

BLACK POLITICS

1983

JANUARY.

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**President  
backs  
Maseru  
raid**

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UMTATA — Transkei's State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, yesterday, for the first time, commended the attacks on ANC targets in Maseru last month by the South African Defence Force.

In his New Year message, President Matanzima said the discovery of "the plot by the forces of evil and darkness" to assassinate the leaders of Transkei during the Christmas festivities, "averted ghastly and atrocious acts of sabotage".

"We live to see how successful terroristic and revolutionary ways of attaining freedom will be. Transkei's policy has from time immemorial been and is still one of peaceful negotiations with the powers that be," he said.

The policy was a heritage which had developed into what Transkei was today and anyone who saw Transkei in 1963 should be impressed with the fast development which had taken place over the past 20 years, he said. — SAPA.

More messages, P7.

# 'Reconciliation' call by Buthelezi

Cape Times 1/1/83 (11A)

Staff Reporter

IT was tragic that the future of South Africa was being moulded before there was political consensus in the country, the Inkatha president and chairman of the South African Black Alliance, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said in a New Year message to the people of South Africa.

He said it was only through peace, stability and economic development that black South Africans could discharge their responsibilities to their fellow human beings in Africa.

"We have a tremendous responsibility to the whole of Africa," Chief Buthelezi said. "South Africa has the kind of potential of constructive engagement with poverty, hunger and disease which Africa and the Third World so desperately needs."

## 'Restrictive mould'

He said 1982 was dominated politically by the Prime Minister's proposals for constitutional change, and 1983 would be dominated by attempts to push through these proposals.

"Constitutional changes are not like ordinary laws or policy statements which can be changed



Chief Buthelezi

and adapted to current and future requirements as and when the need arises," Chief Buthelezi said.

It was tragic "in the deepest sense of the word" that this kind of restrictive mould within which South African politics had been placed, was a "white-inspired form of classical apartheid", he said.

"The tragedy of the future will unfold before us as people like myself feel denuded politically." White South Africa,

which could face the future with ever-growing confidence in the politics of constructive co-operation, should grasp this opportunity of bringing about reconciliation and peace to South Africa, he said.

## 'Pariah image'

"It is idle and foolish speculation for whites to think that the kind of proposals being made by the National Party will change South Africa's image of being the pariah of the civilized world," he said.

"At this time of the year when the theme of peace and goodwill to all men rises above party political affiliations, we should pause and pray for God's guidance and for his assistance to ensure that 1983 will not be a political move along the road of no return towards bloodshed and tragedy."

● The President of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said in his New Year's message yesterday that the people of the territory should ask themselves if their performances during the past year were the best they could do for the Ciskei nation.

He was confident, however, that 1983 would be a year of achievement for Ciskeians.

have indicated it would be sympathetic to such concessions.

But, where more fundamental changes are concerned, like scrapping the detested Group Areas Act, the bargaining is expected to be come a great deal tougher.

**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
KAMINATION ANSWER BOOK**

coloured people. These would be on the socio-economic level, for example more money for education, better housing and improved social circumstances, and would be likely to improve the party's standing. Senior government sources

its participation, the proposed tri-cameral system would not have sufficient credibility. It is expected that the Labour Party will use this leverage to negotiate a better system and win bread and butter concessions for the

The Rev Allan Hendrickse —



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# Labour Party expected to agree to proposals

Labour Party will opt for a middle of the road position.

They expect a rejection of the plans in their present form but a willingness to participate with a view to negotiating a better deal.

This would endorse the position taken earlier this year by the association of management committees, whose composition is largely Labour Party supporters.

Such a position would probably satisfy the Government, whose Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, has been engaged in intensive efforts to persuade the Labour Party into participation.

Government sources have indicated that there is some room for negotiation on the detail of the proposed constitution, but that the fundamental separate three cham-

ber structure is not open to change.

The congresses of the National Party have also bound the Government to adhering to the numerical ratios proposed, which always ensure a white majority.

In 1977, the Labour Party rejected out of hand the Government's then constitutional proposals, later producing a policy report demanding a one man one vote system in a unitary state.

But, since then the Labour Party fortunes have declined. With the collapse in 1980 of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council — the Labour Party participated in that body with the express intent of destroying it

— it lost its only political platform.

Political observers reckon the party's support in the coloured community has since waned and is now based mainly in the more conservative rural areas.

In the urbanised Western Cape region, grass roots community organisations like housing associations and rate payers associations are said to have usurped the Labour Party's political base.

These groups tend to be uniformly against the Government's proposals.

But, government representatives have admitted that Labour Party participation in the constitution is the prize they seek.

They admit that without

A QUALIFIED "yes" to participation in the Government's proposed constitution is expected to come from this week's annual conference of the Labour Party.

The Labour Party meets from tomorrow to wrestle with the issue of whether or not to participate in the proposed constitution.

It is under tremendous pressure from the Government on the one hand urging the party to come on board and from diverse groups within and without the coloured community urging rejection of the plan.

The conference takes place in Eshowe in Kwazulu whose Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, will make the opening address.

He has already stated his unequivocal opposition to the plans, which exclude black participation.

Chief Buthelezi is also president of the South African Black Alliance, which has rejected the proposals. The Labour Party is a partner in the Black Alliance.

About 300 delegates are expected to attend the conference and no indication of the interest focused on the event is evidenced by the large me-



IVOR WILKINS

dia corps, local and foreign, that will cover the proceedings.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has confirmed that the party is divided into three factions over the issue, those who favour total rejection, those who advocate full participation and a middle group

He denied the party was on the brink of a split.

Observers believe that the



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# ANC quit Swaziland

## Guerrillas fire on forces in border clash

By LEON BEKKER

A GROUP of about 17 ANC members who had been detained by the Swaziland Government have left Swaziland for Mozambique, and the Swazi police are still searching for a number of ANC supporters in order to place them in "protective custody".

The group - mostly South Africans - left Swaziland at their own request according to the Deputy Prime Minister, Senator Ben Nsibandze, who said he believed that some would not be staying in Mozambique but would be going on to other countries.

Meanwhile, the Sunday Tribune has learned that ANC operatives fired on units of the Swazi Defence Force in two separate incidents near the country's north-eastern border with Mozambique during the past fortnight.

In one clash, the ANC men shouted to the Swazi border patrol unit that they had no intention of attacking anyone within Swaziland, but had "a mission to do elsewhere" and merely wanted unhindered passage.

The Swazi soldiers refused, shots were fired and the ANC men then crossed back into Mozambique.

Swazi action against ANC supporters followed the South African Defence Force's attack on the homes of ANC operatives in Lesotho recently.

The Swazis have made it clear that they will not allow their country to be used as a base to plan acts of violence against neighbouring countries.

Senator Nsibandze told the Sunday Tribune yesterday that about 10 ANC members were still in the Mawelawela refugee camp near Mbabane, where they were being held for their own safety.

They would remain there "until the situation is reviewed", but always had the option to leave the country.

He disclosed that "people belonging to other organisations" were also involved in the Swazi swoop. He declined to name the organisations, but said the PAC was definitely not one of them, as there were no PAC people in the country.

Senator Nsibandze added that registered refugees were issued with an "assylum certificate" which expressly forbade involvement in any violent activity against neighbouring countries.

Swaziland was not biased against the ANC, he said, but would take action against anyone planning attacks on a neighbour, whether the neighbour was South Africa or Mozambique.



Senator Ben Nsibandze

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

# Koeberg blast well planned — security chief

BY William Saunderson-Meyer

NEWS reports indicate misconceptions about the SA Defence Force's preemptive strike against ANC/SA Communist Party bases in Lesotho. Lieutenant General PJ Coetzee of the Security Branch said in a statement today.

Some of these misconceptions are

- There was speculation that the assassination of former ANC/SACP member Barinolomew Hlapane and his wife was in retaliation for the Maseru raid

Gen Coetzee said it must be emphasised that Mr Hlapane had been on the ANC death list since the early Sixties and that previous attempts to assassinate him were foiled by security action.

- There was also specu-

lation that the sabotage at Koeberg nuclear power station was in retaliation for the Maseru raid.

"Although police investigations are not complete preliminary investigations have proved the sabotage was planned months ahead."

Gen Coetzee said it has been reported that the Maseru raid resulted in the death of unarmed and harmless ANC refugees and that in retaliation the ANC will launch attacks on civilian targets in SA.

"Even a casual look at the crimes perpetrated by the ANC/SACP since they declared war on the people of the RSA more than two decades ago reveal that the hundreds of acts of terrorism, murders, bombings, assassinations etc. were not solely directed at State targets

## SA civilians may be next targets

By WILLIAM SAUNDERSON-MEYER

THE recent South African strike against African National Congress exiles in Lesotho may spark off a bloody round of civilian casualties within South Africa.

The South African Defence Force claims the exile homes hit on December 9 were springboards for attacks by the

military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Among the 45 killed in the South African raid were at least a dozen Lesotho civilians, including women and children.

About 15 of the dead were refugees who, according to the Lesotho Government, had fled

from South Africa in the previous eight months.

The ANC leadership has now warned that it may end its policy of deliberately avoiding civilian casualties.

Such a reversal of policy could usher in an era of bloodletting with the type of tit-for-tat terrorism characterising conflicts like that in Northern Ireland.

Until now, civilian South Africans have had relative immunity against insurgent attacks. The ANC — which is a signatory to the Geneva Protocols governing permissible conduct during war — says that in the past it had tried to minimise the possibility of civilian casualties by acting against military police and strategic installations at times when there were unlikely to be civilians around.

At the funeral of the Maseru victims the warning was spelt out that this policy may change because of grassroots anger within the ANC at the Maseru attack and the raid on exile homes at Matola in Mozambique two years ago.

