to the family lawyer, reports that Mandela had refused to stand for election were the result of a "misunderstanding".

The lawyer, Mr I Ayob, said that as neither he nor Mrs Mandela had been able to communicate with Mandela to find out whether he wished to stand as chancellor, it had been decided that Mrs Mandela should visit her husband at Pollsmoor Prison.

Mr Ayob added that Mrs Mandela was to apply immediately for permission. She is banned and re-

stricted to her home in Brandfort in the Free State.

The president of the Durban campus's Students' Representative Council, Mr Jonathan Taylor, said the university had agreed to wait until August 26.

A telegram received by the university last week, which said Mandela did not wish to stand, had since been retracted.

Author Dr Alan Paton, who has also been nominated for the chancellorship, said he stood by his earlier announcement that he would withdraw if Mandela stood.

Dr Chris Saunders, the joint chairman of the Tongaat group and Hulett's Corporation, had also been approached as a potential nominee. He declined because of his business commitments.

# Pass March remembered

By MZIKAYISE EDM

THE DAVEYTON women's group will commemorate the historic march to Pretoria in 1956 by about 20 000 women, who were protesting against the issuing of pass books to black women, at a service to be held in Daveyton near Benoni this evening.

The service, to mark the 27th anniversary of the protest march, is scheduled to start at 6.30 pm and will be held at the Presbyterian Church in Mpondomise Street.

A spokesperson for the Daveyton women's group said she was appealing to the community of Daveyton to attend this service as it marked a great day in the lives of all black

women throughout the country.

The four women who led the crowd — Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi, Sophie Williams and Rahima Moosa — went into the Union Buildings to see the Prime Minister, taking with them a petition signed by thousands of women calling for the rejection of the pass laws.

Meanwhile 400 people attended a meeting held at the Dube YWCA on Sunday to commemorate the march by the women.

The meeting was part of a week-long programme organised by the Federation of South African Women to highlight the march.

The Rev Frank Chi-



MEETING: Part of the crowd at the meeting at the Dube YWCA on Sunday.

kane told the meeting that the detention of leaders would not stop the struggle for liberation. "If our sisters can be part of the struggle then we shall be closer to our goal. We shall be more victorious than before," he said.

Other speakers at the meeting were Mr Curtis Nkondo and Mrs Mavis Daniels from the Noord-gesig Women's League.

Another meeting which forms part of the Focus Week, will be held at Glynn Thomas today at 7 pm.

1 All variables are natural  
2 T values are in parentheses

Independent variable <sup>1</sup>	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)
Constant	5.0547	1.974	-7.264	-7.768
Prime-age male unemployment rate	0.6011	0.582	.528	.560
Population 16-24 years of age relative to total population	1.3670	0.948 <sup>2</sup>	(14.980)	(11.450)
Population of prime-age males	(10.39)	(10.941)	.519	-.015
Population of teenage males	0.7346	0.866	(2.084)	(.037)
D.W.	1.25	.638	.805	1.067
R <sup>2</sup>	0.7346	0.866	(13.585)	(5.778)

Table 1: The unemployment rate of teenaged males (natural log) as a function of the size of the teenaged population



# No bail <sup>9/8/83</sup> for Sisulu <sup>(IIA)</sup>

By SAM MABE

MRS ALBERTINA Sisulu and a Soweto school teacher, Mr Thami Mali, made a brief appearance in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday where they faced charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The two, who are alleged to have engaged in activities of the banned African National Congress, were not asked to plead and the magistrate, Mr H S van Heerden, postponed their hearing to August 17 for the setting of a date of trial.

A certificate from the Attorney-General opposed the granting of bail and the two have been remanded in custody.

The hearing, originally scheduled for the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court, was suddenly switched to Johannesburg yesterday morning, disappointing several spectators who had gone to Krugersdorp to attend the hearing.

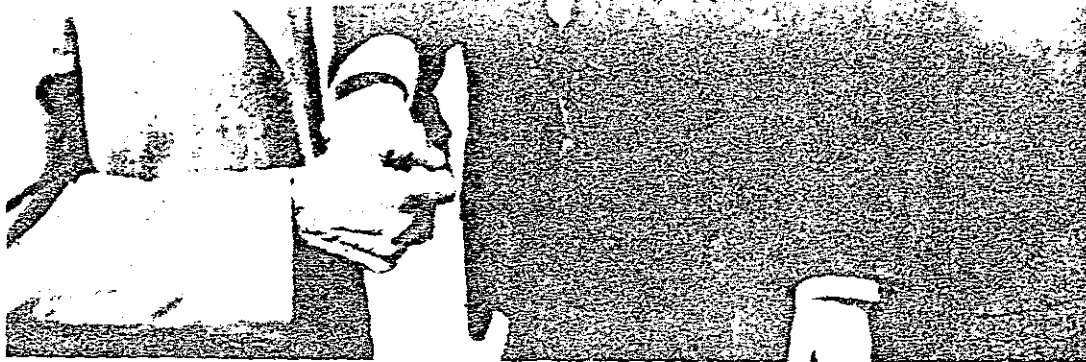
Both Mrs Sisulu and Mr Mali were arrested on Friday at their respective places of employment.

Only about 24 hours after her arrest, Mrs Sisulu (66), who is an executive member of the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), was elected in absentia as Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Mrs Sisulu's husband, former secretary general of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, is currently serving a life imprisonment sentence.

Three other people — Ms Amanda Kwadi, a social worker and member of Fedsaw, the Rev Samuel Tsele of the Lutheran Church and Mr George Moilwa, a Kagiso civic leader — appeared at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Friday last week.

The charges are also related to the ANC and their hearing was postponed to August 31 after they were refused bail.



Ventriloquist Rae Alan and his aristocratic dummy, Lord Charles, recently shared champagne and cucumber sandwiches with Mr Fred Page — a 102-year-old Anglo-Boer War veteran from Hornsey, London — in the grounds of Buckingham Palace. The event was a garden party

held by the Not Forgotten Association for the benefit of disabled veterans and servicemen and women. Fred was a guest, and Alan and Lord Charles were among the entertainers who provided the party-goers with a couple of hours of high class entertainment.

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curas for the largest military  
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1000 Honduran ground forces  
is. They will be backed up by  
6 000 military personnel and

a group of engineers who  
f San Pedro Sula on Sunday  
s, barracks and a provisional

, whose leftist leaders ousted  
f trying to export revolution  
uter.

## ren honour t march

Correspondent

ousands of women all over  
e celebrating National  
in commemoration of the  
f their colleagues to the

## Zimbabwe dissident 'abducted

to SA'

The Star Bureau

HARARE — An dissident,  
wounded in a gun battle  
with Zimbabwean security  
forces, told the High Court  
here yesterday he had been  
abducted in Zimbabwe and  
taken to South Africa.

Mr Bensen Dube (21), of  
the Tsholotsho district in  
Matabeleland, told the court  
he had been on his way to  
look for work in Bulawayo  
when he was abducted by  
armed men who took him  
to South Africa.

White men in South Africa  
told him he would be sent to  
a camp where he would be  
trained "as a soldier". He  
was taken to a camp where  
he underwent six months'  
training. At the end of his  
training four men from Zim-  
babwe visited, the

## Tension run high as Leba fighting cont

BEIRUT — Tension continues  
throughout Lebanon after fresh  
inter-Palestinian fighting and  
the shooting down of an Israeli  
plane by Syrian forces.

After a weekend in which  
about 60 people died in bomb at-  
tacks, fighting erupted yester-  
day in the Bekaa Valley be-  
tween Palestinian rebels and  
supporters of PLO leader  
Yasser Arafat.

The clashes, in which artillery  
was used, lasted two hours in  
the Shtoura area before Syrian  
forces imposed a ceasefire.

Syrian forces also exchanged  
fire with a Lebanese army out-  
post at Ayoun Siman, a former  
ski resort in the central moun-  
tains, but there were no reports  
of casualties, the Christian Pha-  
langist radio reported.

Earlier the Syrians shot down  
a pilotless Israeli plane

close to th  
Israeli mili  
the drone  
ground-to-  
from Syria.

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Terror trial  
S to be tried  
At least five political prisoners,  
including journalist Thami Maz-  
wal, are due to be released from  
jail on Thursday after serving 18  
months for refusing to testify in  
Vanderbijlpark Regional Court.  
The other four are Thabo  
Ndabeni, Solomon Selam, Martin  
Seleke and Siphon Somacele.  
News of their possible release  
was disclosed to the Press yes-  
terday by attorney Mr Raymond  
Tucker.

'Sees Nessie twice'  
American scientists with  
monitoring the surface of  
ed, last Thursday evening, looked like a  
Mr Beckjord said the first object sight-  
ble of filming 240 hours without a break  
scanning the waters with a camera capa-  
long, upturned boat. The second sighting  
Of this he said: "The first thing we saw  
was on Saturday afternoon.  
The water and went down again.  
"Then, after that, a shadowy, dark object  
seemed to be drifting across the bay."  
Mr Beckjord believes the loch is the  
breeding ground for all the sea monsters of  
the world. He thinks they hatch there and  
swim down the River Ness, through Inver-  
ness, and out to sea.  
Mr Erik Beckjord, have been  
tical Society, led by wildlife  
ists, from the U.S. National  
ace.  
object 9 m long moving just  
sighting from a point over  
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nd the monster crossed the  
egged sighting was towards  
ster twice in the past week.  
Ness claim to have seen  
monitoring the surface of  
American scientists with  
the Star Bureau

Guard 'ANC, SA Reds responsible'

# against Communist mines used in temple blast

By ANN PALMER

SECURITY at Johannesburg synagogues should be re-examined in the wake of the bomb blast in Hillbrow's Temple Israel.

The Johannesburg chairman of the Jewish Ex-Servicemen's League, Major Roy Chweiden, said yesterday committees from the various synagogues should contact him for advice on stricter security arrangements.

"With the holy season only a month away, security should be checked as there will be hundreds of people flocking to places of worship."

Major Chweiden said the league could only act in an advisory capacity and any manpower for security would have to come from the congregations.

The chairman of Temple Israel, Mr S Epstein, said in a statement yesterday that Saturday's bombing of Temple Israel — the mother temple of progressive Judaism in South Africa — had left the congregation shocked and saddened.

The president of the United Progressive Jewish Congregation of Johannesburg, Mr S Bergman, declined to comment yesterday on the security measures taken by Temple Israel before the bomb blast.

"We have a responsibility to other synagogues not to reveal the security arrangements."

He said they had liaised with the Security Police and questions on the security should be referred to them.

Sabbath services will be held in the Temple Israel hall.

The daily evening service has been moved temporarily to Temple Emmanuel, Parktown, while the service for senior citizens, which would have been held on Wednesday will be held at Temple Shalom, Highlands North.

By EMIELIA JAROSCHEK  
Crime Reporter

TWO limpet mines of communist origin were used in Saturday's attack on Temple Israel in Hillbrow, the head of the Security Police, Major-General Frans Steenkamp, said yesterday.

He said the limpet mines were placed next to a door at the back of the building.

Gen Steenkamp reiterated his belief that the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party were behind the attack.

He said the ANC's denials of responsibility did not surprise him, and claimed there was evidence that certain units of Umkhonto We Sizwe — the military wing of the ANC — were operating under the direct instructions of the SA Communist Party.

He said also that the ANC and the Palestine Liberation Organisation were identifying themselves with a United Nations conference to expose links between the Republic and Israel.

The ANC and the PLO were taking part in the current UN World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in Geneva, Switzerland, he said.

Its aim was to condemn Zionism, as well as the "so-called apartheid system", as racism.

The PLO and the ANC had identified increasingly with each other's causes in recent

years.

"ANC leaders have publicly expressed support for the PLO and joined in denunciations of Israel. The bombing of the synagogue may thus very well have been seen as an attack on Zionism and an attempt to intimidate South African Jewry and the State of Israel against gestures of goodwill towards South Africa.

"Press reports of an ANC denial of involvement in this desecration of a house of worship come as no surprise at this stage.

"Evidence of lack of communication between the ANC hierarchy and their terrorist units, as well as the increasing lack of effective control by the ANC leadership over all units of Umkhonto We Sizwe, is nothing new.

"This came to light clearly with the delay and conflicting statements made by the ANC about responsibility for the Pretoria car-bomb outrage," Gen Steenkamp said.

Gen Steenkamp said police investigations were continuing and no arrests had been made.

No-one was injured by the blast at Temple Israel, but extensive damage was caused to the synagogue, reception hall and furniture.

● The Rand Daily Mail was phoned yesterday by a man claiming to represent the "Black Rage Movement", which claimed responsibility for the attack. The caller said his movement was "an offshoot" of the ANC.

The Security Police were notified of the call.

9/8/83

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# Policeman: I hid at secret base

By Rashid Chopdat

A security policeman who defected from the banned African National Congress hid at a secret police training base for two days after he shot dead a man whom he believed was a terrorist, a Rand Supreme Court judge heard today.

Constable Jeffrey Bosigo (24), address given only as Soweto, was appearing before Mr Justice F H Grosskopf on a charge of murdering Mr Daniel Kgogo on December 17 last year.

The policeman, who joined the Security Police 4½ years ago, pleaded not guilty.

He said that on the day of the shooting he was driving in Soweto when the driver of a car, whom he said was Mr Kgogo, tried to force him off the road.

He said: "When Mr Kgogo forced me off the road the second time I saw a pistol in his hand. I think his passenger had a hand grenade. I feared for my life.

"I already had the gun near me and released the safety catch. I fired a shot — a blind one. I do not know if the bullets struck any person.

"I did not fire a second shot. Things were happening too fast.

"The only reason I believed Mr Ngogo was a terrorist was because he had a gun.

"I sped off and stayed at a secret base used for the training of policemen for two days."

Constable Bosigo said he was on the "hit-list" of the ANC. Earlier this year a colleague, who was also a former ANC member, had been killed.

The night before the shooting, Mr Bartholomew Hlapane and his wife had been killed.

He and Mr Hlapane had given evidence before the Denton Sub-committee on Terrorism and Communism in Southern Africa.

They had also given evidence at various other terrorist trials.

The case is proceeding.

by August 9 1983

Stan

# Mandela request to see husband

MARITZBURG — Mrs Winnie Mandela is to request permission to visit her husband, jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, to discuss his nomination as chancellor of the University of Natal.

The family lawyer says reports that Mandela had refused to stand for election were the result of a "misunderstanding".

The lawyer, Mr I Ayob, said that as neither he nor Mrs Mandela had been able to communicate with Mandela to find out whether he wished to stand, it had been decided Mrs Mandela should request to be allowed to visit her husband at Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town.

Mrs Mandela is banned and restricted to her Brandfort home in the Free State.

The president of the Durban campus Students' Representative Council, Mr Jonathan Taylor, said that the university had agreed to give the Mandelas until August 26 to decide.

A telegram received by the university last week saying that Mandela did not wish to stand has been retracted.

Author Dr Alan Paton, who has also been nominated for the chancellorship, said he stood by his earlier announcement that he would withdraw if Mandela stood for the post.

Dr Chris Saunders, joint chairman of the Tongaat group and Huletts Corporation, was also approached as a potential nominee but declined owing to business commitments. — Sapa.

9/8/83 E. Post  
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# Estate agent summonsed in PE township

By SHIRLEY PRESSLY

A PORT ELIZABETH estate agent, Mr Arthur Arnot, was twice issued with a summons for entering a proclaimed area without a permit when he tried to attend a commemoration service at a church in New Brighton on Saturday.

Mr Arnot said that he, his wife, Jane, children aged six and three, and a black girl, aged 14, whom they were giving a lift into New Brighton, were stopped by uniformed police in Mati Road on Saturday afternoon.

They were on their way to a commemoration service at the Arthur Wellington Church in New Brighton. The service commemorated the march to Pretoria by a group of women.

Mr Arnot said he told police he was a Christian and on his way to attend a church service.

He said he believed that *bona fide* churchgoers of other race groups did not require permits to attend church meetings in the townships.

Mr Arnot said the police handed him and his wife a summons carrying an admission of guilt for R30 each and advised them to drop the 14-year-old black girl at that point and turn back.

Mr Arnot turned back and entered New Brighton through another back entrance which was not under surveillance.

He drove to the church. Inside the church

grounds, he said, he was stopped by a security policeman who had been present when he was stopped earlier.

Mr Arnot said he got involved in a debate with the security policeman who contacted the uniformed police at New Brighton who arrived and escorted him back to the New Brighton Police Station.

There he was given a second summons carrying a R30 admission of guilt fine, for being in a proclaimed area without a permit. His wife was also given a second summons.

Mr Arnot said he did not believe he could be stopped from attending a church service in any area.

He commented on statements made last year by Mr Louis Koch, Chief Director of the East Cape Administration Board, which said "because of the impracticality of issuing permits to the large number of people who attend church meetings in the townships it has been decided not to insist on people applying for them".

In a subsequent report, however, Mr Koch said permits for white and coloured people to enter Port Elizabeth's African townships were a legal requirement, even for church services.

Major Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said 22 summonses were issued on Saturday to people for being in a proclaimed area without a permit.

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Mrs <sup>11A</sup> ~~11A~~  
Sisulu <sup>DOM</sup>  
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charged

Mail Reporter

MRS ALBERTINA SISULU was charged in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday with taking part in African National Congress activities while she was banned.

Mrs Sisulu, 66, of Orlando West, Soweto, was charged with Mr Thami Mali, 25, of White City, Jabavu, Soweto, under section 3 (1) (a) (iv) of the old Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.

Section 3 of the 1950 Act is similar to section 13 (1) (a) (iv) of the new Internal Security Act of 1982, which replaced the 1950 Act.

In terms of a certificate signed by the Transvaal Attorney-General, Mr J E Nothling, on Friday last week, Mrs Sisulu and Mr Mali were not eligible for bail.

They will be held in custody until Wednesday next week, when they will appear again.

Mrs Sisulu is the wife of ANC leader Walter Sisulu, who is serving a life sentence.

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body." The Publications Appeal Board did not think it necessary to hear Mr Beckett's defence before finding that opinions expressed in an article "form part of the ongoing political debate on the future of South Africa".

"They form part of the right to express a view and it is therefore legal to express them. We do not feel the article will incite people and therefore find it not undesirable."

Last month, a committee found an article in the July edition, called "After the Bombs", had given publicity to the banned African National Congress.

Mr Beckett accused the committee of "sweeping generalisations" when it found the disputed article had justified ANC activities.

He said that if the article had given publicity to the ANC "then many other publications will have to be banned for the same reason".

# ANC clothes, colours, slogans lead to prison

By Gavin Engelbrecht,  
West Rand Bureau

A man who was found in the possession of clothes bearing the colours of the banned African National Congress (ANC) was sentenced to an effective eight years' imprisonment by a Krugersdorp magistrate yesterday.

Isaac Genu (30) of Kagiso, Krugersdorp, was convicted of being a member of the ANC, taking part in the activities of the organisation and the possession of banned literature. He had pleaded not guilty before Mr G J la Grange to all the charges.

At a previous hearing the court heard that Security Police had searched Genu's house and found a shirt depicting a woman with a gun, men carrying spears and ANC slogans.

Also found were a shirt with a map of Africa, two children's shirts bearing the slogans "Viva Mandela" and "Aluta Continua" (the struggle continues) and two head scarves. All the items bore the ANC colours.

A political science lecturer, Mr I de

Vries, said the colours, slogans and pictures were representative of the ANC, but added they could be used by other organisations.

Genu had told police that he was a member of Inkatha and the clothes were representative of this.

This was disputed by an local Inkatha representative.

Genu chose not to give evidence.

Mr S L Joseph, for the defence, said the "State's only case is that by wearing the garments Genu identified with the ANC. There is no evidence saying that he influenced anybody by wearing the clothes".

In passing judgment Mr la Grange said that on the evidence available, and without Genu's explanation, the only logical conclusion was that he was a member of the ANC.

He added there was no dispute that the colours, emblems and slogans were used to engender support for the ANC, and the wearing of these garments was done with the sole goal for getting support for the movement.

The prosecutor, Mr S van Rensburg, referred to the recent Pretoria bomb blast and called for the maximum sentence of 10 years.

He said that only about 15 percent of the "total onslaught is through violence."

In passing sentence Mr la Grange said no country could condone violent change and it had to be condemned.

## Struggle for gun ended in death

"I saw my friend being shot," a man told a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate yesterday.

Mr Stan Contic was giving evidence at the trial of Mr Marijan Jelic (34), address given as First Avenue, Geduld, Springs, who is alleged to have shot and killed Mr Trifun "Ramon" Micovanovic in a fight in Hillbrow on December 19 last year.

Mr Jelic has pleaded not guilty be-

fore Mr J J F Booyens to a charge of culpable homicide.

Mr Contic said he saw Mr Jelic and Mr Micovanovic engaged in a struggle for Mr Jelic's revolver on the steps outside a restaurant.

"I saw my friend shot once in the lower body and once in the heart."

Mr Micovanovic was also shot in the leg.

The case continues.

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# Mrs Sisulu elected UDF Transvaal president

JOHANNESBURG — Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the veteran black leader who is in custody after being arrested by police on Friday, was elected Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front on Saturday.

The Transvaal regional council of the UDF elected her unopposed "as a great homage and as a warning to the state", at a meeting at Khotso House, in central Johannesburg.

Mrs Sisulu, who is due to appear in a

Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court this morning, will replace Dr R. A. M. Salojee, who headed the interim committee that established the UDF.

According to a police statement, Mrs Sisulu is being held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act. Police said at the time of her arrest that she was being charged for involvement in the activities of the banned African National Congress.

She is the president of

the Federation of South African Women and is married to Walter Sisulu, a former general secretary of the ANC now serving a life sentence for ANC activities.

She was recently released from her fifth banning order after spending 17 years under house arrest or other restrictions.

Dr Salojee told the meeting that he announced the arrest of the "mother of our nation" with "bitter resentment".

"At a time when there seems to be a belief that the state is softening up, we find the heavy hand of oppression being brought down on us once again.

"The state has thrown down a gauntlet to the oppressed to marshal themselves to oppose harassment," he said.

Mrs Sisulu will now head the Transvaal delegation to the national launching of the UDF in Cape Town in two weeks time . . . provided she is no longer in custody. — DDC.

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Johannesburg (right), and Mr Jack Janke, who was later a honorary life member of the congregation. ● Picture by Dale Yudelman.

They took clothing and other items. — Crime Reporter.

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# Special squad will fight Lenasia crime

By Yussuf Nazeer

Police have appointed a special anti-burglary squad to deal with the spate of housebreaking and theft in Lenasia and Eldorado Park, the District Commandant of Police for Protea-Soweto West said in Lenasia at the weekend.

Addressing a public meeting, Colonel J C Smit said the new anti-burglary squad was going all out to apprehend what it suspected to be organised criminals behind the thefts of TV sets and video recorders from homes.

The colonel emphasised that the new squad would make speedier progress with the help of the public. Burglaries should be reported to the police immediately they were discovered.

Several people complained to the colonel that they had been making such reports but the Lenasia police did not act promptly.

The colonel replied that the Lenasia police contingent was small and

understaffed and also had to cope with other crimes.

Colonel Smit praised the Residents' Home Guard Patrol Squad recently formed in Extensions 3 and 5 to help prevent housebreaking and robbery in the area.

He said that people who acted responsibly in apprehending criminals were welcomed by the police. But he emphasised that the residents should undergo the B-Group reservist training to learn to guard their homes effectively.

The new and larger police station being built in Lenasia was expected to be ready in about 12 months, the colonel said.

The Extensions 3 and 5 Home Guard Squad has reported that it has been winning the battle against burglars since it began patrolling the neighbourhood 10 days ago.

But reports were being received that housebreaking and car theft were still rife in extensions which had no patrols.

# Accord on lay-offs is reached

Labour Reporter

Krost Bros (Pty) Ltd and the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU) have reached agreement on a retrenchment procedure after the five-day strike by 1400 workers which brought the Heriotdale factory to a halt last month.

The retrenchment of 130 workers on May 27 was the root cause of the strike by the entire black and white workforce.

After management agreed to demands to negotiate a retrenchment procedure with the Fosatu-affiliated union and lay off the 130 workers for a month, but pay them, the workers agreed to return.

Mawu approached management with proposals of short-time (shorter working hours at less pay) or alternate lay-offs (rotating the workforce to cut costs) as a counter to retrenchments.

These suggestions were rejected by management on the basis that they would be too disruptive.

The union is negotiating for the re-employment of the 130 workers.

# Six Boksburg workers reinstated

Labour Reporter June.

After negotiations between management and the factory's two representative unions, Kohler Packaging of Brakpan has reinstated six of the 62 workers retrenched in

In a statement released by Kohler yesterday, the company said the workers had been re-employed to fill vacancies that had arisen through staff turnover.

They start work today.

During the negotiations between management and the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers Union and the South African Typographical Union, the six were on full pay.

# Shopowner ran for his camera

A Johannesburg shopowner arrested a man on Saturday after he allegedly tried to steal a camera.

When Mr Johannes de Beer tried to stop the man from taking the camera the man produced a knife and threatened to stab Mr de Beer.

The man fled down Bree Street. Mr de Beer chased him and caught him.

# Irate player punches ref

CAPE TOWN — Rugby referee Captain G V Wickens, of the Military Academy, Saldanha, sent off a player during a game between Velddrif and Paarl Teachers Training College at Velddrif.

After the game, the player went up to him and punched him, breaking his nose.

Velddrif lost the game 11-76. — Own Correspondent.

# Nursing council raises fees R10

The South African Nursing Council's annual registration and enrolment fees have been increased from R15 a year to R25.

Nursing News, its newspaper, says the council is planning certain developments to enable it to provide a more effective service.

Over past years it has been hindered by lack of funds. — East Rand Bureau.

# City cafe

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was no different to that when he was admitted yesterday. Mpetha (75), a diabetic, was given a five-year sentence for terrorism last month but was released on R1 bail pending appeal — Sava.

CAPE TOWN — Veteran trade unionist and community leader Oscar Mpetha was in a satisfactory condition in Groote Schuur Hospital today. A hospital spokesman said Mpetha's condition was not different to that when he was admitted yesterday.

ing along on the side of the road, the next I was flying through the air " The driver of the car did not stop. Two riders dropped their bicycles, ran for their cars and gave chase. They caught up and took the driver to a police station, where, after a breathalyser test, he was arrested.

obesity clinic. And not just one shot. He fires a positive salvo straight into their stomachs. It was not his practice a few years ago but now his patients are being forced to lose weight — in some cases more than 100 kg. See Today!

# Ailing Mpetha, 'satisfactory'

8/8/83

2 000 <sup>ACG 45</sup>  
<sup>8/8/83</sup>  
at Tamana  
funeral <sup>119</sup>

Staff Reporter

A MULTI-RACIAL congregation of more than 2 000 people attended the funeral of veteran community leader, Mrs Dora Tamana, 83, at the Roman Catholic Hall in Guguletu.

Nine organisations were represented at the service at the weekend.

Mrs Tamana's coffin was carried on a horse-drawn cart from her home to the church and from the church to the Guguletu graveyard.

Members of the United Women's Organisation (UWO), dressed in green and black, led the procession.

# NATIONAL WOMENS DAY AUGUST 9

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1983



A WOMENS MOVEMENT PUBLICATION

# National Womens Day Aug 9

## Strijdom, you have struck a rock...

IT WAS 27 YEARS AGO THAT 20 000 WOMEN MARCHED ON THE UNION BUILDINGS IN Pretoria to protest against the extension of the pass laws to women.

They had come to see Strijdom, the Prime Minister, with thousands of petitions. When he refused to see them, they stood in silence for half an hour.

They broke the silence with the famous song composed for the march - "Strijdom, you have tampered with women, you have struck a rock!"

The call to all women who could not go on the march was "If you can't go to Pretoria, go to your nearest Native Commissioner." In Cape Town, 200 women gathered at the office of the Native Affairs in Salt River. They also held a silent protest, and carried placards which read "We don't want passes. We have seen the hardships these passes have brought to our men."

The organiser of these demonstrations against passes for women was the Federation of South African Women. This was a non-racial organisation to which many other groupings were affiliated.

The F.S.A.W. began in 1954, where it adopted the Women's Charter.

We commemorate National Women's Day as a high point in the proud history of resistance to injustice in South Africa. It is a special day also because it encapsulates the degree of organisation and militancy of South Africa's women. We remember on this day how the majority of South African women suffer because they are women, because they are black and because they are working-class.

We also remember and learn from the non-racial and united stand of the women. In the statement they gave to Strijdom it was said - "We are women from every part of South Africa. We are women of every race.



We come from the cities and the towns, from the reserves and the villages. We come as women united in our purpose to save the

African women from the degradation of passes... For to us, an insult to African women is an insult to all women."

## Women's Organisation: lessons from the past

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN HAVE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO DEVELOP A FEMINISM APPROPRIATE TO THEIR SITUATION. Western-style radical feminism fails to provide an adequate analysis of our society. Its aims fall short of national liberation. For Western feminism, the family is a site of oppression yet in South Africa the destruction of family life is one of the most awful crimes of apartheid.

At the formation of the African National Congress in Bloemfontein in 1912, women were accorded auxiliary membership. This meant that they had no vote at the Annual Congress.

However, the militancy of women in the Orange Free State, evident in campaigns against the pass laws passed by Municipalities showed that they were worthy of much more. In 1913, six hundred women marched in their passes to

the mayor of Bloemfontein. They were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. It was this kind of concerted action and determination that led to the formation of the Bantu Women's League in 1928. It was founded by a young teacher, Charlotte Maxete, a well-educated and highly articulate woman. Many of these women identified with the British Suffrage Movement and cries of "votes for women" were to be heard at protests and meetings.

Their aims and actions reflected the general policy of the A.N.C. at that time. They wanted women to be treated with propriety and recognised as citizens of the empire.

To achieve this they sent deputations to ministers. These were either ignored or not received.

During the 30's, the women's

League virtually collapsed and it was only in 1943 with the new leadership of members of the ANC Youth League, like Mandela, Sisulu and Tambo, that the Women's League was revitalized.

As the A.N.C. grew to be a mass-based political party, women were given full voting rights. Yet the women's main task was seen as that of "nation building"; inculcating children with a new brand of South African nationalism.

The widespread organisation of the 50's drew many women into the Women's League. In 1954, it joined with other women's organisations to form the non-racial Federation of South African Women.

It was this body that drew up the women's Charter, a list of women's demands, to be presented at the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955. Many of their demands are also

encapsulated in the Freedom Charter.

The F.S.A.W. led women's resistance to passes in 1955. Their protest would continue for another 4 years. The most widely publicized event of this campaign was the march of 20 000 women on the Union Buildings on August 9, 1955.

In this campaign women played the central role as in their report on the campaign the FSAW observed "Women await with impatience the active entry of men into the anti-pass campaign." When the A.N.C. went underground and the Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) was formed both women and men were included.

The 80's have seen the formation of democratic women's organisations and many women have been drawn into these organisations around struggles over basic issues, like childcare and housing.

“I opened the road for you, you must go forward”

# Mama Dora Tamana: We Salute You!

Dora Tamana was born in Gqamakwe in the Transkei. During the Second World War, she moved to Cape Town, and it was here that she began involving herself in issues affecting women. She set up a creche to care for the children of working mothers, feeding them and teaching them to read and write.

Throughout the early 50's, Dora became increasingly drawn into political activity; she participated in the campaign to restore to the African children their school feeding scheme. She was a member of the delegation sent to the Minister to protest the increase in bread prices; she became the secretary of the local branch of the ANC and was active in the Communist Party and the Peace Committee.

Dora Tamana supported the Defiance Campaign and was leader of the campaign against the removals of Africans during the mid-50's from the Western Cape.

In November 1954 Dora was elected National Secretary of the Federation of South African Women. The following year she was chosen along with Lilian Ngoyi to attend a world congress of mothers in Lausanne. Later she was invited to China, Mongolia and the Soviet Union. On her return she was subjected to long periods of banning, detention and police harassment as a result of her political activity.



Helen Joseph and Dora Tamana

In 1980, Dora was a founder member of the United Women's Organisation and delivered a speech at the inaugural meeting.

On Saturday 23rd July, Dora Tamana died, aged 83. She gave her life to fight for a better future. She opened the road for us to go forward, united and strong. Mama Dora Tamana, we salute you.

You who have no work, speak.  
You who have no homes, speak.  
You who have no schools, speak.  
You who have to run like chickens  
from the vulture, speak.

Let us share our problems so that we can solve them together.

We must free ourselves.  
Men and women must share housework.  
Men and women must work together in the home  
and out in the world.

There are no creches and nursery schools for our children.

There are no homes for the aged.  
There is no-one to care for the sick.  
Women must unite to fight for these rights.  
I opened the road for you.  
You must go forward.

## WOMEN'S MOVEMENT SEMINAR PROGRAMME 3rd TERM

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|---------|--|
| 25.7.83 | 'Rosie the Riveter'<br>Video and discussion      |
| 1.8.83  | Women in Mozambique<br>-slide and tape show      |
| 8.8.83  | National Women's Day seminar<br>-Jenny Schreiner |
| 15.8.83 | Women in Cuba                                    |
| 22.8.83 | 'Union Maids' -video and<br>discussion           |
| 29.8.83 | Seminar drawing together<br>the above programme  |



# Women Who Resisted

## Brief Biographies

Nonsikelelo Sisulu, played a notable part in both the ANC Women's League and the Women's Federation, and worked closely with Lilian Ngoyi. She was often arrested and threatened by the police, particularly when her husband, Walter Sisulu (former National secretary of the ANC, now serving life imprisonment on Robben Island) was in hiding. She has endured long years of banning orders and house arrest, but has still managed to get her children educated and is always remembered for her calm strong personality.



Baard

Francina Beard, a former leader of the ANC, a leading member of the Food and Canning Worker's Union and of SACTU's Local and Management Committees, was sent into banishment in the Transvaal. One morning in 1948 as she walked to work, she saw men lying in puddles of water because they had nowhere to sleep. "I wept and resolved that something had to be done." She joined the ANC and was soon organising the Women's League.

She was arrested in the big 1956 swoop and put on trial for treason. She was detained again in 1960, and in 1963 was kept in solitary confinement for a year before her trial. "I nearly went off my mind." Francina Beard spent five years in prison, and was banished to Mabopane, a place where she had no relatives and knew nobody. Her family was evicted from their home in Port Elizabeth and scattered. She is now over 60 and not able to move around, but indestructible spirit remains. She says, "I have survived."

HELEN JOSEPH was born in England, and after the war became politically involved in the Congress of Democrats, the non-racial Garment Worker's Union and the Women's Federation. She played a key role in organising the democratic protests of South African women against apartheid and against passes for women. She was arrested in 1956, and endured the treason trial to the end. She was the first person in South Africa to be put under house arrest.

Florence Matomela, a sunny energetic woman led the finest batch of volunteers in the Defiance Campaign of 1952, singing "What have we done, we African people?" She suffered from diabetes and was in need of constant medical attention, yet she was kept in solitary confinement under the notorious 90-day law, sometimes without access to the insulin she needed. She served a five-year prison sentence for "furthering the aims of the ANC."



Ngoyi

Lilian Ngoyi, became president of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) when it was founded in 1954. As president of FSAW, as well as of the ANC Women's League, Ms Ngoyi led a march of 20 000 people on 9 August 1956 to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to hand in their passes. Charged soon afterwards in the massive Treason Trial, she was soon served with her first, five year banning order. In 1963, Ms Ngoyi was one of the first victims of the new 90-day detention without trial legislation when she was held for 71 days in solitary confinement. Since then, Lilian Ngoyi was banned almost continuously and prohibited to attend any social gathering. When she died, she was two weeks away from the end of her fourth banning order.

Dorothy Nyembe joined the ANC in her early twenties and in 1956 led the contingent of Natal women to protest against the pass laws in Pretoria. During the Defiance Campaign she served two prison sentences and was detained in 1960 for five months. First banned in 1963, she was re-banned in 1968. In February 1969 she was charged in Pietermaritzburg under the Terrorism Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, accused of harbouring freedom fighters and assisting two co-defendants. She was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment and is due for release in 1984.

Elizabeth Mafeking, was a vice-president of the ANC Women's League and an indefatigable trade union organizer. She was banished from her home in the Cape to a remote area, where she lived apart from her family. She managed to escape to Lesotho, but her family was never reunited and she has suffered much hardship and loneliness.

Mary Moodley is still 'Auntie Mary' to thousands of people in Wattville Township in Benoni. A solid supporter of the Congress and trade union movement, she was arrested in 1960. When she was released the whole township turned out to welcome her. Today she is banned and restricted, but her spirit blazes as brightly as ever.

# Unite and Organise!

## Why People Organise:

There are many reasons why people organise. The most basic is that through organisation people can change the material conditions of their lives and the structure of society. As individuals people have little power, but as a collective unit people can make gains and effect change. Organisations also provide a forum for educating people about their situation. People can thus develop insight and an alternative way of viewing their lives. In organisations, people can also actively participate in making decisions which directly affect them.

## Why Women Organise:

The nature of women's oppression differs and multiplies for different strata of women. While white women are most directly affected by issues such as rape, abortion and pay inequalities, working-class women suffer the additional burdens of pass laws, perpetual minor status and lack of child care facilities. Different strata of women thus or-

ganise separately around issues which most directly affect them. This will thus determine the form of the organisation.

Although women are oppressed in unique ways, the struggle of South African women is linked to the broader struggle against apartheid and for democracy.

Most women are thus not only oppressed as women, but also as workers, as members of poverty-stricken communities, as students and as parents. To mention just a few concrete examples:-

1. Working-class women in South Africa have the worst paid, most unskilled jobs. They have very little legal protection and also form a large part of the unemployed.

2. Women from the bantustans find it almost impossible to find work in the urban areas. They remain in the poverty-stricken rural areas, often existing only on money sent from migrant workers.

3. In urban areas, women usually have to return home from a full days work to prepare supper and do all the housework. They therefore have little free time.

4. Women are brought up to believe that they are inferior to men and that they must be passive and subordinate.

There are many practical problems which women experience in attempting to organise to change their lives. They have very little time, housewives tend to view their problems as individual rather than social because they are isolated. Women also feel that politics and involvement in organisation does not concern them.

The work of a women's organisation is to overcome these difficulties, the immediate problems which women have such as child-care, health-care and high prices must be tackled.

Through organisation women can overcome the

lack of confidence and passivity which many feel about their lives. They can also develop confidence in themselves through gaining organisational skills and experience. In addition, women can be educated around issues which directly affect them. Through the development of strong women's organisation, women can fight for the democratic rights of women and the liberation of society as a whole.

"We the women of South Africa, wives and mothers, working women and housewives, Africans, Indians, Europeans and Coloured, hereby declare our aim of striving for the removal of all laws, regulations, conventions and customs that discriminate against us as women, and that deprive us in any way of our inherent right to the advantages, responsibilities and opportunities that society offers to any one section of the population." (Women's Charter, 1954)

## South African Women demand:

IN 1954, THE WOMEN'S CHARTER WAS DRAFTED BY THE FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN Women (FSAW). It arose out of the conditions and experiences that black women, in particular, were being exposed to, subject to the most severe forms of discrimination and deprivations, black women began organising themselves to combat their oppression.

In the 1940's, a rapid migration of African women to the towns, was a direct consequence of the final breakdown of the reserve economies and the tribal system. In an attempt to control this influx, the Government passed The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1952 and The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents) Acts. Many women participated in the 1952 Defiance Campaign and demonstrated that women could play an active and central role in the struggle for liberation.

The events of the 40's and

50's had set the stage for the development of a specifically women's political organisation. There was a growing awareness by many women that neither the removal of racial nor class discrimination would necessarily eradicate all those disabilities to which, they as women, were subject. Thus when a circular was distributed in 1954, convening a non-racial national meeting to discuss all forms of discrimination against women, it was met with an enthusiastic reception.

At the inaugural conference of the F.S.A.W., a wide cross-section of white and black women were present, including Bettie du Toit of the Garments Workers Union, Helen Joseph of The Congress of Democrats and Lilian Ngoyi of the African National Congress Women's League. From this momentous occasion arose a document known as the Women's Charter, which lays down the minimum requirements of women in a truly democratic society.



**What do Women Want?**

Women - this is your chance to speak out - your needs, your wishes your demands!

This public meeting is being held to give women a chance to put forward their demands for the FROELICH CHARTER. What do women want to make South Africa a better land? What do women demand for their children? You must give the answer! Let YOUR voice be heard. The Demands will be discussed at the great Congress of the People.

**SUNDAY 29<sup>th</sup>**  
**MAY - 2 P.M.**

**TRADES HALL**  
KERK STREET

**ALL WOMEN WELCOME!**  
Prominent Women Speakers

**BRING YOUR DEMANDS**



## Women and Defence

# A Contradiction in SA?

BECAUSE WOMEN ARE NOT DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE ARMY - WE ARE NOT CONSCRIPTED - we often tend to distance ourselves from military matters. Yet we should be equally concerned with the activities of the SADF and with the direct effects of militarisation on ourselves and others.

Not long ago there were rumours that "white" women were to be conscripted into the army. This proposal seems to have been dropped, and with the proposed new Constitution, it is likely that attempts will be made to extend conscription to so-called coloureds and Indian men before any women. It is also likely that propaganda specifically aimed at encouraging women to voluntarily join the Army and civil defence will be stepped up.

We need to examine the whole question of defence. We can consider this on both an individual and on a societal level.

Firstly, self-defence is generally not seen as a priority for women. Contrary to men, we usually do not learn to fight or protect ourselves from an early age. We are taught to rely on males to defend us. Yet the frighteningly high statistics of the rape of women should lead us to questioning this notion.

There is therefore a very strong case for women to learn some form of self-defence; firstly to protect themselves, and secondly to free themselves from the fear that so many women experience of being alone (walking, driving, even at home, especially at night.) Confidence in one's ability to protect oneself would lead to a more fulfilling and independent existence.

Now when looking at defence on a societal level, the issues are not as clear cut. Questions arise as to what we are defending and who is the

aggressor? A society which is worth defending and protecting should be protected by all who live in it. In that case, women should take equal responsibility for participating in defence.

A problem arises when on the one hand, women wish to take on responsibilities in society - one aspect being defence - and on the other hand, because of the nature of that society, we would not wish to defend an "indefensible" system.

Our responsibility then becomes to examine the society: in South Africa, the apartheid system. Who is the SADF fighting? Are they an outside enemy or as many people in SA believe, are they young South Africans who have taken up arms to fight the system? Is South Africa's presence in Namibia illegal? Is the "total onslaught" against SA or against a minority government?

Can we afford to ignore these questions amidst the growing conflict in our society? It is part of our social responsibility to take these issues seriously, although they may appear not to directly affect those of us not conscripted. "White" women do play a significant supportative role for "the boys on the border" and are often given as the reason for males involvement in the army. Hence, "the reason why I fight has blond hair, blue eyes and puts kisses on the bottom of her letters." places as full a responsibility on women to question conscription.

Conscription means no choice and no questioning as to where one stands in the struggle for a democratic South Africa. The Black Sash (supported by Churches and NUSAS) is calling for an end to conscription. This is not a matter for men only. It is time to recognize and assume our responsibility.

He saved his Cares just for you

Homekomende: A kiss, a soft touch, three whispered words. And a beautiful Cares. A diamond ring as flawless as your wedding day. Cares make it easy for young lovers. With a Pay Less - Pay Later Plan. And because Cares cares, we're giving something extra special. A generous 15% cash discount for members of the Defence Force.

Hy't sy beste net vir jou gespaar

Tuiskoms. 'n Soentjie, 'n tere omhelsing, vier gefluisterde woordjies en 'n pragtige Cares. 'n Diamantring so vlekloos soos jul troudag. Cares maak dit so maklik vir jong verliefdes. Met 'n betaal minder - betaal later plan. En omdat Cares werklik omgee, bied ons iets uiters spesiaal. 'n Grootse 15% kontantafslag vir enige lid van die Weermag.

**CARES**

GEE OM

Termine van die Cares-kaart. Laagste deposito... Terme om u sak te pas.

## women's advice bureau

On Monday 8 August, campus will see the start of the student women's movement innovation - the WOMEN'S ADVICE BUREAU.

Open to all men and women, it offers information and advice concerning women's issues.

If you need a particular contact, would just like someone to speak to or are troubled about something, such as:

- contraception
- health
- sexual harrassment
- pregnancy
- work
- loans
- accommodation

COME AND SEE US!

We're open Monday - Friday from 1-2 p.m.

On the Student Union red level (near SASTS office)

We, the People of South Africa, declare.....

# The Freedom Charter

WHILST RESISTANCE TO AN UNJUST SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA IS AS OLD AS THE system itself, it was only in the 50's that South Africa saw the emergence of a popular mass movement resisting the apartheid laws and fighting for democratic change in South Africa.

The Congress Alliance consisting of the African National Congress (ANC), the Coloured Peoples Congress (CPD), the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and the Congress of Democrats (COD) emerged as the dominant political force fighting apartheid. The Alliance initiated a decade of mass mobilization including campaigns, boycotts and national stayaways. It was decided that because the various racial groups in South Africa have historically developed under different conditions that they would organise separately, but that the various organisations would be united and co-ordinated in a non-racial alliance.

In 1955 the Congress Movement set about organising what would be the most democratic national gathering in South African history - The Congress of the Peoples (COP). A campaign was launched to collect and correlate the demands of all the people of South Africa.

To prepare for the Congress, a National Action Committee was formed, committees were set up all over the country and pamphlets were distributed in the cities, townships and villages asking of the people, "If you could make laws ... what would you do? How would you set about making South Africa a happy place for all the people who live in it?"

The Freedom Charter was intended to reflect the vision of a future South Africa which was held by the ordinary men and women who are her people. For this reason meetings were held throughout the country and the demands, grievances, hopes and aspirations of the people were written in lists and on scraps of paper and sent to the COP headquarters. The National

Action Council eventually drafted the Charter and the draft was presented to the 3 000 delegates who attended the Congress of the People on June 25-26, 1955 on a field in Kliptown outside Johannesburg.

Many were prevented from attending as police stopped delegations en route to Kliptown and the state bureaucracy used obstructionist tactics to prevent the people from attending this historic gathering. The delegates consisted of representatives of all the people in South Africa. "African", "Coloured", "Indian" and a small number of white democrats. The delegates were workers, peasants, housewives and teachers, doctors, lawyers and traders. Together they discussed the draft of the Freedom Charter at what would become the most representative national gathering of all the people of South Africa. It is from this that the Charter draws its strength and importance.

At Kliptown the Charter was adopted as a set of aims and as a vision of the future drawn up by the people.

The Freedom Charter in its clear and simple words is to the people of South Africa a bold expression of their aspirations and demands for a free and democratic South Africa.

The main idea that runs throughout the Freedom Charter is the rejection of all forms of racial discrimination and oppression and the call for a peoples' democracy. It declares

"That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people." For this reason it demands that "the people shall govern" and that every person shall be able to participate in the running of the country regardless of colour, race, sex or belief.

The Charter demands the removal of Bantu authorities, racism in the Courts and laws of the land; the abolition of pass laws and low wages, of group areas, ghettos and townships. The call goes out for an equal education for all, for the land to be redivided amongst those who work it, for the mines, factories and banks, the national wealth of our country, the heritage of ALL South Africans to be restored to the people. The Charter states that the people must take back that which is rightfully theirs, the wealth created by the exploited work force in the factories, in the mines and on the farms.

At the Congress of the People it was explained that "the mines will be transferred to the ownership of the people, that wherever there is a gold mine there will no longer be a compound boss, there will be a committee of workers to run the gold mines ..... that wherever there is a factory and where there are workers who are exploited.... the workers will take over and run the factories."

The Charter rejects racism and calls for democracy and

argues clearly that where there is conflict between the interests of the people and the interests of capital, as there must always be, then the interests of the people must triumph.

The Charter is a set of aims outlining the minimum demands of the people. It has been termed a package deal illustrating that at no time can one demand be isolated and examined out of the context of the document as a whole and that the peoples call goes out for all the demands to be met.

Whilst the Charter outlines the kind of society in which we would like to live it does not say how this is to be achieved; it does not outline the road along which we are to travel in order for these demands to be met. However, the Charter is a manifesto for the unification of various classes and groupings of people to take up the struggle and work together for the aims outlined in it; for the purpose of achieving democracy. The Charter is not simply a call for reforms, it is a living revolutionary document since the changes it outlines cannot be won without fundamentally changing the political and economic structures of the South African society.

As yet not one demand contained in the Charter has been met but as more and more people and organisations unite around this historic document, so the democratic movement is strengthened by people willing to declare that "These freedoms we will fight for side by side throughout our lives until we have won our liberty."



Newclare township delegates to the Congress of the People, 1955

# The Freedom 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 here set out 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 or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

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 well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

## THE 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 right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, 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 country-side 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 trade 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 forty-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 OF 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 right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to 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.

## THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

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 right 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."

# Cape Action League

Formerly known as the Disorderly Bills Action Committee

FREE

AUGUST 1983

VOL.1 - NO. 2

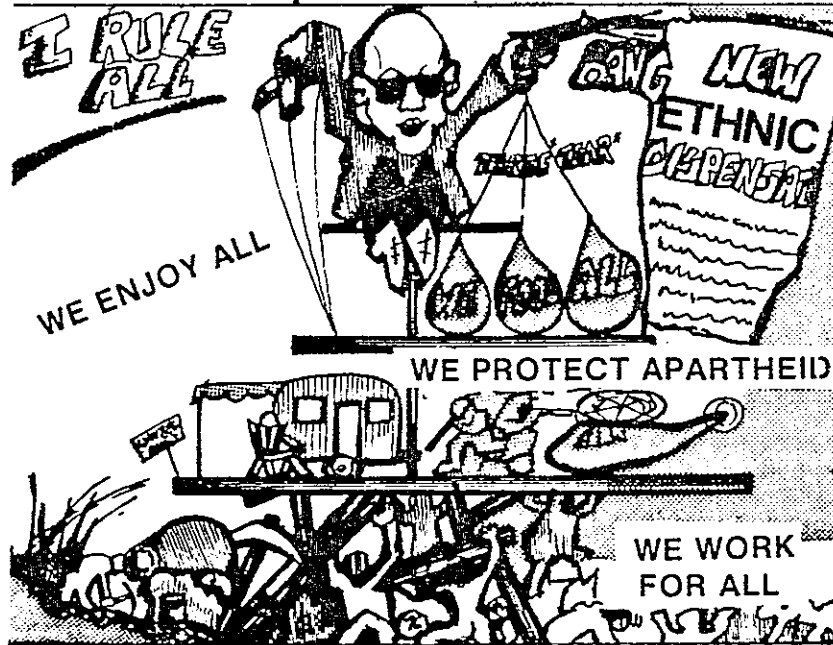
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## WHY WE REJECT BOTHAS'S NEW DEAL

The ruling class in South Africa is finding it more and more difficult to rule the country in the old way. They are faced with serious problems in every sphere of life.

They cannot control the economy of the country. All around we have the signs of their crisis : *unemployment* as never before (more than 2 000 000 people cannot find work), *rising prices* especially of our most necessary foodstuffs, bus fares, train fares, rents and clothing. The workers are forced to eat less simply to stay alive. Their children die in large numbers (as many as 3 out of 10 die before they are 5 years of age in the "homelands"). Even white workers complain loudly that their living standards are falling. The system seems to be falling apart.

The black workers resist the attempts of the capitalist bosses and the apartheid state to make them pay for this crisis of the system. They stand together in trade unions, in tenants' and civic associations and in many other organisations. They go on strike, boycotts, demonstrations, and resist in many other ways. More and more the black working class and its organisations have taken the lead in the liberation struggle of the oppressed and exploited



people will be allowed to live in the cities on a permanent basis. They will be allowed to own houses and land. They will be given community councils that will have some kind of municipal powers. But they will be kept separate from Whites, Coloureds and Indians as well as from "homeland blacks". The vast majority of the African workers will be condemned to live in "homelands" where there is no work. There are too many people, where starvation and much oppression is maintained by a greedy gang of "ethnic" leaders such as the Sebes and the Matanzimas.

OUR ANSWER TO THESE DIVIDE-AND-RULE SCHEMES IS UNITY NOW AND UNITY AGAIN.

We must destroy *in practice* the separation and the prejudices that keep us divided. We must join forces on all levels, in the factories, on the farms, in the mines and in the offices, in our sports clubs, our music groups and in all our organisations.

WE ARE ONE PEOPLE AND WILL NOT BE DIVIDED.

peaceful means. All they have to do is to vote for a few "Coloured", "Indian" and "Black" stooges and collaborators to sit in separate "parliaments" and in community councils.

"NEW DEAL" RECRUITS SOLDIERS

class and its organisations have taken the lead in the liberation struggle of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa. This struggle of the black workers against the ruling class has become so intense that even the middle classes of teachers, shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors, etc., have been forced to choose sides. This was seen most clearly in Soweto uprising of 1976 and again in 1980.

## **"NEW DEAL" BUYS OFF THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS**

THE "NEW DEAL" IS AN ATTEMPT TO BUY OFF THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS in order to weaken the resistance of the black working people. It is an attempt to make the oppressed and exploited people believe that they can get their "freedom" by constitutional and

## **WE DEMAND**

A new constitution drawn up by a CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY elected by all the people of South Africa/Azania on the basis of one person, one vote.

An immediate end to all pass laws, resettlement schemes, group areas removals and acts of terror against "squatters".

An end to all Bantustans. Ours is ONE COUNTRY and we do not accept that it shall be divided to serve the interests of the ruling class.

The immediate withdrawal of all South African troops from Namibia and from any African state.

**FIGHT THE  
COLLABORATORS!  
UNITE TO BURY THE  
"NEW DEAL"**

These running dogs of the system will be their masters' voice. They will do the dirty work for the state. They will become a part of the ruling group. If we want to see what this will mean in practice, we need only look at the disaster in the Ciskei, Venda, Transkei and Bophutatswana. There, the Bantustan "leaders" have shown that the black arm of the apartheid state can be as brutal as the white arm.

WE REJECT THE "NEW DEAL" BECAUSE IT WILL CHANGE NOTHING. Our condition of life in the townships and locations will not change. Poverty will remain, unemployment and misery will continue to be forced upon us. Those who will gain are a few thousand middle-class families who will be given more comforts and privileges to defend in the "new" apartheid system.

## **"NEW DEAL" DIVIDES THE WORKING CLASS**

The rulers know that apartheid has failed. We have been forced to live in separate group areas, locations and townships. This has not stopped us from acting together more and more. The black workers have come together in non-racial organisations (trade unions, sports bodies, students' organisations, churches, mosques, etc.) They have more and more rejected the official labels of "Black", "Indian" and "Coloured". They have realised that by standing together they become strong and can challenge the capitalist bosses and their apartheid state. This unity and solidarity of the working people spells doom to the system.

THE "NEW DEAL" IS AN ATTEMPT TO STOP THIS UNITY OF THE BLACK PEOPLE FROM SPREADING.

The rulers want to force the oppressed people to think of themselves as different "ethnic groups", i.e., as Coloureds, Indians, Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana, etc., etc. For this reason "Coloured" and "Indians" are being given separate kitchen "parliaments", dummy bodies just like the previous C R C and S A I C.

For this reason, the Koornhof Bills want to divide the African people not only into "ethnic groups" but also between "permanent urban blacks" and

## **"NEW DEAL" RECRUITS SOLDIERS**

Southern Africa is on fire. In Namibia, the colonised people are fighting for independence and freedom under the leadership of SWAPO against the racist forces of South Africa. In Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and in the other smaller neighbouring countries the African governments are hard put to keep the South African lion out of their fold. The rulers are fighting with their backs to the wall. Young students and workers who fled the country in 1976 and later are coming back as guerrillas and are a threat to what the rulers call the "peace and good order" of South Africa.

The state is using this threat in order to put the country on a war footing. But the white population alone cannot provide the manpower needed to patrol the borders and to attack the African states. Until recently, the whites have been the skilled workers of the country. It is therefore difficult simply to withdraw them in large numbers for military service without weakening the economy. And so, certain sections of the black population have to be recruited.

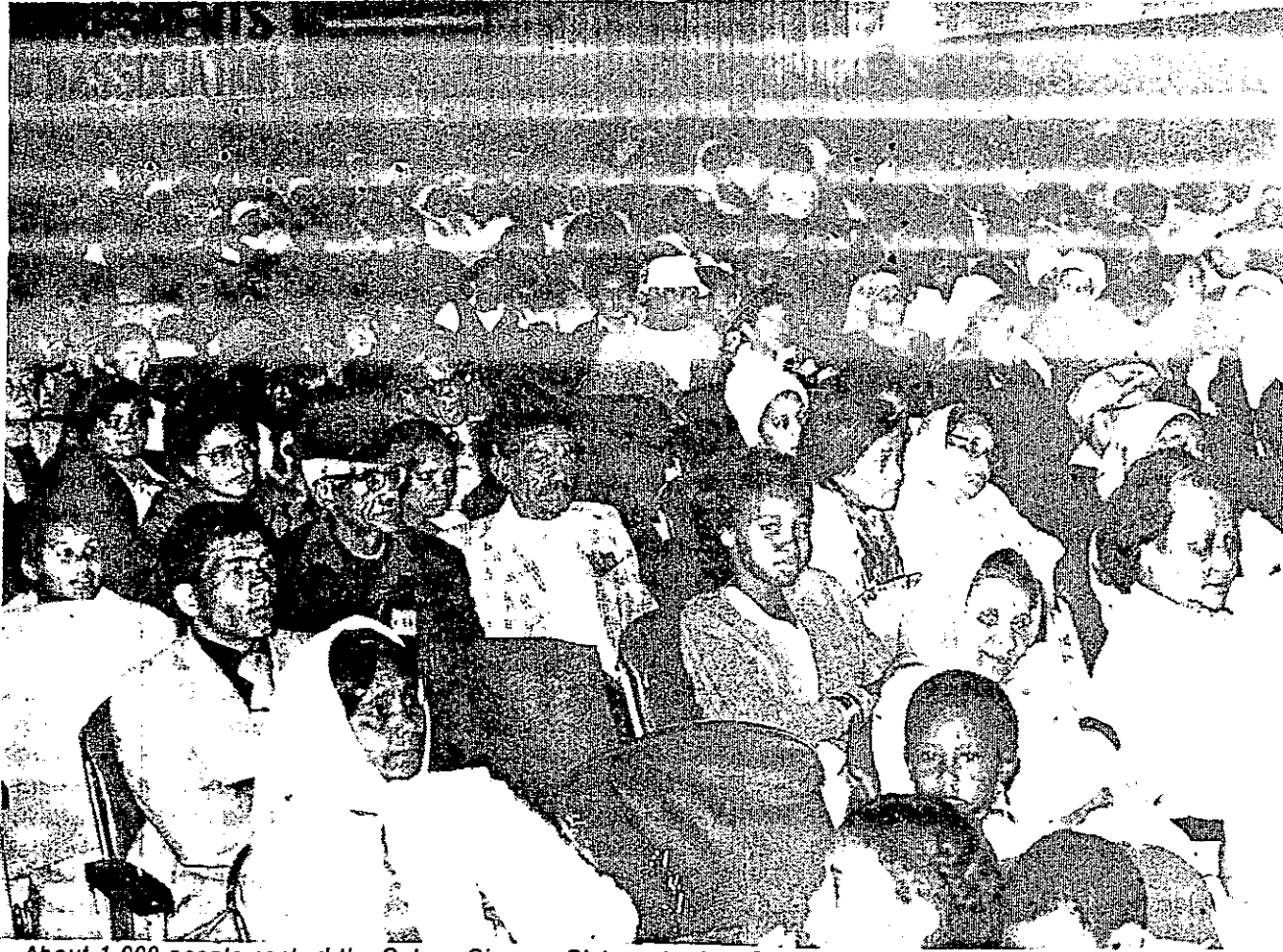
THE "NEW DEAL" WILL GIVE US A SECOND-CLASS VOTE SO THAT OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS CAN BE PUT IN UNIFORMS TO DEFEND APPARTHEID AND WHITE DOMINATION.

We will NOT allow this to happen. We will NOT allow the black working class and their allies to fight against other African peoples. We will NOT fight against our own sons and daughters, our own brothers and sisters. We will NOT become a willing partner to the rape of Namibia and of other African states.

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P.O. Box 62, Athlone, 7760.

# Cape Action League



About 1 000 people packed the Galaxy Cinema, Bishop Lavis at CAL's MASS MEETING against the Government's Housing Policy and New Deal.

## MESSAGE TO SACOS CONFERENCE ON SPORT AND LIBERATION

The Cape Action League (formerly known as the D.B.A.C.) expresses its wholehearted support for the heroic stand taken by SACOS in its struggle to bring about a genuine and just sports dispensation in our country. Our organisation identifies in a very real and sincere way with the sentiments and ideas of the SACOS slogan: "There can be no normal sport in an abnormal society".