"We have warned that if any house containing black South African refugees and guns constitutes a military base then by the same logic, does every white household with a gun not also constitute a base?" Mr Solly Smith, a London based chief representative of the ANC told the **SUNDAY TRIBUNE**.

"It is a fair reminder to the South African Government that the ANC has thus far conducted the struggle with immense restraint. We have been bound to morality in the struggle which is not understood by many of our people.

"We take our lead from the mass of our people. If they now ask why only African women and children are dying, and are thus consequently being alienated from the ANC, our policies may have to change. It depends on what the South African Government does."

Howard Barrell of the Tribune Africa News Service reports that the initial ANC response to the raid was: "Don't they know they are driving Umkhonto we Sizwe to do the same thing in South Africa against white civilians in retaliation?"

Western diplomatic sources said that the ANC had, over a long period, established for itself an international image of holding "moral ground", and it had been difficult even for very conservative governments like the Reagan administration to portray the ANC as a bloodthirsty terrorist organisation.

Another diplomat said that a change to hitting civilians "would plunge South Africa directly into a revolutionary situation with an ever-increasing spiral of violence."

# Five Maseru dead were top ANC men — Security chief

FIVE senior African National Congress executives killed in the South African raid on Maseru last year had received guerrilla training in Lesotho, Angola and East Germany.

They had helped organise ANC infiltration into South Africa and Transkei, police said yesterday.

Lieutenant-General Johann Coetzee, head of the Security Branch, gave their names.

They included the chairman of the senior organ of the ANC in Lesotho, Zola Sgonyela Ngini a member of the ANC's political and propaganda section in Maseru, Adolph Joseph Mpongoshé, and a unit commander and member of the ANC's security section responsible for interviewing recruits and arranging security measures at ANC residences in Maseru, Cambridge Morena Lucky Moloisane



LT-GEN COETZEE Slams ANC claims

By NEIL HOOPER

member of the South African Communist Party and of the ANC, Mr Bartholomew Hlapane, and his wife were murdered by the sole survivor of an ANC assassination team based in Lesotho, and that the other members of the team had been killed by South African forces during the raid on Maseru.)

To discount reports that those killed in the Maseru raid were unarmed and harmless ANC refugees, Gen Coetzee disclosed details of the identity of some of the dead.

They included

● Ligwa Graham Mdlankomo (alias Zakes). Born in Port Elizabeth in 1956, he was a founder member and a former chairman of the later-banned South African Students' Movement (SASM). He was detained in 1977 because of his involvement in riots in the Eastern Cape.

He left South Africa illegally for Lesotho in 1978, from where he went to Nova Catengue in Angola and Teterow in East Germany for specialist guerrilla warfare training.

In 1979 he was attached to the ANC's Angolan intelligence and security section at Camp Viana on the outskirts of Luanda.

He returned to Lesotho as a senior member of the ANC in the territory in 1981, to

train terrorists for attacks on targets in South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei.

● Adolph Joseph Mpongoshé (alias Sydney Mavimbela). Born in Port Elizabeth in 1932, he was in the ANC hierarchy in the Eastern Cape during the 1960s, and was subsequently jailed for furthering the aims of the banned organisation.

He left South Africa illegally in 1975 for Russia, where he underwent specialist guerrilla warfare training at Prvolnye, and two years later he was appointed political commissar of the ANC camp at Nova Catengue in Southern Angola.

In 1978 Mpongoshé was appointed camp commander of the ANC "Fundu" camp in Northern Angola (The Nova Catengue camp was destroyed during a bombing raid in 1979.)

Mpongoshé was appointed chief representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in Lesotho in 1981, and also served as a member of the ANC's political and propaganda division in Maseru which was responsible for distributing ANC and SACP propaganda by courier in South Africa.

● Cambridge Morena Lucky Moloisane (alias Khanyile Lesedi). Born in Bloemfontein in 1957, he became an active member of the Azania People's Organization (Azapo), an offshoot of the Black People's Convention (BCP). He was detained in 1978 for inciting public violence.

## Jailed

The same year he left the country and travelled to Angola and in 1980 to Teterow in East Germany, where he underwent specialist terrorist training.

In August 1981 he was sent to Lesotho, where he was attached to the ANC's security section, and responsible for interviewing ANC recruits. He was also a unit commander and accommodated trained ANC terrorists at his Maseru home.

● Jackson Balisani Tayo (alias Mafutha). Born in Ladyfrere in 1931, he joined the ANC as a youth and was jailed on Robben Island for six years for manufacturing bombs.

Gen Coetzee said Tayo was released in August 1970, when he continued illegal ANC activities, and in August 1981 he was a member of an ANC squad which attacked the Msobomvu police station in Transkei, killing two policemen.

He fled immediately after the murders to Lesotho, where he joined up with other trained ANC terrorists.

Tayo underwent a crash course in guerrilla warfare and thereafter assisted ANC terrorists to infiltrate the

Eastern Cape and Transkei from Lesotho.

● Zola Sgonyela Ngini (alias Bra Zedi). Born in Uitenhage on December 31 1934, he joined the ANC as a youth, becoming a branch secretary and clerk on the publication New Age.

In 1964 he was sentenced to five-and-a-half years' imprisonment, and jailed on Robben Island where he joined the "high command" of the South African Communist Party.

Released in 1969, he was appointed by the high command as the SACP contact in the Glen Grey district.

He later illegally travelled to Lesotho, where he was responsible for training ANC recruits in handling communist weapons such as the AK47 and the Makarov pistol.

He was subsequently appointed the ANC's chief representative in Lesotho.

Gen Coetzee also responded to reports that the ANC intended to launch attacks on so-called civilian targets in South Africa in retaliation for the Maseru raid.

## Koeberg

"Even a casual look at the crimes perpetrated by the ANC SACP since they declared war on the people of South Africa more than two decades ago reveals that the hundreds of acts of terrorism, murder, bombings and assassination were not solely directed at State targets," Gen Coetzee said.

Sabotage at the Koeberg power station near Cape Town two weeks ago was planned months ago and was not in retaliation for the South African raid on ANC bases in Lesotho, said Gen Coetzee.

"Although police investigations into this sabotage are far from complete and it would also be of a detrimental nature for security reasons to reveal the results of the investigations, preliminary investigations have proved conclusively that the sabotage was planned months ahead and had nothing whatever to do with either the Maseru raid or the subsequent burial of some of the victims of the raid," he said.

Gen Coetzee also rejected speculation that the killing of Mr Hlapane and his wife was in retaliation for the raid.

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## Illegally

All the ANC executives killed in the raid had at some time either been detained in South Africa or imprisoned on Robben Island after being convicted of terrorist activities or furthering their organisation's aims, said Gen Coetzee.

They left the country illegally for Lesotho after being released from detention or imprisonment.

Gen Coetzee was replying to ANC claims that the Maseru raid had resulted in the deaths of "unarmed and harmless" ANC refugees in Lesotho.

He said that one of those killed was, in fact, a member of a Lesotho-based ANC assassination team which had attempted to kill the former Transkei Commissioner of Police, Major-General M Z Ngcaba, two years ago.

(Two weeks ago the Sunday Times disclosed that a former central committee

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- Blue or black ink must be used for answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional examination book (s) are used.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate

and to possible exclusion from the

# Calls for nationhood at Griqua feast

WHILE New Year revellers popped champagne corks to celebrate the New Year at Plettenberg Bay, 7 000 solemn Griquas sacrificed a lamb only four kilometres away and repeated a vow made by their ancestors that the Griquas would never die as a nation.

At midnight on Friday the blood of the sacrificial lamb flowed next to the Griqua monument — a stone shaped like a needle — sealing the promise of unity and solidarity.

## Mandate

The monument carries an inscription "Andrew Stockenstrom le Fleur the 1st", the Griqua leader who led his nation to Robberg in the southern Cape in the early 1930s.

He is the father of Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom le Fleur II, who at an annual Griqua congress at Robberg this week was given a mandate by leaders of the Griqua

By PETER MALHERBE

nation and Griqua church leaders to accept the guidelines of the President's Council.

He was given a mandate to accept the proposals on condition that the position of the Griquas be written into the statute books to protect them as a minority group.

A joint statement by church leaders and Mr le Fleur II, said the Griquas did not accept a homeland principle but asked for rights in their own rural residential areas.

The statement said that all Griquas were united behind Mr A A S le Fleur, who was

committed to unifying the Griqua people.

A synod of 12 Pentecostal and Protestant church denominations held its fourth synod at Robberg this week at the same time as the Griqua meeting.

The synod, which represented at least 20 000 people pledged to unite all Griqua people behind one leader — Mr Andrew Abraham Stockenstrom le Fleur.

The Griqua conference decided to invite the leader's brother, Mr Eric le Fleur, of Knysna, and his 60 followers to return to the Griqua fold.

They called on Mr Eric le Fleur to work together in the interests of the 100 000-strong Griquas to form one combined nation to live out their own culture, tradition and independent but united religions.

The army has supplied 1 000 tents for the visiting Griquas who spent their evenings around camp fires, singing songs and renewing old acquaintances.

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# ANC 17 LEAVE SWAZI

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A GROUP of about 17 ANC members who had been detained by the Swaziland Government have left Swaziland for Mozambique, and the Swazi police are still searching for a number of ANC supporters in order to place them in "protective custody".

The group — mostly South Africans — left Swaziland at their own request, according to the Deputy Prime Minister, Senator Ben Nsibandze, who said he believed that some would not be staying in Mozambique but would be going on to other countries.

Meanwhile, The SOWETAN has learned that ANC operatives fired on units of the Swazi Defence Force in two separate incidents near the country's north-eastern border with Mozambique during the past fortnight.

In one clash, the ANC men shouted to the Swazi border patrol unit that they had no intention of attacking anyone within Swaziland, but had "a mission to do elsewhere" and merely wanted unhindered passage.

The Swazi soldiers refused, shots were fired and the ANC men then crossed back into Mozambique.

Swazi action against ANC supporters followed the South African Defence Force's attack on the homes of ANC operatives in Lesotho recently.

The Swazis have made it clear that they will not allow their country to be used as a base to plan acts of violence against neighbouring countries.

Senator Nsibandze told The SOWETAN yesterday that about 10 ANC members were still in the Mawelawela refugee camp near Mbabane, where they were being held for their own safety.

They would remain there "until the situation is reviewed", but always had the option to leave the country.

He disclosed that "people belonging to other organisations" were also involved in the Swazi swoop. He declined to name the organisations, but said the PAC was definitely not one of them, as there were no PAC people in the country.

Senator Nsibandze added that registered refugees were issued with an "asylum certificate" which expressly forbade involvement in any violent activity against neighbouring countries.

Swaziland was not biased against the ANC, he said, but would take action against anyone planning attacks on a neighbour, whether the neighbour was South Africa or Mozambique.

ANC (FIA)  
men  
move to  
Maputo  
2/1/83

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

MOST of the 27 members of the African National Congress detained by the authorities in Swaziland last month have left the country and are believed to be in Mozambique.

This was confirmed yesterday by Swaziland's deputy Prime Minister, Senator Ben Nsibandze. He said "between 15 and 17" had decided to leave voluntarily.

The ANC members were held in "protective custody" at the Mawelawela refugee camp between Mbabane and Manzini.

According to the Swazi Government, they were detained to protect them from attacks "from outside our borders".

The move was seen as a response to the South African Defence Force raid on ANC members in Lesotho only a few days before.

The Rand Daily Mail reported last month that some of the detainees had signed "voluntary deportation" forms and had been given United Nations passports permitting them to travel to Maputo in Mozambique.

Some of the detainees were understood to have felt they were more vulnerable to attack at the camp than at their homes in Swaziland.

Senator Nsibandze said yesterday the fate of the refugees still at Mawelawela would be reviewed at a later date "when the clouds have disappeared".

He said the possible return to Swaziland of the refugees who had decided to leave would also have to be reviewed at a future date.

Senator Nsibandze said Swaziland was a small country with an unemployment problem and limited resources. Whenever possible, his government preferred refugees to seek asylum in countries better able to cater for their needs.

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RAND DAILY MAIL, Monday, January 3, 1983

# Koeberg blasts 'were planned

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THE explosions at the Koeberg nuclear power station and the assassination of a former African National Congress executive were planned by the ANC months before the South African Defence Force raid into Lesotho, police said at the weekend.

Lieutenant-General P J Coetzee, the chief Deputy Commissioner of the Security Branch, said in a statement in Pretoria the Koeberg blasts had "nothing whatsoever to do with the Maseru raid or the subsequent burial of some of the victims of the raid".

Preliminary investigations into the explosions at the Cape power station proved

conclusively that the sabotage had been planned months ahead of last year's raid on ANC targets in Maseru, Gen Coetzee said.

There had also been speculation in the Press that the assassination of a former ANC-South African Communist Party executive, Mr Bartholomew Hlapane, and his wife, had been in retaliation for the South African raid.

"Mr Hlapane has been on the ANC's death list since the early 1960s and previous attempts to assassinate him were thwarted by security

action," Gen Coetzee said. Over the years, other people who had forsaken the ANC-SACP cause had also been assassinated, he added.

The commissioner said another misconception was that the ANC would in future launch attacks on civilian targets in the Republic in retaliation for the strike.

He said that since the ANC-SACP campaign had started "hundreds of acts of terrorism, murders, bombings, assassinations, etc." had not been directed solely at State targets.

Gen Coetzee said several

senior ANC executives killed in the Maseru raid had received guerrilla training in Lesotho, Angola, and East Germany and had helped organise ANC infiltration in South Africa and Transkei.

All the ANC executives killed in the raid had either been detained in South Africa or imprisoned on Robben Island after being convicted of terrorist activities or furthering their organisation's aims, he said.

The ANC members killed in the SADF strike included:  
● Zola Sgonyela Ngini, 48: Chairman of the senior organ

of the ANC in Lesotho and also involved in trade union activities.

He joined the ANC at a young age. On May 5, 1964, he was imprisoned for 5½ years for his activities, Gen Coetzee said.

While serving his sentence on Robben Island, he was co-opted into the "High Command" of an SACP cell.

He later illegally left the country for Lesotho, where he underwent a crash course in guerrilla warfare, and afterwards assisted in the training of ANC recruits.

● Adolph Joseph Mpongosh

50: Chief representative of the South African Council of Trade Unions in Lesotho and a member of the ANC's political and propaganda section.

He was one of the leader elements of the ANC in the Eastern Cape in the early 1960s and was jailed for furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

He left the Republic illegally during 1975, and underwent specialist training in guerrilla warfare in the Soviet Union and at the Novo Catenque ANC camp in southern Angola.

In 1977 he was appointed

political commissar of the Novo Catenque camp.

In 1978 he was appointed the commander of another ANC camp, Funda, in northern Angola.

In Maseru his group was responsible for the distribution of ANC and SACP propaganda in South Africa.

● Cambridge Morena Lucky Moloisane, 25: ANC unit commander and member of the ANC's security section in Maseru responsible for interviewing recruits and for security arrangements.

He was detained in 1978

Assisted in sending terrorists to infiltrate the Eastern Cape and Transkei

He was involved in ANC activities, including the manufacturing of bombs in the Eastern Cape and Transkei for which he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment on Robben Island

He was released in 1977 and 'immediately continue with illegal ANC activities'

During August, 1981, he was involved with training ANC terrorists in the murder of two members of the Transkei police

He fled to Lesotho immediately after the murders

He took a crash course in guerrilla warfare and assisted in ANC infiltrations in the Eastern Cape and Ciskei  
Gen Coetzee said Sapa

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and left the country the same year after being released from detention.

He received specialist training in guerrilla warfare in Angola and in Teterow in East Germany during 1980.

In August, 1981, he was sent to Lesotho, where he was attached to the ANC's security section. Trained ANC terrorists lived in his house, according to Gen Coetzee.

● Ligwa Graham Mdlanakomo, 26: Member of the senior organ of the ANC, was involved in sending ANC terrorists to attack targets in South Africa, Transkei, and

Ciskei  
He was detained in 1977 in Port Elizabeth as a result of his involvement in the riots in the Eastern Cape.

After his release in 1978 he left South Africa illegally for Lesotho, from where he was sent to Novo Catenque, Angola, and Teterow, East Germany, for specialist training in guerrilla warfare.

In 1979 he was attached to the ANC intelligence and security section in the Biana camp on the outskirts of Luanda. He returned to Lesotho in July 1981

● Jackson Balisani Tayo, 52.

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# ANC 'planned blasts long ago'

CAPK TIMES 3/1/85 (11A) ~~SA~~ ~~ST~~ ~~ET~~

PRETORIA — The explosions at Koeberg and assassination of a former African National Congress (ANC) executive were planned by the ANC months before the South African Defence Force (SADF) raid into Lesotho, police said yesterday.

Lieutenant-General P J Coetzee, Chief Deputy Commissioner of the security police, said in Pretoria that the Koeberg blasts had "nothing whatsoever to do with the Maseru raid or subsequent burial of some of the victims".

Investigations into the blasts at the nuclear power station proved conclusively that the sabotage was planned months ahead of last year's raid on ANC targets in Maseru, he said.

There had also been press speculation that the assassination of a former ANC-South African Communist Party executive, Mr Bartholomew Hlapane, and his wife had been in retaliation for the Maseru raid.

"Mr Hlapane has been on the ANC's death list since the early 1960s and previous attempts to assassinate him were thwarted by security action," the general said.

Over the years, other people who had forsaken the ANC-SACP cause had also been assassinated.

General Coetzee said it had been reported that unarmed ANC refugees had been killed in the Maseru raid. It was "revealing to have a closer look at some of these so-

called refugees".

He named five ANC members killed in the SADF strike and listed their activities. Jackson Balisani Tayo, Zola Sgonyela Nqini, Ligwa Graham Mdlankomo, Adolph Joseph Mpongoshe, and Cambridge Morena Lucky Moloisane all received guerrilla training in Lesotho, Angola or East Germany.

All had been detained or had served sentences on Robben Island for their activities before illegally leaving South Africa for Lesotho.

## 'Infiltrated Cape'

In Lesotho, they trained ANC guerillas in the use of communist-manufactured weapons and assisted in helping them infiltrate the Eastern Cape and Transkei.

"Several others have also received specialist training in Russia, East Germany and Angola," General Coetzee said.

Another ANC member killed in the Maseru raid had been a member of the organization's assassination squad and had been on several missions to the Eastern Cape and Transkei. He was also responsible for the attempted assassination of the former Commissioner of Police in Transkei, Major-General M Z Ngceba, General Coetzee said.

The Commissioner said another misconception "prevalent among a certain section of the press" was that the ANC would in future launch attacks on civilian targets in

South Africa in retaliation for the Maseru strike.

"Even a casual look at the kinds (of terrorism) perpetrated by the ANC-SACP since they declared war on the people of the RSA more than two decades ago reveals that hundreds of acts of terrorism, murders, bombings, assassinations, etc. were not solely directed at State targets," General Coetzee said.

"How can the dead and wounded hostages of the Silverton bank siege or the dead of the Gough Street murders be described as anything but civilian?"