Our organisation grew out of the need to fight the Koornhof Bills and the Presidents' Council proposals, which seek to strengthen the system of exploitation and oppression. We therefore associate ourselves with the struggle of all sportspersons *against* the system which gives rise to inferior, inadequate and segregated facilities and *for* the right of all persons to have the opportunity and means to participate in sports activities not only at competitive level but also for leisure and recreation.

Our point of departure is the fact that the black working class is not only prevented from participation in sport because of inferior and inadequate facilities but also, because of starvation wages. The fact is that large numbers of people simply cannot *afford* to take part in sport.

We recognise, therefore, that the struggle of the sportspersons in SACOS is an integral part of the overall movement for liberation in our society. We trust that this conference of SACOS will contribute to the solution of some of the problems and

## WHAT WE STAND FOR

The C.A.L. is an alliance of over 40 organisations of the exploited and oppressed people of the Western Cape. It was the very first alliance of organisations in South Africa to oppose the President's Council proposals and the Koornhof Bills. The organisations of the C.A.L. are:

In the U.D.F., worker organisations have NO independence. Point no. 3 of the Draft Principles of U.D.F. states: "All meetings, publications and activities in the name of the...Front will be in accordance with the principles embodied in the

capitalism. Under this system, a handful of bosses owns the farms, the mines and the factories and exploit the millions of workers who are forced to work from them.

The struggle of the workers is against this system. The difficult task needs the unity of the organisations of the exploited and the oppressed.

### **THE C.A.L. AND THE U.D.F.**

The United Democratic Front (U.D.F.) also claims to stand for unity.

### **WHAT ARE THE FACTS?**

The organisations that formed the U.D.F. (such as CAHAC and U.W.O.) left the D.B.A.C. (now known as C.A.L.) to form the U.D.F. So it is the U.D.F. that divides and the C.A.L. that unites.

### **HOW DOES THE C.A.L. DIFFER FROM THE U.D.F?**

#### **POPULAR FRONT**

The C.A.L. believes that the interests of bosses and workers can never be the same. Therefore, an alliance between workers and bosses (Popular Front) can only serve the interests of the bosses. The U.D.F. is such a popular front. It includes workers' organisations such as CAHAC and organisations of the bosses, such as the middle-class Western Cape Traders' Association and the children and wives of factory and mine bosses (NUSAS and Black Sash).

Such an alliance will only oppose apartheid. They say "Let us build unity and oppose apartheid" (U.D.F. News).

#### **INDEPENDENT WORKER ORGANISATIONS**

The C.A.L. also opposes apartheid. But we do not believe that it is possible to fight against apartheid without fighting the capitalist system which breeds it. We believe that only the working class can lead the struggle against economic exploitation. Thus the C.A.L. believes that "Our primary task is the building of INDEPENDENT worker organisations, independent of bosses.. "

programmes will not be allowed."

Under these conditions the workers' organisations within the U.D.F. will lose their voice and will not be able to fight for working-class demands. Instead they will simply be supporting voices for middle-class demands.

We, in the C.A.L. say

"that our co-operation is based on PRINCIPLED UNITY by which all tendencies have the right to propagate their programme and the right to criticism..."

In this way the workers' organisations cannot be hijacked by organisations opposed to the real interests of the working class.

#### **ETHNIC ORGANISATIONS**

The U.D.F. promises to fight against racial and ethnic divisions, yet ethnic organisations like the Transvaal *Indian* Congress and the Natal *Indian* Congress are part of the U.D.F.

C.A.L. rejects any kind of ethnic organisation. Point 2 of the C.A.L. principles states:

"That non-racialism and anti-racism will not only be an AIM but a METHOD of struggle".

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## **AGAINST THE "NEW DEAL" THREE-CHAMBER PARLIAMENT!**

## **AGAINST THE NATIONAL CONVENTION! FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY!**

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The Cape Action League has pledged itself to work for a genuine United Front of all people's organisations, including sports organisations, on the understanding that such a front shall be led by the black working class and does not include liberal or ruling-class organisations. It is for this reason that we believe that the double-standards resolution in fact *ensures* the *independence* of the sports organisations affiliated to SACOS.

We wish the conference every success in its deliberations and its stated aim of providing the *real reasons* for the exclusion of South Africa from international sport and to expose Craven's "International" conference as a mere sham designed to mislead the world as to the true position in sport in this country.

## **FORWARD TO A UNITED BODY OF SPORTSPERSONS IN A SOUTH AFRICA/AZANIA FREE FROM EXPLOIT- ATION AND OPPRESSION! !**

(Cape Action League)

### **NATIONAL CONVENTION OR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY?**

Where is the U.D.F. going. The U.D.F. claims that it hopes to create a "united, non-racial democratic South Africa". But they call on the apartheid state to convene a NATIONAL CONVENTION. At this convention, representatives of the four "racial" groups are supposed to work out the new constitution for South Africa.

We in the C.A.L. say that this is NOT the way to solve our problems. We say that only a CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY elected on the basis of one person, one vote AFTER THE PRESENT SYSTEM HAS BEEN REMOVED will be able to create for our people and our country a constitution which will be acceptable to all.

# A HEROINE OF OUR TIME



Mrs Lillian Ngoyi was a fiery and fearless speaker who could arouse the emotions of her audience. Here she is seen during her early days addressing a meeting.



These words represent the view held by millions of Black and White people across the country about Mrs Lillian Ngoyi . . . "she was the heroine of our lifetime".

THE SPIRIT that fired 20 000 women with an unyielding resolve to protest against passes in the August 1956 march will be recalled at the weekend when the tombstone of Lillian Ngoyi is unveiled.

Three years after her death and 27 years after that historic march, the name of MaNgoyi represents the championing of women's rights in South Africa.

Able, willing and fiery, this Pretoria-born daughter of a mine-worker who grew up to become a powerful trade union and political leader, fought against great odds to assert the dignity of women.

In a sense she represented a new breed of black women who would not cower, in tribal fashion, nor meekly accept Government legislation that rendered women mere appendages of the migrant labour system.

The highlight of MaNgoyi's illustrious political career was the march she led of 20 000 women

pulted Lillian Ngoyi to leadership. In 1952, at the start of the defiance campaign, she did an extraordinary thing for a black woman of her time, she led a group of five women to the whites only counter at the Jeppe Post Office and asked to be served.

They were not served, instead they were promptly arrested for their audacity — and there began one of the most tumultuous political careers in South Africa.

After her schooling in Pretoria she attended

that time passes for women had become the burning issue of the day.

Anti-pass campaigns were organised and in Winburg in the Orange Free State women marched to the Magistrate's offices and burnt their passes.

On August 9, 1956 women from all parts of the country marched to Pretoria; they went there on foot, on buses, trains, any available form of transport, and marched through the city, converging at the Union Buildings.

SONG

The trauma of subjugation of black women gave birth to Lillian Ngoyi who, 27 years ago led 20 000 women on a protest march against the issuing of passes to women. Political bureau Chief ZWELAKHE SISULU takes a retrospective look at the life of "The Heroine of our time."



Switzerland where she was a delegate at the World Mother's Congress.

At her funeral in 1980, a large poster carried

by a group of young people told the entire life story of Lillian Masediba Ngoyi. It read: "She was the heroine of our lifetime."



The coffin bearing the body of Mrs Lillian Ngoyi was carried for most of the way to the cemetery when she was buried three years ago. The funeral was attended by well over 3 000 mourners who chanted freedom songs all the way to the cemetery.



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### MARCH

That march, the biggest South Africa had ever seen, ended at the Union Buildings in Pretoria when the then Prime Minister, Mr J G Strijdom refused to meet the women's delegation led by MaNgoyi.

In spite of that, that march was a resounding success; the Government stalled the introduction of passes for women for 10 years.

To mark that march and the role played by MaNgoyi, the Federation of South African Women, of which she was founding president, this week organised a Focus Week to highlight the situation of women in South Africa.

The Focus Week also concentrated on the Women's Charter, which MaNgoyi was instrumental in drawing up.

The Women's Charter was submitted to the Congress of the People in 1956, and today some of its clauses are enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

The Women's Charter called for the removal of racial and class discrimination, the right to vote, the right to education, medical care and proper homes.

Fittingly, Focus Week will end with the unveiling of MaNgoyi's tombstone.

It was the defiance campaign, which cata-

pulted Lillian Ngoyi to leadership. In 1952, at the start of the defiance campaign, she did an extraordinary thing for a black woman of her time, she led a group of five women to the whites only counter at the Jeppe Post Office and asked to be served.

They were not served, instead they were promptly arrested for their audacity — and there began one of the most tumultuous political careers in South Africa.

After her schooling in Pretoria she attended the Kilmerton Training Institute.

Settling in Johannesburg, she became a seamstress at a factory and became an active member of the Garment Workers Union, where she was introduced to political activity.

She worked in close collaboration with the Young Turks of the banned ANC Youth League, such as Nelson Mandela, and mobilised for the support of the Youth League's Programme of Action which was aimed at revitalising congress.

Any issue that threatened the position of women Lillian Ngoyi fought against: "We don't want men who wear skirts under their trousers. If they don't act then we will change garments and take the initiative," she warned after the introduction of Bantu Education.

Still working closely with members of the Youth League who had gained ascendancy in the national struggle, in 1954 she became president of the ANC Women's League, taking over from the equally fiery Ida Mtwana.

In 1956 she became president of the Federation of South African Women which constituted the Congress Alliance.

In the same year a Joint Planning Committee of the Fedsaw and the ANCWL was formed to plan the march of August 9. At

that time passes for women had become the burning issue of the day.

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### SONG

The march was led by Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa and Sophie Williams. At the Union Buildings when Strijdom refused to meet the women, the crowd broke out in song: "Strijdom watint' abafazi watint' imbokodo uzakufa" — "Strijdom you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you shall be destroyed."

MaNgoyi went up the steps of Union Buildings, with the petitions women had signed protesting against the passes, lifting her arm in the congress salute, 20 000 arms went up with hers.

And so they remained for the next half hour.

In December that year, MaNgoyi, Helen Joseph, Frances Baard, Bertha Mashaba and Martha Mathlaku were arrested and charged with high treason. With 152 other people they were part of the marathon Treason Trial.

In 1960 when the state of emergency was declared and the ANC and PAC banned in April, she was detained. She was also detained in 1961 under the 90 Days Clause.

Following the acquittal of the 156 people in the Treason Trial, Lillian Ngoyi was banned and would remain banned except for a period from 1972 to 1975.

During her hectic life, MaNgoyi visited the Soviet Union, China and several European countries, including

gave birth to Lillian Ngoyi who, 27 years ago led 20 000 women on a protest march against the issuing of passes to women. Political bureau Chief ZWELAKHE SISULU takes a retrospective look at the life of "The Heroine of our time."



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ried by a group of young people told the entire life story of Lillian Ma-sediba Ngoyi. It read: "She was the heroine of our lifetime."

# Mabasa visits Canada

By SAM MABE

THE OVERSEAS trip undertaken last week by Azapo's president, Mr Lybon Mabasa, is part of the organisation's attempt to add their voice in giving an international perspective to the liberation struggle in South Africa.

According to Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, Mr Mabasa was going to

have a watching brief on discussions at the World Council of Churches (WCC) Assembly which ends in Vancouver today.

Mr Mabasa, who left South Africa quietly on Friday, is expected to visit the United Kingdom and various other

European countries on his way back to South Africa. Mr Mkhabela said he did not know what passport Mr Mabasa was using.

He said among other things, Mr Mabasa would also try to clarify the position of the National Forum Committee

to other international personalities and organisations that have an interest in South African issues.

"It has been our policy in Azapo that our struggle should be related to other struggles in Third World countries where people are fighting to release themselves from the shackles of colonialism.

"It is for that reason that we saw the Vancouver conference as the right platform where we will have an opportunity of meeting with other leaders with whom we can discuss matters of common interest."

Mr Mkhabela also said that Azapo supported the WCC's pursuit of truth, justice and freedom.

# Zinzi hits at racism

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By SAM MABE

MISS Zinzi Mandela, daughter of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, warned yesterday that there could be bloodshed in South Africa unless whites held hands with blacks to work for meaningful change.

Speaking at a service at the University of Witwatersrand to commemorate the protest march by 20 000 women in 1956, Miss Mandela said that white women entrenched racism in the minds of their husbands, sons and daughters.

She said the white man in Parliament believed that nature had destined blacks to per-

petual subservience.

Sharing the platform with Miss Mandela at the National Women's Day service was a Durban leader Mrs Ella Ramgobin who is an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress and the United Democratic Front.

She said black women were suffering discrimination from three fronts. They were oppressed because of their race, the country's exploitative capitalist system and the inequality of men and women before the law and in society.

The other speaker at the service was Mrs Helen Joseph, the veteran

political activist who played an active role in the women's defiance campaigns of the early 50s which culminated in the 1956 march to Pretoria when the pass system was extended to black women. As a listed person, Mrs Joseph cannot be quoted.

The packed Great Hall of the university burst into prolonged ovation when tribute was paid to Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the Transvaal United Democratic Front, who has been charged under the country's security laws.

Another service was to have been held last night at Glynn Thomas students residence at Baragwanath Hospital.



Contingent who left (from left) Mr Dan [unclear] of the Natal Battalion, contingent leader Mr Jack Arneson of the Rand Battalion and Mr Carl Williams from the Cape Peninsula Battalion.

## 6 from SA for brigade's 100th

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...merit," said Captain Jack Arneson of the Rand Battalion, who is the leader of the contingent. "The boys will get a chance to meet people from around the world at

There will be about 5 000 Boys' Brigade members from the Pacific, Caribbean, Asia, America, Denmark, Sweden and Finland.

Mr Arneson will be the South African delegate to the world conference

A selected group of boys led by Lieutenant Graham Hunter and his wife, Warrant Officer Sharon Hunter, will be chosen to attend Campus

## Ex-ANC policeman feared terrorists

By Rashid Chopdat

A Rand Supreme Court judge heard yesterday that a terrified woman passenger in a car ducked for cover when another driver cut them off and pointed a gun at her.

Miss Pride Mbontsane was giving evidence at the trial of a security policeman, Constable Jeffrey Bosigo (24), address given only as Soweto, who has pleaded not guilty to a charge of murdering Mr Daniel Kgogo on December 17 last year.

### TAXI RANK

Miss Mbontsane said Constable Bosigo was driving her and a friend to a taxi rank.

In Soweto two cars blocked their road. The driver of one car painted a finger and said to the policeman: "I want to speak to you."

Constable Bosigo drove away but was followed by a brown car whose driver forced them off the road.

Miss Mbontsane told the court: "I saw the driver had a gun. I was afraid and ducked, putting my head on my knees. I then heard a shot."

### SECRET BASE

Earlier, Constable Bosigo said he thought he was being attacked by terrorists because the driver had a gun.

He fired a shot blindly and drove away. He hid at a secret police training base for two days before reporting the incident.

Constable Bosigo, who defected from the banned African Congress (ANC) four years ago, said he was on the ANC hit list and feared for his life.

He said that on the night before the shooting, Mr Bartholomew Hlapane, formerly an ANC member, and his wife had been killed by terrorists.

The hearing continues

(23) of Three Rivers was walking in Main Reef Road, Fordsburg, when she was confronted by a knifeman.

He grabbed watches, rings and gold chains valued at R5 430.

Mrs Oosthuisen was not injured. — Crime Reporter.

## A tribute to Eugene Marais

Tribute to South African poet Eugene Marais will be paid this Sunday at 3.30 pm when Professor Fanie van Jaarsveld unveils his restored tombstone in the old Pretoria graveyard.

Eugene Marais Commemorative Fund chairman Mr Harry van Niekerk invites all who are interested to attend. — Pretoria Correspondent.

## Fraud: PFP man in court

EAST LONDON — A city councillor and prominent businessman appeared in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday in connection with fraud charges related to last year's municipal election.

Mr Brian Snell, of the Progressive Federal Party, was not asked to plead.

The case was postponed to October 31. — Own Correspondent.

## Fraud: company head is arrested

A Johannesburg company director has been arrested in connection with charges of fraud involving R62 000.

Mr Michael Douglas Hosking of Kent Road, Dunkeld, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

He was not asked to plead and the case was postponed to September 9.

## Peter Kirsten bowled over

CAPE TOWN — Springbok and Western Province cricket captain Peter Kirsten will marry his girlfriend of two years, Tuffy Bruhwyler, in a private ceremony at his Claremont home in Cape



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# Step in wrong direction — Buthelezi

*D. Dispatch* 18/8/83

**In his article, Buthelezi's blunder, in the Daily Dispatch on July 16, Professor Hermann Giliomee discussed the role of Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha in current South African politics. Today Chief Buthelezi replies.**



**Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — South African Government has put me in an impossible position.**

on the issue on behalf of myself and Inkatha, without bothering to ascertain what is the correct position. I thought that relations between me and Professor Giliomee were normal. He helped us in the Buthelezi Commission and I have high regard for him.

To speak for me as the professor does in the article as if, when I objected to our exclusion in the constitutional proposals, I did so on behalf of what whites call "urban blacks", is a distortion of my views. I have never regarded rural and urban Africans as having separate destinies.

My reason for this is that no other race group in South Africa, or any nation in the world, is divided into separate entities along those lines of being rural or urban. Why must this apply only to Africans?

Professor Giliomee has no right to mislead the public by suggesting that I was arguing against the exclusion of only the so-called "urban Africans" from the constitutional dispensation. I am opposed to the exclusion of all Africans regardless of whether they are urban or rural.

I express my dismay that Professor Giliomee has concluded that we ever at any time accepted responsibility

his family has lived for hundreds of years? Zulus, after all, governed themselves under a monarchical system long before Pieter Retief approached King Dingane at Mgungundlovu

views. But when the government excludes Africans from the new political dispensation, and then expects me still to support participation in the new black local councils, even after the government has stated

village management boards has not been given as a pretext for excluding them from Parliament under the new constitutional dispensation. Why does the Professor try to confuse such a clear-cut issue with all the red herrings he drags into his article?

The federation speech which I delivered in Cape Town in 1974 to which Professor Giliomee refers, was made in the context of the understanding that this country must have one legislature for all people, for the very reason that I have never accepted the notion of independent homelands a la Pretoria.

I do not understand why my Hoernle Memorial Lecture on federation was dropped into Professor Giliomee's article on my pronouncements on participation in black local councils.

As I stated in my letter to Dr Koornhof, the Buthelezi Commission itself, in which Professor Giliomee participated, is the measure of my and the Zulu people's rejection of apartheid

Inkatha has a presence in Soweto and other Reef townships through its branches. It does not need to establish a presence on the Witwatersrand through what Professor Giliomee describes as "control over townships on the Witwatersrand". It is much more important to have the people's support than the control of councils which do not enjoy the confidence of the people.

Even if one assumed through Afrikaner mentality that my base was Zulu only, as Professor Giliomee implies, which it is not, it is still a fact that Zulus live all over South Africa and not merely in the rural areas.

I am unaware, as Professor Giliomee states, that the South African Black Alliance is "in trouble", whatever that is supposed to convey. We still have a coloured representation in the South African Black Alliance even after the defection of the Labour Party, because not all coloured people agree with the decision on participation in the tricameral Parliament without African parti-

non-violence which the African National Congress pursued when it was functioning up to the time it was banned.

When I went to London with my colleagues in 1979 to meet Mr Oliver Tambo and his colleagues we had been requested by him to do so. We were not doing so to curry favour with the external mission of ANC of which Mr Tambo is head. After all the external mission of ANC was



**Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof — no response to Chief Buthelezi's representa-**

on strategy. It is quite incongruous to state that I wanted Inkatha to be the internal wing of the external mission of ANC.

I am disappointed to see an academic I respect quoting Professor Roger Southall to support his own arguments. It is common knowledge that ever since he left the National University of Lesotho Professor Southall has aligned himself with the external mission of ANC, and has since been their spokesman at every conference of black studies.

He is an arch-enemy of Inkatha who never loses an opportunity to denigrate me.

As for what Professor Giliomee calls my "troubles", I would be glad to know what form these troubles have taken. The conference of Inkatha we have just had, has been the best ever with thousands of delegates and observers from as far afield as Cape Town and Johannesburg.

I have just returned from a very successful European tour. The statement by Mr Hans van den Broek, the Dutch Foreign Minister, after my visit to Holland, says volumes in this respect. He said in the Dutch Parliament that from now onwards they will not make any distinction between the external mission of ANC and Inkatha, as far as giving us support is concerned.

To me this is an unprecedented breakthrough for Inkatha.

I would be interested to know why Professor Giliomee thinks that I have missed an oppor-

The issue of whether Inkatha should or should not participate in the elections of black local councils in Soweto under the new act, has arisen not because I have changed my views on participation per se, but because of a Department of Foreign Affairs hand-out, that was distributed widely to justify black exclusion from Mr P. W. Botha's constitutional proposals.

It was distributed on behalf of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning. This information sheet put the question: "Why are blacks not included in the new dispensation?" And the answer it gave was: "Blacks already have their own governments and administrations as, for example, in KwaZulu (where Zulu ministers attend to own affairs) or in Soweto where new councils with extended powers are to be established."

My first reaction to this was a letter with strong objections addressed to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof. I received a wishy-washy reply which did not address the issue at all. I reminded Dr Koornhof that blacks of KwaZulu had never accepted the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as representing a final solution for South Africa's political problems.

I reminded the Minister that whites had town councils, provincial councils and other civic bodies, which are not a substitute for their representation in Parliament. I told the Minister that after reading what the handout says about community councils in

on the issue on behalf of myself and Inkatha, without bothering to ascertain what is the correct position. I thought that relations between me and Professor Giliomee were normal. He helped us in the Buthelezi Commission and I have high regard for him.

To speak for me as the professor does in the article as if, when I objected to our exclusion in the constitutional proposals, I did so on behalf of what whites call "urban blacks", is a distortion of my views. I have never regarded rural and urban Africans as having separate destinies.

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I express my dismay that Professor Giliomee has concluded that we ever at any time accepted responsibilities in regional legislatures such as the KwaZu-



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his family has, lived for hundreds of years? Zulus, after all, governed themselves under a monarchical system long before Pieter Retief approached King Dingane at Mgungundlovu with requests for land because the whole country was theirs.

It is common cause

views. But when the government excludes Africans from the new political dispensation, and then expects me still to support participation in the new black local councils, even after the government has stated in black and white that these local councils are now not just local civic bodies, but a substitute

# Step in wrong direction — Buthelezi

D. Dispatch 18/8/83

In his article, Buthelezi's blunder, in the Daily Dispatch on July 16, Professor Hermann Giliomee discussed the role of Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha in current South African politics. Today Chief Buthelezi replies.

village management boards has not been given as a pretext for excluding them from Parliament under the new constitutional dispensation. Why does the Professor try to confuse such a clear-cut issue with all the red herrings he drags into his article?

The federation speech which I delivered in Cape Town in 1974 to which Professor Giliomee refers, was made in the context of the understanding that this country must have one legislature for all people, for the very reason that I have never accepted the notion of independent homelands a la Pretoria.

I do not understand why my Hoernle Memorial Lecture on federation was dropped into Professor Giliomee's article on my pronouncements on participation in black local councils.

As I stated in my letter to Dr Koornhof, the Buthelezi Commission itself, in which Professor Giliomee participated, is the measure of my, and the Zulu people's, rejection of apartheid and its consummation through independence and Mr P. W. Botha's confederation of states.

Inkatha has a presence in Soweto and other Reef townships through its branches. It does not need to establish a presence on the Witwatersrand through what Professor Giliomee describes as "control over townships on the Witwatersrand". It is much more important to have the people's support than the control of councils which do not enjoy the confidence of the people.

Even if one assumed through Afrikaner mentality that my base was Zulu only, as Professor Giliomee implies, which it is not, it is still a fact that Zulus live all over South Africa and not merely in the rural areas.

I am unaware, as Professor Giliomee states, that the South African Black Alliance is "in trouble", whatever that is supposed to convey. We still have a coloured representation in the South African Black Alliance even after the defection of the Labour Party, because not all coloured people agree with the decision on participation in the tricameral Parliament without African participation.

I take very strong exception to Professor Giliomee's statement

non-violence which the African National Congress pursued when it was functioning up to the time it was banned.

When I went to London with my colleagues in 1979 to meet Mr Oliver Tambo and his colleagues we had been requested by him to do so. We were not doing so to curry favour with the external mission of ANC of which Mr Tambo is head. After all the external mission of ANC was



Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof — no response to Chief Buthelezi's representations.

established by our then

political dispensation. I am opposed to the exclusion of all Africans regardless of whether they are urban or rural.

I express my dismay that Professor Giliomee has concluded that we ever at any time accepted responsibilities in regional legislatures such as the KwaZulu



Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha — hand-out distributed to justify black exclusion from constitutional proposals.

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his family has lived for hundreds of years? Zulus, after all, governed themselves under a monarchical system long before Pieter Retief approached King Dingane at Mgunundlovu with requests for land because the whole country was theirs.

It is common cause that the structure of a KwaZulu homeland in the form of a legislative assembly was imposed on the existing framework of Zulu traditional administration, in which I had a traditional role at local level, and at the Zulu national level.

I was begged literally by the Zulu people at the time not to abandon them when that framework was imposed by force. I cannot understand why Professor Giliomee tries to compare the incomparable. How can we compare by implication my traditional leadership role within a Zulu national group which has existed for hundreds of years, with participation by my people in the black local councils that are being created now by the government?

I say this notwithstanding the fact that I have never found it anathema for black patriots to participate in government-created structures such as community councils, if they have been created for blacks.

It is for this reason that I would prefer true patriots to participate in them rather than people who do not have the interests of the people at heart.

I have not changed my

views. But when the government excludes Africans from the new political dispensation, and then expects me still to support participation in the new black local councils, even after the government has stated in black and white that these local councils are now not just local civic bodies, but a substitute for African exclusion in Parliament under the new political dispensation, I am stymied as to what Professor Giliomee expects me to do.

To me this is not a question of querying participation as such, but after the publication of the information sheet we face the new interpretation by the government of participation in black local councils within the context of the new political dispensation. Participation by other race groups in provincial, municipal and

participation in black local councils.

As I stated in my letter to Dr Koornhof, the Buthelezi Commission itself, in which Professor Giliomee participated, is the measure of my, and the Zulu people's, rejection of apartheid and its consummation through independence and Mr P. W. Botha's confederation of states.

I was not prompted by any fear of losing credibility, as Professor Giliomee suggests, in taking the stand which I did at the Inkatha annual conference. I am a pragmatic politician, and I am not always prompted by ideological considerations in taking my political stands.

I am always prompted by what I consider to be in the interests of all South Africans in the final analysis. I am the servant of the people and interpret their wishes and aspirations.

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I take very strong exception to Professor Giliomee's statement that I have ever at any time tried to promote Inkatha as an internal wing of ANC. I challenge Professor Giliomee to state when I ever stated that I was attempting to do this, either to him or anyone else.

I have always stated, and did so even to the then Minister of Justice and Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, in 1977 that Inkatha is rooted in the ideals of the African National Congress as propounded by the founding fathers in 1912. We follow the strategy of

established by our then President-General, Chief A.J. Lutuli, to do international diplomatic work for black people of South Africa, when many of us were members of the African National Congress.

The decision to go into the armed struggle was taken independently by the external mission of ANC in spite of this. I have always stated that Inkatha has the same goals as the external mission of ANC, to bring about a non-racial democratic government in South Africa. We differ

external mission of ANC and Inkatha, as far as giving us support is concerned.

To me this is an unprecedented break-through for Inkatha.

I would be interested to know why Professor Giliomee thinks that I have missed an opportunity to get a base on the Witwatersrand. There is no leader other than myself who has addressed tens of thousands of black people in Soweto each and every year for the last 10 years. How is this possible if I have no base on the Witwatersrand?

It is the South African Government that has put me in an impossible position through their information sheet. I leave the Minister of Co-operation and Development an opportunity to work out a government repudiation of what the hand-out states. This has not been done. I would like to ask why we blacks are always expected to bend backwards to meet the government halfway and not vice-versa?

We have turned the other cheek in compliance with the Christian ethic and we have none left to turn to white South Africa for another slap. There is no doubt as far as the question Professor Giliomee poses that the tricameral parliamentary system is a step in the wrong direction. There is also no doubt that black people must assume responsibility for their own administration at local level. But if this is put out as a substitute for representation in Parliament, then black local councils in those circumstances are a step in the wrong direction.

# Right decision — Giliomee

Professor Giliomee replies:

I am grateful to Chief Buthelezi for correcting any mistaken impression which may have arisen. I may have expressed myself badly, for Chief Buthelezi, in several instances, has attached a connotation to my words that I did not intend.

By referring to the Chief's willingness to accept the KwaZulu homelands, I simply meant that he is prepared to use it as a base for fighting against the

exclusion of Africans, both urban and rural, from the main political structure.

Indeed, by refusing to accept independence, he has become a bulwark against the proposed denationalisation of all Africans. For these reasons, Chief Buthelezi certainly does not have only a Zulu base; polls show that he is the only leader who can vie with the ANC for national leadership of blacks.

By referring to Inkatha's attempt to present itself as the internal wing of the ANC, I had in

mind the movement's claim to be the heirs of the ANC as it functioned before it was banned in 1960. Chief Buthelezi notes quite correctly that the government has put him in an impossible position with respect to the new black local government structures.

Inkatha's participation would inevitably be construed as legitimising the exclusion of blacks from the new constitutional dispensation which Chief Buthelezi so strenuously opposes. In my opinion, Chief Buthelezi has made the

right decision not to participate and to hold out for a more acceptable government proposal.

However, this decision may mean that Chief Buthelezi may steadily lose out against the ANC, especially on the Witwatersrand and in the Eastern Cape. Whatever happens, Chief Buthelezi will remain an important factor in the future of South Africa, and I do not in any way wish to underestimate the value of his role and contribution in seeking a non-violent solution to South Africa's problems.



South Africa's political problems.

I reminded the Minister that whites had town councils, provincial councils and other civic bodies, which are not a substitute for their representation in Parliament. I told the Minister that after reading what the handout says about community councils in Soweto it would now be problematical for me to encourage my people to support them.

I reminded the Minister that he knew very well that we want to participate in the final decision-making bodies of our land. I added that the Buthelezi Commission was the measure of our rejection of the apartheid ideology. I demanded a public withdrawal in Parliament of what the information sheet stated. This has never been done.

I have raised the issue at various meetings, including the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Lebowa Legislative Assembly, South African Black Alliance meetings and at a public rally in Soweto in May. Recently I raised the issue at our policy-making body, which is the Inkatha annual general conference.

Because there was not enough time for conference to debate the issue, I suggested that it be referred to the Inkatha central committee for debate and final decision. While it is my duty to guide the movement which I lead, I always leave final decisions to the people themselves.

In the circumstances, it is quite wrong for Professor Hermann Giliomee to pontificate

in my opinion, am opposed to the exclusion of all Africans regardless of whether they are urban or rural.

I express my dismay that Professor Giliomee has concluded that we ever at any time accepted responsibilities in regional legislatures such as the KwaZulu



Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha — hand-out distributed to justify black exclusion from constitutional proposals.

Legislative Assembly as making up for black denial of full political rights, including participation in the final decision-making body, which is Parliament.

I am embarrassed that a professor of history should, in this day and age, write about what he described as my "willingness to accept" a KwaZulu homeland, when he should know better.

How does one "accept" a place which is part of an area in which all his ancestors are buried, and where

his family has lived for hundreds of years? Zulus, after all, governed themselves under a monarchical system long before Pieter Retief approached King Dingane at Mgungundlovu with requests for land because the whole country was theirs.

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gas 10/8/83

(MCA) (S/S) (11A)

By Jean Hey

## Women urged to unite for democracy

Women of all races throughout South Africa were called on yesterday to unite and fight for the broader struggle for democracy in South Africa.

Three prominent women leaders, including veteran civil rights campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph, addressed close to 800 people at a meeting in the Great Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The meeting was held to commemorate National Women's Day — the day 27 years ago when 7000 women marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the pass laws. Mrs Joseph was one of the march leaders.

An executive member of the National Indian

Congress, Mrs Ela Ramgobin, urged women not to work for change in isolation, but to unite with other groups.

She said black women in South Africa had to fight oppression on three levels. They were oppressed through discriminatory laws and because of their race. They were also oppressed as a class because of South Africa's "exploitative capitalist system".

Speaking on the same platform, Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of jailed Nelson Mandela and banned Mrs Winnie Mandela, accused Afrikaners

of driving the different races of South Africa apart.

Extreme white nationalism had caused an equally extreme black nationalism.

"Whether white or black, nationalism is abhorrent and detrimental to any cause it purports to serve," she said.

Describing white Afrikaners as "settlers without a conscience", Miss Mandela accused them of ensuring black women remained subservient.

Whether farm, factory or domestic workers, they were exploited and lacked political clout, she

said. They could not strike because they would lose their jobs, and in the eyes of the law they remained minors.

Appealing to the largely white audience, Miss Mandela said whites in South Africa must work for meaningful change to avoid bloodshed.

A representative of the Wits Women's Movement also addressed the meeting to announce its support for Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mrs Amanda Kwadi, who are being held in police custody.

They were both scheduled to address meetings this week in commemoration of National Women's Day.

Cape Times

10/8/83

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# Coloured parties differ on new deal

**Political Correspondent**  
TWO coloured political parties differed sharply about the proposed new constitution in their evidence to the parliamentary select committee considering the measure.

The Labour Party and the Freedom Party both accepted the proposals as a potential "starting

point" towards an acceptable constitution, but the Labour Party demanded major changes while the Freedom Party largely agreed with the measure as it stood.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, and the national chairman, Mr David Curry, took strong issue with many aspects of the proposed legisla-

tion.

They told the committee the Constitution Bill would increase conflict rather than resolve it unless major changes were made.

They objected to the powers of the executive president, to decisions on "own affairs" and "general affairs" and to the principle of having matters limited to the jurisdiction of one of the three chambers in the first place.

"We look upon this not in terms of the end product but in terms of a beginning. As the bill stands, and as the guidelines were, they were generally non-acceptable in terms of the decision taken at our conference at Eshowe," Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Curry said the Labour Party was participating in the constitution as a "transitional stage" to one supported by a majority of South Africans.

The Freedom Party said it had no objection to the basic principles of the measure, including the introduction of three separate chambers for white, coloured and Indian people and the exclusion of black representatives.

It was however, the "essential minimum" and would have to evolve if it were to satisfy the aspirations of coloured people. The party's reservations included the lack of democratic equality, the limited basis for electing the executive president and the yardstick for appointment of members of the president's council.

Mr C S Julies said the proposed constitution was acceptable to the vast majority of coloured people, at least as a starting point, but that possibly a year would be needed to inform people of the provisions.

# Mpetha to have leg amputated 11A

CAPE TOWN — Veteran trade unionist and community leader Oscar Mpetha (right) has pneumonia, and a leg will be amputated when his condition improves, according to family sources.

Mpetha (75) was admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital on Sunday in "great pain".

A spokesman for the family said his diabetic condition had resulted in very poor circulation in his left leg, which will have to be amputated.

Mpetha was released on R1 bail last month pending an appeal against a five-year sentence for terrorism.  
— Sapa.



16/8/83

# Women urged to join fight for change

By HELENE ZAMPETAKIS

NO CHANGE is meaningful without the help of whites, and women's liberation cannot be isolated from the broader political struggle.

This was said by Ms Zinzi Mandela, Mrs Helen Joseph and Mrs Ela Ramgobin at a National Women's Day service at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday.

Recalling the march of 20 000 women to Pretoria 27 years ago to protest against the extension of passes to women, the speakers called on Wits students to form women's organisations and to join national democratic movements.

Mrs Joseph, who may not be quoted, received a standing ovation from students after outlining the 1956 mass protests.

Ms Mandela said South Africa foresaw bloodshed if whites failed to help bring about meaningful political change.

To applause, she said it was only logical that extreme white nationalism would give

rise to extreme black nationalism, which was detrimental to any cause it served.

"No change will ever be meaningful if it doesn't come from you, our white counterparts, because it is you who entrench racism psychologically in the minds of your husbands, your sons and your daughters," she said.

Mrs Ramgobin, Natal chairman of the United Democratic Front and grand-daughter of Mahatma Gandhi, said black women suffered from oppression because of their race, their class and their sex.

"Exploited women must join hands with men for liberation," she told students.

They must also reject the new constitutional proposals which were designed to divide people along racial and rural-urban lines, said Mrs Ramgobin.

Women needed to work with other democratic organisations and their struggle should not be isolated from the broader political struggle.



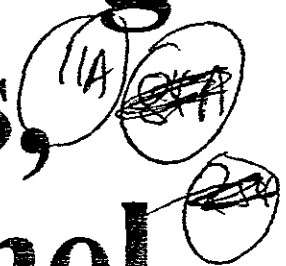
Ms Zinzi Mandela



Mrs Helen Joseph

# ANC recruiting draft dodgers, says SP colonel

Saw 10/0/83



By Mike Cohen and Pretoria Correspondent

Young white South Africans and conscientious objectors who have fled the country to avoid national service are being recruited and used by the African National Congress and similar organisations to spread anti-South African Government propaganda, says a Security Police colonel.

Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Joubert told the forum of the Unisa Women's Club in Pretoria yesterday that criminals were also being used by the ANC to do their "dirty work" — carrying out acts of terror within South Africa.

Colonel Joubert said that young white South Africans were being urged to defy their parents, leave

school, avoid national service and join the ANC.

Pamphlets addressed to these people were being sent from London to private residential addresses in South Africa, the colonel said.

"The pamphlets urge them to oppose the Government and to avoid doing their national service," Colonel Joubert said.

The recruitment of criminals by the ANC was highlighted by the Pretoria bomb blast in which 19 people died. Security Police found that two of the dead had been criminals hired by the ANC.

Colonel Joubert said the reason for recruiting the criminals was that the training of the organisation's own men cost a great deal of money and it was a setback when trained men were killed or arrested by the South African Police.

# 3 years' jail for playing ANC tape

Mail Reporter

A DIEPKLOOF man convicted of participating in the activities of the African National Congress by playing a cassette recording of ANC songs and slogans, was jailed for three years yesterday by a Johannesburg regional magistrate.

In the same trial a qualified schoolteacher employed in the Anglican Church was jailed for one year after being convicted of possessing a cassette tape-recording of an

interview with Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC.

Jacob Mashego, 25, of Diepkloof, Soweto, who was convicted under the Internal Security Act, was sentenced to five years, of which two were suspended for five years.

He was also jailed for one year, which will run concurrently with the other sentence, for possessing the tape-recording of ANC songs.

Peter Thabo Moloi, 29, of Dube, Soweto, was jailed for two years of which one year

was suspended for five years for possessing an ANC cassette tape.

Moloi is employed as an assistant in the Johannesburg headquarters of the Anglican Church.

The magistrate, Mr I J J Luther, found that Mashego had played the cassette for three friends in the bar of the Diepkloof Hotel on November 8 last year.

He said by playing the cassette, which he said encouraged the violent overthrow of

the Government in its songs and slogans, Mashego was participating in ANC activities because one of the aims of the ANC was to spread its ideology.

Moloi, on the other hand, had not played the cassette to anyone and so was convicted only for possession of an ANC publication.

Moloi and Mashego were released on R1 500 and R3 000 bail respectively pending an appeal against conviction and sentence.

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## UDF rejects reforms

THE UNITED Democratic Front (UDF) has rejected the latest proposed amendments to the constitutional proposals and has described them as an attempt to pacify people.

The interim publicity secretary of the UDF Mr Zac Yacoob was reacting to amendments suggested by the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Constitution this week.

The proposed amendments have been described as being of a technical nature.

"The amendments do not redress the grievances of the vast majority of our people," Mr Yacoob said in a statement.

The UDF is going to be launched nationally at a two-day conference in Cape Town on August 20 and 21.



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## Pac man hits West

HARARE — The Pan African Congress' permanent observer at the United Nations, Mr Gora Ebrahim, opened his 10-day visit to Harare with a hard-hitting attack on the West's continued support for South Africa.

Mr Ebrahim, whose organisation's bitter internal divisions have seriously crippled its ability to take an active role in the South African revolutionary conflict, said mandatory sanctions against South Africa would be a telling blow against Pretoria.

He told the local Herald newspaper shortly after his arrival on Monday that the Pretoria Government would not be so "arrogant" with the Frontline States if Western countries made a positive decision to withdraw their support for South Africa. —

SNS.

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# Reforms under fire

THE GOVERNMENT'S constitutional proposals entrenched apartheid and discrimination and sowed the seeds for greater division in the country, the national chairman of the Public Servants League, Mr Malcolm Domingo, said in Cape Town at the weekend.

Addressing a national meeting of chairman of the league's 20 branches, Mr Domingo said the league wished to reply to the people who had criticised the decision taken at the annual meeting to reject the constitutional proposals.

Criticism has been levelled at the organisation, which represents some 27 000 State employees, for entering the realm of politics.

Mr Domingo said the league — which was formed 13 years ago in

response to the exclusion of blacks from the Public Servants Association — aimed to set right what was wrong in the public service and to fight for equal opportunities for all workers in the service. — Sapa.



YESTERDAY: Tatsa released.

Pic. JOE MOLEFE

# TATSA FREED

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By SAM MABE

**SOUTH** Africa's most controversial detainee, Mr Mordecai Mothibi Tatsa, who has since his detention in 1979 also served a one-year prison sentence, was released yesterday but immediately served with a three-year banning order.

Mr Tatsa (28), of Orlando East and the first person known to have been banned this year, is also house-arrested between 7 pm and 6 am during weekdays and from 3.30 pm to 6 am on Saturdays and public holidays.

Five other people, who include Thami Mazwai, news editor of **The SOWETAN** are to be freed today after serving 18 months for refusing to be State witnesses in the trial of former student leader, Khotso Setlholo.

The other four are Thabo Ndabeni, an official of Azapo, Sipho Somacele, Solomzi Selani and Martin Seleke, all of whom are officials of the Azanian Youth Unity (Azanyu).

Mazwai was detained in 1981 with Seatlholo, president of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (Sayrco), who entered South Africa from Botswana where he had been living in exile after skipping the country, while he was president of the

now banned Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC).

In Mr Tatsa's order, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, explains that he banned him because he was recruited by the ANC and trained to use violence in overthrowing or endangering State authority in the Republic.

Mr Tatsa, a former member of the banned South African Students' Movement (Sasm), was detained in December 1979 and was charged under the Terrorism Act in May 1980.

The charges were withdrawn and he was re-detained as a potential State witness against a Mr Khumalo. In March 1981 he was jailed for three years for refusing to testify in Mr Khumalo's trial.

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# Police detain unionist

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

A MEMBER of the Natal Leather and Allied Workers' Union, an affiliate of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), Miss Ntombi Mpheka (21), was detained by police at her home yesterday.

Another woman, known only as Pumla, who is a member of the Congress of the South African Students, was detained and later released by the police, according to a spokesman for a Durban firm of lawyers yesterday.

According to Saawu's

Natal branch chairman, Mr Isaac Ngcobo, the police came to Miss Mpheka's home at 4.30 pm and detained her. They did not explain the reason for her detention.

She is an active member of the union and also a member of the Lamontville Rent Action Committee.

Pumla was also detained but later released. It is understood that she was questioned

about her activities in the student movement, according to the spokesman.

A spokesman for the lawyers said that they were investigating reasons for her detention as well as trying to establish under which laws Miss Mpheka was being held.

Chief of the Durban Security Police Brigadier Van der Hoofen denied any knowledge about the detention and

referred The SOWETAN to the Police Directorate in Pretoria.

The South African Police could not confirm the detention of Miss Mpheka in terms of security legislation, according to the Police Directorate in Pretoria.

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## Power failure

ATTERDIGEVILLE-Saulsville residents are up in arms against the daily electricity power cuts which they say has led to them losing thousands of rands through the amount of food they are forced to throw away.

Residents interviewed by The SOWETAN yesterday said there was a total electricity blackout everyday after 5pm. They blamed the authorities for not giving immediate attention to the problem.

Mrs S Mokone said for the past four months she had been throwing away food in large quantities. She said authorities did not seem to be concerned about the welfare of the com-

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# Two jailed for banned tape

Soweto

IIA

By NKOPANE  
MAKOBANE

TWO Soweto men were yesterday jailed by a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate after being convicted of furthering the aims of the African National Congress (ANC) activities.

Jacob Mashigo (25) of Diepkloof was sentenced to five years, two of which are suspended for five years, for furthering the aims of the ANC. He was also jailed for another year for possession of a tape cassette of a song by exiled Miriam Makeba and American singer Harry Belafonte that supports

and promotes the aims of the organisation. One year will run concurrently with the three years.

His co-accused, Peter Thabo Molo (29) also of Diepkloof was sentenced to two years, one of which is suspended for five years, also for possession of a tape cassette that contained the message by Mr Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC. Both men had pleaded not guilty.

At the end of the trial their defence counsel, Advocate G J Marcus successfully applied for bail pending appeal on conviction and sentence which was granted by Mr J J J Luther.

boys made off with the ketch Dulcimer, which has sunk, has agreed to make good the loss to the yacht's owner.

Dulcimer's owner, Mr Mike Bramford of Durban, has declined to prosecute the boys. He said he did not believe the two schoolboys were entirely responsible for the yacht's sinking after they abandoned it near the shark-nets off a Durban beach on Tuesday.

Mr Bramford said in an interview today that after talking to the 15-year-old boys, Claudius du Plessis and Marius Simpson, he believed they had closed the yacht's portholes and battened the main hatch before making their escape to the beach in a rubber dinghy.

"I could never understand how the yacht had received such severe damage while it was just floating about 20 m outside the shark nets and anchored to the seabed in a mild swell," he said.

Earlier reports described conditions inside the yacht before it was towed away as chaotic, with the hull holed, the generator systems unattended and the cabins and galley in a mess.

Mr Bramford said he was keen to see photographs taken by divers yesterday after they had located the ketch, with her mast and sails intact, off North Beach.

He said the father of one of the boys, deputy headmaster Mr Theunis du Plessis, had signed an acknowledgment of debt stating that he will pay Mr Bramford the R39 000 loss by August 1 next year.

Mr du Plessis left Durban for home yesterday with the two boys.

## Bikers set off in the cold

HARRISMITH — With frost lying as thick as snow and temperatures way below freezing point, the first motorcyclists left Harrismith this morning on the first leg of the three-day 1 300 km second Total Motorcycle Economy Run.

First away of the 82 competitors — among them five women riders — was former world champion Keck Balling.

# Tapes get 2 men jail terms

By Themba Maseko He was also sentenced to a year for possessing a cassette of speeches of the ANC's president, Mr Oliver Tambo. The sentence will run concurrently with the effective three-year jail term.

Mashego had pleaded not guilty to furthering the aims of the ANC, but admitted possessing the cassette.

Peter Thabo Molo (29), also of Diepkloof, was convicted of possessing a tape which advocated the

overthrow of the Government through violent means, and was sentenced to two years.

One year was conditionally suspended for five years.

He was acquitted on a charge of furthering the ANC's aims.

Moloi had pleaded not guilty to both charges.

The two were granted bail after their defence had lodged an appeal against the convictions and sentences.

## Cause of death 'hard to pinpoint'

By Rashid Chopdat

A woman whose decomposed body was found in a cupboard could have been strangled or could have suffocated in the cupboard, a medical expert told a Rand Supreme Court judge today.

Professor NG Scheepers was giving evidence at the trial of Mr Johannes Jacob Hermann Erasmus (41), address given as Berea, Johannesburg, who has pleaded not guilty to a charge of murder.

Mr Erasmus, who was appearing before Mr Justice H Grosskopf and two assessors, is accused of murdering his lover, Miss Lynette Claassen, on April 2 last year at their flat.

He allegedly wrapped her up in blankets, put her in a built-in cupboard and sealed it up with putty. Her body was found on February 27 this year.

Professor Scheepers said he had conducted a post-mortem on Miss Claassen, whose body was in an advanced state of decomposition. He could not be dogmatic or definite about the cause of death.

During the examination he found that the hyoid bone high up on the right side of the throat was wobbly and decayed. It seemed it had been fractured.

"It is possible that the bone had been fractured and this could be consistent with strangulation," he said.

"The signs one expects to find for a strangulation had vanished because of decomposition."

The professor said the hyoid bone could also have been damaged after death if she had been dragged into the cupboard or when the body was removed from where it was found.

Mr Erasmus said yesterday that he last saw Miss Erasmus on April 2 last year. He admitted to putting her in the cupboard and sealing it with putty but denied murdering her.

The hearing continues.

## Safe way to scan baby's head

CAPE TOWN — The radiology department at the Red Cross Children's Hospital in Cape Town has developed a safe way of scanning a baby's brain for haemorrhage or other complications by using ultrasound.

The head of the department, Professor Brian Cremin, said the technique offered a simple way of detecting bleeding on the brain, blockages, holes or cysts by sending sound waves through the gap in the bone on the baby's head. The method can only be used with babies not older than a year. — Sapa.

## Shot man 'stood steady'

A Springs man told a Johannesburg court yesterday that he fired a revolver in a scuffle in Hillbrow.

The shot man "stood steady" and he fired several times until the man fell.

Mr Marijan Jelic (34) address given as Geduld, Springs, has pleaded not guilty to a charge of culpable homicide.

He said that last December 19 he went to a nightclub in Hillbrow. At the entrance steps he met Mr Trifun "Ramon" Micovanovic.

"When I was about to pass him he blocked my way and grabbed me by my jacket. He then thrust his hand into my jacket pocket and I struck him with a fist."

A fight followed, during which Mr Jelic's revolver fell to the ground. He tried to retrieve it but Mr Micovanovic continued hitting him.

"I produced my spray-gun and used it on him. I then retrieved my gun and tried to leave, but he followed me. He grabbed me from behind and the gun fell again," said Mr Jelic.

They both scrambled for it, but Mr Jelic said he reached it first.

He said he had been provoked many times by Mr Micovanovic.

The hearing continues on August 16.

A security policeman who defected from the African National Congress was acquitted in the Rand Supreme

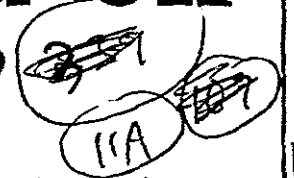
## SP man acquitted

SP man acquitted

THE issue of whether Inkatha should or should not participate in the elections of black local councils in Soweto under the new Act has arisen, not because I have changed my views on participation per se, but because of a Department of Foreign Affairs hand-out distributed widely to justify black exclusion from Mr P W Botha's Constitutional proposals.

# 'Where I stand on local councils'

11/8/83 ROM



A response by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, to the article by Professor Hermann Gilomee published in the Mail recently

It was distributed on behalf of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning. This information sheet put the question: "Why are Blacks not included in the new dispensation?" The answer was: "Blacks already have their own governments and administrations as, for example, in KwaZulu (where Zulu Ministers attend to own affairs) or in Soweto where new Councils with extended powers are to be established".

My reaction to this was a letter registering strong objections to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koorhof.

I received a wish-washy reply which did not address the issue at all. I reminded Dr Koorhof that blacks of KwaZulu had never accepted the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as representing a final solution for South Africa's political problems.

I reminded him that whites had town councils, provincial councils and other civic bodies, which are not a substitute for their representation in Parliament. I told him that after reading the handout it would now be difficult for me to encourage my people to support them.

I reminded Dr Koorhof that he knew very well that we wanted to participate in the final decision-making bodies of our land. I added that the Buthelezi Commission was the very measure of our rejection of the apartheid ideology.

I demanded a public withdrawal in Parliament by Dr Koorhof or another Minister. This has never been done.

I have since raised the issue at various meetings and at our policy-making body, the Inkatha annual general conference.

Because there was not enough time for the conference to debate the issue I suggested that it be referred to the central committee for debate and final decision. I always leave final decisions to the people themselves. I do so as a democrat.

It is quite wrong for Prof Hermann Gilomee to pontificate on the issue on behalf of Inkatha and myself without bothering to ascertain what the correct position is.

I thought that relations between Prof Gilomee and I were normal. He helped us in the Buthelezi Commission and I have high regard for him.

To speak for me, as the Professor does in the column, and imply that I objected to our exclusion from the constitutional proposals for what whites call the "urban blacks", is a distortion of my views.

I have never regarded rural and urban Africans as having separate destinies. No other race group in South Africa or any nation in the world is divided into separate entities along those lines.

Why must this apply only to Africans? Prof Gilomee has no right to mislead the public by suggesting that I was arguing against the exclusion of only the so-called "urban Africans".

I am opposed to the exclusion of all Africans, regardless of whether they are urban or rural.

I am also dismayed that Prof Gilomee concluded that we never at any time accepted responsibilities in the regional legislatures, such as the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, to make up for the denial of full political rights for blacks, including participation in Parliament.

I am in fact embarrassed that a professor of history should in this day and age write about what he describes as my "willingness to accept" a KwaZulu Homeland, when he should know better.

Prof Gilomee should know as a historian who follows current events that my leadership in KwaZulu was not created by what he describes as "accepting the KwaZulu Homeland".

How does one "accept" a place which is part of an area in which all your ancestors are buried, and where your family has lived for hundreds

not to abandon them when that framework was forced on them. I cannot understand why Prof Gilomee tries to compare the incomparable.

How can he compare by implication my traditional leadership role with participation by my people in the black local councils being created by the Government.

I say this notwithstanding the fact that I have never found it anathema for black patriots to participate in government-created structures such as community councils - if they have been created for blacks.

It is for this reason that I would prefer true patriots to participate in them rather than people who do not have the interests of their people at heart.

In this view I totally agree with Dr Nelson Mandela's views in "No Easy Walk To Freedom" which I would quote if newspapers were prepared, like me, to break the law in support of my argument.

I have not changed my views. But when the government excludes Africans from the new political dispensation, and then expects me to support participation in the new black local councils, even after the government has stated that these local councils are not just local civic bodies, but a substitute for African exclusion in Parliament under the new political dispensation, it becomes too much.

Participation by other race groups in provincial, municipal and village management boards has not been given as a pretext for excluding them in Parliament under the new constitutional dispensation.

Why does the Prof try to confuse such a clear-cut issue with red-herrings?

The federation speech which I delivered in Cape Town in 1974 and to which Prof Gilomee refers, was made in the understanding that this country must have one legislature for all people for the very reason that I have never accepted independent homelands, a la Pretoria, as the final solution for South Africa's political problems.

I therefore do not understand why my Hoernle Memorial lecture on federation was dropped into Prof Gilomee's column.

As I said in my letter to Dr Koorhof, the Buthelezi Commission itself and in which Prof Gilomee participated, is the very measure of the Zulu people's rejection of apartheid and its consummation through independence.

I was not prompted by any

ships through its branches. It does not need to establish a presence on the Witwatersrand through, what Prof Gilomee describes as, "control over townships on the Witwatersrand".

It is much more important to have the people's support, than the control of councils which do not enjoy the confidence of the people.

Even if one assumed, as the Afrikaner mentality does and as Prof Gilomee implies, that my base was Zulu only, which it is not, it is still a fact that Zulus live all over South Africa and not only in the rural areas. The major townships of Durban, for example, are in KwaZulu and they all have branches of Inkatha.

I am also not aware, as Prof Gilomee states, that the South African Black Alliance is "in trouble", whatever that is supposed to convey.

We still have a coloured representation in the South African Black Alliance even after the defection of the Labour Party. Not all coloureds agree with the decision of the Labour Party on participation in the Tri-Cameral Parliament without African participation.

I take very strong exception to Prof Gilomee's statement that I have never at any time tried to promote Inkatha as the internal wing of the ANC.

I have always stated that Inkatha is rooted in the ideals of the ANC as propounded by the founding fathers in 1912. We follow the strategy of non-violence which the ANC pursued right up to the time it was banned.

When we went to London in 1979 to meet Mr Oliver Tambo, we had been requested by him to do so. We were not doing so to curry favour with the external mission of the ANC, headed by Mr Tambo.

After all the external mission of the ANC was established by our late President-General, Chief A J Lutuli, to do international diplomatic work for our people.

The decision to go into the armed struggle was taken independently by the external mission of the ANC.

In spite of this, I have always stated that Inkatha has the same goals as the external mission, to bring about a non-racial democratic government in South Africa. We differ only on strategy.

We went to London on that understanding. It is indeed quite wrong to state that I wanted Inkatha to be the internal wing of the external mission of the ANC. The latter is committed to an armed

organisation, and perhaps because of the political one-upmanship game which is common throughout southern Africa.

I have never attacked the external mission, except to defend myself or to put the record straight or to counter their international campaign of vilification directed at Inkatha and myself rather than at Mr P W Botha and the National Party government.

Our target in Inkatha is the racist minority regime and not other black organisations.

It is often forgotten that the OAU, the Frontline Presidents and other heads of State, including the President of Nigeria, have tried for 24 years to influence the external mission of the ANC and the PAC to merge or at least to work together without any success.

I am disappointed to see an academic I respect like Prof Gilomee quoting Prof Roger Southall to support his arguments.

It is common knowledge that ever since he left the University of Lesotho, Prof Southall aligned himself with the external mission of the ANC, and has since been their spokesman at every Conference of Black Studies.

He is an arch-enemy of Inkatha. His alignment to the external mission is ideological and has nothing to do with any academic impartiality that people often erroneously assume to be an attribute of all academics.

As for what Prof Gilomee calls my "troubles", I would be glad to know what form these troubles have taken.

The recent Inkatha conference was the best ever. Thousands of delegates and observers attended from as far afield as Cape Town and Johannesburg.

I have also just returned from a very successful European tour. The statement by Mr Hans van den Broek, the Dutch Foreign Minister at the Hague, after my visit to Holland, says volumes.

Mr Van de Broek told the Dutch parliament that from now on they would not make any distinction between the external mission and Inkathain giving us support.

I would be interested to know why Prof Gilomee thinks that I have missed an opportunity to get a base on the Witwatersrand. There is no other leader other than myself, who for the last 10 years has annually addressed tens of thousands of black people in Soweto.

How is this possible if I have no base on the Witwatersrand?

It is the South African government which has put me in an impossible position with their information sheet.

...for South Africa's political problems.

I reminded him that whites had town councils, provincial councils and other civic bodies, which are not a substitute for their representation in Parliament. I told him that after reading the handout it would now be difficult for me to encourage my people to support them.

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How does one "accept" a place which is part of an area in which all your ancestors are buried, and where your family has lived for hundreds of years?

Zulus after all governed themselves under a monarchical system long before Pieter Retief approached King Dingane at Mgungundlovu with requests for land.

It is common cause that the structure of a "KwaZulu Homeland" in the form of a Legislative Assembly was imposed on the existing framework of Zulu traditional administration in which I had a traditional role at local and national level.

I was literally begged by the Zulu people at the time

with Dr Nelson Mandela's views in "No Easy Walk To Freedom" which I would quote if newspapers were prepared, like me, to break the law in support of my argument.

I have not changed my views. But when the government excludes Africans from the new political dispensation, and then expects me to support participation in the new black local councils, even after the government has stated that these local councils are not just local civic bodies, but a substitute for African exclusion in Parliament under the new political dispensation, it becomes too much.

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As I said in my letter to Dr Koornhof, the Buthelezi Commission itself and in which Prof Giliomee participated, is the very measure of the Zulu people's rejection of apartheid and its consummation through independence.

I was not prompted by any fear of losing credibility as Prof Giliomee suggests, in taking the stand which I took at the Inkatha annual conference.

I am a pragmatic politician, and I am not always prompted by ideological considerations in taking my political stands. I am always prompted by what I consider to be in the interests of all South Africans. I am the servant of the people and interpret their wishes and aspirations.

Inkatha has a presence in Soweto and other Reef town-

is "in trouble", whatever that is supposed to convey.

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We went to London on that understanding. It is indeed quite wrong to state that I wanted Inkatha to be the internal wing of the external mission of the ANC. The latter is committed to an armed struggle. Inkatha espouses non-violence.

People join Inkatha voluntarily. We present a philosophy and a strategy and people support us on that basis. We never use strong-arm methods — such as burning houses and maiming or killing people — to intimidate them into supporting or joining us.

I have never understood why the external mission of the ANC turned their wrath on me and Inkatha in 1979.

I think the reason was that Inkatha would not agree to be a surrogate of any other or-

arguments. It is common knowledge that ever since he left the University of Lesotho, Prof Southall aligned himself with the external mission of the ANC, and has since been their spokesman at every Conference of Black Studies.

He is an arch-enemy of Inkatha. His alignment to the external mission is ideological and has nothing to do with any academic impartiality that people often erroneously assume to be an attribute of all academics.