"How can the indiscriminate placing of bombs in shopping centres frequented by people of all races, bus shelters, motor showrooms and other public places be regarded as being directed against the State?"

"How can the shooting and leaving for dead of black civilians by terrorists (the Soekmekaar and Wonderboompoort ANC attacks were carried out after the terrorists had robbed and shot black civilians) be regarded as being directed against the state?"

General Coetzee said South Africans were well aware that the ANC had "long ceased" to be a legitimate black nationalist organization. "It is directed by the SA Communist Party, which in turn is directed by the Soviet Union," he said. — Sapa

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

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1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
4. Do not write in the left hand margin.
1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
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4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

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

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11A

# Hendrickse backs NP proposals

By Peter Sullivan,  
Political Correspondent

ESHOWE — In a significant breakthrough for the National Party's constitutional proposals, the leader of the coloured Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, today spoke out in favour of accepting them.

After a six-month refusal to commit himself he told his congress today: "We believe you must fight where you can be seen and heard."

Mr Hendrickse made his appeal despite the warning voiced by the congress's guest speaker, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Referring to that warning, Mr Hendrickse said one of the main causes of criticism was the fact that blacks were excluded from the new three-chamber Parliament.

"I hasten to say that we are black," he said.

"We are an equal partner of the South

African Black Alliance and therefore if one equal and adult partner goes into meaningful negotiations for the total alliance, may I ask why are we now no longer black and not able to speak and deal for and on behalf of the total black community?"

Many people believed they could fight an argument with inaudible whispers. Others believed they would impress and influence by sulking and puffing themselves up.

Saying he believed one should fight where one could be seen and heard, Mr Hendrickse said: "There is no bravery in running away."

"We must not delude ourselves. We cannot fight a battle by not fighting it."

The situation demanded integrity, honesty and sincerity and he felt he had to acknowledge the courage of the Prime Minister in having taken the risks he did take.

"We say with conviction that the time for protest politics has passed."

"We want to say very clearly to those who condemn us and denigrate us for being within the system and working the system to come out of their caves of shadows into the daylight of reality."

The congress will decide only later today and tomorrow on the formal response to the proposals and there is still a strong possibility that resolutions will be passed demanding changes unacceptable to the National Party.

● See Page 7.

X

## Middleton may lead radicals out

Political Correspondent

ESHOWE — Sports administrator Mr Norman Middleton today spoke at the congress in favour of outright rejection of the Government's proposals.

He said coloured people would be sent to the Border, in return for which they would get a separate chamber in Parliament with no power.

Other speakers were totally in favour of the proposals but the secretary of the Cape Peninsula division, Mr Isaacs, was against acceptance.

At this stage it seems the party is likely to opt for conditional acceptance, which may cause a walkout of its more radical members led by Mr Middleton.

# Constitutional (11A) plans a trap, stew Labour Party is warned 4/11/83

Political Correspondent ESHOWE — Clenched-fist salutes marked the emotional opening of the Labour Party Congress here yesterday.

Sweltering in 87 degree C heat, delegates and observers still managed some enthusiastic singing while waiting for the main speakers to arrive.

Outside an Inkatha "impi" formed up, led by the Zulu movement officers, dressed in khaki.

Drum majorettes dressed in short white skirts beat drums.

Inside the hall the crowd sang: "We shall

## Power salutes at emotional opening

doing a grand introduction, and in what was the understatement of this very young year Chief Buthelezi replied: "It's all right, I'm known in Zululand."

Bishop L Zulu, Bishop of Natal, opened the congress with prayers and a short political speech.

"Whether we like it or not this is more than just a Labour Party congress.

"The eyes, hopes and fears of the whole country and the whole continent and even the whole world are upon us," he said.

Eventually Chief Buthelezi put the emotional, political show on the road.

waiting Chief Buthelezi of kwaZulu entered at the head of his impi with the Reverend Alan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party.

They strode to the stage, clenched fists held high in the traditional Black Power salute.

Congress chairman Mr David Currie whispered to Chief Buthelezi that he would not be

overcome... black and white together, I do believe, we shall overcome.

One man stood in the middle of the hall and started singing in a strong tenor: "If you believe what I believe South Africa will be free."

He was soon joined by everybody in the hall.

After an hour of

By Peter Sullivan. Political Correspondent ESHOWE — The Government's constitutional proposals were a trap. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi warned the Labour Party Congress yesterday, and the Indian and coloured people were the bait.

Speaking to a hushed audience in sweltering heat, he slammed the proposals from every possible angle.

"It is for our Indian and coloured brothers and sisters to decide whether to play the part of the bait in this dangerous and lethal trap," said the Chief Minister of kwaZulu.

"In no way can anyone regard any proposals which actually offend and annihilate three-quarters of South Africa's population as a gradual step in the right direction."

He also gave a severe warning of what would happen to the coloured and Indian people if they accepted the proposals.

He said they would be reduced to "second-class enemies" of the black people, and while sometimes one respected one's large enemies, one seldom respected his "little runners and camp followers."

### EXPERTS

"They are without any honour at all," said Chief Buthelezi. "I do not believe coloured and Indian people can afford this."

Spelling out what he would like to see, Chief Buthelezi said he hoped the Labour Party would establish a group of experts in consultation with the Black Alliance.

With this group of experts the party could examine the proposals and develop a detailed position.

"You could then ask for the Government to nominate its own people to sit with your group and jointly consider both the Government's and your detailed position."

Chief Buthelezi said he considered the proposals as the first stage of a white initiative.

"What simply has to happen now is a well constructed and equally publicised black response, followed by negotiations.

### VIOLENCE

Saying there would never be "one glorious revolution" in this country, he sharply rapped both the Government and the ANC for using violence.

He pointed out that he had objected to the violence used against black South Africans in Maputo and to the violent thrusts into Lesotho and Angola.

He also objected to the assassination of Mr Hlapane by the ANC.

Propagandists for the Government overseas cited the split in the Nationalist Party as an example of how meaningful the constitutional proposals were, said Chief Buthelezi.

"I suppose that to some early colonialists with medieval minds even the freeing of slaves was a dangerous and radical reform, and they seemed to have continued in the same way of thinking ever since."

# Doctor took a look just 83 days later

## Mall Reporter

A DETAINEE was examined by a doctor 83 days after she was allegedly assaulted by members of the Security Police during interrogation, a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate heard yesterday.

This testimony was given in the Terrorism Act trial of Miss Lillian Keagile, 24, of Molapo, Soweto, who appeared before Mr I J J Luther.

The State alleges she took part in the activities of the ANC.

Giving evidence for the defence, the senior district surgeon for Johannesburg, Dr Norman Jacobson, told the court his duties included examining detainees.

He said he examined Miss Keagile on February 9 this year. She told him she had

been assaulted by Security Police when she was arrested on November 18 last year.

She said she was suffering from pains in the chest and also under her breast.

She told him she had not been seen by a doctor since she was allegedly assaulted by being kicked all over her body.

She told him her head was covered with a wet sack which was later used to hit her on the body. She was also slapped on both ears, he said.

Dr Jacobson said he noticed no visible injuries on her.

Miss Keagile, who first appeared in court eight months after being detained, will spend a second Christmas day in custody and will appear again on January 10 next year.

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City Council cleaner Mr Omar Kader and the litter he found on a Sea Point beach.

# Lesotho raid was 'barbaric'

**Own Correspondent**  
**TORONTO** — South African soldiers who entered Lesotho last month deliberately shot peaceful refugees in their beds and murdered women and children, according to a letter, signed by 19 Canadian doctors, which has been received by the Canadian Department of External Affairs.

The South Africans killed 42 people claiming that 30 were "terrorists" and members of the African National Congress, that the others were Lesotho citizens killed in the crossfire, and that a large cache of weapons and military supplies were seized.

Men, women and children alike were slaughtered. Among the critically injured was one woman six months pregnant.

Fourth, it is common knowledge that the majority of the victims were asleep when attacked and were either slaughtered in their beds or dragged outside and shot.

Fifth, the Basotho who were 'killed in the crossfire' were deliberately shot, also in their homes, because the invasion forces, mistaking their house for that of a South African refugee, entered and shot indiscriminately those they found.

The doctors added: "This barbaric action must be condemned" and urged that a United Nations commission of inquiry be set up into the raid and that the Canadian Government should consider sanctions against South Africa and recall its ambassador.

The doctors signed their letter to the External Affairs Minister, Mr Allan MacEachen, but asked that their names not be made public because they feared South African reprisals that could endanger Canadian aid programmes in Lesotho.

● A spokesman for the South African Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria last night the allegations made by these nameless people were so absurd, prejudiced and one-sided that it really could not be expected of the SADF to comment.

## 'Inaccurate'

The doctors working for several Canadian relief agencies wrote that some aspects of the incident "have been inaccurately portrayed to the rest of the world".

They pointed out that Lesotho has a stated policy of not permitting itself to be used as a base for any terrorist activity.

The letter said the 12 targets involved "were, in fact, the residences of South African refugees who lived openly amid their Basotho neighbours as members of the community. Their homes were highly visible, situated on public thoroughfares, and any military activity would have been immediately apparent.

"Third, the 30 so-called terrorists were in reality South African refugees.

## Botswana Vice-President dies

**GABORONE** — Botswana's Vice-President, Mr Lenyette Seretse, died early yesterday after a long illness.

The government declared two weeks of mourning for Mr Seretse, 62, cousin of the late Sir Seretse Khama, Botswana's first president.

Mr Seretse had been treated for cancer in a Johannesburg hospital early in December. He later returned to hospital in Gaborone.