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How is this possible if I have no base on the Witwatersrand?

It is the South African government which has put me in an impossible position with their information sheet.

I would like to ask why we Blacks are always expected to bend backwards to meet the Government without the reverse ever occurring? In this case we do not even have the space for bending backwards.

It is time White South Africa realised that even we blacks have only two cheeks. We have turned the other cheek in compliance with the Christian ethic and we have none left for another slap.

There is no doubt that the proposed tricameral parliamentary system is a step in the wrong direction. There is also no doubt that black people must assume responsibility for their own administration at local level.

But if this is put out as a substitute for representation in Parliament, then even the black local councils are a step in the wrong direction.

If Prof Giliomee thinks that I am going into the wilderness by taking this stand, then I can only say that other men in South Africa, like General Hertzog, took a step into the wilderness when a principle and the future of his people were at stake.



# Blacks 'will never accept Govt proposals'

11A  
11/8/83

African Affairs  
Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says black South Africa will never accept the Government's constitutional proposals.

In an address to the inner council of the central committee of Inkatha at Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said blacks would never give their political, economic and social birth-rights away to enable white greed to satisfy itself at the expense of making black children suffer.

He said blacks rejected the constitutional plan because it assumed whites had the right to the exclusive control over 87 percent of South Africa in perpetuity.

He said the proposals assumed that the only legitimate black political rights were to be found in the so-called self-governing and so-called independent states in South

Africa.

They assumed that ethnic differences among white South Africans and among Indian and coloured South Africans and ethnic differences between whites, Indians and coloureds were politically irrelevant but that ethnic differences among black South Africans and between black South Africans and other South Africans were so profound that the various black ethnic groups had to be separated from each other and from white, Indian and coloured South Africans by international borders.

Chief Buthelezi said the plan assumed that a minority race group in a country could only be guaranteed freedom from persecution by majority forces by constitutional insularity.

'We see the constitutional choices of Afrikaner-led white South Africa as despicably dishonest,' he said.

Maputo  
raid man  
is freed

By ANTON HARBER  
Political Reporter

MR David Mthobela, a Mozambican citizen held by the South African Police since being captured during a Defence Force raid on Maputo early last year, has been released and returned to Maputo.

A police spokesman said yesterday that Mr Mthobela was released from Modderbee prison and flown back to Maputo on Monday at his own request.

He has been held by the South Africans for over 30 months. He has faced no charges.

Mr Mthobela, 28, was held by the SADF during their raid on African National Congress houses in Mozambique in January 1981.

# Family's roads

By JEFF SHAPIRO  
Pretoria Bureau

THERE they were, bowling down the Krugersdorp-Pretoria highway on Monday. And there they still are... looking for a sump, a diff, a rear suspension, two tyres and a petrol tank.

The Krige family have now spent four nights on the roadside, waiting for someone to deliver the much-needed parts to their temporary home on the Lanseria airport of-framp on the Krugersdorp-Pretoria highway.

A few sandwiches and some "smokes" would be welcome, they say. And a pot of coffee wouldn't go amiss.

"It started on Monday morning," said Mr Willem Krige, spokesman for the Krige family - four brothers, a sister and a brother-in-law - who have been temporarily living on the highway in their broken-down car.

They were on their way to Pretoria from Carletonville to try to locate their birth certificates and identity books. All six - and all middle-aged - needed them to apply for work.

“We thank the L... saved us, but now stranded here bec... Ford has broken d... we don't have the money to fix her.”

Halfway down the highway to Pretoria, matters went awry

"The Ford skidded in the wet about half a kilometre from the Lanseria Airport onramp and crashed over the bridge," said Mr Krige. "It ended up in the mud about 15m from the road."

The Krige family - Willem, Piet, Jake, A W J, Susanne and Mr Johagem Scholtz - survived with a few cuts and bruises.

Somewhat an understatement. The family of six have not eaten since Monday. Mud-spattered, hungry and broke, they have been waiting for much-needed help.

On Monday the Army arrived with

a crane... Ford 2... ravine... the roa... the roa... On T... told th... But... and, se... world... to leav... Ther... roof, a... inside... But... happen... So F

# Hunt for d... cop turned

## Threat to lives of top policeman and NIS agent

By CHRIS OLCKERS

FORMER police captain Andre Stander, sentenced to 75 years for armed robbery, was still at large late last night - and may be gunning for the top policeman and an intelligence agent who put him behind bars three years ago.

Stander, armed with four pistols, is with a habitual criminal, Peter McCall, and police warned that the men were "extremely dangerous".

A country-wide search for them is under way.

Stander, 36, the son of a retired police general, and McCall, 34, overpowered three prison warders at the consulting rooms of a Cullinan physiotherapist yesterday morning and took their service pistols and ammunition.

Both were serving prison terms at the Sonderwater Prison near Cullinan and were among seven prisoners who were taken to the consulting rooms for treatment.

After attacking the warders the two fugitives:

● Stole the therapist's car.

● Stole a Blaudhoo about 10km south of Cullinan, and



# Court told that Sactu is ANC political front

~~(#)~~  
Sizwe  
2/8/83  
(117)

THE Ciskei Supreme Court heard this week in a terrorism trial that the South African Congress of Trade Union (Sactu) was a political front of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

Under cross examination by defence counsel Mr M T K Moerane, expert witness Mr Daniel de Vries, of the RAU political science department, agreed that statements of the Sactu

and the ANC were propagandist in nature. Mr de Vries qualified his claim that Sactu was a front by saying its members joined Umkhonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

Appearing before Mr Justice D S de Wet and two assessors were Mr William Duna (31), Mr D Dumisani Maningjwa (31), Mr Bavi Keve

(52), and Mr Luyande Mayekiso (23). They had previously pleaded not guilty to charges of being engaged in terrorist activities, being members of the ANC, recruiting people to undergo military training in Lesotho, and being in possession of banned publications.

PROCEEDING. — Sapa.

# Thami Mazwai released



By ZWELAKHE SISULU

The SOWETAN news editor Thami Mazwai and four student leaders were yesterday released after spending 18 months in jail.

The five were jailed after refusing to give State evidence at the trial of Khotso Seatlhelo, president of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (Sayrco), in 1982.

Those released with Mazwai are: Mr Thabo Ndabeni, a leading member of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Solomon Selani, an organiser of the Azanian Youth Unity (Azanyu), the or-

ganisation's president, Mr Carter Seleke and Mr Siphso Somacele.

Mazwai was yesterday adamant he had taken the correct stand by refusing to testify: "If today I am called again to give evidence against another person, I would still refuse.

"A journalist relies on his integrity to exercise his duties to the fullest and this is why it would be against journalistic ethics for me to be a State witness," he said.

While in prison his

family moved into their new home in Pimville and he was seeing it for the first time: "It is a great relief to be back with my family and I appreciate the support they received in my absence," he said.

When detained Mazwai was general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

Mr Seleke said although it was a relief to be free, he felt bitter about those who were still imprisoned: "It's

good to be free and I intend pursuing my goals from where I left off. I have no intention of merely being a cheerful robot," he said.

"I have no regrets about the stance that I took, in fact I would do it all over again," he added.

His elder brother died while he was still in prison.

Mr Selani said: "I have not been intimidated by imprisonment I still hold the same beliefs and principles as when I was jailed. In fact, I am more determined now."

FREE: Mr Solomzi Selani, Mr Carter Seleke and Thami Mazwai.

PHOTO BY JOE MOLEFE

## Putco may reduce prices after fuel cuts

# LOWER

# FARES

Sowetan  
12/8/83



No deposit if you pay within 6 months. That's why we like Geen & Richards.

5 Pce 'Eleanor' The Eleanor seats 6

# NEWS EXTRA

## Azapo to meet (11A)

THE SOWETO branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will hold an anti-community council rally on Sunday at the Bridgeman Memorial Hall in Zola from 2.00 pm *Soweto*

Speakers will talk on the Local Authorities Act, influx control with special reference to the Rikhoto judgment, the 99-year leasehold and the recently implemented housing sales. One of the speakers will be Mr V Siqwebu, a veteran former advisory board member. (2/8/83)

The Alexandra branch of Azapo will also hold a meeting on Sunday at the Methodist Church which is situated at 12 Second Avenue. It will start at 2 pm.

The meeting will discuss the impending community council elections, the Putco fare hikes and the National Forum. The guest speaker will be Khehla Mthembu.

11A

12/8/83

GATSHA BUTHELEZI

# Behind the Maseru talks

Last week's talks in Maseru between Lesotho Foreign Minister Evaristus Sekhonyana and Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi could herald major new moves to block Pretoria's plans for a southern African confederation/constellation of states.

Buthelezi was asked by Sekhonyana to go to Lesotho for an on-site inspection of its "operational area," now apparently being extended from its north-eastern and northern borders with SA to its south-eastern borders with the Transkei as the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) steps up its efforts to overthrow Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan. Lesotho officials said Buthelezi's "high credibility" would help them put across their side of the "destabilisation" story to SA and the outside world.

Though Pretoria brushes aside Maseru's allegations that it succours the LLA, Buthelezi's own experiences incline him to believe them. He has claimed that the former Bureau for State Security, the Eschel Rhodie/Connie Mulder combine, and other Pretoria agencies were involved in financing "bogus" parties like "Shaka's Spear" in efforts to destabilise his own leadership.

### Common cause

Buthelezi told Sekhonyana the "prime purpose" of his visit was to discuss what he could do to help, and he promised to talk to influential people on his return to SA. At mid-week, he scheduled a press conference in Durban to present some of Lesotho's allegations.

Ironically, Pretoria's confederation ambitions have given Buthelezi and Sekhonyana further common cause. It is no secret that Pretoria finds Inkatha's rock-hard refusal to accept "independence" for KwaZulu at any price a major stumbling-block for its plans to denationalise all black South Africans — a stance for which Sekhonyana and his colleagues made their admiration abundantly clear during the Buthelezi visit.

Buthelezi is also sworn to thwarting Pretoria's plans to prise SA's "homelands" into a confederation, since the confederation is based on four fundamental principles that Inkatha flatly rejects: "homeland independence"; denationalisation; permanent exclusion of blacks from Parliament; and permanent denial of black claims to a say in how Pretoria allocates its budget each year.

One of Buthelezi's right-hand men, Inkatha secretary general Oscar Dhlomo, charges that Pretoria's proposed confederal relationship with the "homelands" is much the same thing as the Kremlin's relationship with its eastern European

satellites.

The problem for Buthelezi is how to stop it — four homelands have already accepted "independence" and regularly go to the Union Buildings for "summit" confederal conferences. Neither the violent policies pursued by the African National Congress (ANC) nor the current fashion of black boycott politics have succeeded in doing anything about this process.

The perception is that new strategies must be devised before it is too late.

What gives Inkatha, as the largest black political voice in SA's history, and the governments of Lesotho and other frontline states common cause is Pretoria's apparent intention to lever them into confederation with it, too. This, at any rate, is the price Sekhonyana told Buthelezi Pretoria wants Lesotho to pay for a more co-operative approach on current problems Maseru is experiencing with the southern African customs union, which Pretoria dominates.

Buthelezi believes Lesotho's suspicions are well-founded. Indeed, he told Sekhonyana: "The purpose of Pretoria is to reduce Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Mozambique to the status of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei."

Significantly, Buthelezi gave Sekhonyana a full briefing on his current series of negotiations with Transkeian and other leaders, which are designed to block further progress towards confederation. Equally significantly, the negotiations were initiated by Transkei, because, so Buthelezi believes, it "is finding the contradictions of confederalism impossible to live with."

In his remarks to Sekhonyana, Buthelezi

made no bones about the fact that he is treading extremely warily with Transkei — which he believes betrayed blacks by leaping into "independence" in 1976. But he believes no effort should be spared to reverse the process of balkanisation of SA and leave open the door for denationalised blacks to regain their SA citizenship.

Lesotho officials were evidently impressed with the progress that Buthelezi was able to report after no less than 11 rounds of talks with Transkeian and other black leaders since November last year. Transkei, Gazankulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa and Kangwane have thus joined KwaZulu in a "declaration of intent," one of whose main commitments is "the re-unification of those whom apartheid divides" so that a "non-racial" and "non-ethnic" democracy can be established.

Lesotho ministers did not fail to appreciate that Transkei's signature on the declaration was in fact a repudiation both of its own conduct in taking "independence," and of Pretoria's entire policy of ethnic homelands.

How to lay the foundations for putting SA back together again politically — the high aim Buthelezi has set himself — is obviously an immensely difficult exercise, as he frankly told Sekhonyana and his colleagues.

"The struggle for liberation in SA will yet be a long and bitter struggle," he said, and there was a "need to evolve over time the approaches which are mutually beneficial for us." Lesotho and other states would clearly be doing black SA a great service if they supported practical (as opposed to merely rhetorical) initiatives to thwart balkanisation and denationalisation.



Inkatha's Buthelezi ... opposing Pretoria's plans

107 109 101 11A

~~117 10 16 101~~

Buthelezi also gave the Lesotho government a briefing on Inkatha's relationship with the ANC, following the "disastrous" talks between the bodies in London in October 1979. The Lesotho government — which recognises both Inkatha and the ANC as legitimate organisations — may attempt a reconciliation.

Buthelezi said that he believed an "interface" between "black SA and free states in southern Africa" would become more important in blocking Pretoria's confederation/constellation plans. Though the "interface" would essentially be between blacks inside SA and neighbouring states, the ANC would also have to be included, he believes.

Buthelezi's initiatives require great courage and supreme staying-power. Their success will also require all the considerable qualities of statesmanship he has shown himself to possess.

FM 12/2/83

FM 12/8/83

### SISULU ARRESTED

(11A) ~~(11A)~~  
Albertina ~~Sisulu~~, the detained newly elected president of the Transvaal branch of United Democratic Front (UDF) (*Current affairs*, August 5) is to have her trial date set in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court next Wednesday for charges under the Internal Security Act.

Sisulu (66) is the wife of life-imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) figure, Walter Sisulu, and an executive member of the Federation of SA Women. She and a Soweto teacher, Thami Mali, were charged in the Johannesburg Regional Court last Monday after being arrested the previous Friday. They are being held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act. An Attorney General's order opposed the granting of bail.

Sisulu's unanimous election at a meeting of the UDF's Transvaal regional council came a day after her arrest and two weeks before the UDF's national launch.

□ The FM's article on the UDF last week contained an error in quoting its spokesman, Zac Yacoob, which gave the impression that the UDF ruled out talking to the National Forum Committee at a later stage. Yacoob wishes to point out that he did not rule out the possibility.



# Diepkloof indaba

Soweto 12/1/83

THE HISTORY of Government-created institutions and the effects of their functions on the lives of black people will be among issues to be discussed at a public meeting to be held in Diepkloof, Soweto, on Sunday.

The meeting, to be held at Modisi yo Botse Lutheran Church in Zone 4 from 2pm, is being convened by the Diepkloof Civic Association and the Anti-Community Council Committee.

A spokesman for the two organisations said their speakers would focus on alternatives to the present community council structures and on the Government's sale of houses.

• In Dobsonville, Mr Steve Nkatlo, a community councillor, will hold a residents' meeting at the Senyamo Lower Primary School on Sunday starting at 8am. The meeting will discuss the merger of the three Soweto councils.

# I was involved in bus stoning — Cosas man

(MA)

E Post 12/8/83

Post Reporter

THE chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Mr Zola Mtatse, admitted yesterday that he was involved in the recent stoning of a bus in Port Elizabeth's black townships.

This emerged during a bail application in the Port Elizabeth Magistrate's Court brought by Mr D Chetty for Mr Mtatse and nine other men and two youths charged with public violence.

The bail application was refused by the magistrate, Mr J de Kock, on the grounds that there was an increased risk the men and youths would abscond.

The State alleged they had stoned buses during the bus boycott from July 31 to

August 3 in Port Elizabeth this year.

The men and youths had pleaded not guilty to the charge.

They are Mr Bonsile Mbikanye, 22, Mr Wellyan Jawuka, 25, Mr Xola Makapela, a committee member of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Mr Fundile Mafongozi, 21, secretary of the Port Elizabeth branch of Cosas, Mr Phindile Nkanti, Mr Samuel Mapoza, 21, publishing secretary of Cosas, Mr Andile Williams, 21, Mr Zandisile Dayile, 18, Mr Mtatse, and two youths.

Charges against Mr Mzolisi Dyasi and a youth were withdrawn by the State prosecutor, Mr M le Roux.

Supporting the application, Mr Mtatse, 21, said he

was a matric pupil at the Kwazakhele High School. He was due to write examinations in September and would like to be allowed bail so that he could prepare for them.

He said he did not intend leaving the country and would stand trial.

Mr Mtatse admitted he was involved in the stoning of a bus, but this was not connected to a call for a boycott.

He said that during discussion concerning bail with the investigating officer, Capt C Roelofse, he was told that if he, Mr Williams and Mr Makapela admitted guilt, the others would be released.

The hearing was postponed to September 13 in the Port Elizabeth Regional Court.



# Lesotho forced to 'evacuate' SA blacks

E. Post  
13/8/83

11A

By ALLISTER SPARKS

JOHANNESBURG — Lesotho has alerted the United Nations and several Western governments that it will soon start 'evacuating' up to 3 000 black South African refugees living there because it can no longer withstand South African military and economic pressures.

The Lesotho Foreign Minister, Mr Evaristus Sekonyana, confirmed this in a telephone interview from Maseru after officials of his Government had held their second meeting in six weeks with a South African Government delegation in Pretoria in Wednesday.

Mr Sekonyana made it clear South Africa was demanding the removal of members of the African National Congress from Lesotho as the price for lifting a partial blockade it has been imposing on border crossings.

He said weapons badly needed by the stretched Lesotho security forces were also being blocked in South African ports.

South Africa claims the ANC uses Lesotho as a launching pad for insurgent attacks and began imposing the border slowdown after the Pretoria and Bloemfontein car-bomb ex-

plotions in Maseru. Lesotho denies harboring insurgents and says it has only refugees from South Africa whom it accepts in terms of its obligations as a signatory to the United Nations convention on refugees.

Mr Sekonyana said Lesotho had asked South Africa repeatedly to pinpoint the insurgents it believes are there but it had not done so.

Mr Sekonyana said Lesotho had asked for further particulars of what category of person South Africa is demanding must leave.

The number involved will depend on South Africa's definition of what it regards as a 'black' person.

Mr Sekonyana said Lesotho has 100 000 black Africans registered as refugees with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) but a narrow definition by South Africa could reduce the actual number who have to leave to between 300 and 500.

Mr Sekonyana said the Lesotho Government would make its final decision on what to do about the refugees when it received this information.

But he made it clear that

Breidenkamp, A Patterson, S Wiggill, G Doyle, B Cosby, M Hoy, B Watson

the equipment for the stern section.

experts had

# Weather Forecast

FORECAST for the coastal belt from Pieterberg Bay to Port Alfred for the period ending 8am tomorrow

CONDITIONS: Fine and warm to hot becoming partly cloudy and cooler later tomorrow

WIND: Light to moderate northerly to north-easterly becoming fresh westerly to south westerly later tomorrow

EXPECTED TEMPERATURES  
 Maximum 25C  
 Minimum 12C

TODAY'S CONDITIONS (4pm)  
 Sea Temperature 17C  
 Temperature 30.5C  
 Pressure 1 017.9mbar  
 Humidity 24%  
 Wind calm

THE MOON  
 First Quarter August 15  
 Full Moon August 23  
 Last Quarter August 31  
 New Moon September 7

THE SUN  
 Sets today 5 45pm  
 Rises tomorrow 6 38am

THE TIDES  
**High Water**  
 Today 6.51am 7 16pm  
 Tomorrow 7.32am 8 02pm  
**Low Water**  
 Today 12 48am 12 48pm  
 Tomorrow 1.30am 1 36pm

PORT ALFRED TO PORT EDWARD: Fine and warm to hot but mild in the north today. Wind light to moderate north-easterly becoming northerly to north-westerly tomorrow

BORDER, TRANSKEI AND INTERIOR: Fine and mild but warm to hot over the southern areas and also over Transkei tomorrow

# SA pressure forces Lesotho to evacuate black refugees

*Handwritten:* SA Post 13/8/83

● From Page 1

unless the international community, particularly the Reagan Administration, could influence South Africa to cease its pressure. Lesotho would have no choice but to comply with Pretoria's demands

"Lesotho is being suffocated — we have no options," Mr Sekhonyana said.

In the meantime, he added, Lesotho was "sensitising" the United Nations and African and Western governments to the situation it was facing.

Lesotho's ambassador in Washington, Mrs Malineo Tau, has called on both the UN High Commission for Refugees and the US State Department to tell them

the evacuation will have to take place.

A State Department official said Mrs Tau had given a figure of between 2 000 and 3 000 people. He would not comment on whether the United States would be prepared to take any.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has declined to comment.

South Africa's pressure on Lesotho began with its commando raid on Lesotho last December 9, which it claimed was against ANC bases.

Lesotho said all 42 people killed were either innocent refugees or local civilians.

After the Pretoria and Bloemfontein bombs, South

Africa switched to economic weapons and imposed a slowdown at the border posts on the pretext that it was security screening all vehicles

Long queues formed on both sides of the border and Lesotho was soon in dire straits as it began running out of essential supplies and numerous migrant workers were stopped from entering South Africa

This led to the June 5 meeting. The partial blockade was lifted after that, but Mr Botha re-imposed it on July 18 because he said Lesotho was doing nothing to implement the agreement and had arrested a South African policeman who had gone there to coach a soccer team.

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P.35E 73

**LIFE BIBLE CHURCH**  
 (THEMA PORT ELIZABETH)  
 Sunday at 9.30 am and 7 pm

**EWTON PARK LIBRARY AUDITORIUM**  
 NORTH AVENUE (opposite Pick 'n Pay)

**OUR GOD REIGNS**  
 Preaches: Rev. KEITH BUNCOMBE, 306703

**Jesus is Lord**

P12801

## Postword prize R290

AS there was no correct entry for Postword No 1056, the prize for No 1057 is increased by R20 to R290.

The solution to No 1056 is: Horizontal — flat; Juicy — full of juice? Trap — ladder leading to a loft; Vexation — distressing thing; Negative — reject; Coma — nebulous envelope round nucleus of comet; Skip — captain of side at bowls; Mystic — mysterious; Contend — maintain; Flirt — wave or move briskly; Fleet — naval force; Cow — female whale; Addle — muddled.

## Bishop Evans better

Weekend Post Reporter

THE Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Right Rev Bishop Evans, is "fine" and he was expecting to be discharged from St Joseph's Hospital today, a hospital spokesman said.

Bishop Evans was admitted to hospital on Wednesday afternoon after he felt unwell. He was given a blood transfusion.

## Junior Club puzzle winners

THE winners of the R2 prizes for solving the picture crossword puzzle printed last Saturday are Gillian Waite, 5 Patry's Street Cotswold Extension, Port Elizabeth, and Wesley Ncapai, 26 Ntshakisa Road, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

This week's picture crossword puzzle is on the Post Junior Club page in today's Family Post.

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CAR Times 13/8/83

# UDF workers 11A arrested by railway police

Staff Reporter

FOUR members of the United Democratic Front (UDF), an organization launched three weeks ago to oppose the new constitutional proposals, were arrested at the Mitchells Plain station yesterday for allegedly distributing pamphlets.

They are being held for questioning at the Philippi railway police station. Two names have been released. They are Shahieda Sedick and Goolam Aboobaker.

The railway police press liaison officer, Brigadier Danie Malan, last night confirmed the arrests.

"Four people are being held for questioning at Philippi railway police station in connection with the distribution of pamphlets, which is an offence on railway premises," Brigadier Malan said. He said it was "just an

offence in respect of which an admission of guilt is payable".

"There is nothing sinister about it."

It is alleged that a further six UDF members were taken to the Bellville railway police station from Kraaifontein, held for questioning until 8pm and then released.

"This is not the first time they've acted against us," said UDF treasurer Mr Rashid Seria. "The people held tonight were distributing newsletters publicizing the national launching of our organization in the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain on Saturday August 20."

He said 40 000 newsletters — UDF News — had been confiscated by police at a roadblock in Paarl last Sunday but released after attorneys had been instructed to bring an urgent interdict against the police.

# Rowdy students halt seminar

11A  
Mail Correspondent

RWM 13/8/83  
Oliver Tambo, the exiled London head of the African National Congress. They also shouted disparaging remarks about Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha.

ULUNDI. — Over 100 students at the University of Zululand disrupted a seminar on black political thought at Ngoye yesterday afternoon.

Spokesmen for the students said the demonstration was directed at the presence on Inkatha at the seminar.

One of the speakers was to have been Dr Oscar Thlomo, secretary-general of the movement.

The first speaker, the Reverend Bhuti Thlaga of equal opportunity scholarships, had just started speaking on the black consciousness movement when students began chanting and clapping.

He was unable to continue.

Students chanted slogans in favour of Nelson Mandela, the jailed political leader, and

The organiser of the seminar, Professor Absalom Vilakazi, head of the centre for research and documentation at the University of Zululand, termed the action of the students "disgusting".

He said the seminar would go ahead today as scheduled, but at another venue.

Prof Vilakazi said the president of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), Mr Joe Paahla, and Mr Archie Gumede, chairman of the Free Mandela committee, had declined to attend the seminar at the last minute.

They were to have spoken on the Azaso perspective.

Cape Times  
13/8/83 (114)

## 10 men transferred to island

### Staff Reporter

TEN men convicted of murder in the Mpetha trial, of whom nine were also convicted of terrorism, have been transferred from Pollsmoor Prison to Robben Island, a spokesman from the Detainees Parents' Support Committee said yesterday.

The spokesman said a lawyer had been informed of the move while helping one of the men's relatives to apply for a prison visit.

The men who the lawyer said were moved are: Christopher Sidlayiya, Morgan Makubala, Aaron Tshangama, Vusumzi Kube, Johannes Hlapo, Bongani Mampondo, Jeffrey Baardman, Philip Nyongwana, Alton Sabuwa and Vuyisile Diba.

Their sentences range from seven to 20 years. The ten are "D status" prisoners allowed one visit a month by one person, and may send and receive one letter each month, the DPSC spokesman said.



# WAYS TERRY OVER

DR

S. Times 14/8/83

11A

# NO! CLAIM

## Leaders all deny sending 'coloured homeland' letter

COLOURED leaders this week challenged Dr Andries Treurnicht, the Conservative Party chief, to name the coloured leader he claimed was in favour of talks on a homeland.

The mystery had deepened by the weekend when all known parties — and some relatively unknown ones — denied any contact with "Dr No".

Dr Treurnicht yesterday refused to reveal the names of the people he claimed had contacted him, saying they would be "intimidated" if he did so.

All he was prepared to say was that he had received a letter from "a man" in the Peninsula, claiming to be acting on behalf of a group of conservative coloured people, saying they were in favour of talks with him on a "coloured homeland".

He did not know how big this group was. In interviews this week, coloured leaders said they were "puzzled and amazed" at Dr Treurnicht's claim.

Labour Party leader the Rev Alan Handrickse said: "We are not in the least interested in negotiating with Dr Treurnicht."

"His concept of a coloured homeland is unacceptable to any right-thinking coloured man."

Freedom Party leader Mr Charles Julies said: "Any overt or covert association with Dr Treurnicht and his scatter-brained idea of a coloured homeland, whether by letter or telephone, is out of the question with the Freedom Party."

### 'Swear words'

People's Congress Party leader Mr Peter Marais said: "I am prepared to discuss politics with anyone — provided he does not use the swear words 'coloured homeland'."

"The point is that we have a homeland already, called the Republic of South Africa. No reputable so-called coloured leader or grouping would have anything to do with this man."

Constitutional Action Committee (CAC) chairman Mr Arthur Davids said: "Why approach me? Why would I write to Dr Treurnicht?"

"I have nothing to say to the man whose political philosophy is diametrically opposed to that of reformist thinkers like Mr P W Botha."

Patriot Association chairman Mr C I R Fortuin, whose association has been likened to a kind of coloured "broederbond" and which championed the course of "brown people" only, said: "We are still a small, socio-economic self-help association

By NORMAN WEST

homeland and my Congress would never have written to Dr Treurnicht on the issue.

Griqua National Council leader Mr Andrew le Fleur said: "My people gave evidence to the Constitutional Committee of the PC on the needs and demands of the Griqua people."

"We said, in effect, that we wanted our traditional "homeland" returned to us, by which we meant our traditional geographical areas like Albany, Griqualand East and Griqualand West."

"This was "heritage" land which had belonged to our forefathers."

"We are asking that that which belonged to us, traditionally, be given back to us — which is different from the "coloured homeland" Dr Treurnicht is talking of creating somewhere in the bundu."

with about 750 members and could, perhaps, be described as conservative.

"We operate without seeking publicity and certainly would never have written any letters to Dr Treurnicht."

Griqua People's Congress president Mr Eric le Fleur said: "We have always been against a Griqua or coloured

# UDF: IIA WPA WHERE'RE THE city press WORKERS? 14/8/83

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**SOUTH AFRICAN** history is littered with the corpses of organisations formed to fight apartheid.

And, while many died under the iron fist of the Government, others jes' plain ole died o' boredom, man.

And thats something the current generation of black political organisations would do well to remember.

The question is: Once you've formed an anti-apartheid movement, just what the hell do you do with it - if you want to be effective and still survive?

The ANC was effective, but it didn't survive legally, and has now made its particular choice.

Inkatha is a slumbering giant, but quite what it can legally do if it wakes up is anybody's guess.

There have also been a whole range of "dial-a-quote" organisations which while very good at issuing angry Press statements have yet to prove they can really organise and represent people.

The emerging trade union movement stands alone in really being able to develop a programme of legal action over the past 10 years which has been effective in pursuing its members' interests.

These lessons should not be lost on the leaders and delegates to the national launching of the United Democratic Front as

## CP Reporter

they travel to Cape Town for their massive conference and "people's rally" on August 20, just a week away.

Presumably, some of them believe they have a pretty good idea of what programme of action they can and need to develop.

The slow, step-by-step way in which the UDF has been built since Dr Allan Boesak's clarion call in January for unity between progressive worker, community, religious, student and other organisations gives cause for some hope on this score.

The demand of the time, he said, was for a united front to oppose the new constitution and the "Kooorhof Bills".

UDF unity has not just been "declared"; instead, it has been built - first with a Natal UDF, then a Transvaal UDF, and finally a Cape UDF. Now comes the big Cape Town conference and "people's rally", at which the national glue is to be applied.

The strength of the UDF will depend on the strength of its member organisations, the quality of the central UDF leadership and its ability to co-ordinate opposition to the Government's new plans.

But some of the UDF's 100-odd member organisations are weak. Some are little more than groups of spokesmen who, while they might speak for millions, do not have

## UDF UNITES - APARTHEID DIVIDES



## UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT NATIONAL RALLY - 20 AUG CAPE TOWN

organised constituencies to whom they are responsible.

The fact that Fosat, the General Workers' Union, and the Food and Canning Workers' Unions have decided to stay outside the UDF is a grave blow. These union groupings are arguably the most effective in the country.

The attitude of these unions is understandable. In Natal and the Cape, these union groups could be ripped apart if they were members of the UDF, and the UDF became involved in verbal battles with Inkatha or the remnants of the old Non-European Unity Movement. The reason is that these unions draw members from all political loyalties.

In addition, these unions fear their own democratic decision making processes could be over-ruled by other interests in the UDF.

These unions have not declared any hostility towards the UDF. Rather, they have indicated they largely support it. They are also involved in their own inter-union unity talks and fear member-

ship of the UDF could adversely affect these moves.

But major compromises would be necessary on both sides for there to be any hope of building a powerful worker base to the UDF. For one, the UDF would have to restructure itself so that the stronger organisations, for example the unions, have far more say than groups of unproven "spokesmen".

For the moment, the best that the UDF and these absent unions can hope for is that they work together in parallel to oppose the Government's new plans.

For their part, the unions would not mind the development in the communities, universities and professions of strong organisations which can be respected for their organised memberships and democracy rather than merely for the big names who head them.

And strengthening member organisations in this way is what the UDF will have to be about if it is to have any chance of success.

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# MYSTERY TELEGRAM THREAT TO MANDELA ELECTION

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FIA  
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press  
14/8/83

A MYSTERY telegram this week almost scuttled attempts to get imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela elected chancellor of the University of Natal.

The president of the Free Mandela Committee, Archie Gumede, said the telegram — said to have been sent by lawyers representing Mandela's wife Winnie — had created "intense confusion" among campaigners for Mandela's election.

Mr Gumede said there had been a "blatant attempt" to create the impression that Mandela had withdrawn his nomination, an event which resulted in the election of a second candidate, author Dr Alan Paton.

The origins of the telegram had been particularly strange, he said, as there had been no contact with either Mandela or his wife, who is banished to Brandfort.

CP Correspondent:  
DURBAN

The controversy around the election of a chancellor for the university's Durban and Maritzburg campuses erupted two weeks ago when the Maritzburg SRC unanimously endorsed Mandela's nomination.

The students made it clear they had

nominated Mandela — who is serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town — because he was a symbol of the mass rejection of Pretoria's apartheid policies.

But confusion crept into the issue when the SRC was informed by telegram that Mandela had withdrawn his nomination.

So informed, the students withdrew Mandela's name and proposed Alan Paton.

However, a later statement from Mandela's lawyer in Johannesburg, Ismael Ayob, scotched these reports. Ayob said he had received no indication from Mandela that he wished to withdraw.

He said Winnie Mandela had made an urgent application to see her imprisoned husband so they could discuss the issue. Until then, Mandela would remain as a nominee.

Since then, the university's Durban SRC has also endorsed Mandela's nomination, saying the university authorities had discounted the telegram from the wife of Mrs Mandela's attorney, P J de Waal.

Also, Dr Paton has



Winnie Mandela

withdrawn his nomination, saying he would not enter into a contest against Mandela.

Mr Gumede congratulated the students for not being "distracted" by what was obviously a calculated campaign against Mandela.

He said there had been a "blatant attempt" to create the impression that Mandela had withdrawn his nomination. This had been worsened by Natal newspapers' wide coverage of the rumours of Mandela's withdrawal.

Meanwhile, a Labour Party member of the European parliament, Richard Balfe, has described Mandela as South Africa's "president-in-prison".

# DUAL ATTACK ON ELECTIONS

11A  
~~11A~~  
City Press

14/2/82 By KHULU SIBIYA

A TWO-PRONG attack on the community council elections has been planned by the Azanian People's Organisation and the Anti-Community Council Committee.

The two organisations are to oppose the elections at two separate meetings to be held on Sunday afternoon.

Azapo will hold theirs at the Bridgeman Memorial Centre in Zola and the ACC at the Modsi-Yo-Botse Church in Diepkloof.

The theme at both meetings will be "anti-participation in the community council elections," and var-

ious organisations have been invited.

Azapo has invited the Council of South Africa (Mwasa), Black Lawyers Association, Black Women Unite, Chamber of Commerce, Committee of Ten, Bamco, Sabta and Azasm.

Mr Isaac Mogasi, an executive member of ACC, said other issues like housing and the electrification of Soweto would be discussed.

Azapo's legal secretariat will also discuss Workmen's Compensation, the Unemployment Fund and the Motor Vehicle Association with the workers.

# New look for FP's Julies

S. Times 11/8/87 (11A)

By NORMAN WEST

**FREEDOM PARTY (FP) leader Mr Charles Julies has emerged from the Uitenhage unity talks with the People's Congress Party (PCP) with a tougher political image.**

Prior to the talks with Mr Peter Marais's PCP, his party had virtually unconditionally accepted the principles of the Constitution Bill.

Now, he has qualified his possible active participation in the proposals.

## Joint plan

This new, tougher stance follows his party's agreement with the PCP to a joint three-pronged plan, and puts his party in a new light.

The FP and the PCP have decided to continue discussions next month in Cape Town.

If these talks are as successful as the leaders say last week's ones were, they will have a further meeting in Durban in December to finalise a merger.

In the meantime, however, the two parties have decided:

- In principle, to reject apartheid and racial discrimination as the chief obstacle to achieving an evolutionary political settlement in South Africa;

## Optimistic

- In future, to insist on joint talks with the Government on political issues; and,

- In the case of a merger, to refuse to participate in elections for the "coloured" House of Representatives, unless the Government issues a Declaration of Intent to phase out all racially discriminatory laws.

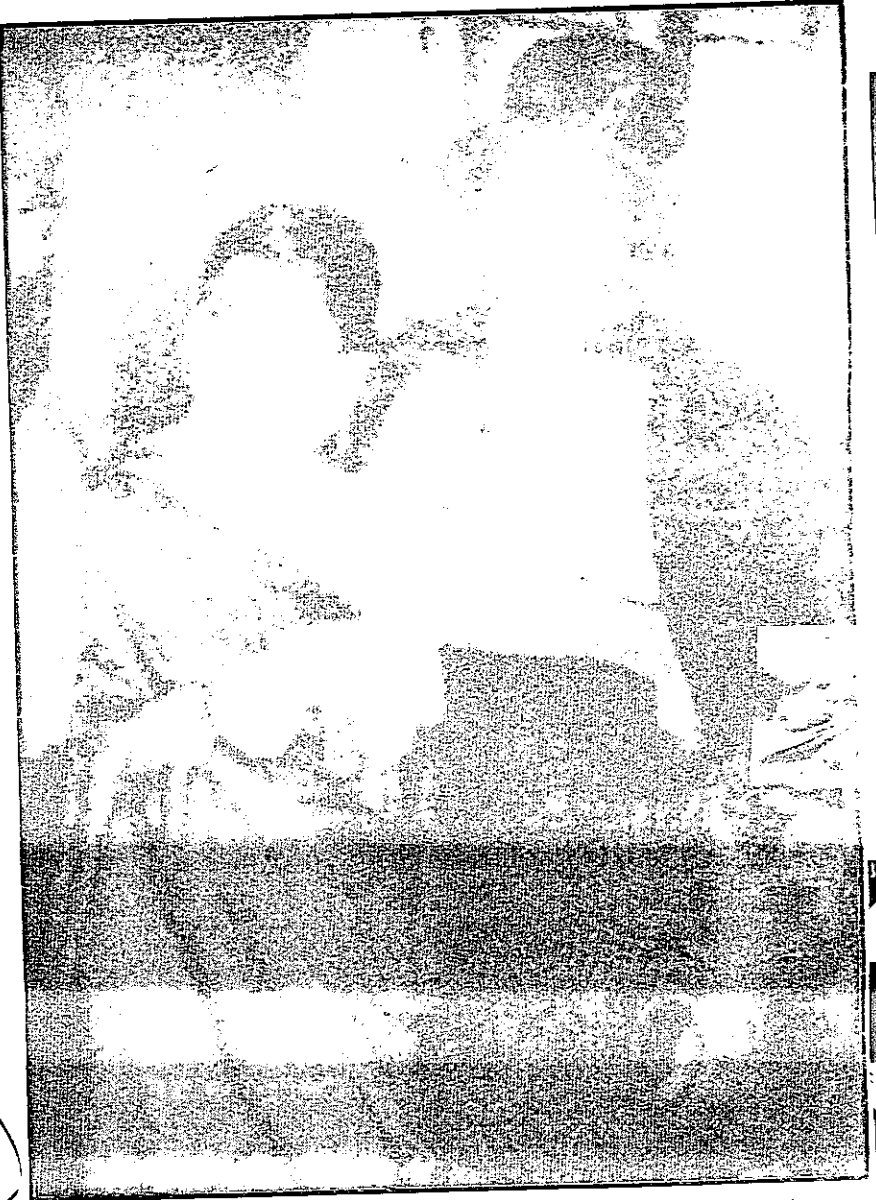
Both Mr Julies and Mr Marais this week expressed their optimism that they would find enough common ground to emerge as a unified force at their talks scheduled for Durban in December.

They said they realised their intention must still be ratified by their provincial and national congresses and that they would have to work out a constitution acceptable to both and a suitable new name.

**WOMEN**



IN 1956, 20 000 women marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the new pass laws. Here they are seen in the amphitheatre.



Amina Cachalia and Lilian Ngoyi, treasurer and president of the Federation of South African Women in 1956.

# Remember all our women

THIS week National Women's Day became National Women's Week ...

For the first time since that memorable day, 27 years ago — when 20 000 women marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria in protest against pass laws — South African women showed their force of numbers by turning up in large numbers for commemorative meetings, which took place throughout the week.

Regarded as an 'awareness week' by participants — it was stimulated by the fact that the Federation of South African Women and many of its leading members were recently unbanned.

It was wonderfully en-

By SARAH CROWE

couraging to see so many young women, especially white women, at the meetings which were held this week. It was many, many more than other years," said Amina Cachalia who was one of the women who helped create that day.

For many years South Africans have been quite unaware of what Women's Day was all about, and even last year the mention of the day would conjure up pictures of old ladies banging the drum and collecting money for some or other charitable organisation.

The day went by uncelebrated for many years

This week, however, women and men packed halls — some were even turned away — in an attempt to hear speakers urge them to stand up and be counted.

Meetings were held at the University of the Witwatersrand, at Dube YWCA Hall in Soweto and a community hall in Lenasia.

Speakers such as Zinzi Mandela, Helen Joseph and Ila Ramgobin (Mahatma Gandhi's granddaughter participated).

The event they commemorated was the day South African women raised their united political voice for the first time ...

It was on August 9, 1956, when 20 000 women from all over the country marched in protest against the new pass laws.

The march was not an act of resistance but a peaceful

petition and has gone down in the annals of South African history as the biggest women's protest march that has ever taken place in the country.

The protest was led by four women, Lilian Ngoyi, the president of the Federation of South African Women, Helen Joseph, the Federation's national secretary, Sophie Williams, and Rahima Moosa. Amina Cachalia, then treasurer of the Federation, and Albertina Sisulu, were also present.

The women — some in tribal dress with babies strapped on their backs, others in smart western clothes — had converged to Pretoria to "voice their anger" against the pass laws.

"I was living in Vrededorp at the time, and was heavily pregnant with my first child. We arranged to meet at my place and go from there, by whatever means possible, to Pretoria. "But the young Indian men

of the area got together some cars and kombis and took us to the Union Buildings where we met the other women," Mrs Cachalia told me this week.

"It was a magnificent sight. Seeing all the women march up the hill as one."

They entered the grounds and went into the amphitheatre where a small delegation was permitted into the building to hand over 1 000 petitions to the secretary of the Prime Minister, Mr J G Strijdom.

They then stood in silence for half an hour with their fists raised in protest.

The petition read in part ... "We are women of every race, we come from the cities, from the reserves and the villages. We come as women united in our purpose to save the African women from the degradation of passes. We want to tell you what the pass would mean to African women ... homes will be

broken up ... children will be left uncared for and mothers will be torn from their babies for failure to produce a pass. Women will lose their rights to move freely from place to place. We are here today to protest against this insult to all women."

When they were told that the Prime Minister was not there to see them, the president of the Federation, Lilian Ngoyi, announced: "Strijdom has run away from the women."

But their protest fell on fallow ears.

Their slogan on that day has now become the rallying cry for women's organisations: "Now you have

touched the women, you have struck a rock — you have dislodged a boulder, you will be struck."

Women's unity was at its peak in the 50s and 60s and many of the militants were detained, banned and jailed for their actions.

The song which the women sung in those days was repeated in commemoration this week.

It went like this, 'Remember all our women in the jails,

Remember all our women in campaigns,

Remember all our women over many fighting years,

Remember all our women for their triumphs, and for their tears.'



# We don't back Govt's proposals, says SAIC

Tribune Reporter

THE Indian Council this week urged participation in a referendum to test the attitude to the Government's plan for power-sharing.

But the council emphasised at its plenary meeting in Durban this week that its call for participation did not imply endorsement of the constitutional proposals.

The SAIC will go along with the majority decision of Indians participating in the referendum.

Amichand Rajbansi, executive chairman of the SAIC, told the Sunday Tribune: "Every Indian should vote, negatively or positively, at a referendum. There should be no boycott of the referendum.

"If the Indian people reject the proposals at a referendum, we would accept that decision," he said.

Yesterday, several members of the official opposition in the council, the Democratic Party, denied newspaper reports

during the week that the constitutional proposals had won the qualified backing of the SAIC.

Jayantilal Bhailal Patel, leader of the DP said his party had not accepted the proposals because the preconditions it laid down before it could accept the proposals had not been met by the Government.

"Until all discriminatory legislation is repealed, Africans are included in power-sharing plans, and a referendum is held, the DP will continue to oppose the proposals," Mr Patel said.

Mr Rajbansi denied the SAIC gave qualified support for the Government's new deal.

"Certain deliberations at the session were reported out of context.

"We are prepared to accept the proposals with its separate chambers only as an interim measure, but provided Africans are included."

11A  
S. Rajbansi 14/1/83



ARGUS 15/8/83

① 11A

# Mandela — 21 years in jail

By Staff Reporter SHANNON SHERRY

LONDON has named streets after him, Dublin has erected a bust in his honour, he has been nominated as chancellor of universities in South Africa and abroad and he has been awarded the freedom of various cities.

Former British Prime Minister James Callaghan, giving a public address in the House of Commons, said he had long seen an admirer.

But Nelson Mandela has now spent 21 years in jail after being convicted of charges involving sabotage.

## Royal family

In spite of his removal from society, Mandela's presence is still strongly felt in South Africa. Yet many South Africans know very little about him.

Born into the Tembu royal family on July 18 1918, he is, according to tribal custom, the uncle of both Chief Kaizer Mankomo, president of Transkei and Paramount Chief Sabata

Dalindyebo, now in exile after spells of detention in Transkei.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela's youth was marked by rebellion.

## Boycott

In the third year of his BA studies at Fort Hare University, he and Oliver Tambo, now president of the banned African National Congress (ANC), were suspended for organising a boycott of an election for a "puppet" students' representative council.

When his family tried to arrange a marriage for him by tribal custom, he fled to Johannesburg where he worked as a mines clerk, a servant and as a factory worker.

In 1942, however, Walter Sisulu, former ANC secretary-general, now also serving a life sentence, got him a job as an articled clerk with a legal firm.

Two years later he joined the ANC. Along with Tambo, Sisulu, future Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leader Robert

Sobukwe, and Anton Lembede, an Africanist theorist, he became a key figure in the ANC's youth league.

The youth league was to persuade the ANC to a far greater degree of militancy. Their 1949 programme of action gave rise to strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience.

The Defiance Campaign of 1952 saw an estimated 8 500 people convicted of offences or jailed. Mandela received a nine-month suspended sentence.

## President of ANC

Then in legal partnership with Tambo, Mandela was elected Transvaal president of the ANC. In December, however, he was banned and later ordered to resign from the organisation.

During his banning the ANC put the "M-plan" or "Mandela-plan" into operation to develop a mass-based membership

across the country. This resulted in the historic "Congress of the People" at Kliptown in 1955 from which came the "Freedom Charter", still the ANC's minimum programme.

A year later Mandela, Tambo and the then-president of the ANC, Chief Albert Lutuli, were among 156 people tried in the famous Treason Trial. Five years later, all were acquitted.

## Sharpeville

During this period, activists of all races met and formed strong links. But, in 1959, the PAC, differing in the ideological treatment of racism in South Africa, broke away.

In March 1960, 69 people were killed and 176 wounded in Sharpeville in a PAC-organised demonstration against the pass laws. The government declared a state of emergency and the PAC and ANC were banned.

In 1961, when his banning order expired, Mandela once

again started active organisation. With the announcement of the creation of the Republic of South Africa scheduled for May 31, he emerged as the leading speaker at the "All in Africa Conference" in Maritzburg to resist the "whites only" republic.

## Underground

Going underground, he travelled extensively through South Africa, to other parts of Africa and to Britain, meeting heads of state and officials.

Eldering capture by the security police, he became known as "The Black Pimpernel".

At this stage he organised and was appointed commander in chief of Umkonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation), which was to become the military wing of the ANC.

After about 18 months underground, however, he was arrested in Natal and convicted of incitement to strike and leaving the country illegally.

He was sentenced to five years with hard labour.

Months later, in July 1963, the hideout of the underground ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe was discovered on a farm in Rivonia, north of Johannesburg.

Taken from prison, Mandela became accused number one in the Rivonia Trial. Seven others, Dennis Goldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Govin Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi and Walter Sisulu were given life sentences with Mandela.

Mandela, Mhlaba, Sisulu and Mlangeni were transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor prison in Retreat last year.

Mandela has two daughters, Zeni, now married to a Swazi prince, and Zinzi. His wife, Mrs Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, is now banned and banished to the small Free State town of Brandfort.

# Mamelodi party split grows wider

THE six-month-old squabble in the Mamelodi Vukani-Vulamehlo People's Party took a dramatic turn on Saturday when the feuding leaders, Mr Bennet Ndlazi, a former president, and Mr Joe Hlongwane held separate rallies.

Mr Hlongwane held a meeting of his supporters at the Rethabile Hall where allegations of

*Sowetan* By ALINAH DUBE 11/8/83

witchcraft were made against certain individuals. But while the meeting was on, Mr Ndlazi held a gathering of mostly his supporters next to the Emtunzini beerhall.

## SPLIT

The split in the big

civic body started about six months ago and culminated two weeks ago with both leaders agreeing before a Pretoria commissioner to officially disband. The court ruled that a ruling body be elected by popular vote yesterday.

But on Friday Mr

Hlongwane applied for an urgent court application for the postponement of yesterday's elections. Instead Mr Hlongwane called a meeting of his supporters at the Rethabile Hall.

Asked if he knew of the application by his rival, Mr Ndlazi said that would not stop residents from voting for their rightful leader.

# S A and ANC 'will have to negotiate'

IIA (BAAA) Mercury 15/8/83

## African Affairs Correspondent

THE outside world would have to discard the notion that there would be a reversal of political power overnight in South Africa through explosions or terrorist warfare.

This is the view of Prof Herbert Adam, professor of sociology at the Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada.

He was one of the speakers taking part in a seminar at the weekend on black political thought organised by the Research and Docu-

mentation Centre at the University of Zululand.

Prof Adam said that high stakes of international capitalism were involved in South Africa and it also had global and strategic importance.

## Part

One of the strengths of the South African regime was that international connections would not allow the area to fall into the hands of competitors.

He said South Africa had become an integral part of a wider world economy.

The country would have to follow the laws of the global economy and would not be tolerated as a potential threat.

Prof Adam said that the ruling group in South Africa, under threat, had split and had not closed ranks.

## Costs

This kind of cleavage had allowed initiatives of various types to come forward.

Turning to the banned African National Congress, he said the South African Government

would have to sit down and negotiate with the ANC when the costs outweighed the benefits of maintaining white rule.

Prof Adam said the ANC had gained a legitimacy and credibility even among conservatives in the West which was underestimated in South Africa.

The ANC had perpetuated the 'myth' that the real and genuine black leadership was in jail or in exile so that black South Africans who travelled abroad on South African passports were now suspect.

# Pule released from detention

A SENIOR member of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Pule Pule, was freed at the weekend after spending 82 days in detention without trial.

Mr Pule (31) of Zola, Soweto, was taken by Security Police from his sister's house in Rockville on May 22, about two weeks after he had escaped death following an incident in which shots were fired at him by men driving in a white kombi.

At the time of his detention, Mr Pule was in the process of seeking legal advice on the incident.

He told The SOWETAN yesterday that three black Security Policemen arrived at his sister's house in the middle of the night to fetch

him. He said he was taken to John Vorster Square Police Station, then to Protea Police Station and later to Krugersdorp Prison where he was held until his release on Friday.

"The three men who fetched me were driving a white kombi and it was after quite a squabble that I agreed to go with them because there were a number of issues on which I took them to task since I had seen one of them before somewhere," said Mr Pule.

He added that he was happy to be out of detention and vowed that he would continue from where he left off in his pursuit of justice and truth in South Africa.

By SAM MABE

"I had thought that I was going to be charged for having committed a crime or something, but my time was wasted and I believe that even the people who detained me wasted their time. There are more important things they could have done for this country instead of holding innocent people like myself whose only crime is their quest for liberation," he said.

Other information given to The SOWETAN by Mr Pule concerning what happened at the time he was taken by the three policemen and on what happened to him while in detention cannot be published in terms of the Police Act.

11A

# 'Follow lead of MaNgoyi'

THE TOMBSTONE of former ANC member, Mrs Lillian Masediba Ngoyi, who was described by speakers as "the mother of the nation", was yesterday unveiled at a short ceremony marked by revolutionary slogans and the singing of freedom songs.

By SAM MABE

The unveiling at Avalon Cemetery was the climax of services held at various parts of the country during the past week to commemorate the 27th anniversary of the protest march of August 9, 1956, by 20 000 women who were opposing the issuing of passbooks to black women.

Mrs Ngoyi, who was then the president of the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), is remembered for the leading role she played in organising women of all races from all over South Africa to march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

The then Prime

Minister of the Union of South Africa, Mr JG Strijdom refused to meet the women's delegation, but over 1 000 petitions were left with the Prime Minister's secretary by Lillian Ngoyi.

At a vigil at Mrs Ngoyi's Mzimbhlophe home on Saturday night, members of Fedsaw, members of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and of the newly-formed Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco), praised Mrs Ngoyi's dedication to the liberation struggle and urged other women to follow her lead.

Yesterday morning

mourners left Mrs Ngoyi's home for the Dube YWCA where a short service was held before mourners were taken by bus to Avalon Cemetery.

The Rev P Mawela, who conducted the service, said Mrs Ngoyi was loved by many and hated by others for the work she was doing. He said there were people who had lost hope in the struggle, but stressed that better days are still to come and that blacks will be conquerors yet.

Mrs Rita Ndzanga, an executive member of Fedsaw, called for all

oppressed people to unite around MaNgoyi's ideals and to continue the work she was doing.

"We have been discriminated against on the factory floor because

we are workers and we have also been discriminated against because of the colour of our skin. It is for us to stand up and march forward to freedom by adopting the courage of MaNgoyi,"

she said.

A family representative said God was aware of the sufferings of black people and that He would liberate them as he had liberated the

children of Israel from Egypt.

Throughout the service at Avalon Cemetery, white policemen filmed the service from two police cars parked nearby.

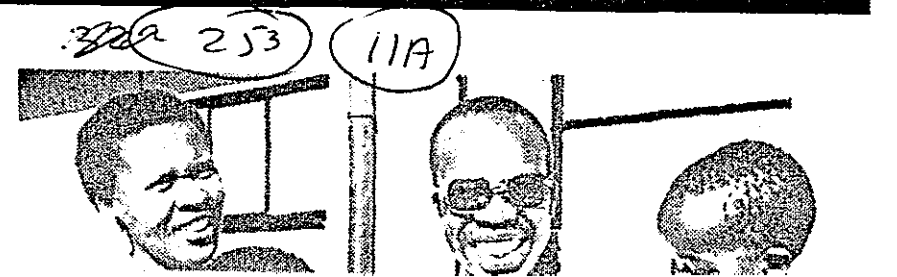


UNVEILING: Part of the crowd at the Lillian Ngoyi tombstone unveiling yesterday morning.

# The day I committed myself to my trinity

*Sowetan 15/8/83*

Ntsiki. was to have her



# Lesotho may shrug off exiles

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MASERU — There are strong indications that Lesotho may give in to Pretoria's pressure on its borders by sending about 3 000 South African refugees to a new host country — if one can be found.

But, says a Foreign Ministry statement from Maseru today, the exiles will not be sent back to South Africa, as that would be "inhumane".

About 500 of the exiles are members of nationalist organisations such as the ANC, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement.

The statement said that South Africa had repeated its demand that the refugees be returned home or expelled from the kingdom as they constituted a threat to its security.

Lesotho was left with no alternative but to consider that its primary duty was to the Basotho people, the statement said.

The statement reaffirmed Lesotho's commitment to accept political refugees in terms of the UN convention.

# The day I committed myself to my trinity

Soweto 15/8/83

FRIDAY FEBRUARY 12 1982 was my day of commitment.

By THAMI MAZWAI

It was not my commitment to a prison term, but my commitment to my profession, my family and my community — what I refer to as my trinity.

After spending 26 months behind bars — 18 months my sentence — I have had time for reflection and am in no doubt that the decision I made was the only decision my colleagues, family and community expected me to take.

I will not be all brava, but will admit that these 26 months were a traumatic period.

The epitome of this trauma was my appearance before magistrate Mr A H Barlow on February 12 where Khotso Seatholo, former president of the banned Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) and fellow former student leader Masabata Lote, appeared on charges under the Terrorism Act.

Had I given evidence I would have disgraced my profession — and this would be a betrayal of the first part of my trinity.

I met with Khotso in a meeting in Soweto when he had slipped into the country. This was on

not publish it. He was given the information for his information only as a briefing prelude to further developments.

For a journalist to publish or disclose something told him "off the record", is a betrayal of the most fundamental ethic of our profession.

Any journalist is honour-bound to protect his informants, and to respect a contact's decision to keep certain matters "off the record".

The Prime Minister knows this and he does disclose delicate issues to the editors of the country's newspapers saying the information is "off the record".

I accept it is the duty of each citizen to protect his country when it is threatened. But I am not a citizen.

The system itself has made that clear to me. Does it really expect me, refused citizen status to assume citizen responsibilities?

How imbecilic do they expect me to be?

But one must let this pass, my second class status is not the issue — the issue is my ethics and my commitment to respect a pledge to somebody I inter-

game, or are skulking away, as the rest of the kids refer to them as the "children of a sell-out".

I shudder when I merely imagine this scene. I refused to make it real.

Imagine my wife quarrelling with another woman and the inevitable: "My husband is not a sell-out like yours", comes out, I could not make this real.

Part three of my trinity is my community. On my arrest prayers were held and there was general concern. I refused to thank my community for their concern by giving evidence.

I could not disappoint the numerous organisations that took up the cry when I and many others were arrested. Giving evidence against Khotso and Masabata would have been a kick in the teeth for all these concerned organisations, and the numerous people who are deeply concerned.

Also, as a journalist I am part and parcel of my people and cannot turn against our aspirations simply because the going is rough.

Today it is easy for me to describe my decision in these cold facts, but believe me, at the time it

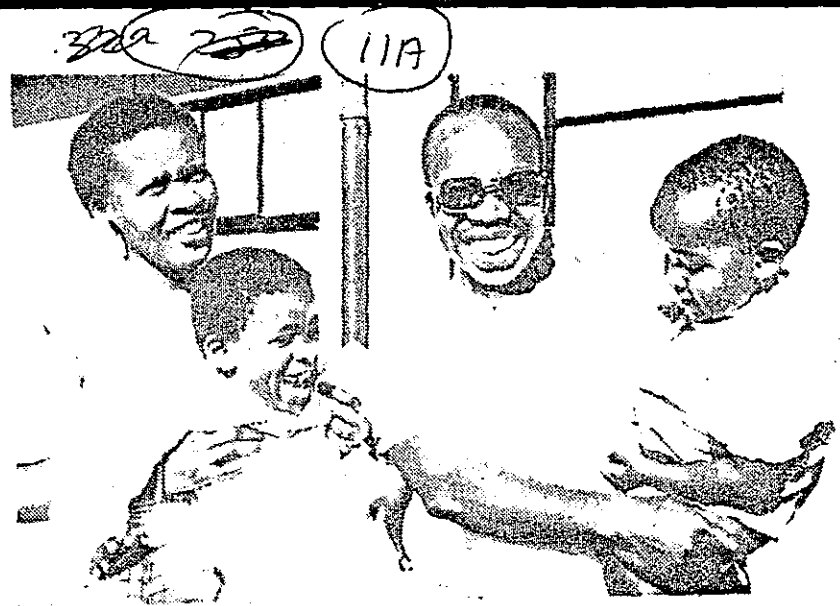
Ntsiki, was to have her first birthday within four months and just the previous day she had started crawling — what I describe as "her voyages of discovery" as she discovers that pots and pans must not be put away, but strewn all over the floor and hit with a mug.

There are so many niceties of family life, the depredations of the little rascals, the unflinching belief by wifey that without her you would hardly be able to button your trousers, despite the fact that you survived primary, secondary and boarding schools without her!

I could have gone back to this life on February 12 — but the scrutinising stares of my family, my colleagues and my community made sure I did not blunder in that direction.

I had to make the decision that I made — and one can only thank a power greater than all of us for giving me the strength to do it.

Most of all one can only express gratitude for the support that we could give each other that day — I am referring to Nonkululeko Mazibuko, Elsie Mathibedi, Siphon Somacele, Salome Salome, Thabani



FAMILY: Wife Belede, daughter Tantan, Ntsiki and Thami.

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*Soweto 15/8/83*

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Part two of my trinity is my family. This includes my wife, two daughters, mother and all my relations.

Can one imagine a scene at a school where one of my daughters or both cannot join in some

game, or are skulking away, as the rest of the kids refer to them as the "children of a sell-out".

I shudder when I merely imagine this scene. I refused to make it real.

Imagine my wife quarrelling with another woman and the inevitable: "My husband is not a sell-out like yours", comes out. I could not make this real.

Part three of my trinity is my community. On my arrest prayers were held and there was general concern. I refused to thank my community for their concern by giving evidence.

I could not disappoint the numerous organisations that took up the cry when I and many others were arrested. Giving evidence against Khotso and Masabata would have been a kick in the teeth for all these concerned organisations, and the numerous people who are deeply concerned.

Also, as a journalist I am part and parcel of my people and cannot turn against our aspirations simply because the going is rough.

Today it is easy for me to describe my decision in these cold facts, but believe me, at the time it was agonising, for on the Wednesday of my arrest I had clinched a house with the Urban Foundation and had to get to their offices the next Monday to sort out details.

My younger daughter,

Ntsiki, was to have her first birthday within four months and just the previous day she had started crawling — what I describe as "her voyages of discovery" as she discovers that pots and pans must not be put away, but strewn all over the floor and hit with a mug.

There are so many niceties of family life, the depredations of the little rascals, the unflinching belief by wifey that without her you would hardly be able to button your trousers, despite the fact that you survived primary, secondary and boarding schools without her!

I could have gone back to this life on February 12 — but the scrutinising stares of my family, my colleagues and my community made sure I did not blunder in that direction.

I had to make the decision that I made — and one can only thank a power greater than all of us for giving me the strength to do it.

Most of all one can only express gratitude for the support that we could give each other that day — I am referring to Nonkululeko Mazibuko, Elsie Mathibedi, Siphon Somacele, Solomzi Selane, Thabo Ndabeni and Carter Seleke.

Lastly, one must also express content at the reception we received from our community on our release last Thursday. It gives one a feeling of fulfilment.



FAMILY: Wife Be

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# 'Freedom' declaration <sup>(11A)</sup> likely as UDF launched

Staff Reporter  
SATURDAY'S national launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) is expected to endorse a declaration proposed by the Western Cape branch which rejects the Government's constitutional proposals and the "Koornhof Bills" and pledges to fight for "freedom in our lifetime".

The final draft declaration will be decided on at a meeting of the provincial executives on Saturday morning, shortly before the launching at Mitchell's Plain.

However, as the Western Cape version is regarded as the simplest and most easily understood — while including principles in the Transvaal and Natal declarations — it is expected to form the basis of the dec-

laration to be put to the meeting and division of the oppressed.

This reads:

We, representatives from trade unions, civic, women's, student, youth, religious and sport organisations, hereby declare:

1) South Africa belongs to all who live in it.

2) That the Government must be based on the will of the people.

3) That we believe in a single South Africa free from racial, ethnic and sexual divisions and free from economic exploitation with a common citizenship for all.

In accordance with these beliefs we reject the Constitutional and the Koornhof Bills.

And note that;

a) These Bills can only lead to the separation

b) These Bills are being forced upon us without regard for the demands of the majority of the people of South Africa.

c) These Bills do not even begin to change the economic and social inequalities that exist.

d) These proposals in fact entrench racial oppression and economic exploitation and strengthen the apartheid state.

The UDF will hold a Press conference tomorrow evening.

The main speaker at Saturday's launching meeting will be Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Arqms 16/8/83

NATIONAL

# Coloured leader presses on with Treurnicht parley

11A  
S.A.P.



Dr A Treurnicht

Political Correspondent  
ARRANGEMENTS were going ahead for a meeting between Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative party, and a coloured leader.

Dr Treurnicht said today the meeting was taking place at the request of a coloured person who had written to him asking for a meeting.

This person appeared to be the leader of a group of coloured people.

### INTIMIDATION

Dr Treurnicht declined to name him and said there appeared to be attempts to intimidate him.

The person had written to him to express concern over certain tendencies, including liberal ones, in current politics.

There has been speculation that the person who wrote to Dr Treurnicht may be Mr Arthur Davis, of Mitchell's Plain.

At one stage he was chairman of the Constitutional Action Committee and he describes himself as a conservative.

He has so far declined to comment, but said today that he may say something at a later stage, after he had consulted with others.

16/8/83  
Arcy  
Police deny posters torn down 11A

**Staff Reporter**  
POLICE have denied allegations by the United Democratic Front (UDF) — a broad alliance formed in opposition to the Government's constitution plans — that security policeman tore down UDF posters in Oudtshoorn.

Mr Trevor Manuel, regional secretary, said today that about 30 posters had been torn down.

The posters publicised a national rally the or-

ganisation is to hold at Mitchell's Plain on Saturday, with a slogan: UDF Unites — Apartheid Divides.

"We were told that security policemen tore the posters down yesterday," he said.

**NEWSLETTERS**

A police liaison officer, Major Vic Heyns, denied the allegation, which came a week after 40 000 UDF newsletters were seized at a roadblock by

Security Police at Paarl.

The police were told an interdict would be applied for if they did not release the newsletters, which were later collected by UDF officials at police headquarters.

A police liaison officer for the Boland said the publication had been seized as a routine investigation to establish whether security legislation had been contravened.

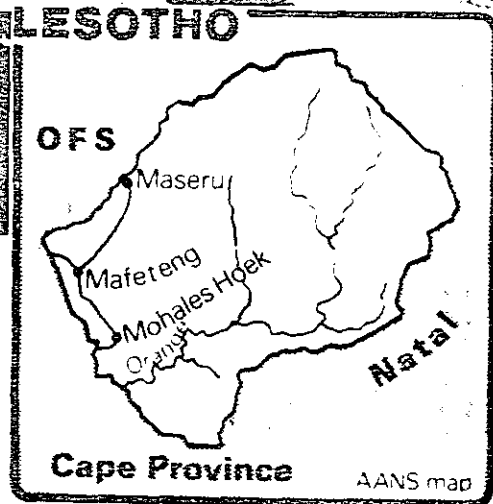
(11A) 16/8/83 New

In the space of nine months South Africa has launched a military raid on Maseru, has restricted traffic on Lesotho's border and has seen Lesotho rebels apparently based in the Free State make incursions into the mountain kingdom. JASPER MORTIMER of The Star's Foreign News Service reports.



A sentry in the lookout tower of the LPF barracks in Maseru stares towards South

Africa. Inset, a map of the tiny mountain kingdom in relation to the Republic.



# Pretoria puts squeeze on Lesotho over ANC

South Africa's relations with Lesotho are not likely to improve until Maseru convinces Pretoria it is taking effective steps against the ANC.

Pretoria's pressure on Lesotho is now heavier than before. South Africa refuses to admit the Basotho who used to pop in every week for jobs, shopping and business.

It has impounded Lesotho-bound arms at Durban under Article 16 of the Custom Union Agreement which allows it to prohibit imports "in the interests of security".

In addition, South Africa is said to wield the threat of the Lesotho Liberation Army. This band of anti-Maseru guerillas, reportedly no more than 300 strong, is apparently operating from the Free State.

When a Lesotho-SA security meeting in Bloemfontein ended in failure on June 23, only three days passed before the LLA launched the heaviest offensive of its four-year war.

The bottom line in South Africa's relations with Lesotho is the degree to which Pretoria believes the ANC is using Lesotho as a base.

Lesotho has a long-standing policy of accepting refugees and denying refuge to guerillas. But Pretoria says there has been a gap between Maseru's policy and its practice.

"We don't say Lesotho affords the ANC 'bases' in the sense of military camps," said a Pretoria source. "We accuse them

of allowing the ANC to use private houses for planning sabotage and for giving instructions to trained people.

"Often the trained men are not armed. They may fly into Maseru from Maputo, stay in these houses and then infiltrate South Africa — where they pick up their weapons at secret caches."

In Maseru last week I put this to Mr Joe Kotsokoane, a former Lesotho Foreign Minister who is now head of the civil service and Cabinet Secretary. After conferring with his security colleagues, he replied:

"If South Africa is aware of houses being used for planning sabotage, then we invite them to identify such places and we can take appropriate action. We would prefer this to their attacking us in the night."

"South Africa has very long borders. We are surprised Pretoria should pick on Lesotho as being the most dangerous entry point. We don't believe Lesotho is a main conduit for the ANC."

Pretoria replies:

● First, it does not supply the addresses of ANC homes to Maseru because "before you know it, the birds would have flown" and SA intelligence would have to start afresh.

● Second, it is restricting traffic on Lesotho's border as far larger numbers cross that boundary than cross its boarders with Mozambique and Botswana.

However, the restrictions are

not hitting the ANC directly. Guerillas do not use the customs posts, they slip across the shallow Caledon River at night.

South Africa's controls seem designed to make those Basotho who are thwarted from entering the Free State turn on their government to demand rapprochement with Pretoria.

This may be working.

"People are suffering," said Archbishop Alphonse Morapeli, head of the Roman Catholic majority, "for what, they don't know."

There are signs Maseru is trying to get the border clamps lifted.

Radio Lesotho has toned down its attacks on SA in the past two weeks and the Government seems to view the border squeeze as a delicate affair.

What Pretoria wants is a Landdrost-style agreement that is well and truly implemented.

On June 3, Foreign Ministers Mr Pik Botha and Mr Evaristus Sekhonyana told the Press at the Landdrost Hotel in Johannesburg that South Africa and Lesotho had agreed to stop "any subversive elements" from attacking each other.

But the follow-up meeting in Bloemfontein was a failure, and LLA attacks resumed, and the border curbs were introduced on July 19.

In implementing a Landdrost agreement, Lesotho has a problem. It can hardly stop ANC members from plotting a bomb-blast with a street map.

"Low-level planning and transit facilities are not the sort of thing that can be controlled by a government," said Mr Tom Lodge, a politics lecturer at Wits University and an expert on the ANC.

"This sort of activity can just as well be carried out in Soweto. If the South Africans cannot control it within their own country, they can hardly expect Lesotho to do so."

From evidence led in SA security trials, Mr Lodge has found Lesotho is not very valuable to the ANC. "South Africa has excellent communications. To get to Cape Town the ANC does not have to travel via Lesotho. If Lesotho were to expel all members of the ANC, it would be an inconvenience, not a major setback."

But Pretoria evidently thinks otherwise.

Not only do ANC bombs kill people, Pretoria argues, but they make it more difficult for the Government to proceed with constitutional reform.

South Africa seems content to maintain the current pressure until Lesotho succumbs. If this fails, it could always curb the traffic into Lesotho as it did in May when, by withdrawing border-post staff, it severely delayed the supply of coal, meat and other perishables.

With Lesotho's massive dependence on South Africa, there is little doubt that by twisting the screw one thread at a time Pretoria will get its way.

E. Post 16/8/83

# ANC defector will testify in camera

ZWELITSHA — The Ciskei Supreme Court ruled yesterday that an African National Congress defector, currently working for the South African security police, should give evidence *in camera* in a marathon terrorism trial.

The Attorney-General, Mr W F Jurgens, applied to the court for permission to call a witness whose identity should not be disclosed.

Mr Jurgens asked for an extension of an order given by Mr Justice D de Wet on May 10, 1982, that the trial be held *in camera*.

"He must be sworn in as Mr X and the place where he attended school and when he left the country should not be divulged to the public," Mr Jurgens said.

Major Hermanus du Plessis, of the Port Elizabeth security police, supporting the State application, told the court Mr X would be assassinated if his identity was revealed.

Mr M T Moerane, for the defence, had said it would not be able to cross-examine Mr X adequately if it could not identify him.

Mr William Duna, 31, Mr Dumisani Maninjwa, 31, Mr Bayi Keye, 52, and Mr Loyanda Mayekiso, 23, are charged with participating in terrorist activities, being members of the ANC, recruiting people to undergo military training in Lesotho, and being in possession of banned publications. They have pleaded not guilty to all counts. — Sapa

01

# Warnings on black aspirations

17/8/83 Mercury Reporter *Mercury*

THE question of political rights for Indians and coloureds was a secondary matter and the Government must first come to terms with the black majority, Mr Jayantilal Patel, leader of the South African Indian Council's opposition Democratic Party, said yesterday.

And an advocate, Mr T K Skweyiya, has warned that Indians accepting the constitutional proposals would land the Indian community as a party to the oppression of blacks.

Mr Patel said the exclusion of blacks in the planned new dispensation was one of the 'most sensitive issues' causing considerable concern to all South Africans.

The argument of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that blacks have their own institutions is not valid, and we have suggested the creation of a fourth chamber in Parliament for blacks as an interim measure.

## Reform

We urge the Government to review its policy and negotiate with blacks to find a solution to their aspirations to avoid polarisation.

Mr Patel said that to gain Indian support for the constitutional plan the Government would have to repeal all discriminatory laws, including the Group Areas Act, include blacks in the process of constitutional reform and hold a referendum among Indians to determine their views.

Mr Skweyiya told a meeting of the Durban Indian Child Welfare Society at the weekend that blacks saw the new proposals as 'further entrenching ethnic divisions' and also the National Party's overall position of power.

The tragedy is that the Indian community at large may well accept and endorse the proposals in the same way that the coloured people have done.

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8 Jan 17 / 8/83 (VIA) ~~SECRET~~

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The nomination of Nelson Mandela as chancellor of the University of Natal took a new turn yesterday when it was reported that Mandela would after all accept his nomination.

A letter from Mandela to Durban sociologist Mrs Fatima Meer was yesterday handed to the principal of the university, Professor D Clarence, who confirmed receipt of the

## Mandela naming: new turn

letter but added, however, that he could not take cognisance of a letter addressed by Mandela to a third party.

"I must conclude that there has been no official change in the situation. Letters must be addressed to the

registrar of the university, and those are the only letters that can be acknowledged."

Mrs Meer said yesterday that Mandela's letter to her was in response to an urgent telegram she had sent to the jailed ANC leader as a result of the confusion about whether he had accepted the nomination or not.

"He has a high regard for Natal University, and I was sure that he would be pleased to accept."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 17, 1983

~~Ciskei~~ (11A)  
S. Post  
'terror'  
trial 17/8/83  
adjourns

ZWELITSHA — The State has closed its case after Mr X, who defected from the African National Congress last year, gave evidence in camera in the Ciskei Supreme Court.

Mr Justice D S de Wet ruled Mr X's identity could not be disclosed. The trial has been proceeding for two years.

The accused are Mr William Duna, 31, Mr Dumisani Maninjwa, 31, Mr Bayi Keye, 52, and Mr Luyanda Mayekiso, 23, all of Mdantsane.

They have pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorist activities, being members of the banned ANC, being recruited to undergo military training in Lesotho and being in possession of banned literature.

The trial was adjourned to August 22. — Sapa



# BIG RALLY FOR UDF LAUNCHING

ABOUT 5 000 people from all over South Africa are expected to gather at Rocklands Civic Centre in Cape Town at the weekend, where the national launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) is to take place.

According to Mr Zac Yacoob, interim publicity secretary of the UDF, 200 organisations will be represented by 400 delegates and a grand signing ceremony of the UDF's declaration of policy and intent will be witnessed by over 5 000 people who will attend a rally on Saturday afternoon.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) and Mr Thozamile

By SAM MABE

Gqweta, president of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), will be main speakers at the conference.

Mr Yacoob said Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the Transvaal region of the UDF, will be another speaker — if her bail application succeeds when she appears in court today.

He also said that Mr Oscar Mphetha, Western Cape's president of the UDF, who is currently undergoing treatment in Grootte Schuur Hospital, has indicated that he will ask his doctors to free him so

that he can address the conference.

The one-day conference will be held at the Rocklands Civic Centre starting at 9.30am, and is expected to end at 4pm before the mass rally and the signing ceremony starts.

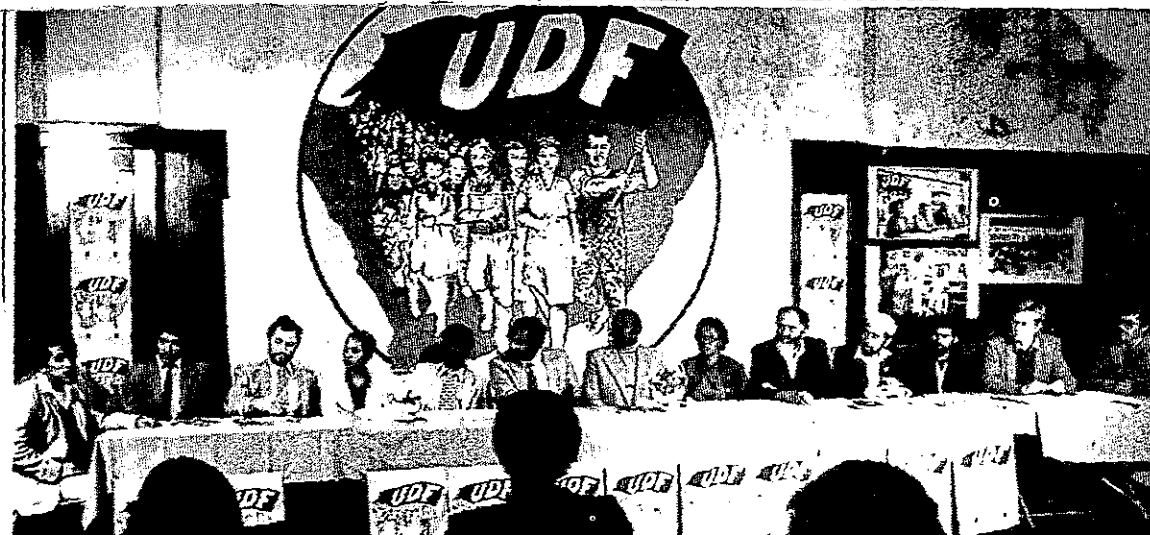
Mr Yacoob said the 200 organisations which will participate in the conference will include all race groups and people from all walks of life.

Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) will represent Mwasa as an observer at the conference.

Mr Yacoob said the UDF has received messages of support from several international organisations in Europe and the United States.

Meanwhile it has been reported in Durban that several thousand pamphlets advertising the UDF's conference were confiscated by police in Cape Town and Durban, and that Security Police were threatened with court action if they did not return 40.000 copies of UDF pamphlets seized at a roadblock in Paarl.

The pamphlets are said to have been returned after lawyers acting for the UDF set a deadline for the return of the pamphlets.



THE UNITED Democratic Front regional executive at a press conference last night. From left, Mr Trevor Osterwyk, Mr David Peterson, (obscured), Mr Jonathan de Vries, Mr Trevor Manuel, Miss Cheryl Carolus, Mr Baba Ngokoto, Mr M Lekota (from the Natal UDF), Mr Christmas Tinto, Mrs Mildred Lesiea, Mr Joseph Marks, Imam Hassan Solomons, the Rev Chris Nissen, Mr Andrew Boraine and Mr Ebrahim Rasool.

ARGUS 17/8/83

1114

## Anti-constitution body to be launched

Staff Reporter

AT LEAST 4 000 people are expected at the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain on Saturday for the launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

This will be the culmination of a campaign directed against the Government's constitutional plans and the three "Koornhof" Bills affecting urban blacks.

The campaign has cost

about R65 000 nationwide, organisers told a Press conference in Cape Town last night.

Much of this money has come from traders, as well as from professional and academic sympathisers.

About R25 000 came from the Western Cape, according to Mr Andrew Boraine, a former Nusas president and one of the local treasurers.

More than a million pamphlets and newsletters have been distributed nationally, 350 000 of them in the Western Cape.

Since the beginning of this year, the UDF has obtained the support of about 400 organisations, many with large memberships.

About 30 buses will carry many of the supporters to the Mitchell's Plain meeting on Saturday. Up-country delegates will sleep in church halls.

Among points made at the Press conference were:

- The UDF does not advocate or condone violence, although it recognised that a violent situation existed in South

Africa because of apartheid, Imam Hassan Solomons, a member of the Western Cape executive said. However, if civil disobedience meant opposing unjust laws, then there would be civil disobedience, he added.

- The UDF would not adopt such platforms as socialism or acceptance of the Freedom Charter because the many organisations under its aegis had different views on these matters.

- The UDF regarded the Government structure as undemocratic and looked at parties that participated in this structure, including the Progressive Federal Party, in this light. However, the UDF believed in unity as well as democracy. If the PFP fully accepted the UDF declaration to be formulated on Saturday, "that will be the course of events", joint Western Cape secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel said.

- The UDF was still approaching such groups as trade unions to join, but it recognised that ideological differences do exist and certain organisations will not join at this stage.

**Front** (11A)  
**mobilises**  
*Mercury*  
**to oppose**  
*17/8/83*  
**new plan**  
**for S A**

Mercury Reporter

THE United Democratic Front is all set for its official launching as a national movement opposed to the new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

With the establishment of regional bodies countrywide, the UDF is set to become a national movement with its launching in Cape Town on August 20 and 21.

Mr Zac Yacoob, the UDF's Natal spokesman, said yesterday that the movement would co-ordinate and unite the efforts of 'all individuals and organisations in the fight for freedom'.

It would bring together all freedom-loving people who rejected racially discriminatory legislation.

### **Mobilise**

'Organisations in each province are joining the regional committees. Within each region, a number of area committees are being organised, which will be in direct contact with the people at grassroot level.

'The structure of the UDF will make it possible to mobilise every section of our people.'

The UDF would comprise representatives of trade unions, community, women, student, youth, sport, political, professional and business organisations representing all race groups.

A statement by the UDF national executive said: 'All have clearly rejected the constitutional and Koornhof Bills. All of us have recognised that these manoeuvres are designed to weaken the people's resistance by dividing them while entrenching apartheid.

'We have firmly and unanimously committed ourselves to the achievement of a democratic society under the banner of the UDF through the active participation of thousands of members.'

# Daughter of convicted saboteur David Kitson speaks on the struggle to fight SA's race laws



AMANDLA KITSON: The daughter of David Kitson visited the Republic recently.

AMANDLA Kitson, the daughter of David Kitson, who was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for sabotage in 1964, was in South Africa recently to visit her father.

Amandla was barely 18 months old when her father was detained and subsequently sentenced for various acts of sabotage and for being the link between the high command of Umkhonto We Sizwe and its cadres.

After he was con-

victed his family moved to Britain where they have conducted persistent campaigns to highlight the plight of political prisoners in South Africa.

One such campaign last year outside South Africa House in London led to the transfer of white political prisoners from Pretoria Central Prison to Leeuwkop Prison.

During her visit to this

By ZWELAKHE SISULU

country, Amandla saw her father on 10 occasions: "It was good to see him again and the visits gave me strength and determination to help mobilise international support against apartheid," she said.

She was also able to visit Mrs Winnie Mandela in Brandfort and had the opportunity of meeting various youth leaders.

**ENCOURAGED**

"I admire Mrs Man-

dela greatly and I have been encouraged by the spirit of determination that is displayed by the youth," Amandla said.

In Britain she is involved in organising the youth and is also active in the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

"In Britain the youth has come to realise that the fight against apartheid is important. They have come to realise that the struggle against racism is inter-related because the enemy is one, be it in South

Africa, London or New York. It is the problem of capitalism," she said.

The youth in London, particularly the black unemployed and the working class youth, were beginning to identify with the struggle in South Africa.

During her visits to South Africa the only changes she had observed were merely cosmetic: "This government still detains and bans people such as Mrs Mandela. But in spite of all this one has been impressed with the amount of courage that has been

shown by people such as Mrs Mosolodi," she said.

Her father, David Kitson, was charged with three other people including Wilton Mkwayi and Laloo Chiba with more than 58 acts of sabotage in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg.

**BOMBS**

They were also charged with manufacturing bombs, preparing for guerilla warfare and charged under the Sup-

pression of Communism Act.

Mkwayi was sentenced to life imprisonment, Kitson to 20 years and Chiba to 18 years. Chiba has since been released.

Amandla felt it was incorrect to refer to the unrests in the predominantly black suburbs of London as "race riots". "Rather, they are the reaction of the working class to the conditions they have to live under," said Amandla.

# UDF rally to mark launching

CAC TIMES 17/8/83

UA

## Political Correspondent

THE United Democratic Front (UDF), a multiracial movement opposed to the government's constitutional plan, expects more than 4 000 people to attend a rally to mark its national launch meeting in Mitchell's Plain this weekend.

UDF spokesmen set out the movement's aims and objectives at a press conference in Cape Town last night.

It was described as a non-violent, mass movement of "extra-parliamentary opposition" formed to prevent implementation of the Nationalist constitutional proposals, including legislation on blacks introduced by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

### 'Grand design'

The Western Cape publicity secretary, Mr Baba Ngokoto, read out a UDF statement which said that holding the launch meeting in Mitchell's Plain was symbolic of the failure of the government's grand design for the coloured people.

The government was not changing the constitution and introducing the "Koornhof Bills" to benefit the people. Under local and international pressure, it was changing some things while controlling others more tightly.

A draft declaration for Saturday's conference states the UDF commitment to "a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa".

It rejects Nationalist constitutional legislation as separating and dividing oppressed people, entrenching racial and economic exploitation and strengthening "the apartheid State".

More than 1 000 delegates representing about 400 community, labour, church, student and other organizations are expected at the national meeting. This will be followed by a "mass rally" in the Rocklands Civic Centre on Saturday evening.

The national UDF will unite branches formed in various parts of the country after the call by

Dr Allan Boesak in January for a united front against the government's constitutional plan.

Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, will be one of the speakers at the rally. Others include Mr Thomazile Gqwetha, president of the South African Allied Workers' Union, Sheikh Nazeem Mohammed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council, and Mrs Helen Joseph, former secretary-general of the South African Women's Federation.

Mr Ngokoto said yesterday that the UDF was not a political party and did not subscribe to any political philosophy, although some member organizations might do so.


While rejecting violent opposition to the government, UDF spokesmen acknowledged the "structural violence" of the situation in South Africa.

Imam Hassan Solomons, chief imam of a Claremont mosque and an executive member of the Muslim Judicial Council, did not rule out civil disobedience.

Mr Andrew Boraine, the formerly banned student leader and a member of the regional UDF executive, said the UDF's immediate objective was to prevent the government's constitutional plan being implemented.

He believed it could be stopped if representative coloured or Indian leaders refused to participate in the proposed system.

# NP blind to wish for a peaceful SA, says Boesak

ARGUS 18/8/83  
 (11A) 

Religion Reporter

THE Government is refusing to accept the fact that the majority of South Africans want to work together for a peaceful South Africa and therefore reject the constitutional proposals, says Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Dr Boesak, who will speak at Saturday's United Democratic Front meeting in Cape Town, said the Government did not appear to recognise the nature of the mistake it was making.

"The Government's constitutional proposals are based on its argument that this sort of co-operation between all peoples in South Africa cannot happen. Yet we are all telling the Government that this is exactly what South Africa wants."

By pushing ahead with its proposals the Government would merely be adding another problem to those that already existed — "It will solve nothing, but will exacerbate existing problems".

Dr Boesak, who earlier this year called for a united front against the NP proposals, said the creation of the United Democratic Front was a response beyond his expectation.

"We come together not simply to resist Government policies, but to demonstrate our willing-

ness to work together for an open democracy in which the human dignity of all will be recognised and respected."

He regarded the UDF as the most significant "people's movement" since the 1950s. It would demonstrate to the Government that black and white were prepared to work together in an organisation open to all, committed to non-violence in attaining a non-

racial democracy in South Africa.

It would also prove to the Government the desire for a national convention.

"My position as a Christian is that we should be working for a society in which racialism is a thing as the past, to build a South Africa that will belong to all its people. To me that is basic," Dr Boesak said.

# Chinese accused of interfering

By MIKE PITSO

MASERU — The leader of the opposition United Democratic Party, Mr Charles Mofeli has accused the Communist Chinese of interfering in Lesotho's internal affairs.

Mr Mofeli yesterday said the Chinese had been recruiting Basotho youth to prepare them for elections so that the ruling Basotho National Party could be returned to power.

The Chinese arrived in Lesotho two weeks ago and have visited sites where they are to assist Lesotho in agricultural production after an embassy has been opened in Maseru.

Mr Mofeli challenged the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, to announce a date for general elections.

He said his party would

contest all 60 constituencies and if he won, he would establish diplomatic relations with South Africa because such relations would benefit both countries.

● Meanwhile, it has been revealed that the four members of the African National Congress detained in Lesotho on Tuesday are being held under the Internal Security Act which entitles the police to detain people for up to 60 days without recourse to the courts.

Their detention followed talks between South Africa and Lesotho in Pretoria to find ways of implementing an agreement on the harbouring of terrorists. The agreement was signed by the Foreign Ministers of the two countries in Johannesburg in June this year.

# No bail for Mrs Sisulu

11A  
12/8/83

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, alleged to have taken part in the activities of the African National Congress (ANC), will be tried in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on October 17.

Mrs Sisulu (66) appeared before a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday with Mr Thami Mali (25), who faces the same charge.

They were not asked to plead. No evidence was led.

Immediately after entering the dock Mrs Sisulu embraced her grandchildren, who were in the well of the court.

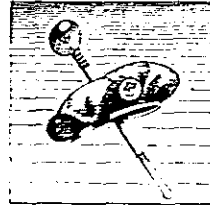
She is the wife of former ANC secretary-general Walter Sisulu, who is serving a life sentence. Mrs Sisulu is an executive member of the Federation of South African Women.

Mrs Sisulu and Mr Mali were not granted bail.

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# Moderation is an option



The most widely known, shrewd and charismatic public figure among SA's black leaders is, arguably, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, of Kwa-

Zulu. His political mass movement, Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe, is the largest in the land.

Buthelezi founded Inkatha in 1975, three years after he took power in the newly created KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. An experienced politician, as well as a hereditary chief, Buthelezi perceived that SA-created homeland structures could be turned against Pretoria to resist independence. However, in his view, they could not form a credible powerbase among blacks because of their ethnic basis. Traditional Zulu structures of authority had similar drawbacks.

Inkatha's fundamental tenet is rejection of the homeland independence process, which deprives blacks of SA citizenship. It also opposes the new constitutional proposals because they exclude blacks. But — and this is where Buthelezi parts company with many militants — the commitment to non-violence is equally firm.

Inkatha, like Buthelezi, is committed to the politics of pragmatism and negotiation, coupled with tight local-level organisation.

This emphasis has made it among the more effective political organisations in SA. Like the black unions, which it rivals in membership, its great advantage is that it is able to provide short-term objectives and programmes which can be met. While it supported the Fattis & Monis boycott, it avoids precipitate boycott actions.

Because it treads so carefully, its potential as a threat gives it weight in a variety of spheres.

## Grassroots programmes

KwaZulu administration support is an advantage to Inkatha, though it denies that it uses this to boost membership. Unlike many organisations, it can go beyond rhetoric to supply, at the least, positive gains for members through grassroots programmes, while benefiting from its proclaimed stance as a national movement with cross-ethnic membership.

According to Buthelezi, Inkatha's numbers now exceed 750 000, more than double the 1981 figure of 360 000.

In KwaZulu and Natal, Inkatha is indisputably a tightly organised force. Despite some analysts' account of a rise in ANC support since 1980, coupled with Inkatha's highly ambivalent relationship with the ANC (see box), membership is growing in the Transvaal, and Inkatha is opening

SA's largest legal black movement, Inkatha, headed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is still growing. Its stands on the ANC, Soweto council elections and armed insurrection are spelled out.

bridgeheads in the Cape and even the OFS.

Two important questions can be asked about the movement's future:

□ Is it not time for Inkatha to consolidate an urban power base through contesting the upcoming community council elections — particularly in Soweto?

□ If Inkatha participates in massive labour stayaways or consumer boycotts, as it may well do, will it be able to contain its hot-heads? As in black politics as a whole, Inkatha has to face up to rising militancy in its ranks.

Inkatha's central committee still has to make the final decision on whether to contest the Soweto council elections — which will probably be held towards the end of this year. There are a number of options: whether to participate at all; whether to allow members to participate independently; or whether to throw the party machine behind a full-scale campaign.

"I have no qualms of conscience about participation in principle," Buthelezi told the *FM*. But a Foreign Affairs Department statement has, in his view, compounded the problem. Explaining why blacks are excluded from the proposed tricameral parliament, it declares that this is reasonable because blacks have access to community councils and "their" homeland legislatures.

"If Inkatha participates (in community council elections), is that read as accepting exclusion from central government?" Buthelezi asks. "They're tying my hands not on the basis of ideology, but on the basis of this new interpretation."

Essentially, possible participation by Inkatha in Soweto's elections is a bargaining counter for Buthelezi. A higher percentage poll would be

guaranteed, and the councils as a whole would gain greater legitimacy among blacks — or be presented as such by Pretoria. But such participation could be made conditional, by Inkatha, on further consultation with blacks on the Koornhof bills for urban blacks, for example.

Inkatha has some 30 branches in Soweto, and its rallies are certainly well supported. But Soweto politics is a minefield. Systematic opposition from within the council itself to administrative rent increases, and promotion of popular projects, might well win an incumbent group more support.

Again, participation would also bring down condemnation on Inkatha's head from the numerous groups that would support an election boycott. This could easily damage Inkatha's international image.

Whether Soweto will continue to receive subsidies is another important issue. Being held responsible for massive escalations in living costs as Sowetans pay for various township projects won't do any incumbent party much good. Inkatha has consistently argued that there should be greater clarity on the financial future of the townships.

Relations with other black organisations, such as those based on black consciousness ideology, are often strained by accusations



Behind supporter: Buthelezi (left) and Dhlomo ... tight organisation

that Buthelezi, and Inkatha, are "collaborationist." Buthelezi rebuts this: "Accusations of collaboration have become a parrot cry for those who think rhetoric rather than hard organisational work is an easy option." He adds that there is no black in SA who can truly claim to be outside the system.

"Unlike people who are not prepared to speak to government on moral grounds, I encourage negotiation. One must work to forge links at various levels, from the homelands to nationalist movements, and to win some whites to our point of view. Then we need to get around the table.

## INKATHA AND THE ANC

A cautious diplomatic initiative to repair the damaged relations between Inkatha and the so-called "external mission" (EM) of the African National Congress (ANC) has been launched following Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's recent visit to Lesotho a fortnight ago.

Inkatha insiders are not over-optimistic about the chances of unqualified success, since the EM's relations with other organisations are affected by its own internal tensions. A recent issue of the London-based *Africa Confidential* thus notes that the "very strong" and "disproportionate" representation of the SA Communist Party (SACP) within the EM is "often criticised by more traditional nationalists and is a constant cause of factionalism."

Inkatha has never publicly revealed what transpired at its meeting with the EM in London in October and November 1979. But it came away with the strong impression that the EM delegation — all of whose members were black — had decided publicly to say what the EM was saying in private: that Inkatha was a legitimate organisation working for the same goals as the ANC (one man, one vote) but through non-violent as opposed to violent means.

This decision was reversed in 1980; evidently because factions within the ANC opposed what Oliver Tambo's delegation had decided at the meeting with Inkatha.

Buthelezi has since made it clear that he believes black Africa has a responsibility to attempt to make peace between Inkatha and the EM. The latter, he told the Lesotho government, "has great accomplishments to its credit in rallying world opinion behind the struggle in SA against oppression."

What Inkatha strongly deprecates, however, is attempts by the EM to set itself up as sole authentic representative of black South Africans. It is tragic, Buthelezi says, that the OAU consults only with SA exiles and that the UN gives the EM the status of a government in exile.

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Inkatha's policy is to have a multi-strategy approach." Buthelezi says.

However, the issue of black unity is extremely important to Buthelezi: "Apartheid in this country exists on the borrowed time which black disunity gives it. If we had unity, the fact that black people — as workers and consumers — have a stranglehold on the economy of this country would be decisive."

He is willing to consider co-operation on some issues with the United Democratic Front (the recently formed body which adheres to the Freedom Charter of the Fifties). He, and Inkatha, also maintain

"Western governments," he told the West German foreign office during a visit to Europe in June, "must come to realise that the ANC in exile is becoming the tail that is trying to wag the dog."

Inkatha officials note a number of key points that are usually overlooked when it is simply assumed that the EM and the ANC are synonymous:

□ Chief Albert Luthuli (who died in 1967) was the last ANC leader who was democratically elected;

□ Tambo was sent abroad by Luthuli to start an external wing that was to be an adjunct of the ANC proper; and

□ Umkhonto we Sizwe (the EM's military wing) was founded in December 1961 as an underground body using violence, but the ANC itself has never reversed its earlier commitment to non-violence. Says Buthelezi: "The people of SA have never ratified any move away from non-violence as a basic strategy."

Inkatha also believes that the EM has made a number of strategic mistakes, one of which is that its exclusive emphasis in the Sixties on the "armed struggle" has caused it to ignore the need for political work inside SA. More recently, Buthelezi believes, the EM is making the mistake of supposing that its rejection of Inkatha will be followed by blacks inside SA.

But, Buthelezi notes, "the opposite has happened. Inkatha has more than doubled its membership since 1980."

Inkatha officials believe that the membership track record of Inkatha puts it in a position where it can hold out the hand of friendship to the EM — while disagreeing with it on vital issues like disinvestment and violence — from a position of growing strength.

The role of the EM, Buthelezi told a mass rally in Soweto's Jabulani stadium in May, is "not to dictate to us from the capitals of the world (but) to hear what black South Africans in their millions within SA want and to articulate (this) to the world community."

contact with bodies such as Nafcoc, a number of trade unions, and he is the leading figure in the SA Black Alliance.

As Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Buthelezi has been conducting intensive talks with six other homeland leaders. They recently signed a declaration of intent which repudiated "independence" and exclusion from SA's central government. While several homelands have banned or harassed Inkatha on their territory — Transkei was one, until recently — it's clear that Buthelezi sees a unified resistance to further denationalisation as overriding other considerations.

Whether the group of "rebel" homelands will be able to resist Pretoria's pressures is another question (Transkei would have to renounce "independence"). But it is interesting that two non-independent homeland leaders, Gazankulu's Hudson Ntsanwisi and Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane, have both started Inkatha-style organisations.

### Basis for prestige

Buthelezi's talks last week in Lesotho may — if he can prove instrumental in ending Lesotho Liberation Army incursions against Maseru from the Transkei — boost his, and Inkatha's, prestige at home and internationally. A functional counter-constellation of homelands, opposed to PW Botha's, could be extremely effective, especially if an internationally-recognised independent country like Lesotho is party to it.

Inkatha is willing to use all feasible non-violent strategies in its campaign for a black voice in SA's government. Containing rising militancy that looks beyond such means, Buthelezi says, is a matter of tight organisation, and the realisation that "it's a long and hard road to liberation."

He has said: "We cannot convey to the people an illusion that by burning down schools, or posturing in cathedrals, or supporting braggart journalists, or by symbolic gestures at international forums we can topple Pretoria tomorrow."

Buthelezi stresses, though, that Inkatha's non-violence is a matter of pragmatism, perceiving the hopelessness of armed insurgency against the overwhelmingly powerful SA State as a means of precipitating change. But he and other Inkatha leaders like Oscar Dhlomo often assert that Inkatha policy is ultimately the expression of its constituency. Too much frustration could bring militancy to a pitch where the leadership has to choose between taking up arms, or making way for those who will.

This alone should surely make Pretoria responsive to Buthelezi's overtures — such as the constitutional recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission. As a credible, moderate figure with mass support, it would be extremely short-sighted of government to forget that he represents a meaningful alternative to increased black radicalism. Yet he has not had talks with any senior SA Cabinet ministers, let alone with PW himself, for the past three years.

(5) Am 19/8/83

of Angolan oil from the Cabinda enclave — money that helps Angola to pay, in fact, for Soviet and Cuban military assistance in keeping Savimbi at bay.

Spotlighting the Angolan factor in moves towards a Namibian independence settlement, and in the East-West tug, Marcum said that Luanda's imports from the US amount to around \$640m yearly.

Angola's trade pattern is in fact strongly Western-linked. But its economy is in disarray from the impact of war and the exodus of 300 000 Portuguese after independence. It now imports 90% of its food needs, and

the Benguela Railway is essential to this. Unita's strategy, therefore, could be to pre-empt any accord between the MPLA and the West which may exclude it from power.

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**DIPLOMACY**  
**De Cuellar's dilemma**

At midweek, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar had still not made up his mind on whether or not to go to southern

Africa to speed up the Namibian independence process. The UN chief was given a mandate by the Security Council to report back, no later than August 31, on the results of his talks with all parties concerned.

However, with much diplomatic activity surrounding his office on the 38th floor of the main UN headquarters building, Perez de Cuellar was still keeping all his options open when the FM went to press.

He faces two main problems. If he returns empty-handed from SA, Namibia and Angola will face criticism from members of the African group and Swapo for not

in my opinion

GATSHA BUTHELEZI

(11A) [Signature]  
**'A long and hard struggle'**



Gatsha Buthelezi is chief minister of KwaZulu, and leader of Inkatha (see cover story). He outlined his views on a number of issues to the FM.

I have been in SA politics for three decades, and that should make anyone a realist. I believe that there cannot be a solution in this country foisted by blacks on whites any more than there can be one foisted by whites on blacks.

That is why I encourage negotiation. It is highly simplistic for other black political groupings to say that they are morally not prepared to speak to the government until they can speak to it at a national convention.

It is a long and hard struggle, and a long, hard road. We need tight organisation and long-term strategies. Half-baked plans are no use. Nor is whipping up feeling just to intimidate the government or whites, or saying something is about to happen when it's not. I never deceive members of Inkatha that results can be achieved instantly.

In 1960 everyone thought it was the beginning of the end of white supremacy. It wasn't. Again in 1976-1977 in Soweto, some groups even began to see themselves as an alternative government. I was sad but amused, knowing it was a misreading of the SA situation.

Many people fell into this rut of misanalysis after the struggle and independence of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. But the situation in SA is completely different. Whites in this country are a large, not a small minority, and they are not expatriates. However much you might want to sink them in the sea because of their stubbornness, you can't — you have to deal with them and the power they wield.

In spite of the fact that we Africans are in the majority, I cannot see a formula that will bring about a united SA without the backing of whites. Not necessarily all of them, but significant sectors of whites and other race groups must be involved.

But we cannot change the views of whites by simply talking at them. A time will come inevitably when we must use non-violent pressures. The consumer power of black people is increasing at a terrific rate, so consumer boycotts become an important strategy. And worker power, in conjunction with trade unions, is also a potent weapon. We believe that we will ultimately be forced to use such means.

Meanwhile, many of our problems must be combated now. In the preamble to Inkatha's constitution, we state that poverty, ignorance and disease are some of the great handicaps which black people face. While the struggle for political emancipation goes on these should be combated within the limits of the *status quo*.

So Inkatha runs a development office in KwaZulu, teaching people how to mobilise their savings, for example in using bulk-buying schemes, and how to run co-operatives. Mobilising black finance is important to us. The KwaZulu government was among the first to invest in the African Bank, for example, and we have links with the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc).

Since I don't see that any other economic system is better, or a more potent force for development, I support the free enterprise capitalist system. But it has no future in this country after liberation if it operates as a whites-only club, with only a few fringe benefits for blacks.

Meanwhile the outlook for armed insurgency is poor. If you look at the legis-

tics, at SA's actions — bombing Maputo, bombing Maseru, bombing Angola and destabilisation in southern Africa — it is clear that for the foreseeable future any person who takes up arms will not have a secure base. They would have to operate in dribs and drabs with people coming through to plant a bomb here and there.

It won't topple the regime. People can adjust to a high degree of political violence in daily life, until it becomes a way of life and they shrug it off. And I fear many normally moderate whites will feel that P W Botha's laager is warm and safe, and go into it. As of now, violence has no chance of success.

Black unity is what we must work for now. We do need links with as many black organisations as possible. I applaud moves towards unity like those of the United Democratic Front. Anything that forges links of unity is good, for all concerned.

But I feel a terrible anguish about the dissension between groups supporting the Freedom Charter and those who subscribe to black consciousness. It is tragic and unproductive that people should conflict on the basis of strategies — the difference is not really one of principle. That kind of conflict and dissension is really fiddling while Pretoria burns.

If the rising tide of opposition to the constitution is successful and we are left with a version of the old system — well, the Buthelezi Commission report is our contribution to the constitutional debate, and it is still on the table. The fact that government has so far not accepted it does not mean that is the end of it.

KwaZulu's Regional Assembly has appointed a committee to study the five sections of the report. It is preparing five papers on practical implementation of the commission's five sections, which we still plan to lay formally before government.

# UDF newsletters seized

*Switzer 19/8/83* (11A)

MORE than 40 000 newsletters of the United Democratic Front were confiscated by security police on Sunday, only hours before they were to be distributed.

However, 60 000 were circulated in the Peninsula.

Officials of the UDF had collected the newsletters, UDF News, at printers in Paarl when they were stopped outside the town at the Huguenot and NI intersection.

Their car was searched and all copies of UDF News were removed.

A Major Le Roux of

the Paarl security police led the operation during which no reasons were given for the confiscation. This is according to Mr Trevor Manuel, secretary of the Cape branch of the UDF.

## WAITING

He added that the security police had been waiting on the highway.

The UDF was formed by a number of organisations to oppose the government's plans on a new constitution and the "Koornhof Bills", which have been condemned as a tightening up influx control.

The security police ac-

tion was confirmed by Major George Kershoff, police liaison officer for the Boland.

The step was taken to check whether security legislation had been contravened by the publication of the newsletter and a decision would be forthcoming by Monday afternoon, Major Kershoff said.

An attorney acting for the UDF, Mr Essa Moosa, said he had been instructed to apply for an urgent interdict for the return of the newsletters.

The security police were to reply by Monday afternoon to his initial enquiries and a decision

on further action would be taken then, Mr Moosa said.

Mr Manuel said the move was seen as part of a general harassment of the UDF, nationally.

● Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu and herself a prominent UDF leader, is currently in detention.

## DETAINED

● Recently Mr Saleem Bahdat, a student leader and UDF activist, was also detained outside Paarl where he had conducted workshops on the constitutional proposals.

● Several leaders of

*C. Herald*  
organisations affiliated to the UDF have also reported that they had been questioned by security police.

The newsletter outlines the reasons for the formation of the UDF and advertises a national rally for August 20 in Cape Town where the national UDF will be launched.

It contains articles on why the constitutional and "proposed Koornhof measures" have been rejected. The main point was that the measures further divided the people of South Africa and thus made it easier for the government to co-opt

and rule.

The measures should be fought and, in so doing, the greatest weapon of the people was their unity: "If with open hands we beg the apartheid animal to stop its plans, our fingers can easily be broken. But if we clench a fist, then we are strong." UDF News states.

The distribution of the newsletters in Cape Town coincided with similar actions throughout the country.

The newsletter was simultaneously printed in the major centres last week and distributed over the weekend.

Star 19/8/87

## Mandela is not close to Cardiff

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Plans to name streets in a new housing estate in Cardiff after South African personalities and places are likely to be thrown out now that the Conservative Party controls the city council.

Names proposed by the former Labour administration included Mandela Avenue, Biko Close, Luthuli Close, Sharpeville Road and Soweto Close.

None of the names was approved formally. The issue is to be discussed next month.

The new council leader, Mr Ron Watkiss, says he does not think street names should be political.

The council ran into trouble over the naming of streets in the Thornhill estate after Welsh servicemen killed in the Falklands campaign. The idea was withdrawn after residents had complained that it would cause confusion.

Footnote: Last month the Greater London Council approved changing the name of Selous Street in Camden, North London, to Mandela Street in spite of objections from local residents.

# Hoax pamphlets slammed as bid to sabotage UDF rally

MYSTERIOUS pamphlets purporting to have been issued by the United Democratic Front (UDF) announcing the postponement of the UDF rally in Cape Town tomorrow are a hoax.

The national secretariat of the UDF has described the pamphlets as a hoax meant to confuse

By ZWELAKHE SISULU

the people and sabotage the rally.

The pamphlets were distributed in the Newclare-Bosmont area in Johannesburg. The pamphlets were flung from a speeding car and in other areas posters

announcing the postponement of the rally were displayed.

The pamphlet read: "The interim national executive of the UDF has decided, with much regret, to postpone the national rally which was

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to have been held at Cape Town on August 20, 1983."

The rally, the pamphlet said, was being postponed because of "expected State action".

The secretariat of the UDF said in a statement: "This is the action of those who fear

the growing unity of our people under the banner of the UDF.

"These malicious manoeuvres by those who seek to divide our people are sure to fail as has happened in the past. Nothing, but nothing, will stop this great march towards unity and freedom."

*(11A)*

# Genu jailed for eight years

By NKOPANE

MAKOBANE

Sowetan

THE CHAIRMAN of the Kagiso Residents' Organisation (KRO), Isaac Mosotho Genu (30), was sentenced to an effective eight years' imprisonment by a Krugersdorp regional magistrate yes-

terday after he was convicted on charges to do with the outlawed African National Congress (ANC). 19/8/83

Mr T J le Grange jailed Genu for four years for membership of the organisation, another four years for taking part in activities of the ANC and six months for possession of an ANC publication, "Mayibuye". The six months will run concurrently with sentences on the main and second count. He had pleaded not guilty to all charges.

In passing sentence, the magistrate said the

offences were of a serious nature and that is why even the legislature had introduced a minimum sentence of ten years each for membership of and taking part in the ANC activities.

He rejected the defence counsel's submission that a suspended sentence be imposed because it would in itself act as a deterrent not only during the period of suspension but for the rest of Genu's lifetime. He also rejected a plea that for the purpose of sentence, the offences be taken as one.

# Tutu on political theism

AT the memorial service of the late Steve Biko, Bishop Desmond Tutu said the Black Consciousness Movement is a movement by which God, through Steve, sought to awaken in the black person, a sense of his intrinsic value and worth as a child of God, not needing to apologise for his existential condition as a black person.

He said Steve Biko had been called by God to be the servant of South Africa — to speak up on behalf of God, declaring what the will of this God must be in a situation of evil, injustice, oppression and exploitation.

The speech is one of several — which include the Bishop's sermons — compiled into a book *Hope And Suffering*, by journalist and author Mthobi Mutloatse.

In one of his speeches, Bishop Tutu addressed students at the verkramp University of Pretoria in March 1981 on the role of the church in South Africa. He said the church acts at its peril if it sanctifies any status quo and identifies with the powerful and upholds a system which will invariably be exploitative and oppressive.

"When the church succumbs to the temptations of power and identifies with a powerful establishment, then woe betide that church when that system is overthrown. when the powerless, the poor come into their own. That church will go down with that system as happened to the Roman Catholic Church in Mozambique and the Anglican Church in Zimbabwe," he said.

Bishop Tutu called on the Dutch Reformed Church to be converted to its true vocation as the Church of God and to stop giving its spurious biblical support to the most vicious system — apartheid — since Nazism.

On May 6 1976 Bishop Tutu wrote to the then Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr John Vorster, warning him of his fears of impending bloodshed and violence in South Africa unless something drastic was done to bring about change.

He told the Prime Minister of the violence he saw in Jerusalem between Jews and Arabs in 1966 before the Six-Day War, and of the street rioting of Addis Ababa which preceded the

overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie.

Just over a month after the letter, on June 16, violence erupted in Soweto and it spread to all parts of the township, resulting in the deaths and injury of several hundred people.

Bishop Tutu also does not attend American Embassy functions as a personal protest against actions of the Reagan Administration. neither does he see Reagan Administration people.

In a taped message to the Trans-Africa Forum in the US in February 1982, the Bishop said blacks have been deeply hurt by the Reagan Administration's friendship with the Government of South Africa.

Quoting Dr Chester Crocker in saying that in the struggle between black and white in South Africa the US would not take sides, Bishop Tutu asked: "How can you be impartial in a situation of injustice and oppression?"

He said that to be impartial and not to take sides is indeed to have taken sides already. It is to have sided with the status quo.

He describes the South African/American friendship as a case

of blood being thicker than water, a case where whites cannot be trusted because when it comes to the crunch, whatever the morality involved, whites will stick by their fellow whites.

The Bishop's sermons and speeches, compiled into a 149-page book, are indeed a commendable effort by Mthobi. Those who know that when Bishop Tutu speaks, leaders in South Africa and the international community listen, will agree that the compilation is long overdue.

The sermons and the speeches, over 20 of them altogether, were made at various parts of the country, while others were taped and sent to places like Kenya and the US, when Bishop Tutu was unable to travel after his passport was withdrawn by the Government for statements he made in Scandinavian countries about apartheid and his call for diplomatic, political and economic pressure to be applied against South Africa.

The book is, according to its publishers, selling like hot cakes at the moment at R4,95 (soft cover) and R9,95 (hard cover).

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11A

# Blacks 'are opposed to tripartite rule'

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE proposed inclusion of coloureds and Indians in the central Parliament would increase black opposition to the system, Dr Hennie Kotzer, of Rand Afrikaanse University, said yesterday.

Research at RAU showed that blacks were more opposed to the prospect of tripartite rule of South Africa by whites, coloureds and Indians than they were to uniraical rule by whites, he told the Political Science Association congress in Pretoria.

More than 80% of opinion-forming blacks were opposed to the idea of a governing partnership between the three main non-black minorities against 67% who were opposed to control resting solely in the hands of whites, he said.

The proposed new dispensation of triad rule was even more unpopular than government by Afrikaners alone, or by the National Party on its own, where the opposition ratings were 70% and 63% respectively.

At another seminar at the congress, Dr Michael Sinclair, of the University of the Witwatersrand, told participants that black Africa would not recognise any South African dispensation as legitimate unless it included the outlawed African National Congress as a partner, or was endorsed by the ANC as legitimate.

Dr Sinclair said of the relationship between black African states and the ANC: "ANC performance and credibility is gauged by the extremes of violence which that organisation is able to perpetrate."

At a third seminar a questioner noted

that blacks had rejected "racial capitalism" and then asked Professor Noel Manganyi of the University of the Witwatersrand, whether blacks would accept capitalism if it were purged of racism.

Prof Manganyi replied that the black experience of capitalism in South Africa was of a "nominal capitalism" which prevented them from opening shops in Pretoria and which "preselected its cohorts".

Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, of the University of Natal, said separate development could be used to secure a degree of legitimacy for the system if it promoted regional government in black areas which did not involve the loss of South African citizenship nor deprived blacks in the region of access to the common area.

# UDF sends Pérez an invitation

Staff Reporter

THE United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Pérez de Cuellar, has been invited to meet the national executive of the United Democratic Front (UDF) when he is in South Africa.

A UDF spokesman said today a telex had been sent to Dr de Cuellar. The organisation is to be launched in Mitchell's Plain tomorrow.

## SAME STRUGGLE

Mr Zac Yacoob, a member of the Natal UDF, said the invitation had been issued to Mr de Cuellar because "we believe that the struggles of our people in South Africa are the same struggle as the people of Namibia."

Mr Yacoob said it was "inappropriate for the UN Secretary-General to limit his consultation on Namibia to the undemocratic South African Government alone."

Meanwhile, buses carrying more than 1 000 people have already left various centres in the country to come to Cape Town for tomorrow's national launching.

Fraudulent pamphlets were distributed in Cape

*(Turn to Page 4, col 8)*

● See pages 2 and 13.

# Service told issue is not with Sebe

MDANTSANE — Mdantsane residents were not at issue with the Ciskei Government but with Pretoria, an audience of more than 1 000 was told at a service in Duncan Village.

"We are not concerned with Sebe and his government," said Mrs J. Hobana, an executive member of the Border branch of the National Women's Association (NWA) which organised the service to commemorate the 1966 march by thousands of women on Pretoria.

"The Pretoria government, Sebe's masters, are the people who created apartheid and they must answer for what is happening now," Mrs Hobana, who is also president of the NWA's Mdantsane branch continued, to shouts of "Amandla".

"We are not visitors in South Africa. We were born here and we are here to stay. Our rights are our children's rights. We must fight for them," she said.

Various speakers touched on the three-week-old bus boycott in Mdantsane, the political turmoil in Ciskei, and apartheid in South Africa.

Mrs N. N. Mgabela, said the NWA, an affiliate of the non-racial South African Federation of Women, was to embark on a drive to organise white women.

She said it took her an hour every morning to get to a railway station from her house in Mdantsane, "but we as residents started the bus boycott and we are the people who will decide when to call it off. Shootings and killings will not deter us".

She urged people to try to get to work even if it took them the whole morning.

"We have got to show our employers that this is not a boycott by hooligans. It is a peaceful protest by disciplined people."

The Reverend Alf Dlamini, vice-president of the Border Council of Churches asked the audience to pray for a sense of evaluation among black people.

"We have got to know where we stand. This is not a blacks-only struggle. Everybody who is moved by apartheid, racism and injustice must get on the wagon," he said. — DDC

*D. N. Dipatla*  
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AKGAS 19/8/83

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# Biggest alliance since the fifties

By Staff Reporter DAVID BREIER

The constitutional proposals have already produced two setbacks for the Government. They have reinforced the rightwing white backlash and they have rallied the forces of the left.

This second effect has already produced the biggest alliance of anti-Government groups since the Congress movement in the 1950s.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), to be launched at a national level at Mitchell's Plain tomorrow, owes its existence to the Government's reform initiatives as well as to the proposed new dispensation for urban blacks, popularly known as the "Koornhof Bills".

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, provided the spark for the new mass movement on January 23 this year when he called for unity and

joint action against the constitutional plans.

In less than seven months since this call, the UDF has developed into a well-organised umbrella organisation for about 400 groups from civic bodies and trade unions to women's, student, traders and religious organisations.

The UDF has developed a reputation for efficiency in contrast to haphazard organisation that marked earlier popular organisations.

One reason for success of the UDF is its skill in juggling the various elements accommodated within it. Any grouping that includes a traders organisation and trade unions must be diplomatic.

It has achieved this so far by refraining from becoming a single cohesive political party

with a clear ideological platform.

Such a step would inevitably alienate some groups within the UDF.

For example, a socialist stance would appeal to many members but would not go down too well with the Western Cape Traders Association.

Instead, the UDF has adopted a rallying call which could not fail to appeal to bodies working outside the Government system.

Resistance to the constitution and to the Koornhof Bills is the lowest common denominator that binds all the contrasting groups together.

This formula has even succeeded in obtaining some support from the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) which is committed to the National Forum, an anti-Government

grouping with a strong black consciousness bias.

As long as the Government persists with the constitution and the Koornhof Bills, the UDF will be able to use these issues to good effect to maintain unity.

Should the Government abandon these programmes, it would certainly be a feather in the cap of the UDF. It could also destroy the front by removing its raison d'être.

The UDF with its disparate elements, would then be hard put to find common ground.

UDF Western Cape leaders at a Cape Town Press conference this week were hard put to say what their future programme would be.

Ironically, the Government could best fight the UDF by giving in to it.

Meanwhile the General Council of the UDF, meeting on Saturday morning before the

rally, is expected to opt for further unity by adopting resolutions and a declaration acceptable to all members.

Resolutions could include condemnations of busfare increases in Mdantsane and the proposed move of Peninsula blacks to Khayelitsha.

The declaration likely to be accepted will be a revised version of a Western Cape declaration calling for a single South Africa with no divisions and rejecting and resisting the constitutional proposals and Koornhof Bills.

Any thoughts of resurrecting the Freedom Charter dating from the Congress movement in the 1950s, is taboo as the issue is divisive.

At this stage of its existence, the UDF will stick to popular issues and will keep off dangerous ideological ground.

## Who's who

By HUGH ROBERTON, Staff Writer

DEPENDING on whom you speak to, the number of people who are members of organisations already affiliated to the United Democratic Front total anything between 1 000 000 and 1 500 000. Whatever the real figure might be, the undeniable fact is that the UDF is not just large, but enormous.

It has more than 400 affiliated bodies, some of them in turn having hundreds of branches and sub-affiliates. They include most of the major organisations in the black, coloured and Asian communities, many multi-racial bodies, and even a few predominantly white groups.

In the Western Cape, the more than 20 civic associations falling under the aegis of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee have joined. So has the United Women's Organisation, with its 19 branches; the Western Cape Civic Association with branches in all black townships in the region — including the KTC squatter camp.

### Church youth

The Inter-Church Youth organisation, with well over 200 affiliated clubs in the Western Cape alone, is a member of the UDF. So is the multi-racial Cape Youth Congress with 38 affiliates; the Moslem Judicial Council, with more than 60 mosques attached to it; the Western Cape Council of Churches, with scores of affiliates; the Western Cape Traders' Association, with some 2 000 members.

The major industrial unions have so far not joined the UDF. Some are torn by ideological disputes between members who support the multi-racial concept of the UDF and those who support the black consciousness ideal of the rival but infinitely smaller National Forum. Others have given their public support but wish to concentrate their energy on uniting the trade union movement. Yet some significant unions have joined officially.