Mr Seretse was a Bamatwa tribesman. Among those considered likely to succeed him are Mr M P K Nwako, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr Peter Mmusi, Minister of Finance, Development and Planning, and Mrs Gaotsiwe Cheipe, Minister of Mines and Minerals. — Sapa-AP

- 6.42 Sportokus: A programme for sports.
- 7.08 Flinkdink: Eowig van Aard's presentation of one of his quick-fire quiz programmes.
- 7.30 Outeniqua: Featuring the beautiful area of the Southern Cape and the region between George and Knysna.
- 8.00 News
- 8.28 Weather
- 8.35 News Focus: An in-depth analysis of the news.
- 8.52 Family Reunion: Final Episode of the gathering of the clan. Several family feuds are settled and plans for the future are made.
- 9.42 Looking At Spices: A historical series traces the history of the spice trade in affected South Africa.
- 10.11 Portrait of a Legend: The country's first African singer Merie Haggard.
- 10.59 News
- 11.09 Epilogue: The Rev. Chris Reedy.

### TV2

- 6.30 Umakho (Cuore Di Ma)
- 7.00 Izindaba/Iindaba (News)
- 7.10 Jikelele (Magazine Programme)
- 7.15 Ibhastile (Marble): A documentary on mining and uses of marble.
- 9.00 Iindaba/Izindaba (News)
- 9.25 Iphunga Elimnandi/Ezenkolo (Epic)

## Last night's

**TV1**  
 THE children's programme, "Riding High", showed just how many cats may be found amongst the horses. For sheer pre-adolescent nastiness, some of those young ladies on their high-stepping ponies take a lot of beating.

"Knight Rider", the new series which began last night, features a most remarkable motor car which can be programmed to avoid having accidents. The trouble is that the car shows signs of wanting to programme its occupants.

So poor was the acting in this initial programme that a fully automated cast might not be a bad thing. The car should entrance the kids.

**NEIL VEITCH**

**Too late for classification**

**BIRTHS**  
**GRAY** — To Veronica (nee Stephen) and Alistair, twin daughters of January 3 at Mowbray Maternity. A well-wishes to doctor and staff.

**DEATHS**  
**VAN TONDER** — Ruth, our dear Mashie will always be remembered by Nicholas, Justin, Ruth, George and Johnathan.

**VAN TONDER** — Invited to the funeral of the late Mrs. M. J. van der Merwe, 71, on 2/1/83. Mrs. van der Merwe was born on 2/1/1911. She was a member of the S.A. Dutch Reformed Church. She was married to the late Mr. J. van der Merwe, who died on 1/1/83. She is survived by her husband, three children, and a number of grandchildren. The funeral will be held on 2/1/83 at 10:30 am at the funeral home of De Leeuw.

**DE LEEUW** — M. born Schoemans, 71, died on 1/1/83. She was a member of the S.A. Dutch Reformed Church. She was married to the late Mr. J. de Leeuw, who died on 1/1/83. She is survived by her husband, three children, and a number of grandchildren. The funeral will be held on 2/1/83 at 10:30 am at the funeral home of De Leeuw.

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## Post Focus

# Did raid buy time, or shorten fuse for SA?

E. Post  
4/1/83

By a Special Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICANS enter the New Year with memories of the Maseru raid fresh in the mind and the vista of a politically critical year ahead.

The question is whether the raid on African National Congress targets in Lesotho helped to buy time for the changes which everybody knows have to be made, or whether it shortened the metaphorical fuse and lost rather than gained time.

It must be assessed against the prospect in 1983 of constitutional plans designed to co-opt coloureds and Indians as subordinate allies of whites, and of further manoeuvring in the protracted but potentially explosive dispute in South West Africa.

The strike into Lesotho was clearly meant to deter neighbouring states from allowing ANC insurgents and, some foreign observers suspect, even ANC political representatives to operate from their territories. In that way the ANC would be kept at arms length in countries such as Tanzania, which do not share borders with South Africa.

Pretoria's "mailed fist" strategy may have been partially successful.

Strategically-placed Swaziland, for one, has responded by rounding up at least 27 ANC exiles and

placing them in "protective custody" at the Mawelawela refugee camp between Mbabane and Manzini. Most of them have since left the country for Mozambique.

Stepped up vigilance by Swazi authorities against Mozambique-based ANC fighters en route to or from South Africa will thus be a definite gain for Pretoria.

Against that, however, it should be noted that there have been no similar moves from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, or — further afield — Angola and Zambia.

Of course, some of these states may follow Swaziland's decision and restrict ANC members in their territories. But it should be recalled that about 30 ANC men were killed in the raid on ANC expatriates in Matola, Mozambique, and that this did not result in a clampdown on the ANC by President Samora Machel. Nor have repeated raids into Angola prevented its MPLA regime from offering sanctuary to the ANC's ideological kinsmen in Swapo.

It is nevertheless true

that both Mozambique and Angola have had talks in the past few weeks with South Africa, and that these may yet yield benefits to Pretoria. The discussions are but the first moves in a complicated political game in which Mozambique and Angola have their own stratagems.

There is another dimension to Pretoria's policy of pre-emptive strikes against ANC exiles in neighbouring territories.

Instead of cowering before South Africa's might, the states concerned may seek to counter-balance it by seeking aid.

It has already happened to a degree. The huge flow of Cubans into Angola came after the secret South African invasion of Angola during the Angolan civil war, while Mozambique signed a defence treaty with the Soviet Union after the Matola raid.

Thus there is a risk that a policy designed to reduce the threat of the "Moscow-sponsored" ANC will lead to a stronger communist presence in Southern Africa and the consequent danger of direct confronta-

tion with the Soviet Union.

There is also another level at which the raid on Lesotho should be assessed: its impact on ANC morale and on black perceptions at home of the ANC.

The raid was undoubtedly a shattering blow to the ANC in Lesotho, but it should be seen in the light of developments after the raid.

The SADF excursion was followed by two apparent counter-blows from the ANC: the assassination of ANC defector Mr Bartholomew Hlapane in Soweto and the sabotage attack on the Koeberg nuclear power plant.

In a weekend statement the chief of the security police, General Johan Coetzee, dismissed suggestions that the two ANC strikes were prompted by the Maseru raid.

Mr Hlapane, as a former colleague of top men in the ANC and a State witness in a long run of political trials, was high on the ANC "hit list". He was killed on the symbolically important Day of the Vow — or, as blacks call it, Heroes Day. With the possible exception

of the laying of limpet mines at Sasol 1 in June 1980, the attack on Koeberg was the most dramatic episode in the ANC's campaign of "armed struggle".

Link these events with the spectacle of the ANC burying its dead in Maseru and the daring presence at the mass funeral of the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and it becomes extremely doubtful whether the ANC lost more than it gained in the psychological battle for the allegiance of blacks at home.

Then, too, the Maseru raid should be seen in the context of the unanimous UN Security Council decision condemning South Africa for the raid and ordering Pretoria to pay compensation to Lesotho for the death of its nationals and the damage to its property.

The condemnation had the support of two governments consistently accused by the Third World and the communist bloc of covert support for South Africa — those of Britain and the United States. The implied rebuke must be added to the cost of the raid.

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ink must be used for written use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Green ink may be used only for emphasis or for diagrams, for any also be used.

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

# Buthelezi warns coloureds of 'trap'

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27/11/83

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

ESHOWE. — The acceptance of the Government's constitutional plan by coloureds and Indians would make them "enemies" in the eyes of black South Africans, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Speaking at the 17th coloured Labour Party Congress in Eshowe, Chief Buthelezi said. "Acceptance of the proposals as they are means accepting an incurable ulcer in the body of black unity. We will never heal the rift."

Though he insisted he was not trying to prescribe to the LP, Chief Buthelezi's address was clearly seen as a warning not to accept the proposals. He is also chairman of the SA Black Alliance, of which the LP is a member.

The LP's attitude to the proposals is crucial to their success or failure.

The Government desperately needs LP participation to give the plan even the slightest respectability. The party will formulate its stance over the next two days.

Chief Buthelezi said 1983 could be a year of glory for coloureds and Indians.

"It will be a year of glory if you reject these proposals, because the rejection of them will stave off a deteriorating political situation in

which there can only be the evolution of a people-against-people violence on a large scale," he said.

For coloureds and Indians to accept proposals which excluded blacks from vital decision-making processes would be "a disaster for them and everybody".

"It would be interpreted, rightly or wrongly, as your ultimate abandonment of Africans as your fellow countrymen and fellow blacks," Chief Buthelezi said.

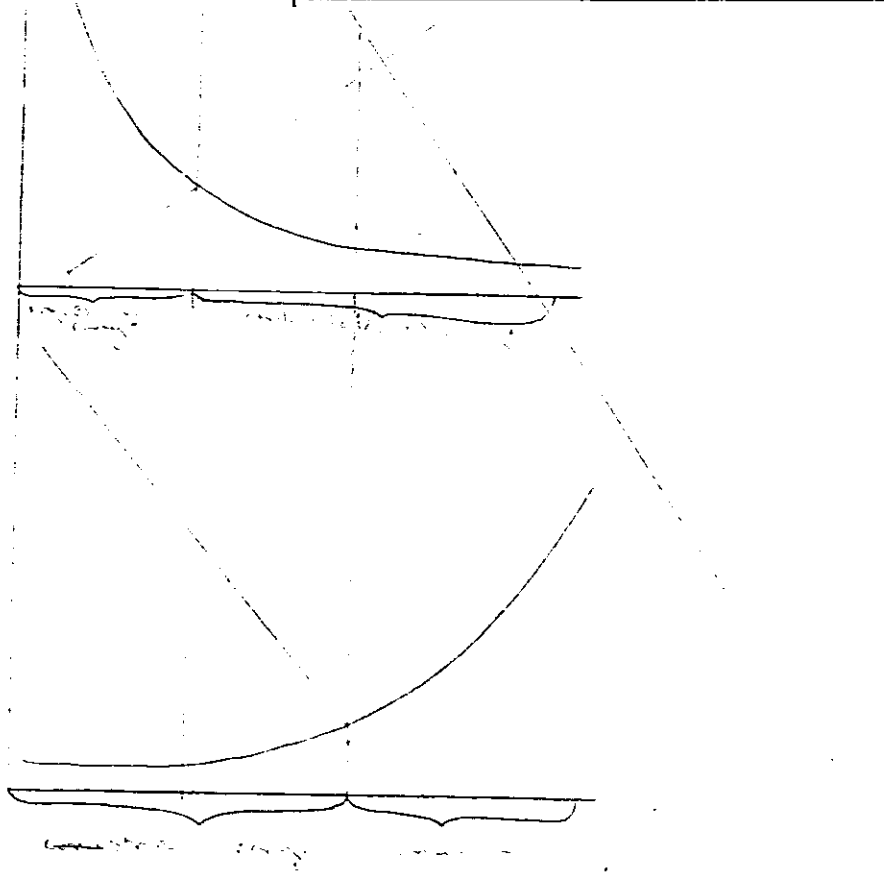
He rejected the notion that the proposals were "a step in the right direction".