They include the Council of Unions of South Africa, which claims 50 000 paid up members;

the South African Allied Workers Union which has an estimated 60 000 members, mainly in the Eastern Cape, and the Municipal and General Workers Union, which almost paralysed Johannesburg with a strike two years ago.

### Nusas and Sash

Among the mainly white groups linked to the UDF are Nusas and the Black Sash, though the UDF gains much of its multi-racial character from the many multi-racial bodies — notably church bodies — which have joined.

The men and women who will wield the power in the UDF at the national level have still to emerge. They will be elected at the organisation's national launching congress this weekend. Though Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, will address this weekend's meeting and has given the UDF his blessing, he has declared that he does not intend to play an active role in politics.

But the Western Cape leaders of the movement have already been chosen. The regional president is Mr Oscar Mpetha, now being treated in hospital for advanced diabetes which has already required the amputation of his left leg. He is also free on a nominal R1 bail, after being convicted of terrorism at the end of the three-year trial. His presidency is largely symbolic.

### Won appeals

There are two vice-presidents. One is Mr Oscar Tinto, who first rose to prominence in 1953 during the defiance campaign against the pass laws. In 1965 and 1978 he won appeals against his conviction for alleged subversive activities and twice was released from Robben Island. He is a prominent trade unionist and Guguletu community leader, and has been detained on several occasions.

The other is Mr Joseph Marks, the genial and bearded vice-chairman of the Steenberg Rent Action Committee and a hawker by trade. He has long



Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

THREE UDF leaders at this week's Press conference in Cape Town, against the backdrop of the Front's banner, are, from left, Mr Baba Ngokoto, the publicity secretary; Mr M Lekota, a Natal member; and Mr Christmas Tinto, a Western Cape vice president

been involved in civic affairs.

There are two secretaries in the Western Cape, both of whom wield considerable power. They are Mr Trevor Manuel, co-ordinator of the Education Resource and Information Centre and secretary of Cahac; and Miss Cheryl Carolus, a consultant with the Churches Urban Planning Commission and an executive member of the United Women's Organisation. She was a member of the University of the Western Cape Students' Representative Council and was detained for five months in 1976.

A former Nusas president who was recently unbanned, Mr Andrew Boraine, is one of the treasurers of the UDF in the Western Cape. He was detained for lengthy periods during the 1980 schools boycott and the anti-Republic Day campaign in 1981. The other treasurer is Mr Rashid Seria, a journalist on a Cape Town newspaper and chairman of Grassroots, the community newspaper.

There are several other prominent Western Cape members of the UDF. Among them are Mr Baba Ngokoto, former

national organiser of the Azanian Students' Organisation; Imam Solomons, an executive member of the Moslem Judicial Council and chief representative of South African moslems at the Conference of Imams in Iran last year; Mr Trevor Osterwyk, president of the Cape Youth Congress and a former teacher; the Rev Chris Nissen of the Reform Presbyterian Church who is doing an honours degree at the University of Cape Town, and Mr J de Vries, vice-president of the SRC at UWC and regional chairman of Azaso.

## Mpetha in hospital

THE head of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Western Cape, Mr Oscar Mpetha, is in a satisfactory condition after being admitted to hospital at the weekend.

The Groote Schuur Hospital's medical superintendent, Dr M G Heath, although confirming Mr Mpetha's hospitalisation, would not say what his ailments were.

Mr Mpetha, 74, a trade unionist and community leader, has been hospitalised several times in recent years. He is a diabetic and has been troubled by gangrene in his left foot.

On June 29 Mr Mpetha was released on R1 bail following an appeal against his conviction on terrorism charges. By that time, Mr Mpetha, a national organiser with the African Food and Canning Workers Union and Food and Canning Workers Union as well as chairperson of the Nyanga Residents Association, had been in prison for almost three years.

*C. Herald* (11) August 1983

# Winnie to apply to visit Nelson

(11A)  
19/8/83  
Saweta

MRS Winnie Mandela is to request permission to visit her husband, jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, so that they can discuss his nomination as University of Natal chancellor.

According to the family lawyer, reports that Mandela had refused to stand for election were the result of a "misunderstanding".

The lawyer, Mr I Ayob, said that as

neither he nor Mrs Mandela had been able to communicate with Mandela to find out whether he wished to stand as chancellor, it had been decided Mrs Mandela should visit her husband at Pollsmoor Prison.

Mr Ayob added that Mrs Mandela was to apply immediately for permission.

Meanwhile author Dr Alan Paton, who has also been nominated for the chancellorship, said he stood by his earlier announcement that he would withdraw if Mandela stood for the post.

— Sapa.

# PAC seeks to widen links

From ANDRE VILJOEN  
HARARE. — High-level Pan Africanist Congress delegations were poised to visit frontline States with which the PAC had no diplomatic relations, the organization's permanent observer at the United Nations, Mr Gora Ebrahim, said in an interview here yesterday.

He said the PAC had been invited officially by the Mozambican Government to visit Mozambique at a time suitable to both parties and had followed a recent suggestion by the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, and applied in writing to send a delegation to Angola.

He expected the PAC would visit Mozambique this year.

He said the ruling United Independence Party of Zambia had undertaken to discuss the PAC at its next central committee meeting. "I

do not see why they should not talk to the PAC when they talk to Botha (the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha)," he said.

He said that at a central committee plenary session in Tanzania last month, the PAC had decided to try to brief all frontline States about its strategy and tactics and misunderstandings between them.

He said serious internal divisions which had been crippling the PAC in the late 1970s had been patched up under the leadership of former Robben Island prisoner Mr John Nyati Pokela, who took over in 1981.

Tanzania, where the PAC has its headquarters and Zimbabwe which has old connections with the PAC, both appear to treat the PAC and the African National Congress even-handedly. The other frontline States have

strong diplomatic relations with the ANC but none with the PAC.

The United Nations and Organization of African Unity both recognize both South African nationalist movements, but internationally the ANC enjoys considerably greater recognition and material aid.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC would like the frontline States to play a role in uniting the ANC and PAC. ANC spokesmen have consistently rejected PAC unity overtures.

Mr Ebrahim said Mr Pokela would lead a senior PAC delegation on a 10- to 14-day visit to China starting on Sunday. He rejected any suggestion that a recent successful visit to China, traditionally the PAC's most important international ally, by the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, signified a weakening in PAC-Chinese relations.

## Whites urged to 'join struggle'

Staff Reporters  
MEETINGS were held by the United Democratic Front in the Peninsula last night to swell grass-roots support for the movement before its national launching in Mitchell's Plain tomorrow.

A meeting in Nyanga attracted 700 people, and another in Observatory drew about 350.

A senior Natal member of the UDF, Mr Mosiwa "Terror" Lekota, told the mainly white au-

dience in Observatory: "It is significant for any black to be invited by white opponents of apartheid.

"Generations of whites in the future will be grateful to you. The bitterness felt in the country will be mitigated by your participation."

He said whites should participate fully in events and not play second-fiddle.

"You must come into the struggle on a free, non-racial, democratic

basis."

The Western Cape co-treasurer, Mr Andrew Boraine, said the Labour Party would be "found guilty of furthering the aims of apartheid".

Mr Trevor Oosterwyk, president of the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco), said: "We are not a bunch of radical communists, but an organisation of people against apartheid."

### REJECTED

The Nyanga meeting rejected the proposed moving of blacks to Khayelitsha, which was described as "a concentration camp".

It also undertook to boycott the community council elections to be held in November.

The UDF's Western Cape publicity secretary, Mr Baba Ngcokoto, said the front was expanding while the Government's support was shrinking.





# 1 000 attend UDF youth festival



e. Herald (11A) 28/8/83

● THE brass band of the Moravian church in Genadendal (above) blew their way into the hearts of hundreds of young people at a youth festival in Rocklands at the weekend.

The festival was part of the build-up to the national launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) to be held in the Rocklands Civic on Saturday.

More than 1 000 people attended the Saturday afternoon festival which was held under the theme: "Apartheid divides — UDF unites".

A number of entertainers took part in the festival, including singer Jessica Scherman from Johannesburg, jazz group Trevor Parker and Friends, singer Vicky Sampson and saxophonist Baill Coetsee.

# Boesak for UDF Launch

C. Herald  
2018/82  
11A

ABOUT 5 000 people are expected to pack the Rocklands Civic Centre on Saturday for the national launching of the United Democratic Front, a broad alliance of organisations opposed to the Government's constitutional proposals and "Koornhof" bills.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, will be the main speaker at Saturday's meeting, which will start at 5 pm after a whole day national con-

ference of organisations affiliated to the UDF.

Busloads are expected to attend from other centres in South Africa.

The UDF meeting — referred to in certain quarters as "the people's parliament" — comes as parliament meets this week to debate a new constitution for South Africa.

Saturday's meeting is expected to adopt a declaration rejecting this constitution and pledging to fight for "freedom in our lifetime".

The UDF has rejected the proposed constitution as "an attempt to separate and divide the oppressed and to entrench racial oppression and economic exploitation".

Close to half a million UDF newsletters were distributed throughout the country and a youth festival was held in Rocklands over the weekend as part of a major build-up to Saturday's meeting.

About 5 000 posters were pasted up all over Cape Town and some

areas, like Mitchells Plain, had been pamphleteered twice, according to a spokesman for the UDF in the Western Cape.

About 100 000 copies of the UDF's Western Cape newsletter were distributed over the weekend.

## HARASSMENT

The spokesman said UDF posters in Oudtshoorn had been carefully cut down and torn into small pieces. He saw this as part of the campaign of harassment of the UDF.

Four people were arrested at the Mitchells Plain station on Friday afternoon and held for questioning in connection with distributing newsletters. They were later released.

Six people were also briefly arrested in Kraaifontein last week while distributing the UDF newsletters.

Earlier in the week, about 30 UDF posters were confiscated by police in Kensington. The posters were not returned.

① ② ③ 11A

# The Mountview boycott



# Parents 'Talk'

THE school committee... ing of all concerned pa... by pupils.

Vice-chairman, Mr Ar... mien May, said the com... mittee wanted to bring... an end to the boycott and... show the pupils that they... were on their side.

● HUNDREDS of boycotting Mountview pupils go on the march at the University of the Western Cape to generate support for their demands. They want their principal removed and expelled pupils to be reinstated.

## UWC students say: 'Right on brothers!'


ABOUT 4 000 people at the University of the Western Cape last week rejected the Government's constitutional proposals and "Koornhof" Bills, and pledged support for the United Democratic Front and boycotting school pupils.

The meeting, held in the university's main hall on Thursday, ended a week-long focus on the constitutional proposals. Included in the audi-

Mr Saleem Badat, a member of the national executive committee of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso), said the proposals had to be

view pupils were read at the meeting. A number of schools had special programmes or meetings while pupils at some other schools

ance of Reformed Churches and student chaplain at UWC, sent a message of support to the meeting.



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19th AUGUST AT 3 pm

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# Mountview boycott goes on



● HUNDREDS of boycotting Mountview pupils go on the march at the University of the Western Cape to generate support for their demands. They want their principal removed and expelled pupils to be reinstated.

## Parents say: 'Talk to us!'

THE school committee of Mountview Senior Secondary School has called a meeting of all concerned parties in an attempt to diffuse the three-week-old boycott by pupils.

Vice-chairman, Mr Armién May, said the committee wanted to bring an end to the boycott and show the pupils that they were on their side.

### Reports by Ryland Fisher

"What the pupils are saying is not all true. We have tried to help them but they have just ignored us," Mr May said.

"The school committee asked the pupils to attend a meeting of the committee, the principal and the Student Representative Council, but the pupils refused. They said they had no time.

"We are still prepared to speak to them. We would also welcome a meeting with the other parents.

"We are calling a meeting on Sunday at 3 pm at the school."

Asked why they did not attend public meetings called by pupils, Mr May said: "The pupils have called meetings twice.

behaved, we might take other steps. We did not expel all the pupils. We expelled four and reinstated one.

Asked what the committee was doing to resolve the situation at the school, he said: "We are trying everything in our power to help solve this problem, but nobody can solve anything if there is no co-operation. We need the support of the principal, the parents and the pupils. At the moment the school committee is going out of its way to solve the matter."

Mr May said the school committee had the power to reinstate the pupils.

"The pupils also had the opportunity to appeal

not to expel one. The Department can overrule any decision of the committee.

"In all sincerity, we would like to have the children back at school, because they are losing out. We don't want them to see us as working against them. We would like to look after their welfare."

About the support shown by other schools for the Mountview pupils, Mr May said: "What happened at Mountview is a domestic matter. What do they think other people can do to help them? They must get help from the people immediately involved, like the parents and the school committee.

## UWC students say: 'Right on brothers!'

ABOUT 4 000 people at the University of the Western Cape last week rejected the Government's constitutional proposals and "Koornhof" Bills, and pledged support for the United Democratic Front and boycotting school pupils.

The meeting, held in the university's main hall on Thursday, ended a week-long focus on the constitutional proposals.

Included in the audience were about 600 pupils from the Mountview Senior Secondary School who had been boycotting

Mr Saleem Badat, a member of the national executive committee of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso), said the proposals had to be rejected because "they are undemocratic and the people have not been consulted."

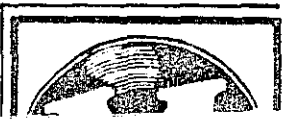
view pupils were read at the meeting.

A number of schools had special programmes or meetings while pupils at some other schools had a supportive boycott.

Those schools known to have boycotted on

ance of Reformed Churches and student chaplain at UWC, sent a message of support to the meeting.

At the end of the meeting, the students adopted the declaration of the UDF



● **HUNDREDS** of boycotting Moutview pupils go on the march at the University of the Western Cape to generate support for their demands. They want their principal removed and expelled pupils to be reinstated.

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REPORT  
**Ryland F**

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The meeting, held in the university's main hall on Thursday, ended a week-long focus on the constitutional proposals.

Included in the audience were about 600 pupils from the Moutview Senior Secondary School who had been boycotting classes for three weeks. A number of pupils from other schools who had gone on a one-day boycott in support of the Moutview pupils, attended the meeting.

The half-day programme at the university started with a march from the main hall to the student hostels, through lecture blocks and the administration department.

The march lasted for almost one hour before students returned to the hall.

## ENTRENCH

Professor Jakes Gerwel, dean of the Faculty of Arts at UWC, said the President's Council (PC) proposal would entrench and constitutionalise the undemocratic nature of the South African society.

"The PC is asking us to become part of minority rule. I give my fullest support to democrats uniting in the UDF," he said.

Mr Andrew Boraine, a former president of the National Union of South African Students, and a present executive member of the UDF in the Western Cape, called on people to attend the national launching of the UDF at Rocklands on Saturday.

"The UDF stands for the unity of all the people of South Africa," he said.

Mr Saleem Badat, a member of the national executive committee of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso), said the proposals had to be rejected because "they are undemocratic and the people have not been consulted".

A Moutview pupil told the meeting of the reasons for their boycott.

Several messages of support for the Mout-

view pupils were read at the meeting.

A number of schools had special programmes or meetings while pupils at some other schools had a supportive boycott.

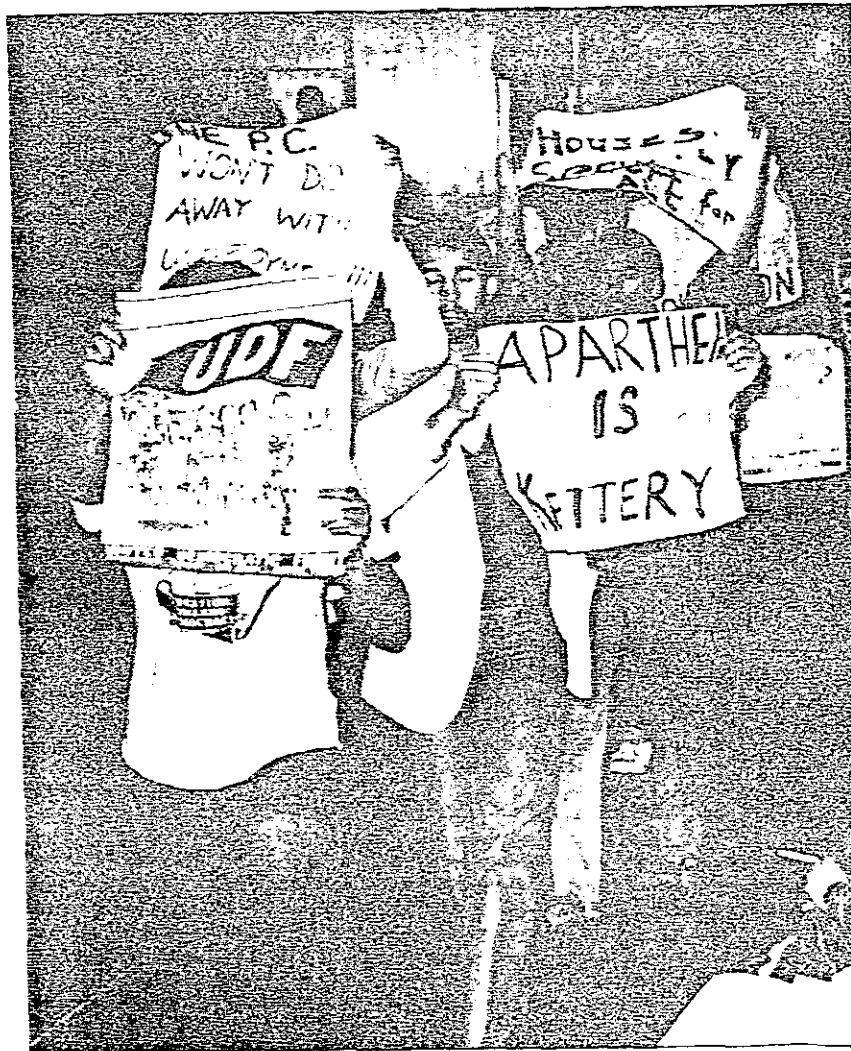
Those schools known to have boycotted on Thursday include Belhar, Portland, Spes Bona, Langa, Elswood and Crestway.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alli-

ance of Reformed Churches and student chaplain at UWC, sent a message of support to the meeting.

At the end of the meeting, the students adopted the declaration of the UDF.

The declaration calls for a "nonracial, democratic South Africa where the people themselves will govern".



● **THE posters** tell the story as UWC students do their bit for the Moutview pupils.

"What the pupils are saying is not all true. We have tried to help them but they have just ignored us," Mr May said.

"The school committee asked the pupils to attend a meeting of the committee, the principal and the Student Representative Council, but the pupils refused. They said they had no time.

"We are still prepared to speak to them. We would also welcome a meeting with the other parents.

"We are calling a meeting on Sunday at 3 pm at the school."

Asked why they did not attend public meetings called by pupils, Mr May said: "The pupils have called meetings twice, but they did not invite us officially. How can they expect the school committee to bend down for them if they don't come forward in a proper manner?"

"They must also understand that the pupils are the children of parents who make up the school committee and not vice versa.

"We have always been prepared to talk. How can they now say that the school committee is not on their side?"

## EXPULSION

On the school committee's expulsion of four pupils, Mr May said: "The majority of the school committee was in favour of expelling the four pupils under the circumstances. They were part of the group of nine pupils who were suspended by the principal earlier this year and then reinstated by the committee.

"With the information and the evidence we had, we decided to act accordingly. This does not mean that we are against the pupils. If the parents and the pupils came together to help us, this thing might never have happened."

Mr May said the committee expelled the pupils because they "misconducted, used abusive language and disobeyed the orders of the principal.

"We were informed of their offences by the principal. We first heard their case when they were involved with the other pupils. When we reinstated them, we warned that if they mis-

**SAVERS**



# Labour protest at New Deal ignored

11/8  
C. Hendrickse  
28/8/73

From BARRY STREEK

THE Labour Party tried hard, but made only one real impression on the Nationalist-dominated Parliamentary Select Committee on the constitution — it gained an amendment which laid down that at the time of his appointment, a minister "in the opinion of the President" should "have the support of the majority in the House consisting of members of that population group."

The party had said that, after its experiences in the Coloured Representative Council, the ministers should come from the majority party, and that the appointment of the CRC chairman and its executive who did not have majority support was "one of the main reasons for that body's collapse" and it resulted in "utter frustration and immense bitterness".

For the rest, Mr Curry and the Rev Alan Hendrickse, the party leader, had little impact.

They had wanted the proposals to be considered as an amendment to the existing constitution, rather than as a new constitution.

## DEFUSING

Mr Hendrickse said in evidence: "We feel it could help in defusing the situation and bringing a greater sense of interest if the proposal of the Bill before Parliament could be seen as an amendment and an extension of the existing constitution. That creates the atmosphere of an ongoing process."

That approach was, however, rejected and the amendment proposals are called the "Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill."

The major demand for change by the Labour Party was for the powers of the President to decide what were "own affairs" and what were "general affairs" to be limited.

It wanted the Supreme Court or a Constitutional High Court to decide on the distinction between own and general matters because this would "inspire much confidence and create an atmosphere of trust and compromise, whereas under the present provisions where such discretion is left exclusively to the President, suspicion and resentment must of necessity be expected."

## UNITY

The President should be a symbol of unity, not of conflict.

But the Select Committee still left the power to the President.

In its memorandum to the committee, the Labour Party also hit at the transfer, without amendment, of the existing powers of the President over black people into the new constitutional proposals.

But, other than to delete the word "reserves" to describe land occupied by black people for the first time since Union, the clause dealing with the "Administration of Black Affairs" remains the same, and the Labour Party plea was ignored.

Another failed plea was for education under one Minister.

"Then we can have the same standards of education, the same standards of university training and at school level.

"I am not pleading for it; I am just saying that if I had the opportunity to negotiate education, I would negotiate it as a general affair for all races."

But the Select Committee, instead of responding to the Labour Party plea, actually extended the scope of own affairs in education by including organised school sport.

Indeed, the Labour Party's experience in the Select Committee, showed that in spite of being prepared to work within the new constitutional dispensation as a "transitional" step, it had little effect on outcome of the committee's report.

And that does not augur very well for its potential role if the constitutional proposals are ever put into effect.

# Muslim concern at jibe on

## their beliefs

w/c ARGUS  
20/8/83

114

Weekend Argus Reporter

**ANGRY** Cape Town Muslims are demanding an apology for a statement by Dr F A H van Staden (CP Koedoeport) that Muslims do not believe in an Almighty God.

Dr van Staden had proposed in Parliament an amendment to a Constitution Bill clause reading: "The people of the Republic of South Africa acknowledge the sovereignty and guidance of Almighty God."

He suggested this be changed to: "The peoples of the Republic of South Africa acknowledge the sovereignty and guidance of the Holy Trinity," as some South Africans did not "acknowledge or accept the Almighty God".

He said that while 68 percent of the Indian population maintained the Hindu faith, which left no room for the acceptance of the biblical Almighty God, 22 percent of the people were Islamic and the Allah of their faith and the God of the Bible were not the same.

### "Offended"

Mr Hassan Khan, president of the Al-Jihaad Islamic Movement in Cape Town and chairman of the Schotze Kloof Civic Association, said he and other Muslims had been offended by the statement.

"I and Muslims in general view with concern and dissatisfaction the statement made by Dr van Staden to say Muslims in South Africa did not believe in the Almighty God.

"We would like to know where he gets his information.



# Massive backing for UDF rally

Bogus pamphlet campaign unable to prevent anti-Nat forces gathering

SACOS  
20/12/83  
(11A)

By David Braun

Grassroots support for what could be the largest anti-Government coalition in recent years, the United Democratic Front, swelled on the eve of today's mass rally in Cape Town.

In spite of a countrywide bogus pamphlet campaign which sought to sow confusion about the event, more than 5 000 people from all parts of the country were expected to converge on Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town for the launching of the UDF, an all-embracing front of organisations from every race group and with divergent philosophies, but united in their opposition to apartheid.

Four giant television screens have been installed in a marquee to accommodate the overflow of people expected at the Rockland's Civic Centre.

At least five video teams and an international film company were expected to join the large Press corps covering the meeting.

Preliminary meetings in the Cape Peninsula on Thursday attracted more than 1 000 people, including one meeting in Observatory addressed by Mr Mosiwa "Terror" Lekota, a senior Natal member of the UDF, which was attended mainly by whites.

Mr Lekota told his audience: "It is significant for any black to be invited by white opponents of apartheid. Generations of whites will be grateful to you. The bitterness felt in the country will be mitigated by your participation."

The organisers were hoping that the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr. Perez de Cuellar, expected in South Africa on Monday for talks on the Namibian question, would attend the rally.

A UDF spokesman said a telegram had been sent to Dr Perez inviting him to "honour the rally with his presence" and to meet the executive committee.

Meanwhile, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which is not sending delegates to the rally because it has not yet negotiated common ground with the front, has denied responsibility for pamphlets which smeared the UDF as "the old white-dominated SA Communist Party/ANC alliance dressed up in a new guise".

Mr Muntu Mweza, the secretary general of Azapo, dismissed the pamphlets, which purported to have been published by Azapo, Sacos and the National Forum Committee, as mischievous and irresponsible.

Mr Frank van der Horst, chairman of Sacos, also denied that the pamphlets had been issued by his organisation.

More pamphlets, purporting to be issued by the UDF, were distributed in Cape Town yesterday, stating that today's rally had been postponed to October because of "expected state repression, including strong indications of mass arrests at the rally".

It is uncertain what the Government's response will be to the rally.

One of the candidates for the leadership of the group, Albertina Sisulu, was detained by security police earlier this month shortly after a Press conference about the group's aims.

The UDF's immediate purpose is to oppose proposed Government constitutional reforms which would grant limited power sharing to coloureds and Indians for the first time, but which would continue to exclude blacks from the political process.

He said the pamphlets obviously emanated from people who were short-sighted and who sought to perpetuate what they regarded as irreconcilable differences in the approach to liberation.

# Massive

Cape Times 20/8/83

MA

# launch

# for UDF

By JANE ARBOUS  
Political Reporter

**THOUSANDS** of people from around the country streamed into Cape Town last night for today's national launching of the United Democratic Front — the biggest anti-government alliance since the Congress movement in the 1950s.

In the well-organized and feverish build-up to today's programme, which includes the election of the national leadership and culminates in a mass rally in Mitchells Plain, dozens of area committees have been established.

A 24-hour telephone link for information has been operating, workshops on the constitutional proposals have been held nightly in the past few weeks, and hundreds of thousands of national and regional newsletters and pamphlets have been distributed door-to-door.

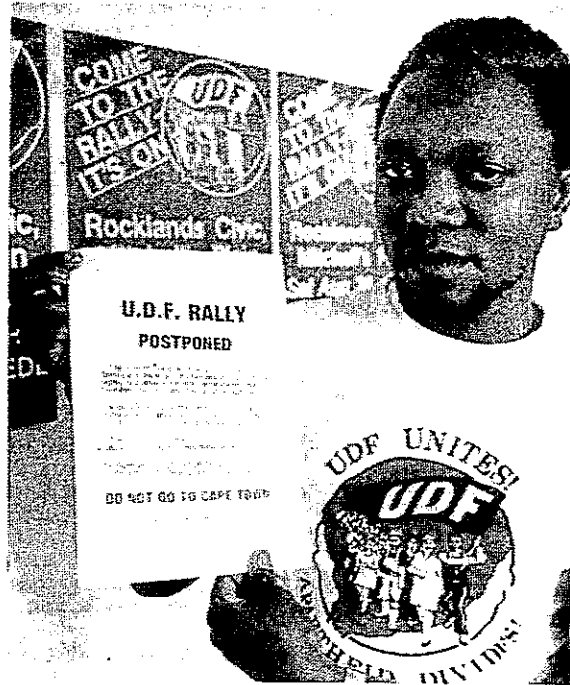
### Fake pamphlets

In a new development yesterday, hundreds of false pamphlets appeared throughout the Peninsula. The same occurred in Johannesburg and Durban the previous day.

In one of the pamphlets, which purported to have been issued by the United Democratic Front (UDF), the date of the rally had been postponed to October because of "expected repressive State action, including strong indications of mass arrests at the rally".

Another pamphlet, which rejected the participation of the white "oppressor" class in the liberation struggle, purported to have been issued by the National Forum Committee, the South African Council on Sport, and the Azanian People's Organization. They have denied responsibility.

A false poster was also distributed, saying that the UDF youth fes-



A member of the UDF's interim national secretariat, Mr Popo Molefe, holds up one of the false pamphlets found in Cape Town yesterday purporting to have been distributed by the United Democratic Front.

**Another picture, page 9**  
**Leading article, page 10**

tival — held last weekend — would take place today in Hanover Park, at the same time as the Mitchells Plain rally.

The UDF's national secretary, Mr Zak Yacoob, described the attempts to discredit the UDF — "an old white-dominated SACP-ANC alliance dressed up in a new guise" — as nothing more than mischief-making by "agents of

apartheid".

Reacting to the "disinformation" campaign, a Progressive Federal Party spokesman, Mr David Dalling, said:

"Dirty tricks almost always lead to the exposure of their originators in due course. And once this particular ploy is uncovered, it will certainly do no credit to the cause of those who oppose the UDF."

He said those who disagreed with the UDF — especially those on the right of their attitudes — should "grant to the UDF their right to meet and express their view points freely just as they claimed that right for themselves".

In 1981, false pamphlets issued against school boycotts in Cape Town claimed to have been written by the Congress of the People (Cope). Cope leader Mr Lofty Adams, a member of the President's Council, then denied responsibility.

In the 1980 unrest in the Western Cape, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed that thousands of anonymous pamphlets had been distributed by an inter-departmental government committee to counter school boycotts and attendant violence.

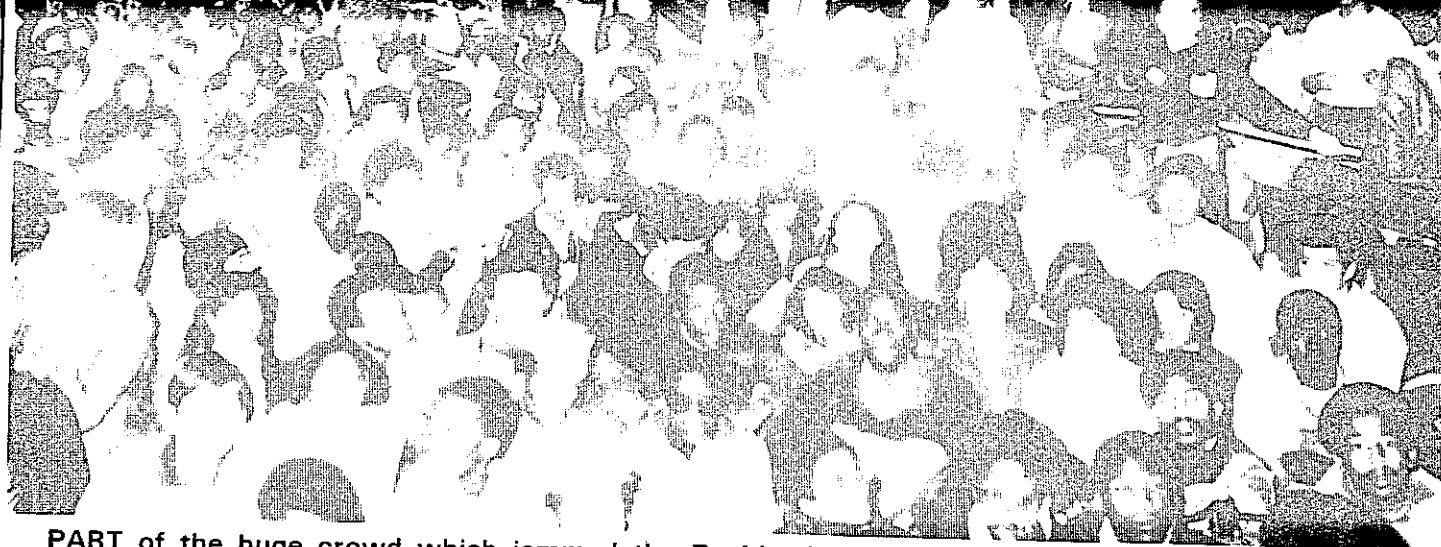
### Delegates

Late last night buses bringing delegates to today's conference were still arriving at the Westridge Mosque hall in Mitchells Plain from all over South Africa.

Young delegates had "camped" in several halls in the area while older people were taken to the houses and flats of local families.

"I am very excited," said Nunu Keswa, 20, a Congress of South African Students (Cosas) delegate from Durban.

"This is a progressive move which means unity among people who are concerned about the



PART of the huge crowd which jammed the Rocklands Civic Centre today. Late in the day, as hundreds of people still poured in for the open rally, officials estimated a crowd of more than 15 000 in the hall, an adjoining marquee and outside.

W/E ARGUS 20/8/83 119

## Call in resolutions for active opposition

Weekend Argus  
Reporters

SOUTH AFRICAN communities were called on today to actively oppose forced removal of people from their homes, the migrant labour system and the Government's new housing policy.

The calls were in resolutions adopted by more than 1 500 delegates and observers at the national launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

### Repeal call

The conference called on the Government to repeal the Group Areas Act and urged communities faced with removal to organise opposition.

In another resolution, the meeting rejected the Government's new housing policy aimed at forcing tenants to buy their State-owned homes.

The resolution called on communities to oppose the policy and also to oppose the plan for

site-and-service schemes which were "no substitute for decent housing".

The meeting pledged to oppose the migrant labour system and urged that the "working class" should assume leadership of the anti-Government struggle.

The meeting undertook to work for the building of "genuinely democratic trade unions".

### Messages

Some overseas messages of solidarity came from:

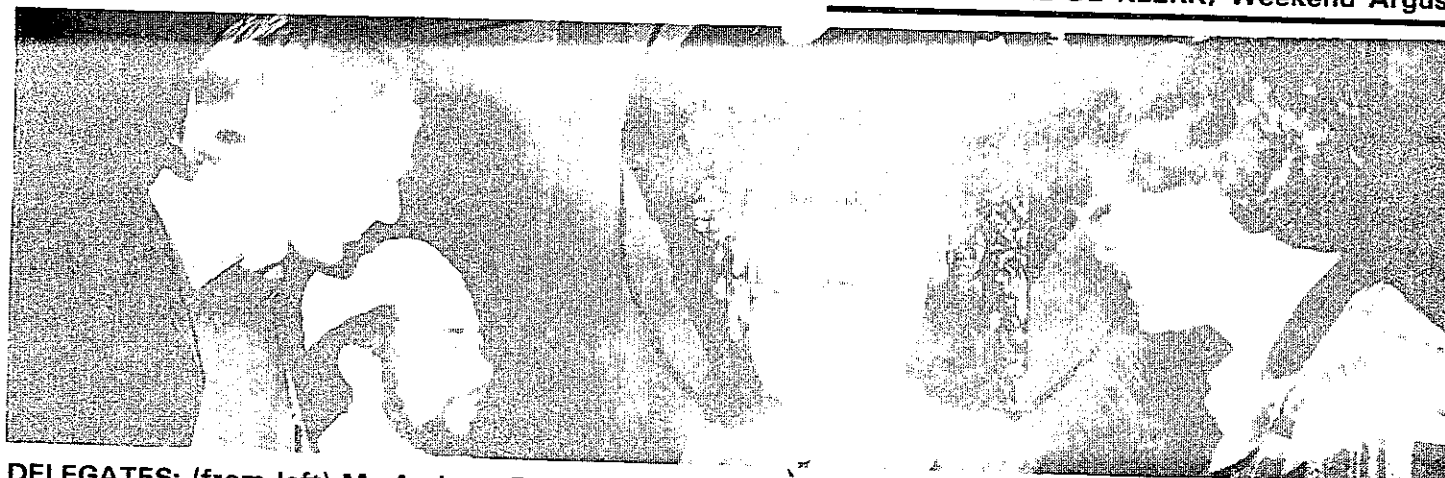
- The Holland Committee on Southern Africa, which described the UDF meeting as "a milestone in resistance to apartheid".

- The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa, representing 21 political, church and human rights organisations, which stated: "We salute your fight against the Botha regime's constitutional proposals".



VETERAN political campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph with Mr M K Malefane, a member of the OFS executive of the United Democratic Front.

Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, Weekend Argus



DELEGATES: (from left) Mr Andrew Borraine, co-treasurer for the UDF in the Western Cape; Imam Hassan Solomon, a Western Cape executive member; UDF patron and sports administrator Mr Hassan Howa; and Mr Ibrahim Rasool, a Western Cape executive member.

New ball-game  
in SA politics

WILE ARGUS 20/8/83 11P

THE launching of the United Democratic Front in Cape Town this weekend marks the beginning of a new political ball-game in South Africa.

It is difficult to say just yet how strong the UDF is, how wide its appeal lies and whether it will be able to form itself into a cohesive political force.

It boasts an impressive list of patrons, including Dr Allan Boesak, who obviously is a major driving force behind it. It claims, also, to represent about 400 organisations throughout South Africa.

**Impressive**

These figures and facts present a fairly impressive picture. On these grounds alone it would be foolish even to try to dismiss the UDF as irrelevant. But even more worthy of note is the kind of political trend being brought into motion by the advent of organisations like the UDF.

Up till now the kind of opposition the UDF claims to represent have consisted of disparate voices which had been raised haphazardly on divergent issues. What the UDF proposes doing, at least as a starting point, is to orchestrate these into a single voice with a central theme — opposition to the Government's proposals and the Koornhof Bills.

It is the implications of this for the increasingly strained South African political process that are foreboding.

**Outside**

What is happening is the formation of a very real "opposition" grouping outside the "establishment politics" of the country. By the latter is meant those political formations which, whether they like the Government's constitutional system or not, will in any event be working within it.

There was a time when the term "extra-Parliamentary" politics was regarded as a swear word. Now, at the very time that the Parliamentary system is being subjected to a traumatic transition, extra-Parliamentary opposition is proposed being established as a hard and fast fact of South African political life.

How society is going to cope with it is an intricate question that remains to be answered.

**Reasons**

Meanwhile, it might do well to reflect on the reasons behind this new kind of political divide that is developing in South Africa. Some would probably put it down simply to apartheid.

The latter might have been a very real historical cause. But what it also illustrates is the severe lack in this country, at this moment of transition, of competent socio-political engineers.

These are people who might have been able not only to recognise where the divide lies but also to design political bridges that could span them.



By LEON MARSHALL  
Political Editor



Dr Allan Boesak . . . driving force



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert . . . too adventurous

Who are our engineers?

Mr Jaap Marais or Dr Andries Treurnicht? Certainly not. Theirs is the political demolition job.

Mr Chris Heunis? Probably, in a way. With the backing of Mr P W Botha, he certainly is applying himself to the task of bridge-building. Whether he is doing so at the right river is another question.

**Adventurous**

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert is a bridge builder. But obviously the chasm he proposes crossing is far too adventurous for the liking of the people on behalf of whom he proposes contracting.

What must be increasingly worrying to him and many others is that they know that the chasm is not narrowing, but indeed widening.

Which brings one back to the newly formed UDF. As Mr Heunis is trying to unite people on his side of the divide, so too this organisation is striving to unite forces on its side of the divide.

Once both sides have done their thing, what happens then?

# Leaflet war against UDF

By BRIAN POTTINGER

THE nationwide phoney pamphlet war directed at the United Democratic Front's rally in Cape Town at the weekend has sparked fears that it might be the first step in a major disinformation campaign against the anti-constitution body.

UDF spokesmen have declined to say who they think is responsible for the well-organised campaign.

The organisers also tacitly accept that the pressure against them may be stepped up nearer the referendum date for the Indian and coloured communities.

The Opposition is hoping to ask the Prime Minister in Parliament if any State department was involved.

## Critical

On Friday tens of thousands of professionally printed leaflets were distributed in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban telling people the UDF national launch in Cape Town yesterday had been postponed until October.

Another set of pamphlets purporting to be from the South African Council on Sport and the Azanian People's Organisation and heavily critical of the UDF were also distributed.

A third set of false pamphlets advertising a non-existent pop concert in Cape Town at the same time as the rally, were also dropped in the city's suburbs.

The pamphlets saying the rally had been cancelled were dropped in Durban at a place where only a few minutes earlier buses carrying people to the rally were to depart for Cape Town.

# Winding up for referendum

By BRIAN POTTINGER

THE National Party machine is fully prepared for the referendum, strengthening speculation that the crucial poll on the proposed constitution will be in November.

This week NP organisers and officials from throughout the country met for a briefing with Mr P W Botha.

The party's information services are working hard on plans for a massive publicity campaign.

LAS VEGAS, Atlantic City, Monte Carlo, Southern Africa ... these will be the world's gambling meccas, not necessarily in that order, if Mr Sol Kerzner's dreams for his new monopoly in gambling come true.

After the merger between Mr Kerzner's Newco casinos, including Sun City and those of Holiday Inns — also the Wild Coast Inn — SA gaming has hit the international big time.

The new company, provisionally named Newco, will have half shares with governments in casino resorts in BophuthaTswana, Botswana, Ciskei, Lesotho, Mauritius, Swaziland, Transkei and Venda.

It will have initial revenues of R150-million, and taxed profit of R30-million, making it worth about R300-million.

Mr Kerzner aims to make it grow at the 30-percent plus per annum achieved by Southern Sun under his stewardship.

Mr Kerzner and Mr Fiddian Green, chairman of Rannies, told the Sunday Times that Newco would almost definitely be listed on the Johannesburg

# Sol is set to

By DAVIE

Stock Exchange in the next 18 months.

They maintain one of the main reasons they decided to work together rather than against one another, was to pool international marketing strengths.

"The tiny share of international tourism South Africa has today is scandalous," says Mr Kerzner. "We attract fewer European tourists than Australia."

He is confident the new gaming giant in association with its partners, Southern Sun and Safmarine, can launch an unprecedented marketing effort abroad.



Multimillion rand "spectaculars", such as the boxing, golf, tennis and entertainment seen in recent years at Sun City, could become even more frequent and audacious in future as the new, stronger group attempts to grab world attention.

The new company will be able to

offer globe-trotting variety of casino weather, better rate accommodation prices.

One reason it is ready to have a two-South Africa

If Mr Kerzner's way, they hope to bargain in the

Safmarine hotel on a casino and, Marmion vice between

# Delegates slam new constitution at UDF rally

By BRIAN POTTINGER and SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

THE United Democratic Front was launched yesterday on a wave of enthusiasm at a mass rally in Cape Town which attracted between five and 6 000 people of all races from throughout the country.

The rally, one of the largest nonracial anti-Government congresses in years, heralds the beginning of a major campaign to smash the Government's constitutional proposals.

More than 600 delegates, representing 400 organisations, adopted a series of resolutions condemning the proposed new constitution, the "Koornhof Bills", "imperialism" and "economic exploitation".

The conference adopted a declaration pledging itself to fight for a united, nonracial, unfragmented South Africa based on the will of the people and promised united action against apartheid and economic exploitation.

It committed itself to mobilising all community workers, students, women, religious and sporting organisations under the UDF

banner, and to educate people about the dangers in the constitution.

Other resolutions slammed cornerstones of the apartheid society such as group areas and removals. One resolution attacked the alleged continuing use of force by the Government to crush resistance.

## Detainees

The conference nominated ANC leader Nelson Mandela, banned theologian Beyers Naude, civil rights activist Helen Joseph, and a number of Robben Island detainees and banned people as patrons of the UDF.

Messages of support from foreign labour organisations, Scandinavian church groups

and Swapo were also read out at the meeting.

In a well-received keynote speech at the rally after the closed session, Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Council of Reform Churches, said the historic meeting was telling South Africa and the world: "We are struggling for our human dignity and for the future of our children — we shall never give up."

"In a sense, the formation of the UDF both highlights and symbolises the crisis apartheid and its supporters have created for themselves.

"After a history of some 331 years of slavery, racial discrimination, dehumanisation and economic exploitation, what they expected was acceptance of the status quo, docility and subservience.

"Instead, they are finding a people refusing to accept racial injustice and ready to face the challenges of the moment."

Dr Boesak rejected the Government's constitutional proposals as inadequate and warned against anti-white racism in the fight against the constitution. The struggle was also against "those in the black community who, through their collaboration, sought to give credibility to the plans".

Apartheid, he said, was a cancer in the body politic of the world, a scourge in South African society and an everlasting shame to the church.

# Mandela campaign

21/8/83  
'sabotaged' ~~SE~~ (11A)  
*city press*

**BLACK** leaders have accused the University of Natal of trying to sabotage the appointment of jailed African National Congress ANC leader Nelson Mandela as chancellor.

They were reacting to the decision by the principal, Professor N D Clarence, not to accept a letter of acceptance from Mandela to Professor Fatima Meer,

Prof Clarence said he required a personal letter from Mandela himself.

The president of the Release Mandela Committee, Archie Gumede, told our Durban correspondent he could not understand Prof Clarence's attitude.

"He is standing on ceremony," Mr Gumede said.

Mr Mewa Ramgobin, recently unbanned after 17 years, said: "Even when in jail Mandela is not only feared by the authorities but also by the academic world," he said.

The university's registrar, Mr A Skinner has meanwhile said he had written to Mandela at Pollsmoor prison more than a month ago, but had not yet received a reply.



*Veteran political campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph with Mr MK Malefane, member of the OFS executive, at the national launching of the UDF yesterday*

# Mass rally in Cape commits itself to freedom

By PETER MANN and YOGIN DEVAN

CAPE TOWN: A huge multiracial organisation opposing the Government was launched by 7 000 cheering people here last night.

The United Democratic Front has brought together more than 400 organisations pledged to fight the National Party's constitutional proposals and Dr Piet Koornhof's bills affecting black people.

Among its patrons are Nelson Mandela, Mrs Helen Joseph, Hassan Howa, Walter Sisulu, the Rev Beyers Naude, Dennis Goldberg, and Mrs Florence Mkhize.

The organisation is headed by three national presidents. They are Oscar Mpetha, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Durban attorney Mr Archie Gumede.

The UDF was spawned by a call for unity by Dr Allan Boesak in January when it appeared the Labour Party and SAIC were going to co-operate with the Government.

The congress declared: "We, the freedom loving people of South Africa, say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people.

"In our march to a free and just South Africa, we stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country."

It also declared rejection of the constitution bill because "it will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth."

Police in plain clothes kept a watchful eye on the proceedings but uniformed police were absent. On the eve of the congress there were attempts to disrupt

the meeting when hoax pamphlets appeared on the streets of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, saying that the meeting had been postponed.

The movement is well organised and yesterday's congress mingled people of all races in the spirit of their common commitment to freedom.

The UDF will face its first test when member bodies take a stand on participation in elections for the proposed tricameral Parliament.

Although many whites attended as delegates only those involved in "extra-parliamentary" organisations such as Nusas and the Black Sash were welcome. Their presence conflicts with the stand taken by the black consciousness movement, National Forum, which regards all whites as oppressors.

In the main address at the rally, Dr Boesak described the UDF as the "broadest and most significant coalition of groups struggling against apartheid, racism and injustice since the early '50s."

On the question of blacks and whites working together in the UDF he said: "We must not allow our anger for apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred of all white people."

The thousands that turned out at the rally did so in spite of a blanket ban on publicity by the Government-controlled SABC.

There was a large contingent of international radio, television, and newspaper journalists.

S Tribune

(11A)

(229)

death threats

# Boesak gets c



Dr Allan Boesak

By LEON BEKKER

DR ALLAN Boesak, prominent Cape churchman and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, has been receiving death threats at the rate of two or three a day since his return from the World Council of Churches assembly in Vancouver.

## Justin Sw away from

### UDF a massive anti Government grouping

Tribune Correspondents

THE constitutional proposals have already produced two setbacks for the Government — they have reinforced the rightwing white backlash and have rallied the forces of the left.

This second effect has already produced the biggest alliance of anti-Government groups since the Congress movement in the Fifties.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), to be launched at a national level at Mitchell's Plain today, owes its existence to the Government's reform initiatives as well as to the proposed new dispensation for urban blacks, popularly known as the Koornhof Bills.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, provided the spark for the new movement on January 23 this year when he called for unity and joint action against the constitutional plans.

In less than seven months since this call, the UDF has developed into a well-organised umbrella organisation for about 400 groups from civic bodies and trade unions to women's, student, traders and religious organisations.

The UDF has developed a reputation for efficiency in contrast to haphazard organisation that marked earlier popular organisations.

One reason for the UDF success is its skill in juggling the various elements accommodated within it. Any grouping that includes a traders' organisation and trade unions must be diplomatic.

It has achieved this so far by refraining from becoming a single cohesive political party with a clear ideological platform.

Depending on who you speak to, the number of people who are members of organisations already affiliated to the UDF total anything between a million and 1 500 000.

Whatever the real figure might be, the undeniable fact is that the UDF is not just large, but enormous.

It has more than 400 affiliated bodies, some of them in turn having hundreds of branches and sub-affiliates. They include most of the major organisations in the black, coloured and Asian communities, many multiracial bodies and even a few predominantly white groups.

The major industrial unions have so far not joined the UDF. Some are torn by ideological disputes between members who support the UDF's multiracial concept and those who support the black consciousness ideal of the rival but infinitely smaller National Forum. Others have given their public support but wish to concentrate their energy on uniting the trade union movement.

Yet some significant unions have joined officially.

They include the Council of Unions of South Africa, which claims 50 000 paid up members; the South African Allied Workers' Union, which has an estimated 60 000 members, and the Municipal and General Workers' Union, which almost paralysed Johannesburg with a strike two years ago.

Among the mainly white groups linked to the UDF are Nusas and the Black Sash, though the UDF gains much of its multiracial character from the many multiracial bodies — notably church bodies — which have joined.

Dr Boesak was also warned this week not to address yesterday's United Democratic Front meeting in Cape Town and advised to get a bodyguard.

"These calls are not new. I have been getting them for some time but since returning from Canada there have been a lot more than usual and they have also been especially vicious," he said.

A new element is that the anonymous callers have been directing threats against his family.

Callers have also been phoning his mother, who is nearly 70, and making sinister threats.

Dr Boesak said his statement on South Africa and racism at the WCC assembly had obviously riled certain people and his decision to participate in the UDF effort was another element which seemed to motivate the callers who usually accuse him of being a communist and warn him to stop his activities.

Almost all the callers had "thick Afrikaans accents," he said. One call this week was obviously from a coloured person.

One particularly bad evening this week he was forced to disconnect his telephone to get some peace.

Dr Boesak said he had learnt to accept the calls and was "certainly not going to be put off" by them.

"I firmly believe I must do what I must do and my life is in the hands of God," he said.

He confirmed he had spoken publicly about the matter to his congregation and had received their heart-warming support.



WINNER... Cured cancer sufferer from proud mum Mrs Maureen Swain raising marathon from Cape



# THEY CARRIED IT IN THE MIDDLE



## in the debate on the right to human rights

TWIN political debates — separated geographically by 40km and ideologically by light years — played themselves out in Cape Town this week.

In Parliament the Government rejected a bid by the Opposition for a Bill of Rights to be entrenched in the proposed constitution.

At Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town, 400 community organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front were to meet this weekend to thrash out their own declaration of rights.

The events neatly reflected the influence of forces ranged against the proposed constitution. Even one neatly did it reveal the divide in the strategies of those forces.

While the PFP fought from within for a softening of provisions of the institution, the UDF mobilised men without for a total rejection of

One spoke for a section of the en-archised in the parliamentary idiom, the other spoke for the disen-archised in the idiom of the upfloor, the township hall and the mass rally. In the event both have encountered the same response from the government — rejection.



By BRIAN POTTINGER

The PFP lost immediately by an overwhelming "no" vote in Parliament and the UDF more diffusely by the very nature of the constitution the Government is plotting through Parliament.

### 'Impossible'

The PFP proposal, discussed exhaustively this week, called for a Bill of Rights to guarantee freedom of conscience, opinion, association, peaceful assembly and movement.

It also sought to guarantee the freedom to pursue a livelihood, freedom from discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex or creed and from deprivation of life, liberty or property except in accordance

with the principles of fundamental justice.

Equal social and economic opportunities were also to be guaranteed.

The United Democratic Front delegates, meanwhile, were asked to approve a draft declaration that made clear South Africa belonged to all who lived in it, that the Government had to be based on the will of the people and that the people must govern themselves.

It also argued for a single South Africa, free from racial, ethnic and sexual divisions, free from economic exploitation and with a common citizenship for all.

Apart from problems with interpretation of "economic exploitation", the two declarations reveal substantial common ground over the outline, if not exactly the content, of a democratic future South Africa. But Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of

Constitutional Development, this week argued that in a heterogeneous underdeveloped or developing country like South Africa it was not possible to practise civil rights in the same way as was done in highly developed and homogeneous societies.

The PFP, he accused, could not get away from its liberal philosophy with its exaggerated emphasis on individual rights and freedoms.

Rights had to be protected not through the individual but through the group to which he was attached.

### Revealing

In a revealing statement the Nationalist MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, conceded that an acceptance of the Bill of Rights would require the recall of a vast body of legislation — a view obliquely endorsed by the New Republic Party who warned of "chaos" for the courts under present circumstances.

The standpoints are absolutely correct if one accepts the premise which accompanies them: that a large body of existing South African legislation does and will continue in the new constitution to contravene

what is generally accepted as civil and human rights.

A PFP-style Bill of Rights would spell the end of detention without trial, influx control, resettlement, extensive and unchallengeable ministerial powers, separate facilities or even separate chambers of Parliament.

Such a Bill, Minister Heunis argued for some justification, would entail a completely new constitution.

In a new constitution based on civil and human individual rights one can of course have a Bill of Rights.

In one based on compulsorily ascribed and mechanically protected group rights, one cannot. The NP, CP and NRP apparently had more ease in swallowing that than the PFP.

So what is the Government's alternative to the PFP's Bill of Rights and the UDF's declaration of rights? In the first place they argue that the very constitution they are in the process of passing through Parliament is an instrument for the protection of the individual's rights.

Whereas in the United States an Italo-American's rights are protected as an individual and through him the rights of all other Italo-Amer-



MR CHRIS HEUNIS No Bill of Rights

cans are secured, the proposed South African constitution starts from the other end of the equation.

The group to which the individual "belongs" is protected and thus, the argument runs, are all the individuals in the group.

The argument would be academic were it not for a salient point in South African politics. The vast majority of South Africans do not necessarily want to be compulsorily incorporated in a "group", particularly when the criterion is primarily colour and even more so when historical circumstances have ensured that now and for some considerable time to come

one's prospects are materially affected by the group to which one happens to be allotted.

So if one has objections to being assigned by law to a particular group one might have legitimate doubts about having to rely on membership of that group for protection of one's individual rights.

In the second place the Government benches argue many of the values implied by the PFP's Bill of Rights (and by extension the UDF's basic individual rights) are embodied in the proposed preamble to the constitution.

### Significant

The original preamble endorsed freedom of worship, Christian standards, independence of the judiciary and a furtherance of the material and spiritual welfare of all.

It also promised protection of human dignity, of the rights and freedoms of all and the respect and furtherance of the self-determination of peoples and of property.

A later amendment to the preamble added equality before the law as an element and replaced "rights and freedoms" with "life, freedom and

property." The proposed dropping of the word "rights" is perhaps significant.

The New Republic Party wants to take it further. It has suggested the preamble specifically commit itself to freedom of speech, conscience and association.

It argues it should provide for the elimination of "inequitable" forms of statutory and administrative discrimination based on race, religion or sex.

The problem with this is that the terms of the preamble cannot be translated into concrete judicial protection of the individual as can be done through a Bill of Rights enforced through the courts. The one trades on intentions to achieve its end and the other opts for hard judicial interpretations to ensure it.

The issue of a Bill of Rights is not dead. Not when one considers the wholesale scepticism about the Government's constitutional "intentions" revealed by the delegate bodies to the UDF rally, the Labour Party's expressions of dismay at the Government's refusal to include a Bill of Rights and the PFP's firm commitment to one.

Rather, this week's debates were simply an instalment.

11A  
City Press  
21/8/83

# Azapo—UDF hold talks

CP Correspondent

THE Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front are holding talks in the Transvaal — despite the previous hostility between the two organisations.

This was revealed in Cape Town this week by one of the UDF's Western Cape secretaries, Mr Trevor

Manuel.

He said this when asked at a Press conference about relationships between the UDF and the National Forum.

"We have given formal invitations to the people who attended the National Forum meeting to

join UDF and attend our rally," Mr Manuel said.

In the Transvaal, some of the people who attended the National Forum meeting had joined the UDF.

"But we are still awaiting replies in Cape Town," he said.

Mr Manuel also said the UDF and the National Forum had different purposes.

"The UDF had been formed to fight the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills, while the National Forum would provide a platform for discussions on an annual basis.

It was also pointed out that the UDF was "not in any way a political party".

"Here is a front specifically to attack the PC proposals," a spokesman said.

Because the UDF was not a political party it had not endorsed the Freedom Charter.

"There are groups in the UDF who do not subscribe to the Freedom Charter," he said.

"It is not an issue at this stage. The UDF is not called upon to pronounce on the Freedom Charter."

gather to reject yet another onslaught by this apartheid regime on the majority of the people," UDF said.

Delegates will meet on Saturday and Sunday in closed session to adopt a national declaration, elect office-bearers, including a national president, and adopt a programme of action.

Speakers at the rally will include Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches; Mr Thozamile Gqweta president of the SA Allied Workers Union; and Mrs Helen Joseph, former secretary-general of the SA Women's Federation.

Cape Town had been chosen for the national launch to coincide with the special sitting of Parliament to pass the constitution Bill, UDF said.

## HUGE CROWD EXPECTED

A SPECTACULAR national launch of the United Democratic Front has been planned in Cape Town over the weekend.

Organisers expect 400 organisations to be represented at the UDF's first national congress.

"We expect about 15 buses to bring more than 1 000 delegates from organisations from the Transvaal, Natal, Eastern Cape, Free State and South Western Cape," UDF said in a Press statement this week.

A national rally on Saturday evening is expected to draw about 4 000 people to the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain.

"It will be the first time in more than 20 years that so many democratic organisations representing such a broad spectrum of South African society will

# LOOK

Simon Mkalipi

VETERAN I



FORMER Treason Trialist Mr Simon Pakama Mkalipi, 70, who has been blind since 1958, will lead a strong Eastern Province delegation at the historic UDF meeting in Cape Town tomorrow.

Mr Mkalipi, a father of two and totally blind for the past 25 years, was active in the events of 1952 that swept South Africa like wild-fire.

People of all races participated in the Defiance Campaign that made the ANC a household name all over the world.

He was served with a five year banning order in 1963 by the then Minister of Justice, Mr B J Voster. He has been listed ever since.

An old activist of the ANC, Mr Mkalipi has been in and out of jail for his political convictions since the early 50's.

He led several marches in protest against

the Pass laws and segregation. He was jailed for leading a procession from Korsten to hear the late Chief Albert Luthuli in New Brighton

He defied an order to attend a prayer meeting in Grahamstown and for this he was sentenced to eight months in pri-

son. In 1956 he was arrested with 154 others and was later charged for high treason

As chairman of the Korsten branch of the ANC he was present in Kliptown when the Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter.

# WHO'S BACK UP FRONT!

ABOUT 5 000 people from all over the country are expected at the national launching of the UDF in Cape Town tomorrow - and among them will be some surviving pioneers from 1955's Congress of the People.

Some of the originators who drew up the Freedom Charter at that meeting are languishing in jail, others have died.

But Frances Baard (now in her 80's), Archie Gumede and Simon Mkalipi are among those who've survived suc-

cessive bannings and detentions to make a comeback.

The conference and people's rally, due to formulate a programme of action against, among others, the Government's new constitution plan and the "Koor-

hof Bills" could revive the old Congress.

About 4 000 people are expected to attend the national rally tomorrow evening at the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain.

## VETERAN II

## Archie Gumede

SIXTY NINE - YEAR-OLD Archie Gumede, leader of the United Democratic Front in Natal, could have been a kingpin in KwaZulu today if he had taken up an offer made to him while he was held under the 90 day detention law in 1963.

A senior security policeman came up to him at the Pietermaritzburg Police Station, where he was being held, and said: "Now, Mr Gumede, why don't you behave and be a good chap like Matanzima. We could make you a big deal in KwaZulu if you cooperate."

But Mr Gumede politely turned down the offer.

Today, 20 years later, he is still fighting apartheid despite many years of detentions, bannings and house arrests.

Mr Gumede is also president of the Release Mandela Committee, founder member of the Ukusa community newspaper and member of the Joint Commuters' Committee.

The father of seven children he's had to pay a heavy price for refusing that offer from the security policeman.

Immediately after he was released, he was served with a five-year banning order and restricted to the district of Maritzburg.

He was closely associated with the African National Congress and the Pan-



Africanist Congress before they were banned in 1960.

His father, Josiah T Gumede, was one of the founder members of the ANC in the 20s.

Josiah was also a member of the five-man delegation that went to London to protest against the 1913 Land Act to Britain.

In 1927, his father attended the conference of the League Against Imperialism in Moscow, where he met Pundit Nehru of India and President Kwama Nkrumah of Ghana.

In 1943, Archie Gumede became assistant branch secretary of the ANC in Maritzburg.

Together with prominent Indian leader, Mr S B Mungai, Mr Gumede launched the

Defiance Campaign in Maritzburg and other parts of Natal in 1953.

And in 1956 he was one of the delegates to the Peoples Conference in Kliptown where the famous Freedom Charter was formulated.

He was arrested in the same year, along with 154 other political leaders, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Karhadrada and Raymond Mhlaba, and charged with high treason.

He was acquitted mid-way through the trial.

When his first banning order expired in 1968 he was re-banned for another two years.

He qualified as a lawyer during this period.

## VETERAN III

## Frances Baard

FRANCES Baard, 81, a former general secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers Union and activist of the 50's and 60's, has joined the United Democratic Front.

She accepted an executive post in the Transvaal branch of the UDF over the weekend.

Ms Baard is the third woman on the UDF executive. The other two are Rita Ndzanga, GAWU trade union official and political activist of the 50's, and Albertina Sisulu, Transvaal president in detention.

She likened the formation of the UDF with the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1956. "It reminds me of the good old days," she beamed in an interview.

Her record includes participation in the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the boycott of Bantu Education in 1955, and organising for the potato boycott in response to low wages for farm workers in the Bethal area.

In 1956, she was arrested, charged and subsequently acquitted in the marathon Treason Trial.

She was detained in 1962 and banned in January, 1963. A few months later she was arrested and kept in solitary confinement for a year. She was not even allowed a Bible - "My spirit was my survival," she

recalled.

In her subsequent trial she was sentenced to five years imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act. On her release, she returned to Port Elizabeth to find her house and belongings sold and her family evicted.

Frances was banished to Mabopane in Bophuthatswana in 1969.

"When I think of what this system has done I want to cry," she says.

active in the community to which she has been banished and has given her support and energy to the Winterveld Action Committee.

For Ms Baard the Cape Town gathering tomorrow will be a special reunion with one of her closest allies, "one of my boys", veteran Oscar Mpetsha, Cape president of the UDF.



17665 22/8/83

# UDF's area bodies to finalise plan

Staff Reporter

REGIONAL committees of the newly-formed United Democratic Front will meet to finalise a plan of action, Western Cape secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, said today.

He said the UDF could not release details of a "plan of action" until area committees all over the country had met to discuss the matter.

UDF organisers have previously emphasised that the body — an alliance of about 400 organisations — has a decentralised structure with regions, having a significant degree of autonomy.

At a Press conference last week, Mr Andrew Boraine, a UDF national executive member, said each region would take up issues which were of immediate local importance as part of the campaign against the constitutional proposals.

● See Pages 3 and 4.

ARGUS 22/8/83 (11A)

# Tough task for the crowd marshals at Plain rally

**Staff Reporters**  
**MARSHALS** at Saturday's rally of the United Democratic Front feared the crowds outside the hall could be contravening the Internal Security Act and the ban on outdoor meetings.

They urged the crowds to move closer to the buildings to avoid confrontation with the police.

There was constant police surveillance.

Earlier in the afternoon a UDF legal team visited police headquarters at Mitchell's Plain after receiving reports that 14 truckloads of riot police were on hand.

However, the police gave no guarantees, the organisers said.

## **WALKIE-TALKIES**

Worried UDF marshals, communicating by walkie-talkie, kept a tight reign on the situation by moving crowds from nearby roads into the area immediately adjacent to Rocklands Civic Centre.

Their efforts were hampered by unknown radio operators who tuned into the frequency

used by the UDF walkie-talkies.

UDF communications were jammed periodically as the anonymous operators broadcast obscenities.

Happily for the marshals, the crowds outside listening to proceedings from inside, broadcast over loudspeakers, behaved well and the fear of police intervention proved unfounded.

## **ON RAFTERS**

So packed was the hall of the civic centre that people sat on the rafters and occupied every ledge.

The meeting was delayed as organisers appealed to them to abandon their perches because they were endangering electrical installations.

But so great was the crush that the UDF enthusiasts soon resumed their perilous vantage points.

The electrical system cut out several times.

When this happened community singing and chanting replaced the speeches, which resumed when power was restored.

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## Messages of support pour in at launching

### Staff Reporters

MESSAGES of support and solidarity from all over the world poured in to the first national meeting of the United Democratic Front.

Local and international Christian, labour and anti-apartheid organisations have lent their voices to the campaign against the Government's proposed constitution and have given support to the broad-based non-racial alliance.

### APPLAUSE

A message of support from the South West African Peoples' Organisation (Swapo) was greeted with tumultuous applause at the UDF launching on Saturday.

Bodies in Norway, the Netherlands, Denmark and Ireland, and the South African Council of Churches also sent messages.

The General Workers' Union and the Food and Canning Workers' Union, two of the largest independent trade unions in South Africa, which have not yet joined the UDF, also sent messages of support.

### LETTER

In a letter to the president of the UDF, the GWU said it had "since its inception fought for a free and democratic South Africa.

"To this end we are fighting the Koornhof and Constitutional Bills and we will stand side by side with any organisation committed to the struggle for democracy."

The message from the Food and Canning Workers' Union stated they shared the UDF's commitment to a democratic South Africa.

# Quit backing CASE TINKS 7/10/83 govt, US told

THE United Democratic Front has demanded an immediate end to United States and British support for the South African Government, rejecting the policy of "constructive engagement".

In a resolution passed at the UDF's weekend conference in Mitchells Plain, delegates noted with concern foreign support for the South African constitutional proposals.

The UDF believed the support was to protect economic interests in South Africa at the expense of its people.

It criticized United States intervention in Central America and in Palestine.

In another resolution passed at the conference, the UDF called on all women to bring their organizations into the UDF in the common struggle against sex, race, and class discrimination.

## 'Divisions'

The UDF said that many of the country's finest and bravest women had been forced into

exile "by the apartheid system", which thrived on creating divisions between men and women with inequality before law, unequal wages and conditions of employment, and the application of removals and pass laws.

"We believe:

● "That the goal of full recognition of all women; of freedom, happiness, and security for our children cannot be achieved in the present political and economic climate.

## Full rights

● "That oppression in South Africa cannot be wholly removed without removing the oppression of women."

The UDF also called for full rights for workers and the scrapping of influx controls. It called on communities to actively resist resettlement and to continue to fight for cheap basic food and other essentials.

The UDF also resolved not to be deterred by State harassment and repression.

UDF rejects Govt's 'reform' plan

# Major black alliance is launched

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Correspondent

11A RDM  
22/8/83

CAPE TOWN

CAPE TOWN — The Government's constitutional reform plan suffered another serious setback at the weekend when a nonracial opposition grouping — the United Democratic Front — was formed in Cape Town with the claimed backing of 400 organisations throughout the country.

An estimated 6 000 people braved bitterly cold winter weather and crammed into a community hall and a huge tent in the coloured suburb of Mitchells Plain to hear a team of high profile speakers urge the rejection of the proposed new constitution.

The launch of the UDF represents the broadest alliance of anti-Government groups since the congress movement of the 1950s.

Observers believe it has the potential to become the most significant extra-parliamentary opposition group in the country — particularly if the Government goes ahead with referendums on the new constitution for coloureds and Asians.

Its backers, including the SA Council of Churches, the South African Workers' Union, the Council of Unions of South Africa and scores of community, sports, cultural, church, political, and student organisations, have given the UDF the potential support of upwards of 1-million people.

Its major concern is now clearly to organise at grassroots level and transform the euphoric support at Saturday's launch into commitment to its long term goal — a country united under a single, politically equal system.

The new national executive met for the first time in Cape Town yesterday to formulate a programme of action, details of which will be released later.

Patrons under which the UDF was formed include some of South Africa's foremost civil rights campaigners, among them the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela; Mrs Helen Joseph; Dr Essop Jassat; Mr Dennis Goldberg; Mr Hassan Howa; Dr Allan Boesak and Dr Beyers Naude.

The three national presidents elected at a congress held before the mass rally — Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Archie Gumede, and Mr Oscar Mpetha — are also veterans of the civil rights campaigns of the fifties.

A declaration adopted by the congress committed the UDF to work for "a single, nonracial, unfragmented South Africa ... free of bantustans and group areas".

In an address to the rally Dr Boesak said: "I believe we are standing at the birth of what

could become the greatest and most significant people's movement in more than a quarter of a century."

In a sense the formation of the UDF highlighted and symbolised the "crisis" apartheid and its supporters had created for themselves. In spite of more than 300 years of white domination people were still not prepared to accept racial injustice and were ready to face the challenges of the moment, he said.

The time had come for white South Africans to realise that their future was "inextricably bound" with the destiny of other South Africans.

A recurring theme of the meeting — the need to accommodate all groups, including whites, sympathetic to the ideals of political equality — was stressed by Dr Boesak.

"... We must not allow our anger for apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred of all white people," he said.

There was a need to reconcile blacks and whites and acknowledge that "the quality for our struggle for liberation cannot be determined by the colour of one's skin, but rather by the quality of one's commitment to justice, peace and human liberation".

Dr Boesak's comment, and those of other speakers along similar lines, were seen as a reference to the National Forum, a recently formed, black consciousness-oriented grouping, which does not see a role at this stage for whites in the "liberation struggle".  
Police kept a low profile throughout the meeting. UDF organisers claimed they were warned to ensure that all supporters were indoors — or face action for an illegal gathering.



# Huge crowd at UDF launch

THE FORMATION of the United Democratic Front (UDF) highlights the crisis that apartheid and its supporters have created for themselves, Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches told the UDF rally in Cape Town this weekend.

The launching, held at the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town, was attended by more than 12 000 people, making it one of the biggest political rallies since the Congress of the People held in Kliptown in 1955.

Although the organisers had expected the rally to be a success, the massive turnout from throughout the country was beyond their expectations.

The crowd swelled steadily from 9 am and when the emotional rally ended in a frenzied mood of speeches and songs, more than 12 000 people were jampacked into the main hall and adjoining tents with a massive television screen.

Dr Boesak said people had reached a stage where they did not beg for their rights but claimed them.

After the repressive measures of the 1960's the Government had expected the people to be immobilised by fear. "Instead they find a rising tide of political and human consciousness that swept away complacency and shook South Africa to its very foundation," Dr Boesak said.

Dr Boesak said blacks should not allow their anger at apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred of all white people. "Let us not build our struggle upon hatred and hopes for simple revenge. The nature and quality of our struggle for liberation cannot be determined by the colour of one's skin but rather by the quality of one's commitment to justice, peace and human liberation," he said to a tumultuous

By ZWELAKHE SISULU

roar from the crowd.

Three presidents were elected: Mr Oscar, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede. Mr Popo Molefe was elected national secretary and Mr Mosioa "Terror" Lekota publicity secretary.

The organisation's patrons include: Nelson Mandela, Mrs Martha Mahlangu, mother of Solomon Mahlangu, Hassan Howa and all prisoners sentenced to life imprisonment under the security laws.

Messages of support were received, including those from Swapo; Bishop Desmond Tutu and various international organisations.

The speakers at the rally included Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Committee, Helen Joseph, Mr Samson Ndou of the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu), Mrs Francis Baard and Sheik Gamiet Gadier, chairman of the Muslim Judicial Council.

Mr Ndou said the unrest of 1976 marked a point of no return and had left a memory in the minds of freedom-loving people which could never be erased.

The organisation condemned the support that the United States and Britain gave to South Africa. "We demand the immediate end to the United States and British Government's support for the South African Government and we reject the policy of constructive engagement."

The UDF said it did not purport to be a substitute movement to accredited people's liberation movements.

A declaration outlining the organisation's objectives was adopted and this read in part: "We pledge to come together in this UDF and fight side by side against the Government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills."

Various resolutions on the Group Areas Act, housing, cost of living, and education were passed.

by CHRIS FREIMOND

Political Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN. — The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, was the main speaker at the national launch of the United Democratic Front in Cape Town at the weekend. Here is an edited version of his address.

"We have arrived at an historic moment. We have brought together under the aegis of the United Democratic Front the broadest and most significant coalition of groups and organisations struggling against apartheid, racism and injustice since the early 1950s

"We are here to say that the Government's constitutional proposals are inadequate and that they do not express the will of the vast majority of South Africa's people.

"But more than that, we are to say that what we are working for is one, undivided South Africa which will belong to all of its people, an open democracy from which no single South African will be excluded.

"In recent weeks people have asked me with greater urgency than before: 'Why do you not see the positive side of apartheid?'

"Now when you are white, your children's education is guaranteed and paid for by the State, when your job is secure and blacks are prevented from being too much competition; when your home has never been taken away and the citizenship of the country of your birth is not in danger, when your children don't have to die of hunger and malnutrition and when your over-privileged position is guaranteed by security laws and the best

# Nothing's positive in apartheid, says Boesak

equipped army on the continent — then I can understand why some people believe that apartheid has its positive side.

"But for those of us who are black and who suffer under this system, there is no positive side. How can we see something positive in a system which is built on oppression, injustice and exploitation?"

"What is positive about a system which destroys, systematically and by design, the human dignity of people.

"How can apartheid be positive when in the name of Christianity it spawns policies which cause little children to die of hunger and malnutrition, which break up black family life, which spell out a continuous hopeless death for millions of black people?"

"But we must also ask the question: What is positive about the Government's constitutional proposals?"

"In order that there should be no misunderstanding, let me repeat the reasons why we reject these proposals.

"Racism, so embedded in South African society, is once again written into the constitution.

"All the basic laws, those laws which are the very pillars of apartheid — mixed marriages, group areas, racial classification, separate and unequal education — remain untouched and unchanged.

"The homelands policy, which is surely the most immoral and objectionable aspect of the apartheid policies of the Government, forms the basis of the wilful exclusion of 80% of our nation from the new political deal.

"Clearly the oppression will continue, the brutal break up of family life will not end. The apartheid line is not at all abolished.

"So while the proposals may mean something for those middle class blacks who think that the improvement of their own economic position is the highest good, it will not bring any significant changes to the life of those who have no rights at all, who must languish in the poverty and utter destitution of the homelands, and who are forbidden by law to live together as families in what is called 'white South Africa'.

"To be sure, the new proposals will make apartheid less blatant in some ways. It will be modernised and streamlined, and in its new multi-coloured cloak it will be less conspicuous and less offensive to some.

"Nonetheless it will still be there. And we must remember, apartheid is a thoroughly evil system and as such it cannot be modified, modernised or streamlined ...

"We shall not be satisfied as long as those who rule us are not inspired by justice, but dictated by fear, greed and racialism.

"We shall not be satisfied until South Africa is once again one undivided country, a democracy where there shall be meaningful participation in a democratic process of a government for all our people.

"We must turn to one other important question, namely the question of whites and blacks working together.

"This has been mentioned as a reason why the UDF has been so severely attacked by some and why they have refused to give their co-operation.

"They are saying to us that white people cannot play a meaningful role in the struggle for justice in this country because they are always by definition the oppressor.



Dr ALLAN BOESAK  
Proposals inadequate

"I would like to say to those who think this way that I can understand the way they feel. We have seen with our own eyes brutalisation of our people at the hands of whites.

"But it is not true that apartheid has the support of all white people. There are those who have struggled with us, who have gone to jail, who have been tortured and banned, there are those who have died in the struggle for justice ...

"The struggle is not only against the white government and their plans, but also against those in the black community who through their collaboration seek to give credibility to these (constitutional) plans.

"This country is our country, and its future is not safe

in the hands of people who despise democracy and trample on the rights of people, whether they be black or white.

"We want all our rights, we want them here and we want them now. We have been waiting so long, we have been struggling so long. We have pleaded, cried, petitioned too long now. We have been jailed, exiled, killed for too long. Now is the time."

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, declined to comment yesterday.

But the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said he believed the UDF was a "very important and significant development" which the Government would ignore "at its and South Africa's peril".

# ANC claims responsibility for limpet mine explosion at Ciskei Consul's offices

11A  
K/E ARGAS  
27/8/83

# CARLTON BLAST RUSSIAN BOMB

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has claimed responsibility for the explosion which ravaged the sixth floor of the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg.

The blast was caused by a Russian-type limpet mine, similar to those used in other blasts organised by the ANC. Major-General F M A Steenkamp, head of the Security Police, said in Johannesburg today.

The Lusaka office of the ANC said the statement claiming responsibility for the blast came from Mr Zola Skweyiya, the chief ANC representative in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

General Steenkamp said police investigations indicated there had only been one explosion.

Mr Samuel Majlangu, the only person injured, was walking in Von Weilligh Street at about 6.50 pm yesterday when the blast occurred. He had face and leg injuries caused by flying glass and was taken to hospital where he was treated and discharged.

The mine, which had a timing device, was placed in a wastepaper basket in the passage at the entrance to the offices of the Consul General of the Ciskei. General Steenkamp said.

He said he was not prepared to comment about the possibility of a link between the explosion and recent political events in Ciskei as "police investigations are still under way and any comment would only be speculation at this stage."

The Ciskei Government had been informed about the explosion and the damage to the offices of the Consul General "in the normal course of events", he said.

General Steenkamp said it was fortunate the windows of the 50-storey building were made of a safety-type glass which did not splinter otherwise injuries could have been far more serious.

He said the damage "looks extensive, but the walls are partitions as found in most modern buildings and the ceiling is of a type that does not need tremendous disturbance to cause damage".

Asked his opinion of security arrangements at the Carlton Centre, he said: "Speaking as a private person and on the experience of my visits here in that capacity, the arrangements are excellent."

"We live and learn and we hope that something has been learnt here. My advice to all is to be conscious of the possibility of an attack of this nature and to be alert for it."

Asked about reports that there had been two (Turn to Page 3, col 9)

**Carlton blast**  
ARGAS 27/8/83  
(Contd from Page 1)

explosions, General Steenkamp said police inquiries indicated there had only been one.

"You often get reports about two or more explosions when, in fact, there has only been one. The reports are made in good faith, but more often than not those making them have heard an echo or echoes of the one explosion."

A limpet mine, he said, contained about 1 kg of a "military-type explosive".

The timing device attached to it could be set to go off at anytime between five minutes and 30 days, he said.

## Second blast

This was the second explosion at Carlton Centre. The other was in November 1977 when a time bomb exploded in the central shopping area and two people were injured by flying glass.

General Steenkamp spoke to journalists at a conference in an office on the sixth floor of the building and later accompanied them on a tour of the damaged area.

The premises of virtually all 11 occupants of offices on the floor had some damage.

# 'Little words' show UDF spirit



MR Archie Gumede, 70, gives a clenched fist salute after being elected one of three presidents of the United Democratic Front. Mr Gumede, son of a former president of the banned African National Congress, is the only active president of the new organisation.

## Staff Reporters

THREE "little words" were coined at the launching of the United Democratic Front to express the spirit of the occasion — All ... Here ... and Now.

They were coined by Dr Allan Boesak, the main speaker at the national launching of the UDF in Mitchell's Plain on Saturday.

"We want ALL of our rights, we want them HERE and we want them NOW.

"We have been waiting so long, we have been struggling so long. We have pleaded, cried, petitioned too long now. We have been jailed, exiled, killed for too long. Now is the time," Dr Boesak said to applause.

## Powerful mood

This summed up the powerful mood of the crowd estimated to be between 7 000 and 12 000.

"We are here to say that there are rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the State.

"You have to go back beyond the dim mist of eternity to understand their origin. They are God-given. And so we are here not to beg for those rights, we are here to claim them."

Although Dr Boesak is widely regarded as the inspiration behind the formation of the UDF, he has sought no official position. However, he was elected one of the Front's patrons and his address was one of the highlights of the 12-hour meeting.

The list of patrons includes jailed ANC leaders, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Dennis Goldberg.

It also included the first person to be house arrested in South Africa, Mrs Helen Joseph, who was described at the meeting as the "mother of the liberation struggle".

Mrs Joseph's speech to the rally was enthusiastically received. She may not be quoted as she is listed.

The meeting also responded to "fire-brand" speakers such as Mr Aubrey Mokwena, a UDF Transvaal executive member, who said: "Do not pray like missionaries who close their eyes when they pray, but rather like revolutionaries who pray with their eyes open."

A more mellow note was sounded by Congress Alliance veteran, Mr Archie Gumede, who was elected one of three national presidents of the UDF.

## "Slogans not enough"

"Slogans are not enough. Sweat and labour, careful thought and careful actions are needed," he said.

The system had many ways of provoking people and rash action played into the hands of the Government.

Impulsive action would have ill effects on the movement as would people who acted in isolation.

"We must avoid adventures and we must act consciously and with determination until we overcome."

The other national presidents elected were Mrs Albertina Sisulu — wife of political prisoner Walter Sisulu — and Mr Oscar Mpetha, veteran trade unionist and community leader. Mr Mpetha, now critically ill, was unable to attend.

## 400 affiliated bodies

While Mr Gumede is the only active president of the UDF, the Front has no predominant personalities because of its highly decentralised structure, including some 400 affiliated bodies.

Power is vested in regional committees with the emphasis on "democratic participation".

Throughout the day the focus was on non-racialism. Whites were urged to "join the struggle for justice and peace".

At one stage Dr Boesak said: "It is not true that apartheid has the support of all white people ... we must not allow our anger against apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred of all white people."

Apr 22/8/83

# MPs cautious on UDF as opponent of the Government

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — White politicians were cautious in their initial reactions today to the massive launch of the new United Democratic Front on Saturday. About 6 000 people attended the meeting.

Nationalist MPs said it was a movement that could not be ignored. One said that the support could grow in intensity and that it could place some of the Government's constitutional initiatives under tremendous pressure.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said it was early days to judge the potential of the multiracial UDF.

There was a great unity in opposition to the Government's constitutional proposals, but it remained to be seen whether this unity could be converted into a common programme of principles that would sustain grassroots enthusiasm.

At the same time he believed that the UDF was a very important and significant development which the Government would ignore at its own and South Africa's peril.

The quick and spontaneous mobilisation of the interests of close to a million people clearly demonstrated the gap in the country's political structures.

The formation of the UDF aggravated and compounded the crisis of legitimacy for the National Party's constitutional plan, Dr Slabbert said.

The UDF's three presidents are Mr Oscar Mpetha, the local community leader who was recently convicted of terrorism, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a black activist, and Natal's Mr Archie Gumede, leader of the Release Nelson Mandela Committee.

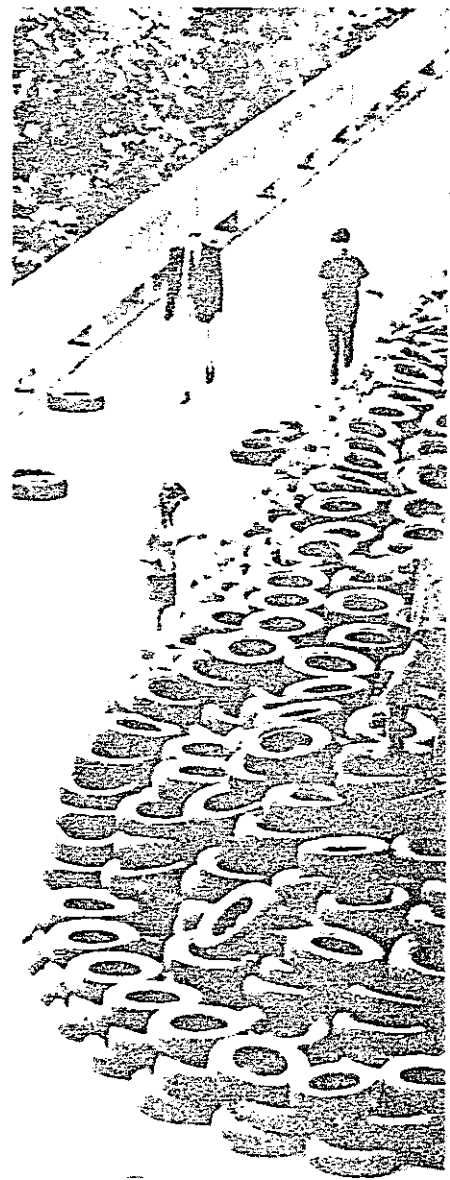
Elated with the weekend rally, the national executive has already begun planning a programme of action. A regional secretary, Ms Cheryl Carolus, said yesterday that details would not be released until all the UDF's regional structures had been set up "in the interests of democracy".

It was hoped to arrange a meeting with the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, who is to arrive in Cape Town today for talks on Namibia.

The UDF, an alliance of about 400 South African organisations, claims to represent about a million people. It received messages of solidarity from bodies throughout the world, including Swapo, which were read out at the rally at Mitchells Plain.

Supporters crammed into the Rocklands Civic Hall and an adjacent marquee to avoid contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act.

No incidents occurred other than the ejection of about six people wearing false UDF armbands who tried to get into the closed conference during the day, and the arrest of two UDF officials who were fined R50 for broadcasting from a van.



This sculpture of a submarine, on the way to completion last week, was made out of 5 000 car tyres. It caught fire outside London's Royal Festival Hall late last night. Police believe the fire may have been started deliberately. The tyres were put to

## Mauritian Berenger

The Star's Foreign News Service

PORT LOUIS — The Mauritian Opposition leader, Mr Paul Berenger, has lost his seat and the socialist alliance of Prime Minister Aneurood Jugnauth appears certain to have won the islands second general election in slightly more than a year.

With the majority of votes from yesterday's polling counted by lunchtime today, the alliance has won a clear majority of 38 of the elected parliamentary seats.

Mr Berenger's Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM) which broke from the governing coalition last March has won 22 seats with two more going to its ally on the island of Rodriguez.

Mr Berenger conceded defeat and said that his party would respect the result.

Mr Jugnauth appeared certain to retain his seat and the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Harish Boodhoo, was safe, officials said.

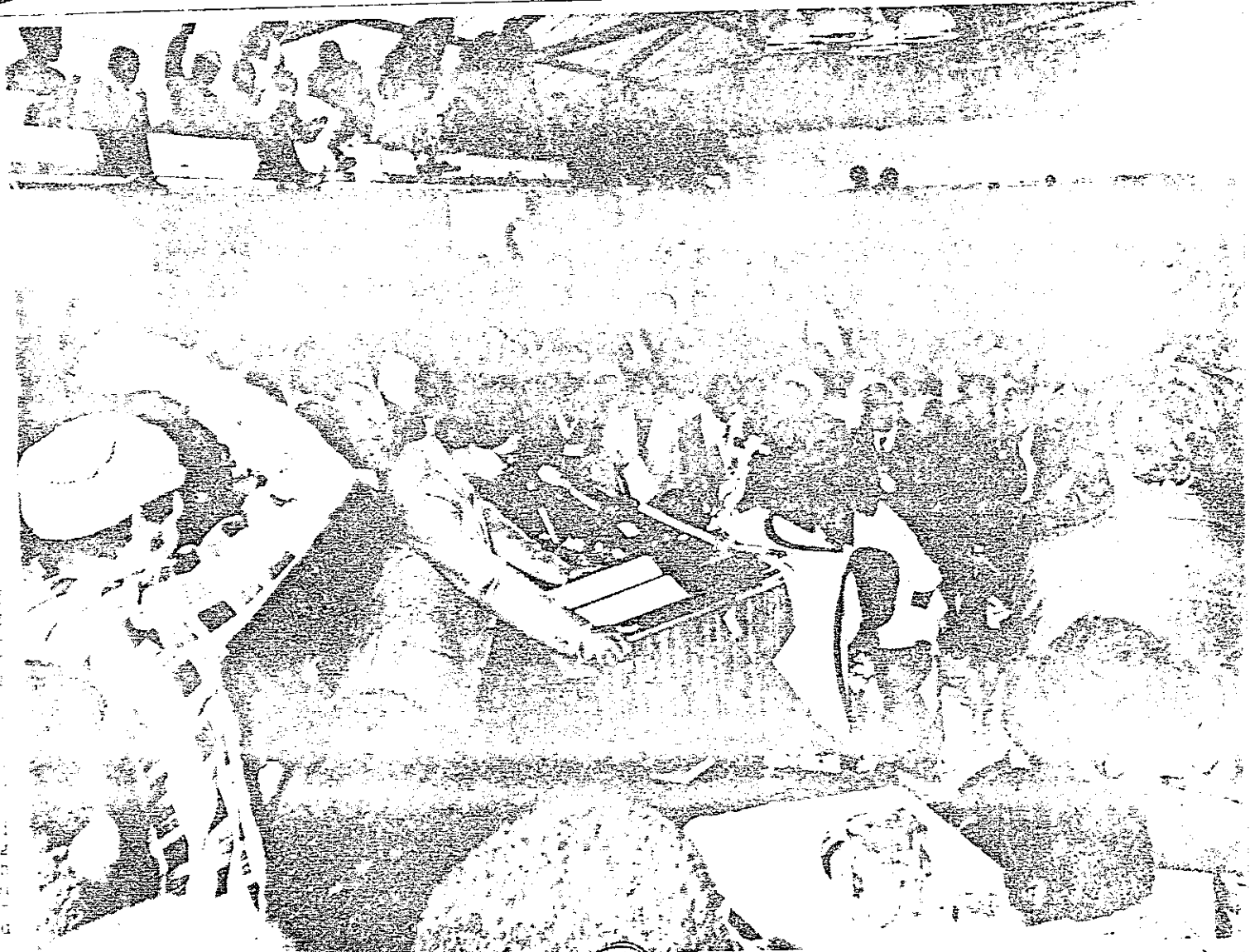
About 30 percent of voters went to the polls and the riots continued to rage overnight involving Mr Boodhoo.

The campaign, in which a few reported incidents on Saturday night with a shot had been fired at leaving a rally in the city. This was later denied.

The relatively peaceful election has been marked by its concern rather than on the real massive unemployment.

On a generally overcast day, the hundreds of stationers well organised with us in the nine languages of the country.

# French military presence largest since Algerian war



ARBUS 22/8/83 (11A)

THOUSANDS of people crammed into the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchell's Plain on Saturday to hear the speaker speak at the United Democratic Front meeting. (Reports and another picture, Page 4).

## 'Cautious' reaction to UDF

Political Staff

WHITE politicians were cautious in their initial reactions today to the massive launching of the new United Democratic Front on Saturday.

Nationalist MPs felt today that it was a movement that could not be ignored.

One said the support for the UDF could grow in intensity and that it could place some of the Government's constitutional initiatives under

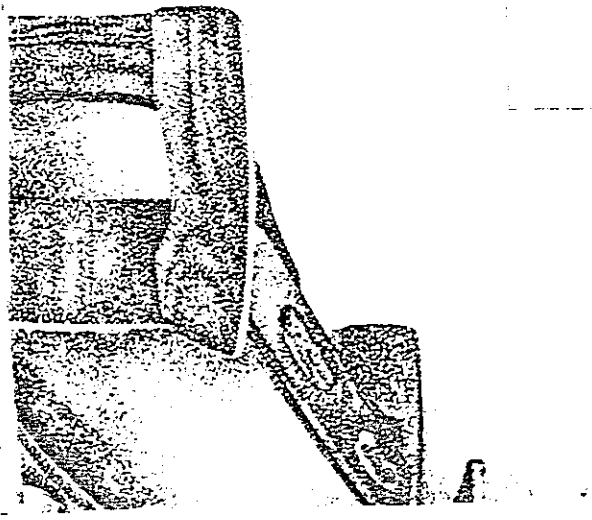
tremendous pressure. The leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said it was early days to judge the potential of a movement such as the UDF.

At the moment there was great unity in opposition to the proposals, he said, but it remained to be seen whether this unity could be converted into a common programme of principles that would sustain grass-roots enthusiasm.

The quick and spontaneous mobilisation of the interests of close to a million people clearly demonstrated the gap in the country's political structures, he said.

A major factor in this mobilisation was the Government's constitutional proposals.

The formation of the UDF aggravated and compounded the crisis of legitimacy for the National Party's constitutional plan, Dr Slabbert said.



# 6 000 cheer Boesak

CAPE TIMES 22/8/83  
11A

DR ALLAN BOESAK, the religious leader whose call for unity seven months ago gave birth to the United Democratic Front — was given a standing ovation at the mass rally to launch the UDF.

He was clearly the man 6000 people came to hear and see.

Although he is one of the UDF patrons and not a member of the executive, he appears to be one of the major forces behind the anti-government grouping.

In an 11-page address, Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said the UDF could become the greatest and most significant South African people's movement in more than 25 years.

"We are here to say that there are rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the State; you have to go back beyond the dim mist of eternity to understand their origin — they are God-given.

## 'Claim rights'

"And so we are here not to beg for those rights, we are here to claim them."

Dr Boesak said the formation of the UDF highlighted and symbolized the crisis apartheid and its supporters had created.

"What they expected was acceptance of the status quo, docility, and subservience. Instead they are finding a people refusing to accept racial injustice and ready to face the challenges of the moment."

Dr Boesak said white South Africans would never be free until all the country's people were free.

The UDF, he said, had been strongly criticized by other organizations for being an all-race body. He could understand those who said that whites could not play a meaningful role in the fight for justice because they were "by definition, the oppressors". But, he added, apartheid did not have the support of all white people.

"Let us not build our struggle on a blind hatred for all white people. Let us even now seek to lay the foundations for reconciliation between white and black in this country by

working together, praying together, and struggling together for justice."

Speaking on the constitutional proposals, Dr Boesak said the government was pushing ahead because they had been supported and accepted by some blacks "who think that the short-term economic gains and semblance of political power are more important than the total liberation of all South Africa's people".

The UDF rejected the constitutional proposals because they enshrined the "heresy" of racism and wilfully excluded 80 percent of the population. Oppression and the break-up of families would continue.

Dr Boesak said the proposals would make apartheid less blatant in some ways.

"It will be modernized and streamlined, and in its new multi-coloured cloak it will be less conspicuous and less offensive to some. Nevertheless, it will still be there."

Such an evil system could not be modified or streamlined, it had to be eradicated, he said.

● A founder member of the Federation of South African Women, Mrs Francis Baart, called for the release of all political detainees and prisoners.

## 'Workers' power'

● A Transvaal trade unionist, Mr Samson Ndaw, spoke about the Eastern Cape unrest, saying that it was the responsibility and within the power of the workers to change society.

● A member of the Ravensmead Rent Action Committee, Mr George Bloese, told the rally that the future of the country would be decided by the masses. The people, he said, had made it clear that they would not accept institutions such as the President's Council and the Indian Council.

● The chairman of the Muslim Judicial Council, Sheik Hameed Mohamid, said the launch of the UDF was "a dream come true".

● A member of the Transvaal Free Nelson Mandela Committee, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, said God was not an accomplice to oppression, but was "a God of liberation".



CHG Thak's 22/8/83

11A

# Dr Slabbert: 'Ignore it at your peril'

## Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, declined to comment yesterday on the formation of the United Democratic Front, a grouping claimed to represent 400 organizations aimed at fighting the government's planned new constitution.

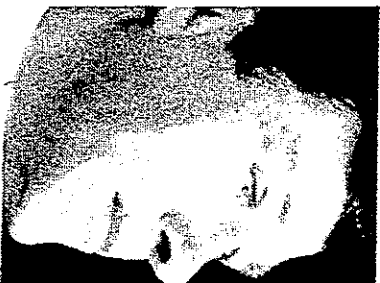
But the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said he believed the UDF was a "very important and significant development".

which the government would ignore "at its and South Africa's peril".

The quick and spontaneous mobilization of the interests of close to a million people clearly demonstrated "an incredible gap" in the country's political structure.

"In particular, the government should take note of the fact that the major motivation for this mobilization is its own constitutional proposals.

"It is ironic that the government itself is re-



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... ignore it at your peril.

sponsible for generating such enthusiasm against its proposed plan, whereas the clear lack of enthusiasm for it is strongly contrasted," Dr Slabbert said.

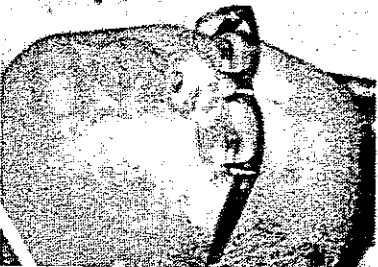
Whatever else could be said about the formation of the UDF, it aggravated and compounded the "crisis of legitimacy" which was growing for the National Party's constitutional plan, he said.

The executive chairman of the SA Indian Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the for-

mation of a broadly-based common front was badly needed and long overdue.

However, he was concerned that the UDF would be "just another organization popping up like a mushroom with great fanfare and then vanishing like mist before the rising sun".

Some of the organizations behind the UDF, "especially the Natal Indian Congress and various action committees of Natal", had a record of "mouthing ideologies and not pro-



Mr David Curry ... our goals are the same.

viding anything concrete", he said.

The national chairman of the coloured Labour Party, Mr David Curry, said he noted that the UDF's goal of a non-racial society was the same as the LP's and he wished them well.

He said the LP was as much against the government's new constitution as the UDF. The only difference was the strategy being used to show opposition.

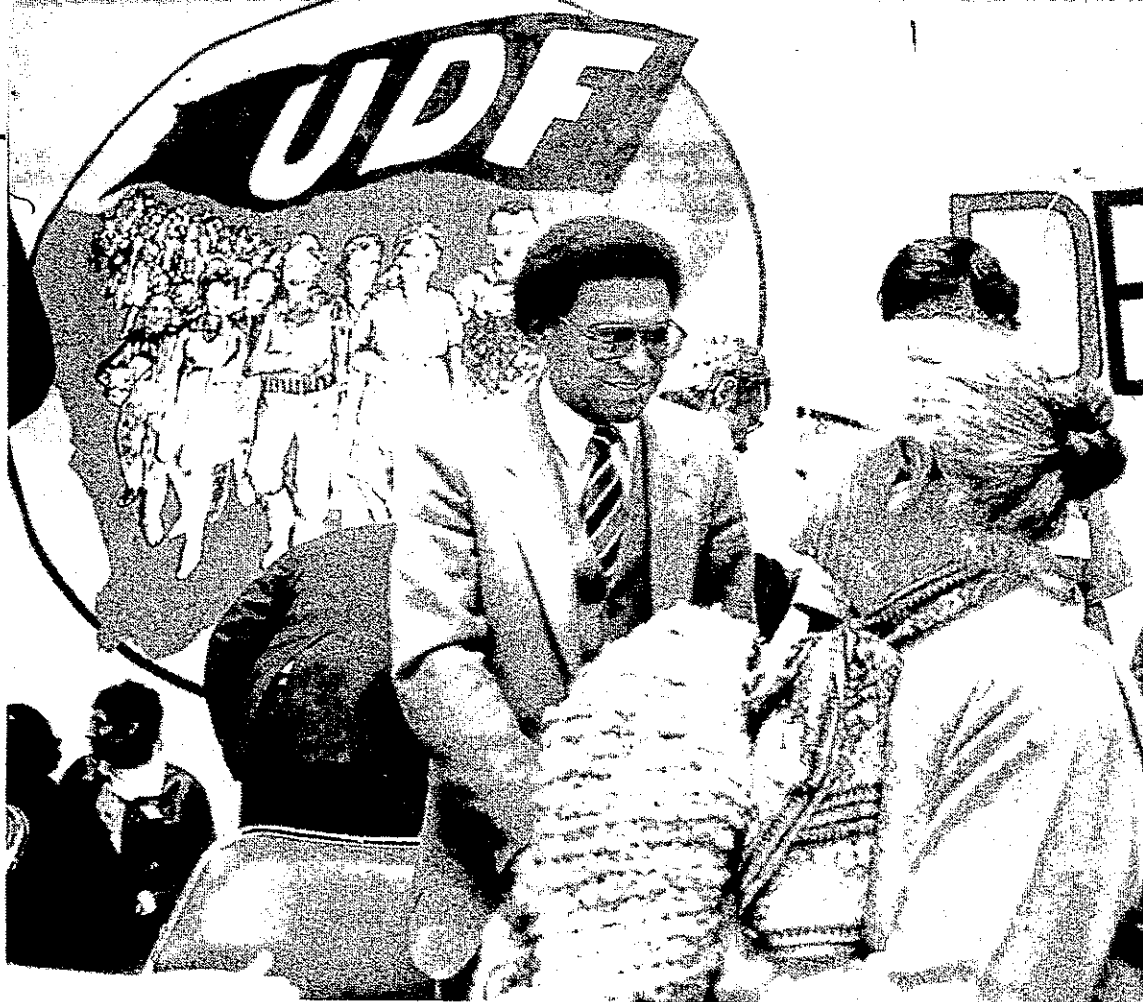
"Our stance is to fight from within, while theirs is to fight it from

without," he said.

The power of the UDF remained to be seen. It was one thing to organize an impressive rally to launch such a group, but it was another matter to mobilize support and achieve "fruitful gains", Mr Curry said.

●The Labour Party decided at a congress earlier this year to participate in the planned new constitution in an effort to achieve its stated goal of one man one vote in a unitary state by campaigning from within the dispensation.





Two of the patrons of the United Democratic Front, Dr Allan Boesak and Mrs Helen Joseph, at the rally in Mitchells Plain on Saturday to launch the movement. Dr Boesak told a crowd of 6 000 that the UDF could become the greatest and most significant South African people's movement in more than 25 years.

CPPT  
Tinks  
22/8/83

## Presidents absent <sup>(11)</sup>

ONLY one of the three national presidents of the United Democratic Front elected at the weekend attended the national launch of the all-race body.

Natal's 70-year-old Mr Archie Gumede — son of a former president of the banned African National Congress — was the first speaker at the mass rally held after the conference.

### Terrorism Act

The president representing the Western Cape, community leader Mr Oscar Mpetha, 73, who is out on R1 bail after being convicted under the Terrorism Act, was too ill to attend. He sent a taped message of support to the gathering.

### Detention

The third president, Transvaal's Mrs Albertina Sisulu, is in detention.

The patrons of the UDF are Nelson Mandela (imprisoned), Mrs Helen Joseph, Sheik Nazem Mohammed, Mrs Florence Mkhize, Dennis Goldberg (imprisoned), Dr Allan Boesak, the Rev Beyers Naude (banned), Mrs Monty Naicker, Mrs Francis Baart, Mrs Dorothy



Mr Archie Gumede, the 70-year-old son of a former president of the banned African National Congress, was the first speaker at the UDF rally on Saturday.

Nyembe, Mr Hassan Howa, Mrs Martha Mahlangu, Mr Johnny Issel (banned), and Father Smangaliso Mkhathsha.

Nominations for two vice-presidents from each of the three regions were endorsed. They are Mr Christmas Tinto and Mr Joe Marks (W Cape), Mr Virgil Bonhomme and Mr George Sewpersadh (Natal), and

Mr George du Plessis and the Rev Frank Chikane (Transvaal).

The regional secretaries are Mr Trevor Manual and Ms Cheryl Carolus (W Cape), Mr Joe Maahla and Mr Yunus Mahomed (Natal), and Mr Mohamed Vali and Mr Popo Molefe (Transvaal).

Executive members

for each region are Mr Andrew Boraine and Ms Mildred Lesia (W Cape), Professor Jerry Coovadia and the Rev Mcibisi Xundu (Natal), and Dr Ram Saloojee and Mr Aubrey Mokoena (Transvaal).

A Free State representative is likely to be co-opted on to the national executive.

# UDF plans course of action

CAPE TIMES  
22/8/83

11A

By JANE ARBOUS  
Political Reporter

**THE NATIONAL** executive of the United Democratic Front began planning a programme of action yesterday after the successful launch of a multi-racial movement against the government's constitutional proposals.

Elated after the weekend UDF rally which drew 6 000 supporters from around the country, a regional secretary Ms Cheryl Carolus, said the organizers had been "completely overwhelmed by the remarkable response".

"For the first time in years people believed they could control their own destiny and were taking a stand," she said.

## Action plans

Details of the action programme would be released only when all the UDF's regional structures had been set up — "in the interests of democracy". Keen interest had been expressed in the Eastern Cape, Free State, and other areas.

The UDF claims to have the support of at least 400 South African organizations, and messages of solidarity from bodies throughout the world, including Swapo, were read out at Saturday's rally at Mitchells Plain.

Chants and shouts of "amandla" echoed between the platform and the multi-racial audience, and "freedom songs" punctuated the vibrant four-hour event. Whites may have been in the minority, but were made to feel welcome.

While the government has so far refused comment on UDF opposition to its plans, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday that the government would

ignore the UDF at its peril.

The well-disciplined but unwieldy crowd gave organizers logistical and communication headaches on Saturday, made worse by the threat of police action.

Supporters crammed into the Rocklands Civic Hall — even among the

When 14 police vans were seen in the area just before the 5pm rally, a team of lawyers appointed by the UDF went to the Mitchells Plain police station to ask for a guarantee that there would be no interference. The lawyers gave an assurance that crowds outside the ven-

leader Walter Sisulu; and Natal's Mr Archie Gumede, leader of the Release Nelson Mandela Committee.

Diplomatic representatives from foreign embassies were present, as well as foreign television and newspaper crews.

Two of a range of speakers, Mrs Helen Joseph and Dr Allan Boesak, both UDF patrons, were given rousing receptions.

Chants of praise greeted both Mrs Joseph, a veteran civil rights campaigner who cannot be quoted in terms of security legislation, and Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Answering criticism by black-only organizations who believe that whites cannot play a part in the liberation struggle because they are all "oppressors", Dr Boesak emphasized the need for reconciliation.

The UDF had opened its doors to all, "because not all white people support apartheid". He warned against building a future on hatred and revenge.

● SATV last night refused to comment on complaints received by the Cape Times about the lack of coverage of the UDF rally.

A spokesman, Mr Erik van der Merwe, said comment on an issue like news coverage should be dealt with at a high level and could not be formulated at short notice.



- 6 000 cheer Boesak
- 'Ignore it at your peril'
- Quit backing govt, US told
- Declaration to fight constitution

SEE PAGE 11

rafters — and an adjacent marquee where the rally proceedings were relayed by video, to avoid contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act which forbids gatherings in the open.

No incidents occurred other than the ejection of about six "thugs" wearing false UDF armbands who tried to get into the closed conference during the day, and the arrest of two UDF officials, Mr D Lennert and Mr B Irvine, who were fined R50 for broadcasting from a van.

Plain-clothes police — two in a car with Transkei number plates — kept watch with binoculars and two-way radios. They took down registration numbers of buses and cars arriving at the rally.

ue would be dispersed and appeals were later made for people to find space in the hall or go home.

About 160 UDF supporters acted as marshals to direct traffic and pebble.

## Presidents

Some 700 delegates and 800 observers attended the day-long conference, during which a declaration of intent and resolutions were adopted and the national leadership was elected.

The UDF's three presidents are Mr Oscar Mpetha, the local community leader who was recently convicted of terrorism; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a Transvaal detainee and wife of the imprisoned African National Congress



A jubilant United Democratic Front cro

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# Declaration to fight constitution

UNITED Democratic Front delegates at Saturday's conference in Mitchells Plain adopted a three-page declaration which pledged to fight the government's constitutional proposals.

The declaration reads:

"We, the freedom-loving people of South Africa, say with one voice to the whole world that:

"● We cherish the vision of a united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people and will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitation.

"And in our march to a free and just South Africa, we are guided by these noble ideals,

"● We stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country,

"● We stand for a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa — a South Africa free of bantustans and Group Areas,

"● We say, all forms of oppression and exploitation must end."

The declaration went on to state the United Democratic Front's opposition to apartheid in all forms.

It concluded with a commitment to unite people throughout the country in the fight for freedom.

"We therefore resolve to stand shoulder-to-shoulder in our common struggle, and commit ourselves to work together to mobilize all community worker, student, women, religious, sporting and other organizations under the banner of the United Democratic Front.



# UDF pledges to fight new proposals

# Boesak wins rally's acclaim

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Front delegates at Saturday's conference in Mitchell's Plain adopted a three-page declaration which pledged to fight the government's constitutional proposals.

The declaration reads: "We, the freedom-loving people of South Africa, say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people and will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitation.

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The UDF also demanded an immediate end to United States and British support for the South African Government and rejected the policy of "constructive engagement."

In a resolution dele-

gates noted with concern foreign support for the South African constitutional proposals.

The UDF said it was well aware that the support was to protect economic interests in South Africa at the expense of its people.

It criticised United States intervention in Central America and in Palestine.

"We believe that all foreign governments must recognise the right of other people to live in a non-racial democratic country," it said.

Those who claim to believe in the noble ideals of democracy have the obligation to support the

just struggles of the South African people.

In another resolution passed at the conference, the UDF called on all women to bring their organisations into the UDF in the common struggle against sexual, race, and class discrimination.

The UDF said that many of the country's finest and bravest women had been forced into exile "by the apartheid system" which thrived on creating divisions between men and women with inequality before law, unequal wages and conditions of employment, and the application of removals and pass laws. — DDC.

## Travel hitch for Ciskei delegates

EAST LONDON — People from the Border area and Ciskei had to make last minute arrangements for transport to the UDF rally in Cape Town when the bus they had booked was cancelled late on Friday afternoon.

The owner of the bus, Mr. W. Qeque, of Zwelitsha, would not comment on the matter apart from confirming he had returned the money to the people who had booked the bus.

In Mdantsane several people were making frantic efforts to get transport on Friday night. Some were reported to have left for Cape Town early on Saturday morning.

Sapa reports that a depleted delegation from Bloemfontein arrived in Cape Town with the news that the bulk of their party had failed to join the delegation.

Bloemfontein delegates said that as members of the 150-strong party gathered at a hall at Bochabela, they saw a van which they believed to be occupied by policemen.

They also found pamphlets scattered in the area, similar to those distributed in other parts of the country, stating that the meeting had been postponed.

The occupants of the van also told them that the meeting had been postponed and many delegates left the area.

Although two buses had been hired to carry the delegation, only one bus carrying about 60 people left.

One delegate said that a member of the Congress of South African Students in Bloemfontein was asked to visit security police offices in that city. — DDR.

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak — the religious leader whose call for unity seven months ago gave birth to the United Democratic Front movement — was given ovation after ovation at the UDF's mass rally to launch the all-race body here yesterday.

He was clearly the man 6 000 people came to hear and see.

Although he is one of the UDF patrons and not a member of the executive, he appears to be one of the major forces behind the anti-government grouping.

Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said the UDF could become the greatest and most significant South African people's movement in more than 25 years.

The UDF, he said, had been strongly criticised by other organisations for being an all-race only body. He could understand those who said that whites could not play a meaningful role in the fight for justice because they were "by definition, the oppressors."

But, he added, apartheid did not have the support of all white people.

Speaking on the constitutional proposals, Dr Boesak said the government was pushing ahead because the proposals had been supported and accepted by some blacks.

He said the struggle was not only against the government but also against those blacks.

The UDF rejected the proposals because they enshrined the "heresy" of racism and wilfully excluded 80 per cent of the population.

- Only one of the three national presidents of the UDF elected at the weekend attended the rally.

Natal's 70-year-old Mr Archie Gumede — son of a former president of the banned African National Congress — was the first speaker.

The third president, Transvaal's Mrs Albertina Sisulu, is in detention.

# Treason case accused 'fit to stand trial'

Post Reporter

A 30-YEAR-OLD man charged with high treason and with contravening the Internal Security Act was found fit to stand trial by a Port Elizabeth Magistrate's Court today.

Mr Rufus Nato Nzo, of 24 Third Avenue, Norwood, Umtata, was detained at a mental hospital by an earlier order granted by a magistrate on July 11 this year.

According to a joint medical report by two psychiatrists, Dr T Zabow and Dr J R Norton, Mr Nzo was not certifiable in terms of the Mental Health Act and was fit to stand trial.

The unanimous opinion of the doctors was that Mr Nzo had the capacity to appreciate the wrongfulness of his alleged offence and to act in accordance with it.

At the time, he was not affected by a mental defect, the court was told.

The report handed to the magistrate. Mr S van der Watt, said Mr Nzo came from a disrupted and emotionally deprived background.

He had little contact with his biological mother and was cared for by his grandparents.

His schooling was successfully achieved to matriculation level, but he had not since been employed. He had no behavioural problems during childhood or adolescence and was alert, but exhibited a depressed mood state.

There was no evidence of psychosis or other major psychiatric illnesses. A suicide attempt recently required intensive medical management, the court heard.

Mr Nzo has been remanded to September 5.

Mr J Scott appeared for the State. Mr S Nkanunu appeared for Mr Nzo.

# Rode to his death on roof of train

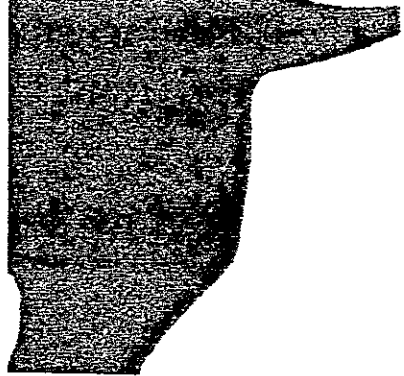
PORTSMOUTH — Simon Cops, 19, was killed yesterday as he crouched on the roof of a speeding train, apparently imitating another teenager fined last week for doing the same thing.

A police spokesman said it was believed Simon read about the other youngster, Chris Densham, who was fined £100 (R165) for riding on top of an express train in south-west England.

He claimed he was imitating Butch Cassidy, a train robber in the Old West who was immortalised in the Paul Newman-Robert Redford movie *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*.

Simon was spotted on the roof of a passenger train between Portsmouth and Fareham on England's south coast.

He was ducking under bridges along the track, but failed to avoid a disused steel footbridge. He was knocked off the train and his body was found sprawled nearby. — Sapa-AP



Young Tina ROMER and her horse at Port Elizabeth Riding Club

# Mohapi wife appeals to leave to

BLOEMFONTEIN — Mrs Nohle Mohapi, of Zwelitsha, King William's Town, applied today to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein for leave to appeal "in forma pauperis" against the judgment that dismissed a claim by her against the Minister of Police.

Mrs Mohapi claimed damages, agreed at R35 000 for herself and two minor daughters, as a result of the death of her husband. Mr Mapetla Frank Mohapi, in the police cells at Kei Road on August 5, 1976. Mr Mohapi was in detention under Section 6 of Act 83 of 1967 at the time.

In the Eastern Cape Supreme Court at Grahamstown on July 3, 1980, Mr Justice J W Smalberger held that there did not appear to be a sufficiently factual basis to conclude that Mr Mohapi's death was caused by an assault.

Mrs Mohapi had to prove that her husband died as a result of an assault on him by the police to succeed with her claim.

For Mrs Mohapi it was submitted that she had rea-

sonable cause for her claim.

The court considered whether the death of Mr Mohapi was an assault on a member of police force by his wife.

The court noted whether the death of Mr Mohapi was an assault on a member of police force by his wife.

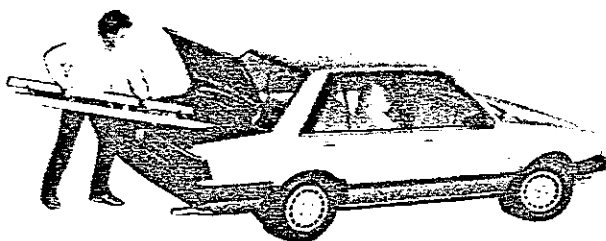
If it was found that the death of Mr Mohapi was an assault on a member of police force by his wife, the court would have to consider whether the death of Mr Mohapi was an assault on a member of police force by his wife.

It was noted that the death of Mr Mohapi was an assault on a member of police force by his wife.

These

## NEW MAZDA SETS THE PACE!

AUGUST IS 323 MONTH — WE WANT TO SELL 80



- Elegant new looks plus electronic efficiency
- 5-speed economy or automatic convenience
- Out-front performance with race car road-holding
- The range to suit you

Now you can take your pick from amongst five different Mazda Sedans. 1300 S, 1500 SL, 1500 SL Auto and the ultra-luxurious 1500 SLX, available both in manual and automatic. Test drive them. Take a good look at their remarkable under-the-skin features. You'll soon appreciate why the ultra-modern Mazda Sedan is considered as the

# Christians urged to 'break down dividing wall'

Post Reporter

A CALL to break down the "dividing wall" between Christians was made by the Rev K S N the Port Elizabeth Ministers' Fraternal

He addressed about 1 500 people at a national service at the Arthur Wellington. Hundreds stood outside and listen

CAPE TIMES 23/8/83 (1/2)

## '12 000 attended rally'

Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front calculated the number of people who attended the UDF rally in Mitchells Plain, to be "at least 12 000", a regional secretary, Mr Trevor Manual, said yesterday.

In most media reports attendance figures between 5 000 and 8 000 people were given.

The Cape Times stands by its estimate of

6 000 people at the rally.

However, Mr Manual said the UDF had arrived at their figure by calculating that there were 1 400 square metres of available space in the Rocklands Civic Hall and another 800 square metres in the adjacent tent.

There was an average of four people per square metre, he said.

This amounted to at least 8 800 people under cover.

# 'Biased' SABC ignored UDF

Cape Times 23/8/83

11A

Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party accused the government yesterday of withholding the truth by virtually ignoring the United Democratic Front (UDF) national launch rally in Cape Town at the weekend.

Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the PFP executive and a party spokesman on the media, said in Cape Town the SABC's blatant pro-government bias was both sickening and dangerous.

Opinions might differ about the nature of the UDF, but people could not deny the significance of a meeting of hundreds of representatives from across the country nor wish away the thousands of all colours who acclaimed the launch.

"The coming into being of the UDF is the most important development in South Africa since the 1950s. But the silence from the SABC was deafening.

"Its bias is not only breath-taking but it is also dangerous. The SABC continues to lull the whites of South Africa into a false sense of security.



Dr Alex Boraine

"It is making the same tragic mistake made by the media in the days of change in Rhodesia. Then there was a deliberate attempt to withhold all the truth from ordinary people," he said.

Dr Boraine urged the SABC chairman, Professor Wynand Mouton, to ensure fair reporting of all major events shaping

the destiny of all South Africans.

"We are living in desperate and challenging times and the SABC has a heavy responsibility to report without prejudice and without favour the news-making events of our time.

"To focus on the rugby media conference at great length as it did on Sunday night on TV and ignore the birth of one of the biggest multi-racial movements is to demonstrate for all to see that the SABC and SABC-TV is in essence nothing more than a tool in the hands of the government.

"It is sickening to witness the craven attitude of the SABC hierarchy who dance like puppets to the tune of the government," Dr Boraine said.

● More reports on the UDF, page 13

## UN body backs UDF opposition to new deal

Political Reporter

THE United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid has sent a message of support to the newly-formed United Democratic Front (UDF).

The message was signed at the weekend by the committee's chairman, Mr Alhaji Yusuff Maitam-sule.

He welcomed the UDF's demonstration of unity and opposition to the government's constitutional proposals.

"The constitutional proposals are designed to entrench racism and apartheid. They are part of an effort by the authorities to dispossess and denationalize African majority behind diversionary propaganda about reforms.

"They are not a step in the right direction as some apologists claim, nor are they merely unsatisfactory, but a manoeuvre to divide the people and prevent genuine democratic change.

"Africa and the world cannot but denounce them, as indeed they denounced establishment of the whites-only Republic in 1961 which began a generation of escalating oppression and conflict.

"We are heartened that all African people totally reject constitutional proposals and that the coloured and Indian people have refused to become accomplices of racism."

Mr Maitam-sule said the UN and the international community had made it clear repeatedly that a just and lasting solution required the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, amnesty to those restricted and exiled, and an end to all oppression.

They had also called for discussions by genuine representatives of all people on the establishment of a democratic State and had offered appropriate assistance in pursuit of such a solution, he said.

"I hope that even at this late stage Pretoria authorities will abandon the disastrous cause of escalating repression and aggression and seek a just solution.

"They cannot prevail against opposition of the majority of people in South Africa and the rest of the world, whatever their apparant might today," he said.

# Boesak: No positive side to apartheid

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**DR ALLAN BOESAK**, one of the patrons of the United Democratic Front, gave the main address at the UDF national launch rally at the weekend. Dr Boesak is also president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. This is an edited extract from his speech.

People ask me "Why do you not see the positive side of apartheid?" For those of us who are black and who suffer under this system, there is no positive side.

How can apartheid be positive when in the name of Christianity it spawns policies which cause little children to die of hunger and malnutrition, which break up black family life, and which spell out a continuous hopeless death for millions of black people?

How can apartheid be positive when it keeps part of South Africa's children manacled in the chains of unfreedom and the other part in the chains of fear?

Even so, the time has come for white people to realize that their destiny is inextricably bound with our destiny. They shall never be free until we are free.

People who think that their security and peace lie in the perpetuation of intimidation, dehumanization and violence are not free. They will never be free as long as they have to lie awake at night worrying whether a black government will one day do the same to them as they are doing to us when white power will have come to its inevitable end.