"The present proposals as they stand are not, I repeat not, a stage in a gradual process. They are a trap. When people are caught in a trap they will fight free. Of this I must warn white fellow South Africans," he said.

Chief Buthelezi proposed that the LP establish a group of experts in consultation with other members of the Black Alliance to examine the Government's proposals and develop a detailed response.

"The black response to the proposals has to be well considered and as well publicised as the white initiative. Negotiations would then have to follow.

"These issues are of immense concern to all South Africans and they all have a right to know," he said.



# Reforms: Buthelezi warns Labour

CAPL TIMES  
4/1/83

11A ~~304A~~

By TONY WEAVER

**ESHOWE.** — In a strongly-worded ultimatum to the Labour Party, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday that acceptance of the government's constitutional proposals would turn the coloured people into "the enemies" of black South Africa.



Chief Buthelezi

However, Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu and chairman of the South African Black Alliance (Saba), of which the Labour Party is a member, left the door open for the party to negotiate changes to the proposals as long as they did not participate in the parliamentary machinery.

Opening the Labour Party's crucial three-day annual congress here, he said: "Acceptance of the proposals as they are means accepting an incurable ulcer in the body of black unity. We will never heal the rift.

"For us (blacks) it will be a clear indication that coloured and Indian people will then become.

in our eyes, second-class enemies."

Although Chief Buthelezi said he did not want to "dictate" to the LP on its ultimate decision, his speech was bound strongly to influence the outcome of the congress.

The congress is regarded as crucial to the implementation of the government's constitutional proposals, as the party's participation in the proposed three-chamber parliament is the minimum acceptance the government will need to proceed with its "reforms".

Indicative of the significance being accorded the congress is the presence of diplomatic representatives of the United Kingdom, United States and Canada, and more than 20 foreign and local journalists. More diplomats and journalists are expected today.

Chief Buthelezi's address was heard by more than 1 000 people packed into the local town hall, which normally seats 400.

He told the congress that "1983 could be the year of glory for the Indian and coloured community of South Africa if you reject the government's proposals".

The proposals represented "white South Africa on the run" and "white South Africa trounced by democracy who do not want to admit defeat".

Warning that "any participation in the machinery being created gives the constitutional changes a blessing they do not deserve", he nonetheless conceded that room for negotiation remained.

He called on the government to negotiate changes to the proposals with Saba, which comprises Inkatha, the LP, the Natal-based Indian Reform Party and the Kangwane Inyandza National Movement.

He proposed that the LP, in consultation with Saba, establish "a group of experts to develop a detailed position" on the proposals.

The recommendations of this committee would then be taken to the government as the basis for a process of "horse-trading" and negotiation on the proposals.

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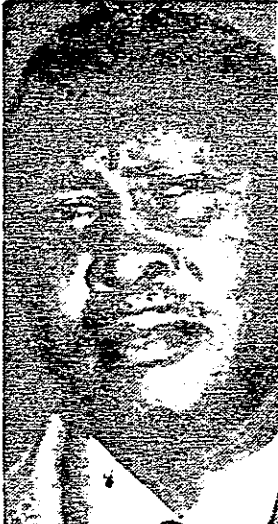
# Zulu chief makes his



TAMBO: ANC president after Chief Luthuli.



CONNECTION: Buthelezi alleged to have manipulated wife of Albert Luthuli.



LUTHULI: Zimbabwe exiles in his defence.



WARNING: Chief Buthelezi speaks of potential split in black unity.

## Reply to public attack by Zimbabwe exile

HARARE. — The testy relationship between Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and South African exiles has again blown up in Zimbabwe's Press with a lengthy letter from the KwaZulu homeland leader in yesterday's Herald here.

Chief Buthelezi's letter in Zimbabwe's leading daily newspaper is a reply to an attack on him in an interview with Dr Albertinah Luthuli, the daughter of Chief Albert Luthuli, published by the Herald in September.

Dr Luthuli, a medical practitioner at a rural hospital in Zimbabwe,

attacked Chief Buthelezi for being a sell-out and for manipulating her mother to enable him to hold a rival memorial service for Chief Luthuli.

In his lengthy letter, Chief Buthelezi threatens to publish correspondence between him and Dr Luthuli which would reveal that he had interceded with Pretoria to allow her to return to South Africa from exile. He would do so "if she continues to abuse my friendship".

Chief Buthelezi also came under strong attack from radical black

groups inside South Africa for allegedly trying to organise a rival memorial service for Chief Luthuli, the late President of the ANC before Mr Oliver Tambo.

In his letter, Chief Buthelezi said he had succeeded in mobilising more mass support than the ANC could.

But, he said, "I do not look down my nose at the Luthulis because of this".

He had never needed Chief Luthuli as a "political prop", he said. And the former ANC leader had encouraged him in his role as "chief

of the Zulu nation and as a member of the Zulu Royal House", he said. —SANS.

## Lenin wouldn't approve!

### New book depicts Soviets as a nation of spivs

PARIS — The Soviet Union, 60 years after its birth, has become a "kleptocracy" — a society of thieves, fixers and con men.

Lenin envisaged communism creating a "new man" — instead he is a spiv.

This is the view of French journalist Patrick Menezes who has just written a scathing book on the

Swiss numbered accounts, often used by the minister in his foreign travels.

Mr Ishkov's resignation led to the arrest of 200 dishonest officials.

There is also the case of the "factory that never was", a tractor engine repair shop outside Leningrad

anecdotes of Russians wrestling with every type of shortage.

Lovers, unable to rent hotel rooms or a flat, instead take a sleeper-train from Moscow to Leningrad and back.

There is the story of the Russian who emigrated to the West and wanted to buy a car, so he

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# ef makes his stand



LUTHULI: Zimbabwe exiles in his defence.



WARNING: Chief Buthelezi speaks of potential split in black unity.

IF THE Labour Party accepted the government's constitutional proposals it could signal the end of the South African Black Alliance and deal a mortal blow to black unity in South Africa.

This was the stern warning issued by the Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu and chairman of SABA, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, in Eshowe on Monday night.

He was opening the 17th annual congress of the Labour Party — regarded as the most crucial in the Party's history since it was meeting to decide what attitude to adopt to the constitutional proposals.

Speaking to a packed town hall filled with Labour Party delegates and chanting Inkatha members, Chief Buthelezi pointed out that there already existed a violent situation between whites and blacks.

The decision of the Labour Party will determine whether to this, a dimension of black-on-black violent confrontations at many levels will be added.

"Accepting the proposals as they are means accepting an incurable ulcer in the body of

## Stern warning for those in PC plan

black unity," he said.

On the other hand Chief Buthelezi predicted that 1983 could be a "year of glory" for the Indian and coloured communities if they rejected the Government's proposals.

He condemned the proposals as a "medieval" attempt to entrench classical apartheid in the constitution of South Africa.

This showed that whites wanted to flee from democratic political engagement with blacks.

"The present proposals are not a stage in a gradual process. They are a trap.

"It is for our coloured and Indian brothers and sisters to decide whether they wish to play the part of the bait in this dangerous and lethal trap," Chief Buthelezi said.

groups inside South Africa for allegedly trying to organise a rival memorial service for Chief Luthuli, the late President of the ANC before Mr Oliver Tambo.

In his letter, Chief Buthelezi said he had succeeded in mobilising more mass support than the ANC could.

But, he said, "I do not look down my nose at the Luthulis because of this".

He had never needed Chief Luthuli as a "political prop", he said. And the former ANC leader had encouraged him in his role as "chief

of the Zulu nation and as a member of the Zulu Royal House", he said. —SANS.

# n't approve!

### as a nation of spivs

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Lovers, unable to rent hotel rooms or a flat, instead take a sleeper-train from Moscow to Leningrad and back.

There is the story of the Russian who emigrated to the West and wanted to buy a car, so he asked friends how many

# Keep your hair looking black and healthy...

## INECTO Creme

Healthy, natural black hair is very important if you want to look your best.

London, England

# Davey up in arms over taxi fares

TAXI FARES in Daveyton have been increased by 10 cents.

A single trip from Daveyton to town used to be 80c during the week and 90 cents over the weekend.

Taxi fares have now been increased from 80 cents to 90 cents during weekdays.

A spokesperson for the Benoni Taxi Association yesterday told The SOWETAN that the association decided to increase fares because taxi operators were working at a loss and that many people have been retrenched by firms, resulting in fewer people using taxis daily.