What is positive about the government's constitutional proposals? Let me repeat the reasons why we reject these proposals.

● Racism, so embedded in South African society, is once again written into the consti-



Dr Allan Boesak

dictated by fear, greed and racialism.

We shall not be satisfied until South Africa is once again one undivided country, a democracy where there shall be meaningful participation in a democratic process of government for all our people.

We shall not be satisfied until the wealth and riches of this country are shared by all.

We shall not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

The question of whites and blacks working together has been mentioned by some as the reason why they refuse to give us their



ded in South African society, is once again written into the constitution.

● All the basic laws which are the very pillars of apartheid remain untouched and unchanged.

● The homelands policy, which is surely the most immoral and objectionable aspect of the apartheid policies of the government, forms the basis of the wilful exclusion of 80 percent of our nation from the new political deal.

● Clearly the oppression will continue, the brutal break-up of black family life will not end.

The apartheid line is not abolished, it is simply shifted to include those so-called coloureds and Indians who are willing to co-operate with the government. Not only is the system of apartheid given more elasticity, making fundamental change even harder than before, but in the new proposals the dream of democracy is still further eroded.

### No rights

The proposals may mean something for those middle-class blacks who think the improvement of their own economic position is the highest good. They will not bring any significant changes to the lives of those who have no rights at all.

It cannot be repeated often enough that all South Africans who love this country and who care for its future, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Christian and Muslim, have no option but to reject these proposals.

The new proposals will make apartheid less blatant in some ways. It will be modernized and streamlined, and in its new multi-coloured cloak it will be less offensive to some. Nonetheless, it will still be there. Apartheid is a thoroughly evil system and cannot be modified, modernized or streamlined. It must be eradicated.

To those who ask why we are not satisfied and when we shall be satisfied, we must say in clear, patient terms: We shall not be satisfied as long as injustice reigns supreme on the throne of our land.

We shall not be satisfied as long as those who rule us are not inspired by justice but

ing together has been mentioned by some as the reason why they refuse to give us their co-operation. They are saying to us that white people cannot play a meaningful role in the struggle for justice in this country because they are always, by definition, the oppressors.

I understand the way these people feel. But it is not true that apartheid has the support of all white people. We must not allow our anger for apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred of all white people. Let us not build our struggle upon hatred and hopes for simple revenge.

The nature and the quality of our struggle for liberation cannot be determined by the colour of one's skin but rather by the quality of one's commitment to justice, peace and human liberation.

### Liberation

The government has been pushing ahead with these proposals precisely because they have been supported and accepted by some people from the black community who think that the short-term economic gains and the semblance of political power are more important than the total liberation of all South Africa's people.

So our struggle is not only against the white government and their plans, but against those in the black community who through their collaboration seek to give credibility to these plans.

South Africa belongs to all its people. It is not safe in the hands of people — black or white — who depend upon economic exploitation and human degradation to build their empires, who need the cloak of ethnic superiority to cover the nakedness of their racialism, who secure their privileged positions by violent repression of the weak, or who put their faith simply in the madness of growing militarism.

So, for the sake of our country and our children, whether you be white or black, resist these people whether they be white or black.

We are doing what we are doing not because we are white or black, but because it is right.

We want all of our rights, we want them here and we want them now.

# Three words form basis for liberation

Rec 23/8/83

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Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Three "little words" expressed the seriousness of the struggle behind the formation of the United Democratic Front: "all", "here" and "now".

They were coined by Dr Alan Boesak, the main speaker at Saturday's national launch of the UDF at Mitchell's Plain.

"We want all of our rights, we want them here and we want them now," he said.

"We have been waiting so long, we have been struggling so long. We have pleaded, cried, petitioned too long now. We have been jailed, exiled, killed for too long. Now is the time," Dr Boesak said.

The applause which greeted the words summed up the mood of the 12 000 strong crowd.

"We are here to say that there are rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the State.

"You have to go back beyond the dim mist of eternity to understand their origin. They are God-given. We are here not to beg for those rights, we are here to claim them," he said.

Although regarded as the inspiration behind the UDF, Dr Boesak sought no official position but was elected as a patron.

The list of patrons reads like a "Who's Who" of the liberation struggle. It includes jailed ANC leaders, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Dennis Goldberg.

It also includes the first person to be put under house arrest in South Africa, Mrs Helen Joseph, described at the meeting as the "mother of the liberation struggle".

Messages of support and solidarity from all

over the world poured into the meeting.

Local and international Christian, labour and anti-apartheid groups lent their voices to the campaign against the Government's proposed constitution.

They also gave whole-hearted support to the broad-based non-racial alliance which makes up the UDF.

Speakers like UDF Transvaal executive member Mr Aubrey Mokwena fired the crowd with words such as: "Do not pray like missionaries who close their eyes when they pray, but rather like revolutionaries who pray with their eyes open."

A more mellow note was sounded by Congress-Alliance veteran Mr Archie Gumede, who was elected one of three UDF national presidents.

"Slogans are not enough. Sweat and labour, careful thought and careful actions are needed," he said.

The system had many ways of provoking people and rash action played into the hands of the Government.

Impulsive action would have ill effects on the movement as would people who acted in isolation.

"We must avoid adventures and we must act consciously and with determination until we overcome," he said.

The other presidents elected were Mrs Albertina Sisulu — Walter Sisulu's wife — and Mr Oscar Mpetha, veteran trade unionist and community leader.

The recently unbanned Mrs Sisulu was unable to attend as she had been remanded in custody to face charges under the Internal Security Act while Mr Mpetha was ill in hospital.

While Mr Gumede is

the only active UDF president, the new party has no predominant personalities due to its decentralised structure, which includes about 400 groups.

At the launch, the emphasis was on non-racialism. White people were urged to "join the struggle for justice and peace".

Dr Boesak said: "It is not true that apartheid has the support of all white people. We must not allow our anger against apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred of all white people."

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Delegates to the United Democratic Front congress in Cape Town at the weekend adopted a declaration which pledged to fight the Government's constitutional proposals and Bills of the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

The declaration reads: "Freedom-loving people of South Africa say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united democratic South Africa based on the will of the people, and will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid and economic and all other forms of exploitation, and in our march to a free and just South Africa we are guided by these noble ideals:

"We stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country.

"We stand for a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa, a South Africa free of Bantustans and Group Areas.

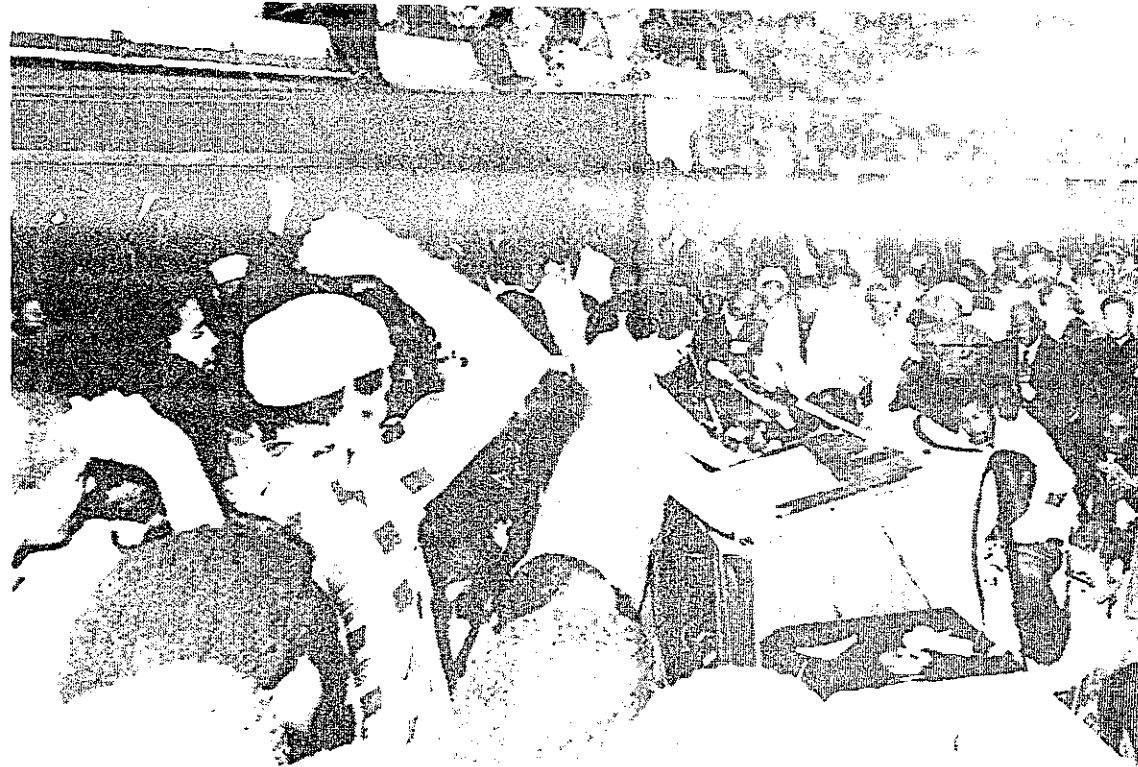
"We say all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

"In accordance with these noble ideals we join hands as community women's, students', religious, sporting and other organisations and trade unions to say no to apartheid.

"We say no to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill — a Bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth.

"We say no to the Koornhof Bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthright.

"We say yes to the birth of the Unit-



UDF patron Dr Alan Boesak addresses the exuberant 12 000-strong crowd.

## Full text of the UDF declaration

ed Democratic Front on this historic day.

"We know that this Government is determined to break the unity of our people, that our people will face greater hardships, that our people living in racially segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities, that rents and other basic charges will increase and that our living standards will fall, that working people will be divided race from race, urban from rural, employed from unemployed, men from women.

"Low wages, poor working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will continue, students will continue to suffer under unequal education created to supply a reservoir of cheap labour.

"Ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain, apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms.

"The religious and cultural life of our people will be harmed.

"The sins of apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture and religions of our people. The oppression and exploitation of women will continue.

"Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws, women will be divided from their children and families.

"Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life.

"The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by our families, non-racial sport will suffer, there will be less money for the building of sports facilities, and forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow.

"We know that apartheid will continue, that white domination and exploitation will continue, that forced removals,

the Group Areas and the Bantustans will remain.

"We know that there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of land, wealth and resources of the country, that the migratory labour system will live on to destroy family life.

"We know that the Government will always use false leaders to become its junior partners and to control us.

"Our lives will still be filled with fears of harassment, bannings, detentions and death.

"Mindful of the fact that the new constitutional proposals and Koornhof measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination, we commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be in the cities and countryside, the factories and mines, schools, colleges and universities, houses and sports fields, churches, mosques and temples, to fight for our freedom.

"We therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to work together to organise and mobilise all community worker, student, women's, religious and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front, consult our people regularly and honestly, and bravely strive to represent their views and aspirations, educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity, build and strengthen all organisations of the people, and be united in action against these Bills and other day-to-day problems affecting our people.

"And now therefore we pledge to come together in this United Democratic Front, and fight side by side against the Government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills."

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A spokesman for the South African Prison Service said in Pretoria today a fourth man was being treated in hospital for light injuries.

The names of the dead and injured men have not been released, because their next-of-kin have not yet been notified.

The spokesman said there was no link between the maximum-security prison — which is inside Barberton's boundaries — and the prison farm, which is out in the country.

Two of the men died last night, shortly after being admitted to the Barberton General Hospital. The third man died shortly after 7 am today.

An Eastern Transvaal Police spokesman today confirmed the SAP were investigating last night's incident.

● See page 4.

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# Threats made on life of Boesak and mother since launch of UDF

By BRIAN STUART  
Religion Reporter

THREATS have been made on the life of Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who flies to Washington tomorrow to speak at a civil rights rally at the Lincoln Memorial.

Dr Boesak said today there had been threats in the past, "but there have been far more than usual this week since the United Democratic Front (UDF) meeting on Saturday".

He was particularly upset because a man had telephoned his mother, who is 68, "to tell her what they will do with me".

### PHONE RIDDLE

Dr Boesak said: "Not many people know how to get hold of my mother, because she does not live with us in Bellville. Only people who have ways and means of finding out who my mother is and where she lives could make such a call.

"But little surprises me after the trial at which it was said Afrikaanse Weerstandbeweging people intended to assassinate myself and Bishop Desmond Tutu."

Dr Boesak said apartheid was a violent system which had created a violent society.

He added: "The Government is not able to deal with the problems of South Africa in terms of constructive, imaginative



Dr Allan Boesak

chance. Instead we get either the structural violence of apartheid or military and physical violence.

"You create an atmosphere of violence, in which these threats can happen," he said.

"I have told my church, my wife and family, my mother, that my life is in God's hands."

### ADDRESS

On Friday, Dr Boesak is to speak at Washington Cathedral at a service which is planned as the culmination of a week of Christian focus on the work of the late Dr Martin Luther King, spiritual leader of the civil right movement.

● The United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid has sent "warm greetings" to the United Democratic Front

and congratulated it on its launching.

Mr Al Haji Yusuf Maitama-Fule, chairman of the committee, said in a lengthy letter to the UDF executive that its opposition to the constitutional proposals was welcomed by the committee and "indeed by most of humanity".

He said: "The constitutional proposals are designed to entrench racism and apartheid. They are part of an effort by the authorities to dispossess and de-nationalise the African majority."

### 'MANOEUVRE'

The proposals were neither a step in the right direction, nor merely unsatisfactory, but a "manoeuvre to divide the people".

The UDF is hoping that a message of support from the UN Special Committee against Apartheid will clear the way for a UDF meeting with UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, in Cape Town.

However, the UN chief might be reluctant to give South Africa an excuse for again questioning UN impartiality by meeting the UDF which operates outside the Government arena.

The UDF publicity secretary, Mr Mosiwa Lekota, was today hopeful that Dr Perez de Cuellar would see the UDF following the message to the UDF by the Special Committee on Apartheid.

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CAPE TIMES 23/8/83 (11A)

# ANC is non-committal

**Own Correspondent**  
**LUSAKA.** — The African National Congress was cautious yesterday when asked whether it supported the formation of the United Democratic Front.

can't yet comment about our stand on the new organization. We would rather remain silent for the time being."

However, the spokesman added: "We are still studying the situation. We do not want to make complications for the new organization, as anything we say may be used against the UDF."

An ANC spokesman here said: "We support all efforts towards unity and freedom, but we

# Mpetha appeal move rejected

Cape Times 23/8/83 (114)

Staff Reporter

A REQUEST by Oscar Mpetha, a president of the newly-formed United Democratic Front, for leave to appeal against his conviction on a terrorism charge was turned down yesterday for the second time.

Mpetha, 74, whose leg was amputated in Groote Schuur Hospital last week, was refused leave to appeal against his conviction by the trial judge, Mr Justice Williamson, in Cape Town in June. However, he was granted leave to appeal against his five-year sentence.

Mpetha's attorney, Mr Brian Lutzno, said yesterday that a petition consisting of a 20-page document and hundreds of annexures had been sent to the Chief Justice in Bloemfontein asking for leave to appeal against the conviction.



Mr Oscar Mpetha

This was turned down yesterday.

Mpetha is out on R1 bail pending the appeal against his sentence.

Mr Lutzno said no date had been set for the appeal, as parts of the trial record had not been finalized yet.

The charge related to the period August 8-12, 1980 near the Crossroads squatter camp,

with particular reference to August 11, 1980, when the violence in the area reached its peak and two motorists were attacked and killed in Klipfontein Road.

The sentence of five years was obligatory under the Terrorism Act of 1967, under which Mpetha was charged. However, the judge indicated that had he not been obliged to impose a minimum sentence, he would have totally suspended whatever sentence was imposed.

Meanwhile, the veteran trade union and community leader was in a satisfactory condition in Groote Schuur Hospital yesterday, a spokeswoman for the hospital confirmed.

She said he had declined to allow further details to be disclosed. A family friend said he was feeling fine.

## 'Great pain'

Mpetha was admitted to the hospital nine days ago suffering from pneumonia and in great pain, according to his son, Mr Thozì Mpetha.

The leg operation took place on Thursday.

He was unable to attend Saturday's national launch of the UDF in Mitchells Plain, but he sent a taped message of support in which he sounded extremely weak.

● The Cape Civic Association has distanced itself from the United Democratic Front "until the dust settles down".

The general secretary of the CCA, Mrs L Bam, said contrary to earlier reports, her organization had not aligned itself with the UDF.

CCA observers had attended a UDF meeting without reporting back to the organization.

The CCA had also decided not to affiliate with the Cape Action League.

CAME Times 24/8/83  
UN to intercede in  
~~the~~ Lesotho ~~refugee~~ crisis

By RICHARD WALKER  
THE United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, moved yesterday to intercede in what Lesotho now warns is an "all-or-nothing" refugee crisis.

It has presented the UN with a list of 512 "politically affiliated" refugees and intimated that it would expel all of them rather than submit to a selective demand from Pretoria.

Mr Perez de Cuellar is

raising the matter with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and will send his top African aide to Maseru today. Under Secretary-General Abby Farah will be detached from the UN team here and will rejoin the party later.

Lesotho has asked the UN chief to personally come, but this was impossible, an official said. Last week, Lesotho appealed to him to intercede with South Africa, which it said was strangling its lifelines.

Lesotho has told the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva that the crisis climaxed when South Africa presented it with 68 names of refugees in whom it was "particularly interested".

A check found 20 had left the country, 20 were unknown and the rest were women, children, or otherwise "politically harmless".

It then supplied the UN High Commissioner with a list of 512 refugees and indicated that unless South Africa relaxed its stranglehold, it would be obliged to find new countries for all of them. The 512 include members of the Pan Africanist Congress, Black Consciousness movements and African National Congress.

It was "all or nothing" because it did not want to be accused of discriminating between political movements, Lesotho told the UN.

Aboard his South Africa-bound aircraft, Mr Perez de Cuellar said the international community had "a moral and legal obligation" towards bona fide refugees.

# The herald of a new era . . .

By ZWELAKHE SISULU



Part of the crowd outside the Rocklands Civic Centre before the start of national launching of the United Democratic Front.

THE launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Cape Town at the weekend introduces a new phase in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

The number and character of the 400 organisations that constitute the UDF make it comparable to the Congress of the People held in Kliptown in 1955.

The more than 12 000 people who streamed to the Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain turned the meeting into an emotional occasion, reminiscent of a revival meeting.

Indeed, it called to mind the days of the Congress Alliance and some of the stalwarts of that era were there to be seen; there was Frances Baard, Helen Joseph, Archie Gumede, R D Naidoo and a host of others.

Whether the UDF is going to be able to sustain the high note on which it started will depend on its programme of action which is now being finalised.

Prior to its national launching, the organisation concentrated on establishing regional structures, and it is on these structures that its

apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitations."

There were many highlights of the congress, but perhaps none as touching as the short address given by the ten-year old daughter of banned journalist Johnny Issel.

Her simple statement summed up the feeling of the crowd: "My father cannot be here today. My father supports the UDF and he wants us all to be free." The audience broke into tumultuous applause.

The huge crowd at the meeting was beyond the expectations of the organisers. The main hall and an adjoining tent, which was fitted with a wide screen so that people could see the proceedings in the main hall were packed and there was no standing room. Thousands of other people stood outside and could not gain entry.

The success of the conference was made more dramatic by the fact that numerous attempts, including the distribution of hoax pamphlets announcing the cancellation of the conference, were made to confuse people.

eral Workers' Union and the African Food and Canning Workers' Union. Both unions have a massive membership particularly in the Western Cape.

Various resolutions were adopted by the conference and one of the more significant was the rejection of the new housing policy. The housing policy, the conference was told, was linked to the land question and these formed the cornerstones of apartheid.

The policy was designed to create a black middle class and create divisions within communities, to create a class of people who would be attracted to the Constitutional Proposals, and so kill the militancy in these areas.

Regarding workers, the conference noted that workers are the

Israel, it was said, was responsible for the death of people in Ciskei because it supplied that homeland with arms: "Even when there was to be that so-called coup Lennox Sebe was in Israel," noted one speaker.

A call to all women to bring their organisations to the UDF was made: "So that we can make real our commitments to fight shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk in the common struggle against race, class and sexual discrimination."

Communities faced with the threat of removals were urged to resist them because the cruel uprooting and forced removal of people was the backbone of the Government's apartheid scheme.

"We demand the return of our land and homes, to live where we

please in the land of our birth.

"We have over the years been robbed of our land, shelter and livelihood. Our protests are met with teargas, batons and bullets." the resolution read.

Notwithstanding the Government's onslaught on human rights, the conference was told, the Government was nevertheless finding it increasingly difficult to prevent the collapse of apartheid.

The UDF has made it clear that it does not purport to be a substitute movement to accredited people's liberation movements, but that its task was to mobilise against the Constitutional Proposals and the Koornhof Bills.

The people elected as the patrons of the UDF are: Nelson Mandela, Helen Joseph, Mrs Mar-

tha Mahlangu, mother of Solomon Mahlangu, the first ANC cadre to be hanged under the Terrorism Act, Hassan Howa, Mrs Monty Naicker, Mr Johnny Issel, Frances Baard, Beyers Naude, Dorothy Nyembe.

Sheik Nazeem Mohammed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council, Mrs Florence Mkhize, Dennis Goldberg, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa and all those sentenced to life imprisonment under security legislation.

The presidents of the UDF that were elected to a standing ovation are Mr Archie Gumede, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mr Oscar Mpetha. Mr Popo Molefe is the national secretary while Mr Patrick Lekota, one of Saso-BPC trialists, is the publicity secretary.

Other members of the

national executive include Mr Aubrey Mokoena, Mewa Ramgobin, and Mr Joe Phaahla, former president of Azaso.

In an address that was received with wild acclaim, Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches told the conference: "We are here to say that the Government's constitutional proposals are inadequate, and that they do not express the will of the vast majority of South Africa's people."

"More than that, we are here to say that what we are working for is one, undivided South Africa which shall belong to all its people, an open democracy from which no single South African shall be excluded, a society in which human dignity of all its people shall be respected.

Suppose the interest rate falls from  $i_0$  to  $i_1$ , the desired level of capital stock increases from  $K_0$  to  $K_1$ . The industry can supply this but in it is only profitable to get the quantity  $K_2$  and thus the desired capital stock  $K_1$ .

If we have a new MEI curve with a level of investment of quantity  $Q_2$  at  $i_1$ .

Note that  $Q_1$  is the normal replacement

The relevance of these concepts is debated in the accelerator theory of investment. The level of investment to the change in  $K$  depends on whether you would invest or not. It depends on whether you would lose more by not investing, i.e. lost interest. Thus here investment would depend on the capital output ratio ( $v$ ), i.e.

$$I = vY$$

This theory however ignores the supply function of the firm producing the capital machinery.

The capital stock adjustment principle combines the above two methods to a certain extent.

The relevance of these concepts lies in the attempt to get the economy to have a smooth growth tendency.

Continued next Book!

success will depend.

The organisation's declaration which was adopted at the conference reads in part: "We, the freedom-loving people of South Africa say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of a united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people.

"We will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of

Messages of support were received from throughout the world. These included messages from the United Nation's Committee against Apartheid, Swapo, the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa, the Holland Committee on Southern Africa, from the Danish and Irish labour movements.

Also significant were the messages of support received from the Gen-

producers of wealth in the country and they must fully share in the benefits of that wealth.

In another resolution, the governments of Britain, the United States and Israel were castigated for their support of South Africa.

"This unashamed greed and callous support for this unpopular and undemocratic government cannot stop us in our march towards freedom."

by not investing, is lost





Archie Gumede, one of the presidents of the United Democratic Front, addresses the rally last weekend at which 6 000 people launched the organisation to fight the Government's constitutional proposals

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) was launched in Cape Town last weekend amid euphoria. But now the organisation has to face the reality of a long march through South Africa's political minefield.

Dr Allan Boesak, the man who originally mooted the idea of a united front against the Government's constitutional proposals, told the UDF launching: "We want all our rights; we want them here and we want them now".

He was signalling that the demand was not just the scrapping of the constitutional proposals, but no less than the scrapping of the entire apartheid system.

But it is a system that will be fiercely defended, and the demand for its scrapping is not one the South African State has easily accepted in the past.

As observers of the "liberation struggle" have quipped: "It is not called a struggle for nothing". Dozens of organisations have risen and collapsed or been crushed by the State. Few have survived as substantial opposition movements.

The UDF is not just another of these organisations. There can be no doubt that the launching signalled the beginning of a new stage in South African politics, since it symbolised a regeneration of activity among opposition groups that has taken place in recent months.

It claims to represent more than 400 religious, community, student, women's and worker organisations.

It is the biggest such body to have risen since the Congress Alliance brought together black, coloured, Indian, white and trade union organisations in the Fifties under the leadership of the African National Congress.

But the Congress Alliance was crushed, forced underground or into exile by banings and arrests in the early Sixties, and organisations since then have lived with the knowledge that popular support alone is not enough to survive repression.

The comparison with the Fifties is apposite, particu-

IIA ROM 24/8/83

## Can the UDF become the real force of the 1980s?

By ANTON HARBER, Political Reporter

larly since it is a comparison often made by UDF leaders themselves. Many of the member organisations have a character, leadership and form of organisation that are reminiscent of that era.

For example, the request to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Perez de Cuellar, to attend the weekend launching echoed the attempts in the Fifties to have apartheid condemned in world circles as an important step towards destroying it.

Many of the UDF leaders, such as the three presidents — Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Oscar Mpetha — began their political careers in the Congress Alliance.

Is the UDF a force for the Eighties or is it just a repetition of the Fifties? What power does it have to ensure it does not meet the fate of the Congress Alliance?

One can try and answer this by studying the figures involved, but this is not very informative. A UDF official said at the launching that it represents the opinions of more than one million people in its more than 400 member organisations.

But since UDF aims to "unite freedom-loving people who oppose apartheid," one can guess that there could be a lot more than one million South Africans who it speaks for.

More important will be whether it can mobilise this many people to actively fight apartheid.

In pursuing its short-term

aims — to fight the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills — the UDF will be asking people to do no more than passively stay out of the system and not to vote.

But the long-term goal of destroying apartheid is a much harder battle that will demand a much more active response from UDF supporters.

The independent trade union movement that has developed over the last decade showed that people saw more to gain in organising, firstly, round bread and butter issues that offered them the possibility of real, short-term victories, than in organising round broad political issues.

The natural response to this was that other organisations also started developing not round major issues, such as apartheid and democracy, but firstly round more immediate community, student and women's issues.

People got together not to discuss apartheid and the homeland system, but to discuss how they could combat high rents, bad housing, poor transport facilities and other immediate problems.

In the long term, these people would relate their frustration on the short-term issues to their lack of democratic representation on a national level.

Thus the short-term issues translated to long-term political concerns and the notion of two-level struggle resulted.

Two-level struggle meant people would organise round

local, immediate problems on the first level and tie their organisations into a national body to challenge the broader problems on the second level.

The UDF is therefore the national body that should translate small, local and community issues into a national struggle to challenge what they see as the root of the problem... apartheid.

But this is a large step and it requires a great deal of local organisation amongst the member bodies before this can be related to a national, political struggle.

The UDF is therefore dependent on the ability of its member organisations to mobilise people, and its member-organisations vary greatly in their strengths.

Some — such as the SA Allied Workers' Union, the Council of Unions of SA and the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) — claim a huge number of members.

Others — like the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Soweto Youth Congress — are too young for one to gauge their strength.

But many organisations which could provide a major bolster to the UDF — such as the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha — remain outside of the UDF.

The absence of these organisations make UDF appear less like a broad front than a political party that brings together people under a specific banner.

UDF leaders announced recently that they were holding talks with Azapo and making approaches to Fosatu about membership.

In relation to Inkatha, they said they would consider all applications for membership on their merits, but that there appeared little prospect of a relationship with this organisation.

If the UDF can deal with these problems, and if its member organisations show an ability to mobilise people on a large scale, then the euphoria of the launching will have been justified.

But it will face a tough test on these questions in the months to come.

Cape Times 24/8/83/11A



# POLITICS MIDWEEK

By Michael Acott

## UDF: a different view of reform

WHILE whites argue whether or not the government's constitutional proposals are a step in the right direction, those who are not white gave a clear verdict at Mitchells Plain last week-end.

The United Democratic Front is many things. It is militant, it is angry and it is already being denigrated by Nationalist commentators as a "far left" movement.

It is also multi-racial, although whites are a minority of its members and supporters. It is dedicated to peaceful change, although it has not ruled out civil disobedience to attain its ends. And it is legal, although the government might yet decide to act against it.

Above all, the UDF represents a greater threat than any white party, left or right, to the successful implementation of the government's constitutional plan.

It is composed of some 400 disparate organizations united by one thing: The conviction that the new constitution must not be implemented because the government is entrenching apartheid, not dismantling it.

And it has youth on its side. The thousands who literally jammed the Rocklands Civic Centre to the rafters last Saturday were predominantly young. Black, coloured, Indian and white, they were mainly teenagers and people in their early 20s looking for a way to a shared and peaceful future.

Their way is not the path chosen by the government, nor of the coloured and Indian parties who have decided to participate in the government scheme only to change it.

The coloured Labour Party and the Indian middle-aged middle class, but the coloured and Indian youth was much in evidence at the UDF meeting. They were there to associate with young black and white people pursuing

the dream of a common future.

These young people are idealistic and often radical. They have been highly politicized by the developments since the 1976 riots. They are the black, coloured and Indian leaders of tomorrow, claiming full rights in a common South Africa and demanding an end to racial discrimination.

The UDF does not see the new constitution purely in terms of the Constitution Bill now before Parliament.

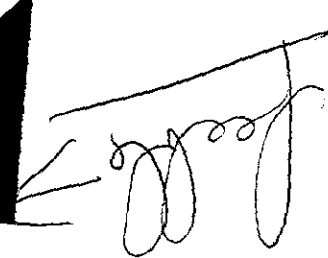
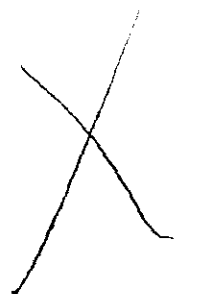
It is opposed both to the constitutional plan and the "Koornhof Bills" — rightly bracketing government plans for white, coloured and Asian people on the one hand and black people on the other as part of the same grand design.

The Nationalist plan for a Nationalist-dominated parliament which brings coloured and Indian representatives into government while reinforcing the homelands policy for blacks has not only polarized white politics.

It has brought together in the UDF organizations, from labour and student to church and community, most of whose members are not white, in outright opposition to its proposals.

The UDF meeting showed strong sympathy with the African National Congress, greeting speakers with freedom songs and chants of "Amandla". Radical it might be, and militant too, but it is not necessarily revolutionary or subversive.

Like the ANC and other organizations subsequently banned, it is another example of the inevitable reaction of the black, coloured and Indian communities to the entrenchment of white power, whether blatant or in the past as these are not radical by nature. They have been made so by a process started in 1910 which the government wants to continue in 1983.



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# Mandela is <sup>Sowetan</sup> not the ogre <sup>25/8/83</sup> they say he is <sup>(11A)</sup>

**BASIL D'OLIVEIRA**, our Foreign Correspondent, jots down his impressions of Nelson Mandela's statement from the dock.

**LONDON** — IT has taken me almost 20 years to read Nelson Mandela's statement from the dock in the Pretoria Supreme Court at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia trial.

I cannot remember what was reported at the time, how much of the ANC leaders statement was carried in South African newspapers at the time. Nor can I begin to calculate how many white South Africans paid any attention whatsoever to what was reported of the articulate lawyers statement of political belief.

It is a moving declaration.

In the form of a 48-page booklet published at about 30 cents, it is one of the more popular publications put out by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (Idaf).

Both because it quotes Mr. Mandela and because it is published by the Idaf, possession of the booklet without the permission of the Minister of Justice would be a criminal offence in South Africa.

But, here in England, there are no such complications.

So I read what the jailed black leader had to say — and it took me back to my childhood.

My father had volunteered for duty in the First World War. He survived the horrors of trench warfare in Flanders and elsewhere. Fortunately, he was not one of the commanding generals gained an inch, a

foot, a yard at the cost of hundreds of lives.

Despite this, when the Second World War broke out in 1939, my father was one of the first to "join up" to fight for his country. He was too old for combat and remained in a reserve regiment stationed in Kimberley until his death in 1944.

He was a fierce South African patriot and able-bodied men who did not "join up" were beyond his contempt. As for Afrikaners who not only opposed the war effort but who tried to "help Hitler" through supplying the enemy with information and through sabotage, my father would have had them shot out of hand, like so many rabid dogs.

I grew up believing members of the Ossewa Brandwag were loutish, cowardly, cruel tools of the fascists and that Nationalists were only slightly better because they never actually committed any sabotage.

It took me almost 30 years to understand that many members of the OB were dedicated patriots who believed — passionately — that they were serving a just and noble cause. Although the rank-and-file may have included some loutish killers, the leadership included some exceptionally fine people.

I believe they were mistaken, but exposure to their speeches, their publications and their private conversations showed my fathers view was totally wrong.

For many years, English-speaking South Africans believed Afrikaners were markedly inferior, incapable of becoming much more than farmers, semi-skilled workers and lower-level government servants.

Just as my father was wrong and just as I was wrong for these many years, the last 20 years have proved just how wrong these South Africans have been.

To most white South Africans, blacks who resist the Government are "terrorists" — loutish, cruel tools of international communism. Just as my father, most white South Africans see theirs as the only true South African "patriotism." Even worse, they believe the black masses share their contempt for the "terrorists."

On both counts, they are tragically wrong.

This is due in part to the fact that they know so little about the other side — a state of affairs encouraged by a Government which has banned much of what the "other side" has said and still says.

The turning point in my view of the Afrikaners who opposed the war effort in 1939/45 came when I researched a book about Prime Minister John Vorster, one of the OB's "chief generals." I read a great deal about OB leader Hans van Rensburg and I studied much of what this remarkable (if mistaken) man said and wrote. — SFS.

Witness tells of alleged ANC supporters who died in Pretoria <sup>Explosion</sup> explosion

# Blast: 'A big work' work

ARGUS 25/8/83

114 ~~114~~

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A witness told the Pretoria bomb blast inquest today of his dealings with two alleged African National Congress (ANC) supporters who died in the blast when the bomb they planted exploded prematurely.

Mr Jerry Shabangu said in a statement that he had known the men for many years.

On May 19 this year, Mr Freddy Shongwe, one of men who died, asked Mr Shabangu if he knew where to get a stolen car.

Mr Shabangu said Mr Shongwe had said he had "a big work" to do. Mr Shabangu said he had not known what the work was but thought it could be a housebreaking case as Mr Shongwe had housebreaking convictions.

## Hide a car

The court heard that on May 20, the day of the blast, Mr Shongwe returned to Mr Shabangu and asked if he could hide a car in his garage.

Mr Shabangu said he would make a plan and the two of them drove to Mr Ezekial Maseko's house in Mamelodi. Mr Maseko was the second alleged ANC man killed in the blast.

The court was told of a white Colt Galant and a combi which were at Mr Maseko's house. The Colt had Swazi registration plates.

## Nervous

Mr Shabangu said he could see that Mr Shongwe was nervous but he (Shabangu) did not want to get involved.

Mr Shabangu said he did not know what Mr Shongwe or Mr Maseko were planning. He heard about the blast on TV news that evening.

# Black Power salutes, slogans as students clash on campus

By Zenaide Vendeiro

Fighting broke out between conservative and left-wing students on the University of the Witwatersrand campus yesterday after a lunchtime meeting at which a former Swapo soldier was invited to speak.

The meeting was organised by the conservative student body, the Students' Moderate Alliance (SMA), to "bring to students an alternative point of view on Namibia during Namibia Week".

Strict security measures were enforced. The 300-or-so students entering the lecture hall were stopped by university security men and asked to produce student cards. Those without cards were turned away.

When guest speaker Mr Nestor Heita, a former Swapo guerilla, entered the hall — accompanied by a private security guard — supporters of the Azanian Students' Organisation and the Black Students' Society began hissing, singing freedom songs and chanting "Sam Nujoma", "Swapo for the people" and "Traitor".

Frustrated right-wing students in turn shouted "Rooi Rus" and "Kick them out".

Mr Heita and executive members of the SMA battled to make themselves heard. The administrative registrar, Mr Ken Standemacher, appealed for quiet.

Only when security men began taking the names of those disrupting the meeting did the left-wing students leave, chanting and giving Black Power salutes.

A clearly uncomfortable Mr Heita began his address and was applauded by the remaining students. After the meeting he was hustled through a back door and into a waiting car.

Outside, right-wing and left-wing students waving Swapo flags exchanged taunts. Scuffles came when the white students began chanting "Quota! Quota!" and grabbed and ripped pro-Swapo flags and posters.

Guards battled to separate the groups and told them to disperse. Several students were marched away.

Mr Standemacher said that officials



Former Swapo guerilla Mr Nestor Heita . . . invited to speak "to give balance".

would consider what disciplinary action to take against students who had breached university rules.

Mr Russel Crystal, president of the SMA, said that disruption of the meeting was "a despicable act."

"There is no justification for it. In the past, left-wingers ran a pro-Swapo focus on Namibia Week. We invited Mr Heita to keep a balance. Students, after all, should be educated, not indoctrinated."

The president of the Black Students' Society and the Azanian Students' Organisation, Mr Tiego Moseneke, said

inviting "a traitor" to speak on campus had been a provocative act.

"The SMA know well that we identify fully with the struggles of Namibian people. Their plight is ours." Asked about the principle of freedom of speech, Mr Moseneke said the concept was "a non-issue in the South African context".

"The State bans and detains our people, so why should we listen to a traitor?"

"We did not intend physical encounters with people opposed to our point of view and feel we showed restraint. We could have acted with much more severity."

## Forget God, guns are law, Swapo tells soldier

Former Swapo soldier Mr Nestor Heita, the centre of yesterday's clashes between conservative and left-wing Wits students, cut a wretched figure.

Ill at ease, he flinched at every taunt of "traitor" and "sell-out" hurled at him.

When he finally got a chance to speak, Mr Heita told students in broken English that he had been recruited by Swapo after a year of unemployment.

"They told me I had everything to gain by joining them. They took my wife and baby away and took me across the border into Angola."

His Bible was confiscated. "They told me not to believe in God. Guns were law," he said.

Mr Heita said he received military training and

was taught to read and write English during stays at several Swapo bases in Angola. In 1979 he was sent to Russia for eight months.

"I was trained in tanks, taught to speak Russian, and told about communist ideas and leaders. I asked several times to see my wife but Swapo told me that it was a time of war against South Africa and I would see them afterwards."

"I was brought back to Africa and became a lieutenant-commander. I operated from Angola into Namibia where I came into contact with South African forces."

He was wounded and captured by the SADF on October 14 1982. "I lost my right leg."

Mr Heita is now a businessman in Ovamboland.

EAST LONDON — At a meeting of the Labour Party of South Africa's East London branch here last night, candidates were elected to stand for the September 7 elections for the Coloured Management Committee.

D. Dispatch 25/8/83  
**Labour Party** (11A)  
**candidates chosen**

The four candidates who will stand under the banner of the Labour Party are: Mr D. Alexan-

der, Mr J. Alexander, Mr A. V. Green and Mr J. F. Temmers.

Recently elected

office holders of the East London branch of the Labour Party are: Mr P. A. S. Mopp (chairman), Mr F. N. Barlow (vice chairman), Mr D. Alexander (secretary), Mr J. Borman (treasurer) and Mr A. B. Roberts (trustee). — DDR.

11A F.M. 26/8/83

POLITICS

The UDF's goals

11A

ations, trade unions, students, women's, church and community bodies, fall under the UDF banner. It claims to represent more than a million people.

As one of the most broadly-based political movements in SA since the African Nationalist Congress (ANC)-led Congress Alliance of the Fifties, the UDF marks a resurgence of the mass protest politics of that era. It symbolises large-scale opposition to government's chosen path of political change. The UDF arises at a time of more apparent tolerance as government prepares its reforms. But how the UDF will negotiate its way round a still formidable array of restrictive measures remains to be seen.

Aside from its boycott campaigns, the UDF declaration embodies ideals the realisation of which seem impossible at present. The preamble states: "Freedom-loving people of SA say with one voice . . . that we cherish the vision of a united democratic SA based on the will of the people, and will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid and economic and all other forms of exploitation . . ." Among its standpoints is the call for "a single, non-racial, unfragmented SA, a SA free of bantustans and group areas."

What strategies can it adopt to make these ideals a reality? According to Gumede, who is one of three UDF national presidents and a veteran of the Congress Alliance, there will naturally be a phase of protest politics. Gumede believes the history of protest in SA "has reached a new peak" and is likely to become more practical.

Asked how realistic the UDF's goal of a unitary, non-racial state is, Gumede says the simple fact that there is a single economy in which all the people are participants makes this an attainable goal. "I don't believe people can accept being second-class citizens in the country of their birth forever," he adds.

Asked about his stance on the possibility of negotiating with government, Gumede says he personally believes "the fact that government is using the word change is an admission that the *status quo* cannot continue. A recipe (for change) must be found and it may be possible for people to look at the situation afresh."

He adds: "Negotiation is what it's all about . . . The Rhodesian experience is anathema to me." But he also emphasises that "the UDF is not the be-all and the end-all. There are other people to be consulted as well."

A nationwide campaign of political "education" against government's referendum on the new constitution is the first task the United Democratic Front (UDF) has set itself. This includes action against expected ethnic elections, as well as forthcoming black community council elections, says UDF president Archie Gumede.

The UDF's national launch was held last weekend at an emotion-charged multiracial rally attended by about 12 000 people in Mitchells Plain near Cape Town. Some 400 organisations, including ratepayers' associ-

Financial Mail August 26 1983



# Black face of apartheid

THE GOVERNMENT has put into motion what it believes will be the final step of its constitutional proposals — the holding of a referendum on November 2.

No doubt the referendum will be preceded by hectic campaigning by South Africa's five white political parties: the Nationalist Party, the Conservative Party, the New Republic Party, the Progressive Federal Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The proposals constitute the basis of the government's so-called reform programme, whereas for the people who will be most affected by it — the blacks — it constitutes a re-affirmation of the basic tenets of apartheid.

The proposals were announced with great fanfare by a confident Nationalist Government, but the backlash from the white electorate was a severe setback.

### PROPOSALS

The breakaway from the Nationalist Party by Dr Andries Treurnicht to form the Conservative Party highlighted the deep divisions the proposals created within the laager alliance itself.

Even with the inclusion of some prominent coloureds and Indians, the proposals created a schism which has left organisations such as the Labour Party in complete disarray.

It is instructive to note that while the white electorate is being consulted through the referendum, the supposed beneficiaries of the proposals have not been similarly consulted.

### By ZWELAKHE SISULU

Almost immediately after the proposals were announced, campaigns to oppose them were launched, resulting in the formation of the National Forum Committee (NFC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The massive support that the anti-President's Council (PC) proposals has received nationally, will have the effect of invalidating whatever the white electorate decides.

The PC proposals were rejected mainly because the new constitution is devoid of a democratic process and is in fact aimed at entrenching white minority interests.

### CONSTITUTION

The proposals are seen as an exercise of co-opting coloureds and Indians to give the new constitution a semblance of fair representation.

It has been noted, however, that the co-opting of coloureds and Indians will create a protective shell around apartheid.

Dr Allan Boesak put

it succinctly when he said the proposals were merely meant to give apartheid a black face.

Another major point at issue is the dictatorial powers that would be vested in the executive president.

Under the new constitution it would be almost impossible to check the powers of the president. Further, the composition of the Cabinet would mean that the combined coloured and Indian votes would be less than the Nationalist representation.

It is quite clear that the new constitution was drawn around one name, the Prime Minister Mr P W Botha, and one political party, the Nationalist Party.

When the constitutional proposals were drawn up the government obviously had one eye on the international community; the proposals, it hoped, would be seen as a serious attempt by Mr Botha's government to move away from apartheid.

This would have neutralised the international diplomatic initiative to isolate South Africa.

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw has indicated that his party will vote "yes" to the proposals, while the Conservative Party and the HNP are sure to return a "no" vote.

The PFP is apparently still evaluating the situation.



P W BOTHA: Entrenching minority interests.



# Inquest: ANC blasted Pretoria

CASE TAKES  
26/8/83

11A ~~11A~~

PRETORIA. — Two ex-convicts were responsible for the bomb blast which killed 19 people — including themselves — and injured 217 others in central Pretoria on May 20 this year, an inquest magistrate found yesterday.

At a hearing in Pretoria Magistrate's Court on the deaths of the 19 victims, Mr T I Potgieter found that two of the victims, Freddy Shongwe, 33, and Ezekiel Maseko, 35, had been recruited by the African National Congress to carry out the bombing.

The bomb was placed in a stolen car outside the Nedbank building in Church Street. Shongwe and Maseko were killed when the bomb apparently exploded prematurely.

Evidence was heard that Shongwe was still inside the car — a cream-coloured Colt Galant — when the bomb detonated.

A kombi, belonging to Maseko and containing a portable radio adapted to detonate explosives, two electrical wires and parts of an electrical grinder evidently used to remove the engine number of the Colt, was found near the scene.

### 'Big job'

A friend of Shongwe, Mr Jerry Shabangu, testified that on the day before the blast, Shongwe, who had just returned from a trip to Swaziland, asked him where he could obtain a stolen vehicle for a "big job".

Shongwe informed



May 20 ... Police outside the restaurant devastated by the blast.

him later that he had a "straight" car — one not stolen — and that he could use it if the engine number was removed.

"He asked me whether he could keep the car in my garage, as he didn't want anyone to see it.

"He took me to Ezekiel Maseko's house to see the car. Maseko's kombi was standing outside. Behind the house there was a white Colt Galant. It was neat and clean and had SD registration plates," Mr Shabangu said.

"The next day I heard about the bomb blast in Pretoria. But I never thought that Maseko and Shongwe could have been involved in such a thing."

He said he, Maseko and Shongwe, had been convicted in 1974 for housebreaking.

Mr Shabangu said he had deduced from discussions with Shongwe that he was an "ANC sympathizer" but was uncertain whether Maseko was involved with the organization.

Shongwe visited Swaziland frequently and had indicated that during his visits there he had been in contact with ANC members.

Maseko's wife, Mrs Anna Maseko, told the inquest magistrate that on the morning of the blast Shongwe had turned up at the Maseko home in Mamelodi township near Pretoria and asked Maseko whether he could leave a "friend's car", a white Colt Galant, there. He would fetch it later.

Shongwe had then asked her husband to

♦♦♦♦

To page 2



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# Nusas hits out at Nat proposals

Education Reporter

THE notion that the constitutional proposals should be supported as "a step in the right direction" had to be stopped, the president of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), Miss Kate Philip, told about 2 000 students yesterday.

Addressing a United Democratic Front (UDF) meeting at the University of Cape Town, Miss Philip said it was false to argue that the Nationalists were overcoming their racism "shade by shade", because racism was racism.

The announcement this week that a referendum would be held on the constitution after it had been "pushed through Parliament in an anti-democratic and authoritarian way" was merely "rubber-stamp democracy".

Miss Philip said none of the repressive legislation that currently existed would be removed, but coloured and Indian people who agreed to participate in the new system would "be expected to defend their new-found second-class privileges".

CAPE TIMES 26/8/83  
 From page 11A  
 take him somewhere and the two men had disappeared. Maseko returned home soon after, about 1.45pm, but left again, returning just before 3pm, she said.

While Maseko was changing his clothes, Shongwe arrived at the house. The two men spoke briefly outside and Maseko came back inside to fetch an electrical grinder from under his bed which he handed to Shongwe.

"I saw Freddy (Shongwe) lift the bonnet of the Colt Galant and grind something inside the engine.

"I became very frightened, as I suspected then that the car was stolen," Mrs Maseko said.

About 3.30pm, the two men left the house in the kombi and the Colt.

"They appeared to be in a great hurry and just left the grinder lying on the ground. That was the last time I saw them alive. On May 23 I became uneasy and started making inquiries."

Her son informed her on May 28 that her husband's kombi had been found in Schubart Street.

The next day, she asked a Mr Stephen Ollifant to take her to Schubart Street, where they found the kombi parked on a pavement, near the

Poynton's Building, opposite which the blast occurred.

In the kombi, they found a cream-coloured jacket — worn by Shongwe on the day of the blast — and a paper bag containing a portable radio, two electrical leads, attachments from the electrical grinder and a torch.

Mrs Maseko said she arranged for the kombi to be towed to her house, and left the equipment she found in the vehicle at a Mr Nhlapo's house in Mamelodi, "because I suspected it had something to do with Ezekiel's death". She had heard about her husband's death a few days earlier from his brother, who had identified Maseko's corpse in the State Mortuary.

Maseko's brother had handed her about R300 which was found on Maseko's body. She also found about R3 000 in a jacket of her husband.

She was not sure whether he was involved with the ANC, but confirmed that he had visited Swaziland last year.

The investigating officer, Major Frederick Nel, of the Pretoria security police, testified that he visited the scene soon after the blast.

It was clear that the bomb had been placed in the Colt, the front of which was "disintegrat-

ed". The engine was found about 15m from the vehicle. The engine number had been scraped off, and the vehicle had SD registration.

He had helped "piece together pieces of a black man" found at the blast scene and it was clear to police that the remains were those of a person who had been in the vehicle when the bomb exploded.

The dismembered corpse was later identified by Mrs Maria Shongwe as that of her husband.

On June 30, police detained Mr Jerry Shabangu and Maseko's wife in terms of the Internal Security Act. Mrs Maseko had taken the police to Mr Nhlapo's house where they had found the radio and other equipment found in the kombi. The radio had been adapted to detonate explosives, Major Nel said.

He added that the ANC had claimed responsibility for the blast — Sapa

**Too late for classification**

**BIRTHS**  
**EADIE.** — To Dave and Anne a brother and a sister for DJ and Gretel. All well. Thanks to doctors and staff at Mowbray.

**DEATHS**  
**STEPHEN.** — Winnifred Rhoda passed away peacefully August 24. Fondly remembered by her family. In lieu of flowers, donations to The Leprosy Mission, 27 Woodside Drive, Pinelands.

# New autopsy on hanged boy

PIETERSBURG. — A second post-mortem examination on the body of the 18-year-old matric pupil found hanged at the Mankweng police station last week, will be conducted today after a request from his parents.

Mr. Thabo Tsolo, a final-year matric student at the Hwiti High School, near Turfloop University, was found dead in a shower in the exercise area of the Mankweng police station, five days after be-

ing taken into custody.

According to his parents' attorneys, Mr Tsolo was earlier released in the custody of his parents and was to appear on August 30 at the Mankweng Magistrate's Court in connection with charges of robbery, housebreaking, theft and possession of stolen goods.

However, Mr Tsolo was re-arrested on August 12 and kept at the police station until he was found dead on August 17.

On Friday, August 19, his family were unable to attend a post-mortem conducted by the principal district surgeon in Pietersburg, Dr E J Kruger, as the request to attend arrived too late.

However, a family doctor will be present during today's post mortem, which will start at 9am.

Mr Tsolo, who was paralysed and had to use crutches after a car accident, was staying on the university campus with

his father, Mr Butana Tsolo, who was employed by the campus security section.

Police said when his body was found on the night of August 17, it was hanging by a belt that had been attached to a pipe in the shower.

Police said although his belt and shoelaces had been confiscated, he apparently obtained a belt from a prison uniform of one of his fellow prisoners. — Sapa

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Funder Inside

FRIDAY, AUGUST 26, 1983

CAPE TIMES 26/8/83

# What other rebels said may be read

Argus, 26/8/83

(11A)

Apr 20 1983

JOHN D'OLIVEIRA of the Argus Foreign Service in London compares present attitudes towards the imprisoned ANC leader and past views on "generals" of the Ossewabrandwag

IT has taken me almost 20 years to read Nelson Mandela's statement from the dock in the Pretoria Supreme Court at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia trial.

I cannot remember what was reported, how much of the ANC leader's statement was published in South African newspapers at the time. Nor can I begin to calculate how many white South Africans paid any attention whatsoever to what was reported of the articulate lawyer's statement of political belief.

It is a moving declaration.

In the form of a 48-page booklet published at about 30 cents, it is one of the more popular of the publications put out by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa.

## Criminal offence

Both because it quotes Mr Mandela and because it is published by the IDAF, possession of the booklet without the permission of the Minister of Justice would be a criminal offence in South Africa.

But, here in England there are no such complications.

So I read what the jailed black leader had to say — and it took me back to my childhood.

My father had volunteered for duty in the first World War. He survived the horrors of trench warfare in Flanders and elsewhere. Fortunately, he was not one of the millions who died as the commanding generals gained an inch, a foot, a yard at the cost of hundreds of lives.

## Like dogs

Despite this, when the second World War broke out in 1939, my father was one of the first to join up to fight for his country. He was too old for combat and remained in a reserve regiment stationed in Kimberley until his death in 1944.

He was a fierce South African patriot, and able-bodied men who did not join up were beyond his contempt. As for Afrikaners who not only opposed the war effort but who tried to "help Hitler" through supplying the enemy with information and through sabotage, my father would have had them shot out of hand, like so many rabid dogs.

I grew up believing members of the Ossewa Brandwag were loutish, cowardly, cruel tools of the fascists and that National-



Mr John Vorster... mistaken perhaps, but a dedicated patriot.

ists were only slightly better because they never actually committed any sabotage.

It took me almost 30 years to understand that many members of the OB were dedicated patriots who believed — passionately — that they were serving a just and noble cause. Although the rank-and-file may have included some loutish killers, the leadership included some exceptionally fine people.

I believe they were mistaken, but exposure to their speeches, their publications and their private conversations showed my father's view was totally wrong.

For many years, English-speaking South Africans believed Afrikaners were markedly inferior, incapable of becoming much more than farmers, semi-skilled workers and lower-level government servants.

## Tragically wrong

Just as my father was wrong and just as I was wrong for these many years, the last 20 years have proved just how wrong these South Africans have been.

What does this have to do with Nelson Mandela?

To most white South Africans, blacks who resist the Government are "terrorists" — loutish, cruel tools of international communism. Like my father, most white South Africans see theirs as the only true South African "patriotism." Even worse, they believe the black masses share their contempt for the "terrorists."

On both counts they are tragically wrong.

This is due in part to the fact that they know so little about the other side — a state of affairs encouraged by a Government which has banned much of what the "other side" has said and still says.

The turning point, in my view, for the Afrikaners who opposed the war effort between 1939 and 1945 came when I researched a book about Prime Minister John Vorster, one of the OB's "chief generals." I read a great deal about OB leader Hans van Rensburg and I studied much of what this remarkable (if mistaken) man said and wrote.

They were not monsters. I could not and did not portray them as monsters — even though I knew that many of my friends would be appalled at my lack of judgment.

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But his statement from the dock shows him as a remarkable man nevertheless.

White South Africans should not be deprived of an opportunity to make up their own minds about Mr Mandela.

At the very least, the average white should have no illusions about the calibre of black leadership — and potential black government — in South Africa.

Seochoan  
26/8/83  
Youths  
launch  
Mayo (11A)

By ALINAH DUBE  
THE Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo) is to be launched at the local Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) centre tomorrow.

Organisers of the meeting which starts at 10 am said the aim was to unite the youths and also "get them to actively respond to problems affecting the community." The issue of the trouble-torn Mabopane East Technikon will also be highlighted to make students aware of the problems they are faced with in the country.

Prominent community leaders have been invited to the occasion.

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Prime Minister:

\*1. Mr. J. J. B. VAN ZYL.—Prime Minister [Transferred—see \*21.]

11A *Hansard Q.61. 1969*  
United Democratic Front: pamphlets

\*2. Dr. A. L. BORAINÉ asked the Prime Minister:

(1) Whether any State department was

~~26/8/83~~  
26/8/83

1961

FRIDAY, 26 A

involved in the (a) compiling, (b) printing or (c) distribution in August 1983 of pamphlets relating to the United Democratic Front rally on 20 August 1983; if so, (i) why, (ii) which State departments, (iii) what was the nature of the involvement in each case and (iv) what was the total cost to the State in connection with these pamphlets;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The PRIME MINISTER:

(1) To the best of my knowledge there was no State department involved in the compiling, printing or distribution of the pamphlets.

(2) Falls away.

# What other rebels said may be read

Argus 26/8/83

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# Office blast in Carlton Centre

CAPE TIMES 27/8/83

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JOHANNESBURG. — An explosion ripped through the floor housing offices of the Ciskei Consulate in the Carlton Centre in central Johannesburg last night, injuring one man and causing extensive damage.

According to police, the blast occurred at 7.10pm on the sixth level of the 50-floor office block, scattering glass and debris around the centre. They said water gushed on to the streets below when waterpipes burst in the explosion.

A spokesman for Carlton security said minimal water damage had been caused to the lower floors, after waterpipes of the building's fire-prevention system had ruptured. They were repaired within two hours, he said.

Entertainment in the area halted as police, fire brigade and ambulance personnel cordoned off the area minutes after the blast.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, said that at this stage it was impossible to say what caused it.

"Explosives experts are fine-combing the floor for explosive debris and materials that might show what initiated the blast.

"It is quite a struggle for them because of the broken waterpipes, water and muck about the place.

"The findings will have to be taken to laboratories for examination. We cannot say for definite that a bomb was planted there. The explosion could have been quite accidental for all we know at this stage."

Police closed off Von Weilligh Street, Fox Street between Commissioner and Main streets and Kruis Street to keep curious bystanders away from the blast area.

The Police Public Relations Officer for the Johannesburg area, Lieutenant-Colonel Fred Bull, said damage was confined to the



One of the women who said she saw a man running from the Carlton Hotel before the blast. Her eyes have been blacked out to protect her identity.

sixth floor. He said the injured man, Mr Samuel Mhlongo, had received minor injuries from flying glass.

Colonel Bull said the floor was used by the Ciskei Consulate.

Two young women are believed to have seen a man running from the building shortly before the blast.

Soon after the blast, the women were placed in the back of a traffic department vehicle and ordered by police to cover themselves with a blanket.

## Witnesses

Two witnesses who were in a newsagents on the ground floor of the centre said they heard two explosions, one just after 7pm and another about 7.20pm.

"We were in the newsagents when the first blast occurred, and then later when we were in a coffee bar, we heard the second explosion," one woman said.

"Police were there soon after and we were told to leave the building."

"When we heard the first blast it was the strangest feeling. The noise was something like the sound of an audience applauding in an auditorium," one of the women said.

A man said he was making a telephone call from a callbox on the

ground level when he heard the explosion soon after 7pm.

"I dropped the phone and ran as fast as I could. The place was shaking and I thought the building was going to come down on top of me."

An office worker on the 35th floor said he heard a "muffled" explosion about 7pm but did not realize it had been in the office tower.

A man working on the sixth floor at the time of the blast said the ceiling collapsed and there was "acrid smoke and concrete dust everywhere".

A security guard said a store on the lower level and the hotel section of Johannesburg's biggest complex was evacuated soon after the blast.

Cinemagoers peered from a balcony across the street and traffic continued flowing normally down Commissioner Street as emergency crews rushed around the Carlton.

Police later said they had not yet established the centre of the explosion, but the investigation would continue today. However, Colonel Bull said most of the damage was caused on the south side of the tower, where the Ciskei Consulate is located. — Sapa

Damage to  
car: rivals  
blamed by  
candidate

JCB 11A  
E. Post  
27/8/83

By GARTH KING

A CANDIDATE for the Northern Areas Management Committee election, Mr Gerald Blignaut, today accused Labour Party supporters of smashing the windscreen of his luxury car and tearing down all 500 of his election posters in Ward 6.

Mr Blignaut, who is the national secretary of the Freedom Party, is one of the candidates for the Salt Lake Extension and West End Ward. Election day is September 7.

He said he had informed the police of the two "intimidatory" incidents.

A "disgusted" Mr Blignaut said he was "sick of the hatred, cowardice and jealousy" in his community, exemplified by this "harassment".

"I won't be intimidated. I will retaliate," he said.

The chairman of the Northern Areas Management Committee and Labour Party member, Mr Charlie Green, reacting to the allegations today, said: "Where is Mr Blignaut's proof? He must identify the culprits and lay a charge against them."

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, was not available for comment.



**A** RCHIE Gumedé. Everyone who knows him will tell you, is a heluva nice guy. The sort of fatherly figure you'd like your kids to call grandpa. Kind and courteous, he is a family man, a deacon in his church, a man who worries about other people's problems.

But talk about apartheid, and you see a glint of anger in his eyes. He is what you might call an old hand, a veteran campaigner against the South African system and all that it stands for.

He is a man of few words and although he won't admit it he finds talking about himself an unnerving experience. Maybe that's why, after so many years in politics, he has remained out of the limelight. But he did eventually move into the political centre stage in Cape Town last weekend at the official launching of the United Democratic Front, an alliance claiming membership from more than 400 organisations to oppose Mr PW Botha's new Constitution Bill.

Mr Gumedé, a practising attorney in Pinetown, Mr Oscar Mpetha, a Cape trade union leader, and Mrs Albertina Sisulu were elected presidents of the Front.

But Mrs Sisulu is awaiting trial in detention and Mr Mpetha is recuperating in hospital, where his leg was amputated last week, after which he goes to prison for five years for terrorism. So this effectively leaves Mr Gumedé, a father of seven, to head the Front's 25-man executive.

Mr Gumedé lives in Clermont outside Pinetown with his wife Edith and children. He also has two grandchildren and is still active in the Presbyterian Church where he is a deacon.

He has also not escaped the attention of the State. Apart from arrests and a banning order in the turbulent Fifties and Sixties he occasionally receives visits from "the eyes of the State" and he is convinced the police are keeping tabs on him.

Early this year, during the bus boycotts, he was questioned about the activities of the Joint Commuters Committee, of which he is a member, and when a decision was taken in Johannesburg in January to form the UDF, he was again visited by the police.

"They seemed to think there was something underhand," he said.

He's been in politics for so long he doesn't know exactly when he became involved. In fact it would be right to say he was born into it.

His birth in Pietermaritzburg in 1914 was preceded by three events which were to lay the groundwork for alienation in the country's politics and whose influence and impact are still felt.

Union was formed in 1910, making no provision for the majority of the country's people. In response black chiefs and the black elite met in Bloemfontein two years later to co-ordinate resistance to what they saw as an attack on their birthright and an organisation that was to be known as the African Na-

11A

# Mr

QUOTE

Even as the sun and the rain are shared by all equally, I believe that God's gifts to mankind should be shared by all.

# Nice Guy!

(With a message for the Government)  
**THAT'S ARCHIE GUMEDE — LEADER OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT**



□ Prime Minister PW Botha announced this week that a referendum among white voters on the new constitutional proposals would be held on November 2. The proposals, which seek to draw Indians and coloureds into the country's constitutional process, have unleashed a storm of opposition. In Cape Town last weekend, more than 400 organisations met to launch a non-racial umbrella body, the United Democratic Front, to co-ordinate opposition to the proposals. It is the second such body to be formed since the Government made known its intention to change the Westminster-type of government the country has enjoyed since Union: The National Forum Committee was launched in Hammanskraal in May.

The UDF adopted a declaration in which it says:

■ We stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the Government of our country.

■ We stand for a single non-racial, unfragmented South Africa. A South Africa free of bantustans and group areas.

■ We say all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI speaks to Archie Gumedé, a Durban attorney, who as president of the UDF will spearhead the front's assault on the proposals.

tional Congress was formed.

A year later the Union Parliament passed the 1913 Land Act which effectively stripped all blacks of land ownership outside the reserves. It wreaked havoc with the material well-being of the black peasantry.

"That was the kind of environment in which I was born," said Archie.

And his family were not just distant observers. His father, Josiah, a founder member of the ANC, later became its president and many officials of the organisations would occasionally spend some time at his home.

Five years after his birth his father left for London as part of a five-man delegation to protest to the Crown over the implementation of the 1913 Land Act. They were to remain in Europe until 1922.

"They went all the way to London and all they could see was Queen Alexandra — just a Queen Mother," he recalled in an interview at his sparsely-furnished Pinetown offices this week.

He recalled how the family moved from one area to another in the centre of Pietermaritzburg — George Street, Loop Street, Burg Street, and finally New Scotland, where they remained

until 1965 when they were kicked out because of the Group Areas Act.

"I can't say when I wasn't involved in the struggle. I've always considered something had to be done about these blatant injustices which even as a child I was able to discern.

But at school there was minimal political activity. In fact the young Archie set his sights on medicine.

"Our teacher was questioning the class about our ambitions and I told him I wanted to be a doctor. He said: 'Well, if you aim for the stars, you may hit the moon.' He was making it clear there was no hope of me becoming a doctor. But still it was good that my aim was that high."

He did attempt something in the line of medicine — a five-year course in medical aid at Fort Hare.

"But I did only two years and I dropped out, a real drop-out. There was a lot of hostility against the course on the campus. Students were demanding a full course in medicine and were against those who had taken the course."

Politics has obviously dominated his life. He remembers with nostalgia people like Selope Thema, author-politician Sol Plaatje... all the big

names in African politics at the time, and of course Chief Albert Luthuli — "a wonderful man" — who was president of the ANC when it was banned along with the Pan Africanist Congress after the Sharpeville shootings in 1960.

"The Government wants people to believe that all Africans were born in the reserves. The population in the reserves when I was born was nothing like it is today.

"The people who are today in the reserves were living on land that was Crown land and after 1913 the land was sold to white farmers and people who had lived there for generations suddenly found themselves landless. They were regarded as trespassers unless they entered into a contract. Then you had a shift to the reserves."

He remembers ruefully how black peasants lost their land after 1913 and had to survive by share-cropping — working the lands and sharing the harvest with the land-owner.

But, he said, all this has left no bitterness in him.

"When the Liberal Party was formed I was one of those who joined because there was no quarrel between them and what I stood for.

They were articulating our ideas in so far as oppression was concerned. But the Transvaal was very hostile to them."

The Liberals, he said, were very supportive, especially when he and many others in the Congress movement — the ANC, the white Congress of Democrats, the Coloured People's Congress and the Indian Congress — were facing charges of treason in 1956 after the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown, Johannesburg.

"I think this is something that should be known and acknowledged."

In 1963 he was given a five-year banning order and immediately detained after a piece of paper, the origin of which he was not prepared to disclose, was found in his possession.

He chuckled as he recalled how a SAP station commander found himself in a dilemma after he was detained.

"I was a deacon in the Presbyterian Church and the station commander belonged to my church. He couldn't understand how a Christian like myself could become involved in what he would call communist activities.

"This must have worried him because when I was released four months later I learned from my family that he had brought them a turkey on Christmas Day in his private capacity."

He is adamant he won't change his views.

Freedom Charter. I don't think that the people should be governed and have no say in the government. I don't believe the wealth of the country should be made inaccessible to the majority of the people. That is a recipe for conflict.

"Even as the sun and the rain are shared by all equally, I believe that God's gifts to mankind should be shared by all."

The UDF, he said, had created a climate for better understanding.

"It has brought about the awareness in some people of the problems that are facing the country and the need for them to be tackled. I think the UDF has also shown that it is a myth to say people of different races cannot work with one another in achieving a common end.

"People are coming together in all sincerity, without any reservations or inhibitions, expressing themselves and trying to work our solutions.

"If the State acts against the UDF, it will be exposing the proposals for what they are — pure humbug.

He said the Government's new constitutional proposals were an admission that the present constitution had failed to preserve apartheid.

"They are destined to fail in the wake of mounting resistance.

"My message to the Government and all those who are opposed to organisations like the UDF is: Is it not time to sit down and allow yourselves to listen to what the people have to say?"

# BEWARE

City Press

CP Correspondent  
DURBAN

28/8/83

A FIFTH column of "loudmouth traitors" has infiltrated Inkatha right through to its supreme decision-making body, the Central Committee.

Inkatha leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has launched a scathing attack on the "traitors who pass on our strategies on a platter, even to political enemies".

He told a recent Central Committee meeting he could no longer tolerate this "shirking of responsibility", nor the people who failed to expose the "Judas Iscariots" in their midst.

"I feel extremely lonely as a leader," lamented Chief Buthelezi. "None of you want to soil your hands . . . you expect the president to do the dirty work."

## Fool

He said he was aware that many committee members thought that "because I am tolerant I am a fool; that I can tolerate people who double-cross me because I am not intelligent enough to separate the wheat from the chaff."

But it was not his fault, he said.

## Groan

"Nothing makes me groan under the weight of leadership more than certain members of the Central Committee wanting to be all things to all men," Chief Buthelezi complained.

"This cannot go on," he said. "My name has been dragged through the mud because of the disloyalty and unfaithfulness of certain members of the Central Committee."



● BUTHELEZI: Warning the loose-tongued 'traitors'.

## MP shoots 'attacker'

AN unidentified man was shot in the head this week when a KwaZulu MP fired at a crowd attacking him.

The MP for Ndwe-dwe, Roger Ngcobo, fired several shots at a crowd of people who attacked him during a

PRESS TRUST news  
AGENCY

political meeting in Clermont outside Durban.

The attackers beat up Mr Ngcobo who, they said, had challenged the authority of Chief Ga-

tsha Buthelezi. Mr Ngcobo was injured on his arms and head before shooting in the crowd.

Police later confirmed that an unknown man was admitted to King Edward VII Hospital with a bullet wound in his head.

JIA City Press ~~John D. ...~~ 28/8/83

# SACOS MANIFESTO SLAMS APARTHEID

THE SA Council of Sport issued a hard-hitting manifesto, slamming race discrimination in sport at its two-day congress in Cape Town at the weekend.

"Multi-nationalism", said the unanimously adopted manifesto, was "calculated to deceive the international community into believing that there is no race discrimination in South Africa"

The conference rejected multi-nationalism as "nothing but apartheid in sport."

The meeting was attended by about 1 000 delegates representing youth organisations, civic movements, students bodies and Sacos affiliates.

Also present were delegates from the Azanian People's Organisation and the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union.

Messages of support came from the exiled writer Dennis Brutus, the Ethiopian Olympic Committee, the Irish Anti-Apartheid movement, the Supreme Council on Sport in Africa, the UN Special Committee on Apartheid and the United Democratic Front conference in Mitchell's Plain.

The manifesto rejected international competition in sport until South African teams were selected on merit alone.

It called on all sports organisations to break down the "artificial



● Sacos President Frank van der Horst

barriers" the state created in order to entrench apartheid in sport.

Any individual who served on Government created bodies such as the President's Council, the South African Indian council, management committees, community councils or "Bantustan" assemblies was guilty of violating

the principle of non-racialism in sport, and society, it said.

Sacos failed to lure some of the overseas Press who arrived in Cape Town on Friday and Saturday to attend the South African Rugby Board's Media Congress.

Only one BBC television crew attended

the conference while respected British rugby writers such as Clem Thomas and John Reason were at Newlands rugby ground where Western Province beat Free State in a Currie Cup Game.

Mr Frank van der Horst, president of Sacos, called the media congress "a white-wash."

# IT'S WAR ON THE CISKEI

28/8/83 S. T. Iphe  
 (Handwritten signatures and scribbles)



Lennox Sebe

**Sebe regime target of ANC Carlton bomb**

**By Charlene Beltramo,  
Deon Delpoit and  
Geoff Sifrin**

THE African National Congress has effectively declared war against the Ciskei, and Friday's bomb blast in Johannesburg marked the first stage of what could become a bitter and bloody struggle.

On Friday at 6:50pm, two hours after most office workers had left the 50-storey Carlton Centre office block, the sixth floor was devastated by a Russian limpet mine placed in a wastepaper basket in one of the five offices occupied by the Ciskei Consul-General. Only one man, passer-by Mr Samuel Mahlangu, was slightly injured by flying glass. Four office workers still on the sixth floor at the time of the blast miraculously escaped injury.

Yesterday afternoon, Mr Zola Skweyiya, chief representative of the ANC in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, said in a statement that the attack had been carried out by "a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military arm) against the so-called consulate of the Ciskei bantustan."

Major-General Francois Steenkamp of the Security Police confirmed a Russian limpet mine was used in the blast. He said the type of timing devices used on the bomb could be set to detonate anything from five minutes to thirty days later.

Although the blast left a 3 cm depression in the concrete floor, the bomb, which probably weighed less than 1 kg and must have been smuggled past the strict Anglo American security staff, caused almost no damage to the outside of the building.

Inside, however, there was extensive damage to walls, ceilings and office equipment. Fortunately the fire caused by the blast was soon doused by the building's sophisticated sprinkler system.

The situation in the Ciskei - the third of South Africa's homelands to gain independence in December, 1981 - has become an increasing source of embarrassment to the South African authorities, who have on more than one occasion attempted to help the Ciskeian authorities defuse the potentially explosive situation in the Xhosa state.

During the last six weeks the Ciskei has seen its worst wave of violence, police shootings and detentions in the short, traumatic history of the South African-created state.

The recent unrest began with a bus boycott initiated when the government-controlled Ciskei Transport Commission increased bus fares by 11 percent.

Forty percent of the Ciskeian population - most of whom have been forcibly relocated to the impoverished homeland - are unemployed.

The CTC lost more than R1 million in revenue and damage to about 100 buses in the boycott which ended with President Lennox Sebe's announcement last week that the fares would be reduced.

However, the incidents that have fanned the already simmering fires of discontent among Ciskeian residents have been the shootings of at least seven boycotting commuters at Mdantsane, a large township incorporated into Ciskei.

The situation was made worse when the Ciskei authorities immediately banned large weekend funerals and allowed only small, week-day family burials for the slain commuters.

Press coverage was also banned and journalists have been harassed and threatened in the area.

More than 80 people,

**To Page 3.**

**From Page 1.**

# ANC bombs aimed at Sebe regime

*165*  
*28/8/83*  
*NA*  
*8/11*

including prominent trade union members and church leaders, have also been detained in the Ciskei in the last month in connection with the boycott.

At the same time the Ciskei has had to contend with a parallel problem from the right — an alleged failed coup plot by the president's brother, Major-General Xhanti Charles Sebe.

General Sebe and some of his alleged cohorts were detained in July in connection with the alleged plot, after President Sebe hurriedly returned from a rumoured arms-buying mission to Israel. Before Friday night's bomb blast, the Ciskei Government and its activities were making headlines. Last weekend and early this week the wife of the former head of State Security in the Ciskei, General Tail-lifer Minnaar, brought an urgent application against South African health authorities after her husband, who had been detained by Ciskei in mid-July, was mysteriously moved to Westkoppies mental institution near Pretoria.

He was released on the orders of the Pretoria Supreme Court and immediately redetained by the S A Police, apparently at the request of the Ciskeian authorities.

It is believed General Minnaar would face nine charges under arms and explosive laws in the Ciskei if they applied for his extradition and South Africa granted it.

President Lennox Sebe has so far made no statement on Friday's bomb blast. Colonel Z Makhuizen, the current head of the Ciskei Security Police, had no comment to make on the blast and said a statement "would come from the politicians."

Almost immediately after the alleged coup plot was uncovered, President Sebe made himself Life President of Ciskei.

Ciskei, which had 10 Cabinet reshuffles in its first year of independence, is an arid land accommodating more than 130 people per square kilometre, making it one of the most densely populated countries in Africa.

Researchers have estimated that at current population growth the impoverished area — of which less than 15 per cent is arable — will be a desert with standing room only in 10 years time.

11A City Pass 28/8/83 114

# PATRONS

THE UDF rally chose the following patrons: Nelson Mandela, Govin Mboke, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu and Raymond Mhlaba — all ANC leaders now imprisoned — Helen Joseph, former secretary of the Federation of South African Women, Martha Mahlangu, mother of executed Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrilla

Solomon Mahlangu, Hassan Howa, former president of SACOS, Mary Naidoo, wife of dead former Natal Indian Congress leader M D Naidoo, Johnny Issel, banned Cape Town community leader and former Saso official, Frances Beard, one-time general secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Dr Beyers Naude, banned former director of the outlawed Christian Institute, Florence

Mkhize, banned former leader of the ANC Women's League, Dorothy Nyembe, jailed for ANC activities, Dennis Goldberg, serving a life sentence for ANC/Umkhonto activities, Dr Essop Jassal president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Rev Sman-galisso Mkhathshwa, secretary of the South African Catholic Bishops' conference, and Sheikh Nazem Mohammed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council.



Veteran campaigner FRANCES BEARD, one of the 18 UDF patrons.



**'WE WANT OUR RIGHTS AND WE WANT THEM NOW...'**

For Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the UDF conference was the realisation of his call last year for a non-racial unity movement to oppose apartheid.



**WHILE OUTSIDE, THE THOUSANDS SANG** Excited UDF delegates gather to sing and celebrate at the Rocklands Centre in anticipation of the mass rally.

## Executive of 61 to lead UDF

THE following office bearers were elected to lead the UDF campaign: Presidents: Archie Gumede, Oscar Mpepha, Albertina Sibusulu. Vice-presidents: Christmas Tinto, former political pr-



executive member "LEKOTA" ERROR. Cape Marks, steering committee member: Virgil Action Committee, Durban Housing Action Committee, George Sengweni, Natal Indian Congress, George du Plessis, Congre, Rev Hans Rieger, Park Action Committee, and Rev Hani Molefe, Soweto Popo Secretary: Civic Mosioa Secretary: one-time "Lektor", Lekote, one-time national organiser. Saso national organiser: Cassim National Treasurer: Cassim National Actstrop and Mewa Ramgobin, N.I.C. Other national executive members: Dr R V M Saloojee, and vice president TIC and Islamic Council; Aubrey Black people's leader Bo-Bon Andrew B. Conventun; former president of the Women's League; and Jerry Prof of the Natal and N.I.C. Natal Joint Action Committee.

(11A) (304) S. A. / 1983  
28/8/83

# Tutu meets ANC secretary

BISHOP Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, has described his talks with the political secretary of the African National Congress, Mr Thabo Mbeki, as "friendly".

Bishop Tutu met Mr Mbeki during a three-week tour of the United States, Canada and New Zealand — his first trip abroad since his passport was withdrawn more than two years ago.

He said there had been no discussion of his offer to act as a mediator between the South African government and the ANC.

Before his trip, Bishop Tutu said the ANC would probably lay down arms if the government met them at a conference table and that he was prepared to be a go-between.

The bishop was issued temporary travel documents last month to enable him to attend the World Council of Churches assembly in Vancouver, Canada; a church conference at Oregon in the United States and to visit New Zealand as a guest of the National Council of Churches.

He also met the New Zealand of Foreign Affairs, Mr Warren Cooper.

(11A)

Sun. Tribune

28/8/83

# Freedom is God-given says Boesak

By NEIL LURSSSEN  
Foreign Service

WASHINGTON: South African theologian Dr Allan Boesak was given an ecstatic ovation here on Friday night when he told an audience of mostly black Americans that they would never be free until all the people of South Africa were free.

It was one of several standing ovations given Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches, when he addressed an inter-denominational service on the eve of yesterday's mass march in the American capital.

Dr Boesak was one of several speakers at the packed service which was held in Washington's Metropolitan Church and attended by many of America's most prominent civil rights leaders.

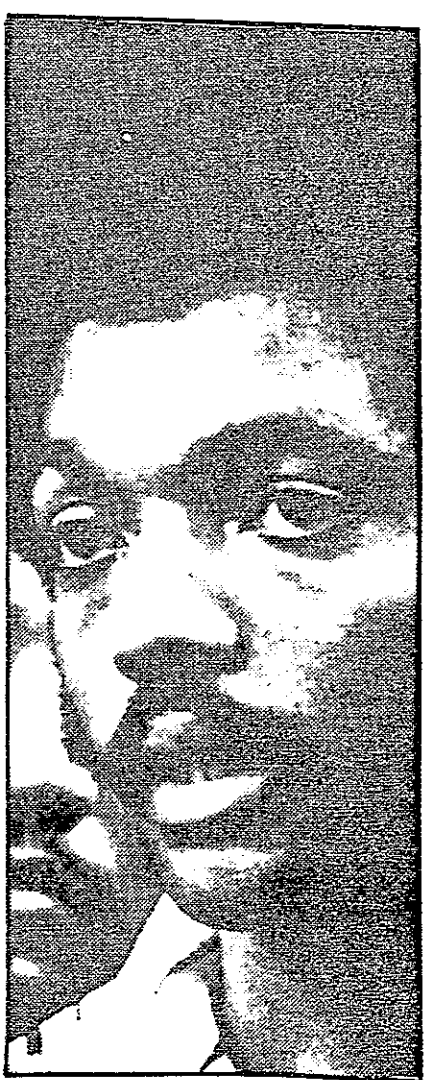
But few were greeted with such emotion. The congregation leapt to its feet and roared out a spiritual song when Dr Boesak ended his speech with the declaration: "You shall be free — and we shall be free."

As they sang, the Rev Jesse Jackson, who is campaigning to be named as a black presidential candidate, embraced the South African and held his arm high in prize-fighter style.

Dr Boesak was later scheduled to address thousands for the 20th anniversary of Dr Martin



DR BOESAK



REV JACKSON

Luther King's march to the capital.

The legislative package demanded by the marchers includes a measure to cut business ties with South Africa and to stop the export of nuclear materials to the Republic.

In a programme published in the Washington Post yesterday, Dr Boesak was billed as a

"South African freedom fighter".

On Friday night his theme was "Freedom" and he delivered it in gospel-preaching fashion. The emotion began to build up when he introduced himself as a "Son of Africa — from Cape Town, South Africa".

Throughout history God had intervened so that His people would be

free, Dr Boesak said.

But how could one speak to people about freedom when they suffered oppression under the apartheid system of the South African Government?

How could one speak of freedom to people who had to live in a "pigmentocracy", to families who were broken up because of the country's laws, to

the elderly who had to live in the utter desolation of the resettlement camps, of children who died of malnutrition in one of the world's richest countries?

"How shall we speak of freedom to the mothers of the children who were shot dead by the police in the streets of our nation in 1976 and 1980. To those who are detained without trial for months on end, who are tortured in our jails and killed by the Security Police while they are in those jails?"

Dr Boesak said that freedom was neither derived from nor conferred by the state. Its origins were God-given and nobody could take it away. In the midst of fear, people should be obedient to God rather than to human beings.

"It is in this spirit that the churches in my country are now facing the South African Government — not because we know we control the situation but because we have received a freedom we shall not give up," he said.

It was this that had given Bishop Desmond Tutu the courage to tell the Minister of Law and Order that he was not God, but just a man.

There was a freedom that people had still to learn to understand — the freedom to give up their own freedom for others.

Dr Boesak received his loudest ovation when he said: "The freedom of the people of the United States depends very much on the freedom of the people of the of South Africa and you shall not be free until we are free."

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# DAY of HOPE



—HOWARD BARRELL reports on the launching of the UDF

IF the United Democratic Front marshals its strength as well as it organised its mammoth national conference at the weekend, the Government has a major headache. Not only that, but the new constitutional

plan will be a dead duck and anti-apartheid forces will find themselves with a major new front, the like of which has not been seen since 1955. Then, thousands of people marched to Klip-town to draw up the Freedom Charter. On Saturday many more

thousands marched to Mitchell's Plain outside Cape Town to give voice to their rejection of the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills. The Rev Frank Chikane opened the conference before more than 600 delegates from about 320 organisations and a further 1 000 observers by saying the

new plans were an attempt by the Government and "super-capitalism" to answer the crisis they faced a result of popular pressure. Organisation at the conference was highly impressive. And the police could probably learn some tips in crowd control from the 200-odd

UDF marshalls, some equipped with walkie talkies, who kept the spirited crowd happy against almost impossible odds. UDF marshalls had to cram about 10 000 people into the Rocklands Centre and an adjoining marquee designed to take half that number, if they

were to comply with the Government's ban on outdoor gatherings. And they did it - after only a few anxious moments. The people's rally was among the largest political meetings this country has seen. People came from all walks of life, from all corners of the country

from the farms, the factories, the homelands, the cities, the churches and mosques. They sang, chanted, danced, cheered, voted and took a variety of resolutions, perhaps the most significant of which was to acknowledge the leadership of the working class in the struggle for a new South Africa.

The closed when young sociati Molefe the U. secreta UDF's tion fc It history, partic people old, n ories wrench their e "W rights. here, now, cried, long t iled, too Dr Al. "N

# Small Appliance

(11A)

City Press 28/8/83

(Handwritten signature)



UDF

GENERATIONS OF OPPOSITION:

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They sang, chanted, danced, cheered, voted and took a variety of resolutions, perhaps the most significant of which was to acknowledge the leadership of the working class in the struggle for a new South Africa.

The climax of the closed conference came when up-and-coming young Soweto Civic Association leader Popo Molefe, who was elected the UDF's first national secretary, read out the UDF's programme of action for final adoption.

It was a moment of history in the making, particularly for the young people there. For the old, nostalgia and memories of old campaigns wrenched tears from their eyes.

"We want all our rights. We want them here, and we want them now. We have pleaded, cried, petitioned for too long now. We have been jailed, exiled, killed for too long now," said Dr Allan Boesak.

Veteran campaigner Helen Joseph (above), a link to the 60s and (below) Lella Issel, daughter of banned Cape Town community leader Johnny Issel, tells the mammoth rally: "My daddy wants freedom in our lifetime. Amandla!" The crowd went wild.



Appliance



**GENERATIONS OF OPPOSITION:**

Veteran campaigner Helen Joseph (above), a link to the 50s and (below) Lella Issel, daughter of banned Cape Town community leader Johnny Issel, tells the mammoth rally: "My daddy wants freedom in our lifetime. Amandla!" The crowd went wild.

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Dr Allan Boesak.

"Now is the time!"  
proclaimed the minister  
whose historic call for  
the formation of a uni-  
ted front in January  
struck a chord across  
the land that led to  
the launching of the  
UDF.

Now certainly is the  
time for much hard work  
if the UDF is to suc-  
ceed in defeating the  
Government's new plans.

As presidents, the  
UDF elected three veter-  
ans: Archie Gumede of  
the Natal Release Man-  
dela Committee, Alber-  
tina Sisulu of the Fed-  
eration of South African  
Women and Oscar Mpe-  
tha, former head of the  
South African Food and  
Canning Workers' Union.

Notably, the UDF put  
a young activist  
in its second major full-  
time position of pu-  
blicity secretary -  
former Saso national  
organiser and Robben  
Island prisoner Mosioa  
"Terror" Lekota.

Publicity is one area  
at which the UDF has  
excelled. Its feat in  
distributing more than  
350 000 copies of its  
national newsletter,  
UDF News, in all areas of



All pix by  
**AFRAPIX**

the country about 10  
days before the rally  
takes some beating. And  
the Western Cape UDF's  
skill in out-manoeuvring  
a mysterious bogus  
pamphlet campaign by  
putting out a selection of  
well-timed flash  
pamphlets just before the  
rally showed a new level  
of organisation.

The UDF was clear  
in stating it was not a  
Freedom Charter orga-  
nisation. Rather, it wan-  
ted to bring together  
all democrats regardless

of race but excluding,  
in the words of Rev  
Chikane, all those who  
"work within the sys-  
tem".

So the door remains  
open for those black  
consciousness organisa-  
tions not yet under the  
UDF umbrella, unions  
who, while supportive,  
have decided to remain  
outside for the time  
being.

Like Dr Boesak, the  
thousands of other  
people there felt they  
were "standing at the  
birth of what could be-  
come the greatest and  
most significant people's  
movement in more than  
a quarter of a  
century."

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By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

BLACK village and town councils set up under the Black Local Authorities Act should be linked to the "national states" and not serve as stepping stones to black participation in the central Government of South Africa, Dr P J Riekert says in a new book entitled "Change in South Africa".

Dr Riekert, who is chief director of the Western Transvaal Administration Board and who has been involved in the administration of black urban areas for 35

# Black councils 'must not be linked to Govt'

years, advocates a formal bond between the new councils and the "national states" or "homelands".

"It would be undesirable and contrary to Government policy to administer black towns as part of the existing or future white, coloured, or Indian local authorities," he says.

"Such a step would irrevocably link blacks to the central Government of the RSA and not to the governments of the national states."

Dr Riekert, one of Pretoria's longest-serving and most influential administrators of black urban areas, envisages a political "safety valve" function for the new local authorities.

"These local authorities will serve to defuse pent-up frustration and grievances against administration from Pretoria," he says.

"Local authorities will affect the daily existence of these black people more directly and intimately than the more removed activities

of the central Government.

"In the war in which South Africa is involved and the total onslaught against the country, defusion of this kind has become an urgent necessity which cannot be postponed much longer."

Dr Riekert adds of the councils: "It would be futile to establish (them) if residents are opposed or show so little interest that council members are elected with ludicrously small percentages of votes."

Elections for the new vil-

lage and town councils which will replace the present community councils are due in the larger black townships in November. Whether they draw high or small percentage polls will depend in large measure on Inkatha.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday the chances of Inkatha fielding candidates under Inkatha colours in the November elections were extremely remote.

The choice before Inkatha

was whether to sanction participation of Inkatha members as individuals or whether to actively advocate a boycott by its more than 750 000 members.

At its recent meeting Inkatha's central committee declared its final decision would depend on two factors:

● A satisfactory explanation from Pretoria for a Department of Foreign Affairs and Information pamphlet which cited the establishment of the new councils as partial justi-

fication for the exclusion of blacks from the proposed tri-racial Parliament.

● A detailed account of how the new councils would be financed.

Chief Buthelezi has taken a tough line against the new councils because of the official view that they are a substitute for black participation in central Government.

In his address to the central committee he stressed that Inkatha's aim was the inclusion of blacks at all three levels of government —

local, regional and central.

He appeared to advocate a strategy of waiting and then taking control of the councils at a more opportune time.

"We have learnt that we are involved in a long and bitter struggle and we know that we are powerful enough to bide our time if strategy so demands. We do not have to take a once-and-for-all decision right now.

"It is widely recognised that non-participation by Inkatha will be a blow as far as the central Government is concerned. They need our participation more than we need it and that need will be there next year and the year after ..."

WAGE REGULATION - GENERAL

0050	0271	0002	0633	0795	0946	1147	0198	0179
0060	0561	0152	0743	0795	0946	1147	0198	0179
0420		1087	1033					

0730	0571	0222	1143	0414	0745	0616	0917	0918
0420				0744			0917	0918
1030							0947	0938
1070								

0400	022
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WAGES - DIFFERENTIALS

0070	0561	0002	0224	0555	0047	0198	0808
0110		1087					
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0140	0502	0833	0046	0500	0047	0198
0330	1087	1033				

0190	0374	0255	1026	1027	0658	0849
0390		1035	1146	1127		

WAGES - SYSTEMS

0140	0502	0833	0046	0500	0047	0198
0330	1087	1033				

WAGE REGULATION - GENERAL

0400	022
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# Support for UDF pledged at Peyco meeting

*29/8/83*

By JIMMY MATYU  
 MORE than 500 people yesterday pledged their support for the new anti-apartheid movement, the United Democratic Front (UDF).

They attended a meeting in New Brighton held by the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), a founder member of the UDF.

Pledging full support for the aims and goals of the UDF, the meeting was told that all foreign governments must recognise the right of other people to live in a non-racial, democratic country.

The meeting was also told that those who claimed to believe in the noble ideals of democracy were obliged to support the just struggle of the South African people.

Amid cries of "Amandla" (power), the meeting heard that the UDF had decided to demand the immediate end to support by the United States and British governments for the South African Government.

In its founding declaration, the UDF said the freedom-loving people of South Africa cherished the vision of a united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people. It would strive for the unity of all "our people through united action against the evils of apartheid".

0240	0771	0772	0133	0221	0095	0096	0368	0329
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0860	1081	0812	0233	1014	1105	0896		1102
		0942	0953			0996		1149
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0070	0381	0562	0283	0734	0325	0336	0377	0268	0389
0110	0391	0977	0323	0794	0425	0626	0437	0338	0339
0140	0561	1012	0483	0914	0495	0696	0557	0585	0179
0350	0901	1082	0723	1154	0555	0716	0817	0808	1129
0370	1081	1112	1013	1174	0725	0749	0877		
0500	1151		1033		0845	0766	1017		
			1133		0915	1016	1147		
			1153		0985	1126	1167		
			1175		1055				
			1175		1175				

WAGES - GENERAL

0927	1068	1129
0997		

# Black caution on UDF — Buthelezi

CAPE TIMES 29/8/03

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The United Democratic Front (UDF) had, with some sad limitations, attempted to establish a platform on which it should be possible to override party-political loyalty, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu said at the weekend.

Speaking at the Inkatha Youth conference at Ulundi, the Chief Minister said the ordinary black in his township house or rural homestead would react to the promise of UDF with caution.

People at grassroot level were a political step removed from the kind of organizations which had come together to form the UDF.

South Africa cried out for a UDF of the kind now established. But it would have to stand the test of time before any judgment could be given.

It was clear there was a strong anti-Inkatha sentiment in the political events surrounding the formation of the UDF. "They have the audacity to say that they will consider applications for membership on their merits but that there appeared little prospects of a relationship with Inkatha."

Inkatha had a membership of well over 750 000 and each member joined as an act of volition, paid dues and received a membership card.

"Our role in the struggle has been made difficult by the fact that so many other black organizations have claimed membership who in fact pay only a lip service to them," Chief Buthelezi said.

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# Youths form own body

THE Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo) was launched at the weekend.

At a meeting attended by about 100 youths at the Mamelodi YMCA centre, speakers said the young generation was morally and spiritually obliged to contribute constructively towards the welfare of the society and that "the unity

of the youth is the vital key to the realisation of our objectives."

The aims of the new organisation are to:

- unite all the local youth;
- take up the demands and aspirations of the young people;
- normalise the relationship between the youth and parents;
- create a spirit of trust,

responsibility, understanding and friendship among the youth;

- instill in the youth the proper understanding and acceptance of equality of male and female;
- strive towards a non-formal education of the youth on Christian matters, accepting the society;
- instill a spirit of health and determination in disillusioned young people.

A statement read on behalf of the Mamelodi Action Committee said Mayo was to be considered a viable social body which would ensure total involvement and commitment of the youth to the cause of the people. "In our determination to obliterate ignorance in our midst, we encourage on-going discussion workshops and the reading of material related to our situation," the statement said.

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...may be prelude to bloody struggle

# ANC IN WAR ON CISKEI

Sowetan 29/8/83

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MOVE: Thomas "Who's wane cuts a trail of desecrated land" — 1 victory over

**THE African National Congress has effectively declared war against the Ciskei, and Friday's bomb blast in Johannesburg marked the first stage of what could become a bitter and bloody struggle.**

On Friday at 6.50 pm, two hours after most office workers had left the 50-storey Carlton Centre office block, the sixth floor was devastated by a Russian limpet mine placed in a wastepaper basket in one of the five offices occupied by the Ciskei Consul-General.

Only one man, passerby Mr Samuel Mahlangu, was slightly injured by flying glass.

Four office workers still on the sixth floor at the time of the blast miraculously escaped injury.

Yesterday afternoon, Mr Zola Akweyiya, chief representative of the ANC in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, said in a statement that the attack had been carried out by "a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military arm) against the so-called consulate of the Ciskeibantustan."

Major-General Francois Steenkamp of the Security Police confirmed a Russian limpet mine was used in the blast. He said the type of timing devices used

## SOWETAN REPORTER

on the bomb could be set to detonate anything from five minutes to thirty days later.

Although the blast left a 3 cm depression in the concrete floor, the bomb which probably weighed less than 1 kg and must have been smuggled past the strict Anglo American security staff, caused almost no damage to the outside of the building.

Inside, however, there was extensive damage to walls, ceilings and office equipment. Fortunately the fire caused by the blast was soon doused by the building's sophisticated sprinkler system.

The situation in the Ciskei — the third of

South Africa's homelands to gain independence in December, 1981 — has become an increasing source of embarrassment to the South African authorities, who have on more than one occasion attempted to help the Ciskeian authorities defuse the potentially explosive situation in the Xhosa state.

During the last six weeks the Ciskei has seen its worst wave of violence, police shootings and detentions in the short, traumatic history of the South African created state.

The recent unrest began when a bus boycott initiated when the government-controlled Cis-

kei Transport Commission increased bus fares by 11 percent.

Forty percent of the Ciskeian population — most of whom have been forcibly relocated to the impoverished homeland — are unemployed.

The CTC lost more than R1 million in revenue and damage to about 100 buses in the boycott which ended with President Lennox Sebe's announcement last week that the fares would be reduced.

However, the incidents that have fanned the already simmering fires of discontent among Ciskeian residents have been the shootings of at least seven boycotting commuters at Mdantsane, a large township incorporated into Ciskei.

The situation was made worse when the Ciskei authorities immediately banned large weekend funerals and allowed only small, weekday family burials for the slain commuters.

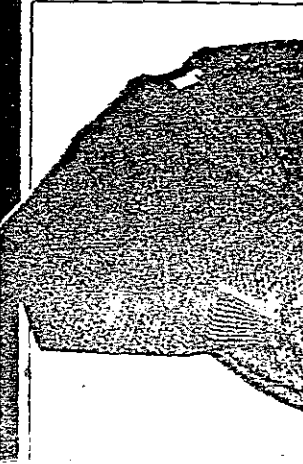
Press coverage was also banned and journalists have been harassed and threatened in the area.

More than 80 people

# K-M CUTS CLOTH



PLUS Hundreds more cut price bargains



## ANOTHER CHANCE TO WIN R3 000's CLOTHES AND SHOES IN SOWETAN



# ANC IN WAR ON CISKEI

84A  
11A  
105

**THE African National Congress has effectively declared war against the Ciskei, and Friday's bomb blast in Johannesburg marked the first stage of what could become a bitter and bloody struggle.**

On Friday at 6.50 pm, two hours after most office workers had left the 50-storey Carlton Centre office block, the sixth floor was devastated by a Russian limpet mine placed in a wastepaper basket in one of the five offices occupied by the Ciskei Consul-General.

Only one man, passerby Mr Samuel Mahlangu, was slightly injured by flying glass.

Four office workers still on the sixth floor at the time of the blast miraculously escaped injury.

Yesterday afternoon, Mr Zola Akweyiya, chief representative of the ANC in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, said in a statement that the attack had been carried out by "a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military arm) against the so-called consulate of the Ciskei bantustan."

Major-General Francois Steenkamp of the Security Police confirmed a Russian limpet mine was used in the blast. He said the type of timing devices used

## SOWETAN REPORTER

on the bomb could be set to detonate anything from five minutes to thirty days later.

Although the blast left a 3 cm depression in the concrete floor, the bomb which probably weighed less than 1 kg and must have been smuggled past the strict Anglo American security staff, caused almost no damage to the outside of the building.

Inside, however, there was extensive damage to walls, ceilings and office equipment. Fortunately the fire caused by the blast was soon doused by the building's sophisticated sprinkler system.

The situation in the Ciskei — the third of

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The situation was made worse when the Ciskei authorities immediately banned large weekend funerals and allowed only small, weekday family burials for the slain commuters.

Press coverage was also banned and journalists have been harassed and threatened in the area.

More than 80 people including prominent trade union members and church leaders, have also been detained in the Ciskei.

**ANOTHER CHANCE TO WIN  
R3 000'S CLOTHES AND  
SHOES IN SOWETAN/SCOTT'S  
CONTEST ON WEDNESDAY**

ANC says  
it blasted  
consulate

Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. —  
The outlawed African  
National Congress yes-  
terday claimed respon-  
sibility for a bomb  
attack against the Ciskei  
Consul-General's office  
in the Carlton Centre  
here on Friday.

Police said the blast  
was caused by a limpet  
mine, a device often  
used by the ANC in sab-  
otage attacks.

The ANC statement  
said a unit of Umkhonto  
We Sizwe "carried out  
an attack in Johannes-  
burg against the so-  
called consulate of the  
Ciskei bantustan".

"The puppet admini-  
stration of this bantus-  
tan has for some time  
loudly trumpeted its de-  
termination to pursue a  
policy of repression at  
the bidding of its Pre-  
toria masters," the ANC  
statement said.

It said the Ciskei Gov-  
ernment "has actually  
been involved in acts  
aimed at the brutal sup-  
pression of the democ-  
ratic movement of our  
country".

The statement re-  
ferred to the Ciskei Gov-  
ernment's frequent  
condemnation of the  
ANC, and alleged ha-  
rassment of anti-govern-  
ment activists.

The Lusaka ANC  
office said the state-  
ment of responsibility  
for the explosion came  
from Mr Zola Skweyiya,  
chief ANC representa-  
tive in Addis Ababa. —  
Sapa-AP

# Sebe tells of plot to kill him

CAPE TOWN 29/8/83

105 119

Own Correspondent

ZWELITSHA. — Chief Lennox Sebe, President for life of the Ciskei, told a rally here yesterday that members of the security forces had planned to assassinate him on June 16.

He was addressing a regional rally of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, attended by hundreds from all over Ciskei. Members of the cabinet, with the exception of the Vice-President, the Rev W M Xaba, were present.

President Sebe said he had been asked to address a youth rally on that day and it had been planned that a disturbance should be created among the students. He was to have been shot during the ensuing commotion.

He said he had become aware of the plot and had decided not to attend although he had told the organizers that he would be there. In the meantime, he had organized the army.

The plot was too amateurish to be called a coup, he said. "There was no attempted coup in Ciskei, but just boys planning to attack men."

He also said one of the Sebe wives had been disowned by the Tshave clan. He did not name her.

He attacked yester-



Chief Lennox Sebe

day's Sunday Tribune editorial on Ciskei. He said the paper had printed his worst photograph. It had printed in bold print a story about the bomb blast at the consulate offices in the Carlton Centre and had called Ciskei a small country with starving people.

The MP for the Zwelitsha constituency, Mr W Matsheketwa, called "General" by party members and some members of the police force, called on men to come and assist in quelling unrest in Mdantsane. Men were needed at Mdantsane, he said.

He accused some members of forsaking the party and following Mr Thozamile Gqweta, president of the South African Allied Workers' Union.

● ANC says it blasted consulate, page 2

# Front 'treated cautiously'

African Affairs  
Reporter

THE United Democratic Front had, with some sad limitations, attempted to establish a platform on which it should be possible to over-ride party political loyalty, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, said at the weekend.

Speaking at the Inkatha

Youth Brigade conference at Ulundi, the chief said the ordinary black in the township house or his rural homestead, would react to the promise of UDF with considerable caution.

People at the grassroot level were a political step removed from the kind of organisations which had come together to form the UDF.

The ordinary black South African had time and again been presented with the emergence in South African black politics of the UDF kind of event in one magnitude or another.

South Africa cried out for a UDF of the kind which had now been established. As a new political event it would have to stand the test of time before any considered judgement could be given.

It was already clear that there was a strong anti-Inkatha sentiment in the political events surrounding the formation of the UDF.

'They have the audacity to say that they will consider applications for membership on their merits but that there appeared little prospects of a relationship with Inkatha.'

Inkatha had a membership of well over 750 000 and each of those members had joined Inkatha as an act of volition.

~~3/11~~ (11A) Star 29/8/83

# Boesak hits at US for backing 'evil' in SA

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Denunciation of South Africa's race policies was frequent at the weekend's commemorative mass march on Washington, which attracted about 250 000 people, mostly blacks, in sweltering summer heat.

Several speakers linked the struggle for equality in America with the struggle against apartheid. This was the theme of an address by South African theologian Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. It was referred to by a number of speakers, including Mrs Coretta Scott King, widow of civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King.

Dr Boesak bitterly attacked apartheid and denounced the United States for supporting the "powers of evil" in South Africa.

Claiming to speak "from the heart of black people in South Africa", Dr Boesak accused America of betraying the dream of Dr King, in whose memory the gathering was held.

"How can a nation pledged to justice for all support the blatant injustice in South Africa?" he asked.

But the dominant theme of the day was a bitter attack on President Reagan's economic policies, which are blamed by blacks here for their socio-economic hardships.

See in ...

# Forget beaches, lower the rents

11A  
Mrs Sybil Hotz 30/8/83

Recently, a major controversy broke out in Durban between liberal-leaning and rightwing members of the city council over a decision to open another section of the city's white beach to all race groups.

But of what importance was the decision to the voteless black (African, Indian and coloured) residents?

To most of them the desegregation of a white beach (or for that matter, other facilities such as restaurants and hotels) are

not among their priorities.

Survival against the constant increase in the cost of living, acute shortage of housing, high rents, poor community facilities, inadequate, expensive and overcrowded public transport, inferior educational facilities and pass law harassment are just some of their immediate concerns. The beach issue once again highlighted the vast differences in white and black priorities.

At a time when the Mayor,

Mrs Sybil Hotz, and her liberal colleagues were busy engaging the rightwing, two Durban townships, Lamontville and Chesterville, were in turmoil over just one of the issues affecting the local black people — the increase in rents.

The Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB) had just increased the rents by between 25 and 72 percent "to balance its books."

The announcement immediately provoked widespread protests and the situation took on an ugly and violent turn after a respected leader and former ANC member, Mr Harrison Dube, was killed by unknown gunmen.

The assassination precipitated a wave of violence which saw alleged informers being killed and Government property, bottle stores and Administration Board offices set alight.

The police responded with force and many allegations of widespread beatings and other police excesses were made.

The joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC), which was established by the people to fight the increase, has now teamed up with the Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC) and other community-based organisations to mobilise, draw wider support and continue the struggle against increased rents.

In rejecting the rent increases they contend that in the first place they are not justified. In the second instance, they claim that if the PNAB wants to "bal-

## MY VIEW



Marimuthu Subramoney

ance its books" it should approach the Government for assistance because it is not a people's creation.

They have put forward a number of reasons, including the following, to support their standpoint:

- The wages of workers have not increased in comparison with the cost of living.

- It is the responsibility of the Government to provide housing for all at rents the people can afford.

- The rent increases are seen as part of the Government's new housing policy to reduce its spending on black housing.

The people's demands are simple. They want a repeal of all rent increases; incorporation of the townships into the city of Durban and not in the kwaZulu homeland; and a full say in matters affecting their lives including representation at local, provincial and Government levels.

# Boesak slams Reagan 'support for apartheid'

11A

*Squid*

30/8/83

WASHINGTON — Speaking to an estimated 250 000 people at Saturday's "coalition of conscience" mass march in Washington, South African theologian the Rev Allan Boesak bitterly attacked apartheid and denounced the United States for supporting the "powers of evil" in South Africa.

Claiming to speak "from the heart of black people in South Africa", Dr Boesak accused America of betraying the dream of the slain civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King in whose memory the gathering was held.

He said it was with pain that South African blacks saw the USA supportive of the powers of evil in South Africa and in many places in the world.

"How can a nation pledged to justice for all support the blatant injustice in South Africa?" he asked.

How could a nation be the leader of the free world when she denied justice and peace to so many of her own children?"

Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches repeated the theme of his address at a religious service in Washington on Friday evening that American blacks would not be free until all South Africans were free.

But in contrast to Friday's event, when Dr

Boesak was given a tumultuous ovation, on Saturday he received only polite applause.

It may have been the timing of his speech, for the marchers had already been addressed for hours on a very hot day by scores of speakers and his immediate predecessor was the charismatic the Rev Jesse Jackson who had stirred up the crowd with a call for blacks to register to vote to throw out President Ronald Reagan.

Dr Boesak, who was introduced as a "freedom fighter from South Africa," said he had joined the march to show solidarity with the marchers.

He said he came from a country where the struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity had been going on for 331 years — and where, for the last 35 years, millions of South Africans had been suffering under apartheid.

"It is a country in which racism and injustice still reign supreme," he said.

Apartheid spawned policies which caused little children to die of hunger and malnutrition in the homelands while South Africa was the wealthiest country on the continent.

"Apartheid is a cancer on the body politic of the world, a scourge on our society and all humankind and an everlasting shame to the church of Jesus Christ in

the world," he said.

It existed only because of economic greed, cultural chauvinism and political oppression and was maintained by a false sense of racial superiority.

There was scattered applause when Dr Boesak said: "In South Af-

rica we are fighting for our freedom, for our human dignity, and we shall never give up".

After criticising US ties with South Africa and American domestic and military policy, Dr Boesak said: "We need you America — but not like this." — SFS

# Unions no to UDF 'at this stage'

114  
CME Times 30/8/84

By PHILLIP  
VAN NIEKERK  
Labour Reporter

FOUR leading trade union groupings have decided at this stage not to join the United Democratic Front (UDF) or any other groups campaigning against the new constitution and the "Koornhof Bills".

However, the groupings — the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), the General Workers' Union (GWU), the African Food and Food and Canning Workers' Unions (AFCWU and FCWU) and the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association (CTMWA) — have reiterated their support for all "progressive" organizations opposed to the new constitution and other apartheid laws.

## 'Top priority'

Mr Johnson Mpu-kumba, national president of the GWU, said the GWU was still busy with the formation of a new trade union federation, which was their top priority at the moment.

"This is not to say we reject the UDF, which we would consider joining if we had a mandate from our members," he said. "We wholeheartedly support any organization which is progressive and democratic and we are prepared to assist in their campaign."

Mr Joe Foster, general secretary of Fosatu, said their unions had members who supported a large number of political organizations. To

side with just one organization would divide Fosatu's membership.

"While we are encouraging our members to take part in progressive community organizations, we are not as an organization prepared to affiliate to the UDF at this stage — though our executive will consider their approaches," he said.

Mr Foster said the big tasks ahead for Fosatu were trade union unity and the development of working-class leadership.

## Encouraged

The AFCWU and FCWU said in a statement yesterday that they supported the UDF's stand and encouraged their members to take part in campaigns against the new constitution and other apartheid laws.

"However, our first responsibility as a union is to the workers, and their foremost need is a federation which can unite workers' organizations and organize unorganized workers. Till this is done, it won't be possible for the working class to take the lead in the struggle for one united, democratic South Africa."

Mr John Erendzen, general secretary of the CTMWA said that to retain their unity, and in view of the impending federation, the workers had decided not to join the UDF or any other body opposing the constitution, though individual members were encouraged to play an active role.

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World Bank  
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DC, World Bank, various dates. (Series  
akers, listed in the file).

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Commission for Africa  
Session, Addis Ababa, 1962 (Various f

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Institute for Research on Poverty,  
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World Congress, 5th. Documen  
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South African Confederation of Lab  
Biennial Congress, 6th. Pre  
(Papers, listed in the file).



(11A.) 204 31/8/83

# Campaigners organise rally to free Mandela

THE campaign to release the imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners has been intensified at home and abroad, organisers of the "The Release Mandela Campaign" announced yesterday.

The new committee set up to head the campaign to free Mandela, who was jailed in August 1962, has acquired a new format to succeed previous campaigns, which were not clearly structured.

The official launching will take place at the Regina

Mundi Church in Rockville, Soweto, on Sunday. Guest speakers at the rally will include the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, the chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, the Rev Frank Chikane of the Institute of Contextual Theology and Mr Archie Gumede, an executive of the United Democratic Front.

A spokesman for the campaign, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, said in Johannesburg yesterday that a variety of civil

rights organisations, trade unions and sports bodies had accepted invitations to Sunday's inaugural gathering.

"We acknowledge what has been done in the past to release Nelson Mandela, but we are giving the campaign a new form to ensure that it is sustained," Mr Mokoena said. It already had branches in Natal and the Cape Province. Petitions distributed to supporters would be submitted to the United Nations to attract international interest, he said.

# 'Free Mandela' campaign

A CAMPAIGN to release the imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners will be launched at a mass rally to be held at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto on Sunday.

The rally, expected to attract thousands of people, will be addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches and Mr Archie Gumede, president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Natal chairman of the Release Mandela Committee.

Mr Aubrey Mokoena, publicity secretary of the committee launching the campaign, told a Press conference in Johannes-

By SAM MABE

burg yesterday that the launching was necessitated by the fact that previous campaigns had not been clearly structured.

A massive publicity campaign that will back up the rally will include the signing of petitions which will later be sent to the United Nations in New York and the distribution of T-shirts and stickers.

Mr Mokoena said the idea of sending the petitions to the UN is to draw the attention of the international community to the campaign which would have to be sustained for as long as there were political prisoners in this country.

He said there was no way the Government was going to release political prisoners unless coerced to do so "internally and externally".

Mr Mokoena called on all South Africans to support the campaign even if they differ with what Nelson Mandela stands for, because he is the symbol of those who suffer for their beliefs and aspirations.

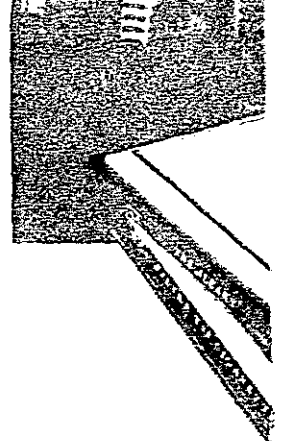
"The people of South Africa do not agree with his continued incarceration because it has deprived South Africa of a vital leadership which is of crucial importance at this time.

"Mandela is a man who has committed himself to the ideal of a democratic and free so-

ciety in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities," said Mr Mokoena in a Press statement.

He added that Inkatha does not feature among the numerous student, youth, religious, women's, cultural, political and sporting organisations that have been invited for the launching.

Mr Mokoena said organisations supporting homeland policies, which Mandela would not have anything to do with, would have to renounce what they were involved in if they wanted to identify with what the people were doing.



## Albar exclusiv

In London, w Albany's b quality since wonder Aylor have made Al So light up a



By Now made here in

Death road  
- PAGE 8

INSIDE TODAY  
R3 000 Contest  
- PAGE 11

Bucs in deadlock  
- PAGE 24

denied taking part in the robbery, was reminded that he had pleaded guilty at a Regional Court and said he had been forced to take part in the robbery by his co-accused.

"I admitted it because I was afraid to go to jail again and it was the first time that I was to appear before a court," he said.

Earlier, Ngubeni and Mohapi denied in their evidence that they had been present during the alleged incidents.

and two assessors.

They have pleaded not guilty to charges of housebreaking with intent to commit robbery with aggravating circumstances, murder of Joseph Mandlazi and attempted murder of his younger brother, Mr Sydney "Creature" Mandlazi on April 24.

Under cross-examination by Advocate J Swanepoel, for the

robbery in Pimville last year. I was also told if I co-operated they (the police) would talk to the prosecutor to free me because of my age."

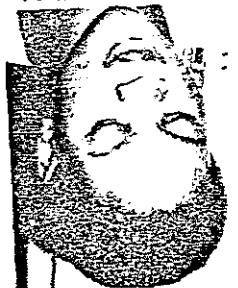
HOUSEBREAKING

He was testifying in the trial in which he, the alleged gang leader, Samuel Kubayi (20), Sydney Ngubeni (29) and George Mohapi (30) are appearing be-

AN ACCUSED in the trial involving a convicted Wire Gang member told a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday that he had agreed to implicate his co-accused at a Regional Court hearing after police promised him a suspended sentence.

Elias Radzalan (20) told a packed court: "I was asked to tell lies before a Soweto magistrate, that I was threatened, that I was threat-

MS MWEASE: No fights. a betw R 554. MS



MS MOLOI: R482 bill.



# 'Cops made me lie' Wire gang member testifies

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE



Plan 11A  
'has ~~nothing~~  
nothing  
to offer  
to offer  
31/8/63  
Mercury Reporter

A NOW ASKS FOR  
ON YOU To Forgive  
THE PAINS OF APARTHEID

LONE crusader Morris Fynn is confronted by a passer-by, Mr D A Overall, who read a chapter from the Bible saying that it was 'not Christian to rebel against the Government'.

## Lone crusader calls for 'no' vote in referendum

Mercury Reporter

RACIAL taunts and a brief lecture on Christianity did little to stop a lone crusader from continuing his protest against the new constitutional dispensation on the steps of the Cenotaph in central Durban yesterday.

Armed with a number of placards hitting out at the Government's race policies and urging people to reject the proposals in the November 2 referendum, coloured leader Mr Morris Fynn continued his protest until late yesterday — attracting the attention of hundreds of passers-by.

Mr Fynn, the Natal leader of the coloured community-based organi-

sation, Congress of the People (Cope), said afterwards that the reaction of people had been varied. Some criticised and uttered racial remarks, some went up to him and congratulated him while others just stared as they passed.

Earlier in the day, a passer-by, who later identified himself as Mr D A Overall, walked up to Mr Fynn, carefully read the posters and then asked him if he was a Christian.

### Submissive

When a bemused Mr Fynn replied in the affirmative, the man took out a pocket-size Bible from his brief case and read out a chapter which, he said, said it was not Christian for anybody to

rebel against the Government. 'Let God put matters right if they are wrong. It is God that will judge what is right and what is wrong.

'We as Christians have got to be submissive to the people in authority,' he said, urging Mr Fynn to end his protest.

But Mr Fynn ignored the plea.

Some of the placards read: 'Give me full franchise, it is my democratic right'; 'We have suffered 300 years of racial indignity, inhumanity and been treated like outcasts in the land of our forefathers'; and 'Botha now asks for a mandate on Nov 2 to further carry out the pains of apartheid against us'.

THE repeal of discriminatory legislation was still one of the preconditions for participation in the new constitutional proposals, a spokesman for the opposition Democratic Party in the South African Indian Council, said yesterday.

Mr Ismail Patel, the party spokesman, was commenting on an announcement by the ruling National Peoples' Party in the SAIC that a special session of the Indian Council would be held to discuss the council's response to the proposals.

He said the Democratic Party had decided earlier in the year that participation depended largely on three conditions being met.

These were the removal of all discriminatory legislation or a declaration of intent to do so; the inclusion of blacks in the constitutional process and the holding of a referendum among the Indian community.

He said it appeared that a majority of the NPP members was strongly in favour of the proposals and would back them in spite of numerous protests at council meetings.

'It is quite apparent now that the first two preconditions were a pipe dream and even if the Government does decide to hold a referendum for Indians and should there be a yes vote, the Democratic Party will be morally obliged not to participate should the other two preconditions be rejected.

Mr Hassim Cassim, deputy leader of the Democratic Party, said from Dundee yesterday that the Indian Council members should do 'a great deal of soul searching and ask themselves whether the new dispensation really has anything to offer.'

'The Indian chamber will be nothing more than a glorified version of the present SAIC, if not worse.

'The NPP should also realise that it was elected to protect the interest of the Indian community and not to commit it to perpetual bondage,' he added.

31/8/73  
11A  
MEX

# Inkatha youths slam division

INKATHA'S youth brigade has attacked the three other political movements ranked alongside it in the political struggle against the South African Government through resolutions passed at its weekend conference.

The organisations are the external mission of the African National Congress, the National Forum and the United Democratic Front.

the Inkatha youth brigade said black unity was the key to black struggle for liberation in South Africa.

The conference noted "with utter disgust and repugnance the divisive role the external mission of the African National Congress plays by arrogantly posing as the sole and authentic representative of black people and a government in exile".

Only people inside a liberated South Africa would have the right to elect a government and not "just a consortium of political miscreants thriving on sheer political pipe-dreams".

Inkatha youth warned the ANC that unless it stopped attacking Inkatha and its leaders, "this conference will be forced to write the external mission off as a sell-out to the aspirations of black South Africa".

The youth brigade "regrets and strongly condemns" the black-on-black confrontations exhibited by Saths Cooper and Neville Alexander at the National Forum at Hamanskraal who "in their political bankruptcy found it necessary to attack Inkatha and its president".

If the National Forum was sincere in its intention to fight for liberating black people "they must direct their abundant energy against the racist regime which is responsible for our oppression".

# 4 unions say no to UDF

FOUR leading trade union groupings have decided at this stage not to join the United Democratic Front (UDF) or any other groups campaigning against the new constitution and the "Koothof Bills."

However, the groupings — the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), the General Workers' Union (GWU), the African Food, and Food and Canning Workers' Unions (AFCWU and FCWU), and the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association (CTMWU) — have reiterated their support for all "progressive" organisations opposed to the new constitution and other apartheid laws.

Mr Johnson Mpu-kumba, national presi-

dent of the GWU, said the GWU was still busy with the formation of a new trade union federation, which was their top priority at the moment.

"This is not to say we reject the UDF, which we would consider joining if we had a mandate from our members," he said. "We wholeheartedly support any organisation which is progressive and democratic and we are prepared to assist in their campaign."

Mr Joe Foster, general secretary of Fosatu, said their unions had members who supported a large number of political organisations. To side with just one organisation would divide Fosatu's membership.

"While we are encouraging our members to take part in progressive community organi-

sations, we are not as an organisation prepared to affiliate to the UDF at this stage — though our executive will consider their approaches," he said.

Mr Foster said the big tasks ahead for Fosatu were trade union unity and the development of working-class leadership.

The AFCWU and FCWU said in a statement on Monday that they supported the UDF's stand and encouraged their members to take part in campaigns against the new constitution and other apartheid laws.

"However, our first responsibility as a union

is to the workers, and their foremost need is a federation which can unite workers' organisations and organise unorganised workers. Till this is done, it won't be possible for the working class to take the lead in the struggle for one united, democratic South Africa."

Mr John Erendzen, general secretary of the CTMWA, said that to retain their unity, and in view of the impending federation, the workers had decided not to join the UDF or any other body opposing the constitution, though individual members were encouraged to play an active role. — Sana.

Sowetan 31/8/83

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