Commissioners interviewed by The SOWETAN

## Education inquiry will bring nothing new say leaders

# Azapo rejects DET probe

5/1/83 SOWETAN IIA

A LEADING black educationist and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) yesterday expressed reservation about the Department of Education and Training (DET) announcement that it is to conduct a thorough probe into last year's matric results.

Mr T W Kambule, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr Ishamael Mkhabela, Azapo's publicity secretary, both told The SOWETAN that they had misgivings about the announcement.

They said such statements have been made year in and year out and nothing concrete has come out of them.

Mr Kambule said his

doubts were based on the fact that the investigations were left in the DET's hands entirely and often came with answers that exonerate the department.

"Any investigation conducted should include blacks who are not within the present system of education. We are tired of the unsatisfactory explanations by DET which always brings us to square one.

"I am happy that parents have now realised what is happening and have taken upon themselves to shout about the matter. Previously when some of us talked, we were regarded as radicals," he said.

On the department's statement that the dramatic drop in passes was

largely due to underqualified teachers and the situation was not likely to improve in the near future. Mr Kambule said the attribution was not fair.

"The department should take the blame and not the teachers because they are only the nuts in the whole big machinery of DET. It is a pity that when something goes wrong in the machinery, they should be made scapegoats. Granted there may be some underqualified teachers, but many have been in the field for long and are hard workers," he said.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

Mr Kambule further said there was definitely something wrong with our kind of education which blacks have been complaining about for the last 25 years. He said to be honest, there has been no improvement in black education since 1976 — in fact, things have become worse.

"The results should be viewed very seriously because they are harming us a great deal. At a glance, they may give an impression that our children are foolish when they are not. In my experience I have found there is no difference between black and white students," he said.

Mr Mkhabela said he was not excited about the investigation in that

the authorities were "notorious" to give empty promises and ignore the demands of the people.

"We consider the present talks about the probe as yet another move to raise false hope among blacks well knowing that nothing will come out of it.

"The call by the black community has been persistently to the abolishment of the racial system of education. In our opinion, the investigation is another form of wasting money.

"We warn the department that it is indulging in an irrelevant and futile exercise and we do not need another Soweto uprising to stress the urgency of the whole matter," he said.

# Police shoot alleged rapist near Alberton



# Cops fear for bloody year ahead

By ELLIOT TSHINGWALA

AT LEAST 22 people have died since New Year's Eve and this is increasing fears that we might be heading for yet another bloody year.

At least 1 275 people died in acts of violence last year. Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier D. J. D. Jacobs, said this constituted an increase of about 28 percent over the previous year's figure of 1 195.

Mr Ben Nteso, chairman of the South African Black Social Worker's Association (Sabswa), said "shocking" murder figures over the years were becoming "something of a social pattern.

GENERAL NEWS

By Peter Sullivan  
Political Correspondent  
ESHOWE — The Labour Party decision to reject the Government's constitutional proposals but participate in its structures has given the go-ahead for the first interim chamber Parliament next year.

# Labour move brings PM's dream nearer



All that is needed now is the stamp of approval from the Indian Reform Party — likely to be a mere formality — to make Mr P W Botha's constitutional dream come true.

Only a handful of dissenters stopped the Labour Party decision from being unanimous yesterday after a 10-hour debate.

The turning point came during an emotional speech by the Labour Party chairman, Mr David Curry, who simply told the congress the party was supporting participation.

"We think using this chamber is politically expedient," he said.

"When we agree to

use the chamber, newspaper writers will tomorrow say we are supporting Government policy. They confuse strategy with policy.

"We are going in — but on our terms: removal of statutory discrimination."

The decision drew a warning from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of kwaZulu that any participation would fragment black unity.

However, the Labour Party's two-pronged decision still salvages some hope for the South African Black Alliance and its policy of condemnation of the

constitutional proposals.

Acceptance by the Labour Party will be a bitter blow for the Progressive Federal Party although they have never doubted PFP participation in the new Parliament.

Mr Curry said "Are you also saying to Helen Suzman, she must not stand for Parliament because it will be a betrayal of blacks?"

Throughout the many long speeches delegates were swayed by the rhetoric of opposing factions.

Mr Norman Middle-

ton, a former office bearer, led the anti-participation side with a warning that it would lead to compulsory military service.

The final resolution was cleverly worded, enabling feelings of the mixed crowd to be satisfied.

The historic resolution said: "The Labour Party of South Africa believes in the effective participation of all South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed in the council of the nation at all levels."

"The party does not see the proposals of

the Nations Party as being the political answer to the constitutional demands of the people because (a) they exclude the greatest number of the population, the Africans, (b) they entrench ethnicity, (c) they do not carry out the policy of the party.

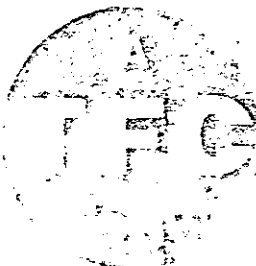
"We reiterate our demands for and demand one-man-one-vote for a unitary system (the latter negotiable).

Nonetheless, the Labour Party believes that our participation in the tricameral arrangement and its consequent standing committee can assist us in the achievement of such goals and aims, and further instructs its leaders to continue along the road of negotiation with the government of the day."

Elections will be held in October this year in the Indian and coloured communities and the Labour Party expects to win 80 percent of the seats.

The congress ends today.

# Far East '83



A collection of tilted rectangular boxes containing city names:

- Bangkok
- Colombo
- Taipei
- Hong Kong

# Buthelezi

HUGH ROBERTON of The Argus Political Staff reports.

"We reiterate our demand for, and our belief in, a one-man, one-vote arrangement in a unitary system, the latter being negotiable."

## Ovations

The resolution went on to say: "Nevertheless, the party decides that its participation in the three-chamber system can contribute to its objectives and gives authority to the leaders to continue negotiating with the government of the day."

The debate on the resolution before lunch was dominated by opponents

of participation, all of whom where given loud ovations.

At this point even supporters of a qualified participation in the scheme said they feared the congress would refuse all involvements.

## Dramatic

But during the lunch adjournment several urgent caucus meetings were convened and delegates confirmed that they were urged to support a compromise in order to preserve party unity.

After lunch the debate swung dramatically in

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POLITICS

# Setback for unity

The Labour Party has rejected the idea of a new constitution, but has voted to take part in the three-chamber parliament.

ESHOWE — The Labour Party congress has rejected the Government's constitution guideline.

But the nearly 400 delegates nevertheless voted with fewer than 10 dissenters for a resolution which said participation in the three-chamber parliament could contribute to what the party wanted to achieve.

Even this qualified acceptance, however, drew a swift reaction from a sombre Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chairman of the Black Alliance, of which the party is a member.

He told The Argus: "It

is a setback for the unity of people, whether they be black people or coloured people or white people, and frankly it does make one sad."

Asked to comment on the Labour Party leadership's argument that by going into the proposed new system they could fight for the inclusion of blacks, Chief Buthelezi snapped:

## Unexpected

"Who are they to say so? The Prime Minister Mr P W Botha, has said very firmly that this will never happen. We cannot take the Labour Party

leaders more seriously on this than we can take the Prime Minister."

The party took its vote after an all-day debate ironically marked by a sudden and unexpected change in speeches in favour of the Government's proposals.

Several caucus meetings addressed by the leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and the chairman, Mr David Curry, during the lunch adjournment, were said to have swung the congress behind a compromise resolution

The Natal division of the party, led by Mr B

Lucas and Mr Norman Middleton, and the Peninsula region, led by Mr S Isaacs, were among the strongest opponents of the decision to participate in the scheme.

There is widespread speculation that they and many other sections of the party will resign in protest.

## Emotional

When asked today what his plans were, Mr Middleton, who held a late-night and emotional meeting with Chief Buthelezi, an old and close friend, said: "I will be deciding this in the next 24 hours.

"You can be sure of one thing — and that is that you have not heard the last of me and the others who feel betrayed."

## "All levels"

Most delegates, according to the party leadership, are, in principle, resolutely opposed to the Government's guidelines.

But the leadership and especially Mr Curry, who made an impassioned speech in the last minutes of the debate, asked the congress to realise that while they might object in principle to the

proposals, there was sound strategic reasons for going into the new arrangement.

The final resolution said the Labour Party "believes in the effective participation of all South Africans in the councils of the nation at all levels.

"The party does not see the proposals of the National Party as being the political answer to the constitutional requirements of the people and of the times, because of the exclusion of the majority, the Africans, and because ethnicity is entrenched.

favour of participation.

Mr Curry told the congress that if blacks could trust Mrs Helen Suzman to fight for their human rights in a whites-only Parliament, then the Labour Party and blacks could trust the leadership to do the same in the new system.

"You are going to be called stooges, collaborators and people who make the system work. We have been called these things before when we have used Government platforms to achieve our objectives," Mr Curry said.

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SECTION A.



## Political Staff

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha, made it clear today that the SA Black Alliance had been put under severe strain following the Labour Party's agreement to participate in the Government's proposed new constitution.

Chief Buthelezi, who is chairman of the alliance which includes black, coloured and Indian political interests, issued a statement following last night's Labour Party decision in Eshowe.

He said the Labour Party had accepted the proposals knowing full well how bitterly blacks felt about them.

"This is their prerogative. I cannot at this stage criticise their decision. It did not come as

a surprise to me, knowing as I do the amount of behind-the-scenes arm twisting which has been going on.

"I did my duty as chairman of the Black Alliance and also as an African leader of the largest recognised constituency in the country.

"I have always emphasised to Inkatha members that our struggle for liberation is a long and hard one. If my brothers' and sisters' decision amounts to abandoning us, this is not something new in our lives," he said in the statement.

In the wake of Chief Buthelezi's warning, three leading members of the Labour resigned today.

Mr Norman Middleton, a former deputy leader, was the first to go. He stood up shortly before elections for office bearers and announced that he regretted he had to leave the party.

The two who left with him were Mrs Louise Boesak (Dr Allan Boesak's aunt) and Mr Sam Solomons — both former office bearers.

Chief Buthelezi said the Black Alliance was a federal organisation and each member remained autonomous. He said the next move will be debated by each constituent member of the Black Alliance and then con-

veyed in a joint conference.

Chief Buthelezi said he had convened a joint conference of the Alliance for February 18 and 19 in Durban and that he expected the Labour Party to be there.

The Labour Party vote came after an all-day debate.

Several caucus meetings, addressed by the national leader, the

See also Pages 2 and 11

Reverend Allan Hendrickse, and the national chairman Mr David Curry, during the lunch adjournment were said to have swung the congress behind a compromise resolution.

The Natal division of the party, led by Mr B Lucas and Mr Norman Middleton, and the Cape Peninsula region, led by Mr S Isaacs, were among the stron-

gest opponents of the decision to participate in the scheme.

Most Labour Party delegates, according to the party leadership, are resolutely opposed to the Government's guidelines in principle. But the leadership, and especially Mr Curry who made an impassioned speech in the last minutes of the debate, asked the congress to realise that while they might object in principle to the proposals there was sound strategic reasons for going into the new arrangement.

Mr Colin Eglin, national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said it was obvious the Labour Party had made a tactical decision.

"They must have been well aware that it could result in divisions within both the coloured and the wider

To Page 3, Col 8

Coloured elections this year

By Peter Sullivan Political Correspondent

ESHOWE — The first election for the coloured people since 1975 will be held in October this year, the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, confirmed today.

At a Press conference before the final day of the party's congress, he also said he hoped the decision to participate in the constitutional proposals would not affect the Black Alliance.

"I think we probably will have a resolution on the alliance later, but I don't see us withdrawing.

"I think we still need each other as an investment in the future."

Asked about Chief Buthelezi's comments, Mr Hendrickse said: "I don't think I want to have a fight with Chief Buthelezi at this stage, but there has been no question of any arm-twisting."

Labour Party vote on constitution rocks Black Alliance

# Buthelezi hits at Coloured decision

Star 5/11/83

(11A)

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5/11/83

Star



CONT. n. 18

reservation to contend with. Certain jobs are reserved for whites only & therefore it is difficult to enter many fields. In the manufacturing sector the education and job reservation are great stumbling blocks for Black workers. They stand off at a disadvantage through lack of schooling & as a result receive low salaries. One in the field may need reserved jobs for higher salaries.

Chief criticises Labour Party (11A) 5/1/83

from page 1

black communities. However, this opens another chapter in South African politics."

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the SA Indian Council, said the SAIC would decide later this month whether to participate in the new system.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) today said the Labour Party had at last crossed the "political Rubicon" and nothing would redeem it.

The Labour Party vote was for the fragmentation of South Africa.

EVIDENCE

It was also evidence that the Labour Party was incapable of learning from the experience of the Coloured Representative Council, Azapo declared.

Mr Tom Manthatha of the Soweto Committee of Ten referred to the difference of views within the Black Alliance on the issue of participation. He asked how Chief Buthelezi and

the Labour Party if they cannot achieve unity among themselves can ever talk about national unity.

Mr Manthatha said: "We are not crying that they have sold out — because they did that long ago."

"What they are saying and doing shows the dichotomy in their thinking, and at last the cracks are beginning to show among the ranks of those who have sold out."

Mr David Curry, chairman of the Labour Party, told the Press conference black leadership should be grateful to the Labour Party because it had made the first breakthrough into Parliament for the blacks. "We are adding to the liberation struggle in the long run by making black people more powerful so they can crush the system," he said.

Stan 5/1/83 (2/1/83) (11A)

# ANC: more shot than arrested

By Sheryl Raine,  
Pretoria Bureau

More suspected ANC activists were shot by South African security forces than were arrested last year.

This is the first time in five years that the pattern of arrests and fatalities has shown more deaths than arrests, according to statistics kept by the Institute of Strategic Stu-

dies at the University of Pretoria.

About 13 alleged ANC members were shot while apparently resisting arrest in 1982. Nine were arrested.

In 1981, 16 were arrested and only five were killed.

"No meaningful conclusion can be reached concerning these statistics," said Lieutenant-General Jo-

han Coetzee, head of the Security Police.

"The difference in trend can be ascribed to various factors, for instance, criminals in this category forcefully resisting arrest, being caught in the act, overestimating their own chances against capable South African security forces and others."

● See Page 11.



By Sheryl Raine  
Pretoria Bureau

# ANC sabotage declined in 1982

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The sharp decline in the number of acts of sabotage attributed to the African National Congress last year as compared with 1981, should be viewed cautiously and with only qualified optimism, an expert here has warned.

In 1979 there were 12 incidents of violence attributed to the ANC. In 1980 there were 19. In 1981 there were 55. Last year there were 32.

In the estimation of the head of the University of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies Professor Mike Hough, the banned organisation's armed at-

tacks were the tip of the ANC's political iceberg whose extent was almost impossible to measure from the legal surface of South African politics.

Reviewing the activities of the ANC during the past 12 months and looking at the prospects for 1983, Professor Hough noted that the ANC was attempting to move into the so-called "popular phase" of its revolutionary struggle.

This major thrust, involving the mobilisation of the masses to make people aware of

the organisation and its aims, would necessitate the spreading of ANC activity and doctrine to rural areas and the homelands.

In 1982 there had already been an increase in sabotage in rural areas, including the placing of a bomb in a grain silo at Vryheid in Natal.

Trends within the ANC indicated that South Africa would expect more attacks on rural targets this year and more activity against homeland leaders and their governments.

"There are two distinct pushes in the region," said Professor Hough. "The ANC is concerned firstly with the internal South African situation and secondly with the homelands."

"Even if South Africa brought about internal reforms the homelands policy would be unacceptable to the ANC."

During 1982 there had been no noticeable escalation of the number of people leaving the country for military training, now about 20 a month.

Up to May last year the Institute of Race Relations reported 34 people had been charged under the country's security laws. Professor Hough estimated that the ANC had about 2 000 trained guerrillas.

"But to attach too much importance to numbers is unwise," he said.

"In the long run it is more important to look at the attitude of the general public, the sea in which the fish swims."

Even where members

of the public did not actively support the ANC, their being neutral meant that they were withholding co-operation from the Government.

Last year opinion polls were more numerous than before and they showed between 37 and 40 percent of blacks in the major urban areas supported the ANC.

"One must accept that the ANC has political support," said Professor Hough.

"The extent of this support is extremely

difficult to gauge. Polls are not entirely reliable indicators, especially where intimidation could be a factor."

Despite fears that after the Lesotho raid the ANC might launch a campaign of indiscriminate violence in South Africa, there would be no immediate change in ANC policy he said.

By signing a declaration of intent to abide by certain of the principles embodied in the Geneva Convention and by attempting to create the impression that

they were so-called "targeted" or "rallied" military support.

A radical ANC policy to loss of at home and

"As in ordinary there is no ANC between whites and blacks. There still some balance between military and political of the ANC."

"Increase sure could on the political

# Labour Party votes to negotiate

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5/1/83

119

## Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — A large majority of Labour Party congress delegates last night voted in favour of keeping the door open for negotiation with the government on its new constitutional proposals.



Rev Allan Hendrickse

The party passed a resolution saying the proposals did not measure up to its constitutional demands and were inadequate for the present circumstances in South Africa.

Nevertheless, the party said that its participation in the proposed tri-cameral parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians, could help to achieve its goals and objectives.

### Goals defined

In a statement read out by the national leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, these goals were defined, *inter alia*, as the effective participation of all South Africans at all levels of government.

The statement said the proposals did not represent the political answer to the constitutional demands of the time because of the exclusion of the majority of South Africans — the blacks.

The resolution said these proposals entrenched ethnicity and the party reiterated its belief in one man, one vote in a unitary state. This, however, was negotiable, the statement said.

## Instructed

The resolution instructed the leaders of the party to continue negotiations with the government on a new political dispensation.

About 50 of the 350 delegates abstained from voting and only 10 stood up to oppose the motion.

Office bearers from Natal and Kwazulu, such as Mr Norman Middleton, Natal leader, and Mr Eric Lucas, Eshowe chairman,

were plainly disappointed at the outcome.

Political observers see their position as a delicate one since the Labour Party is linked with Inkatha through the South African Black Alliance (Saba).

Chief Gatscha Buthelezi, President of Inkatha and chairman of Saba, was emphatic on Monday when he condemned the government's proposals for excluding blacks.

● The Labour Party has found that 75 percent of its supporters believe that the government's constitutional proposals could be a useful tool in bringing about political reform in South Africa.

The national secretary, Mr Frank Peters, told the party congress last night that 1 000 members had been polled at the end of last year about the government's plan.

### 82 percent

The poll found that a total of 82 percent believed the Labour Party should continue to negotiate with the government.

Nearly 70 percent felt the party should take part in elections for a coloured chamber of parliament.

A total of 70 percent believed the Labour Party should use legal means to press for meaningful participation by blacks in the political process.

On the question of whether the movement should become a protest group and remove itself from the main stream of politics, a resounding 78 percent said "no".

● Labour Party to 'go inside', page 2

# Leader in shift to <sup>(11A)</sup> the centre <sup>5/1/83 Stan</sup>

By Anthony Duigan

The Reverend Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, today finds himself in an unaccustomed position — at the moderate centre of the coloured political spectrum.

When this former Methodist minister of a Cape Flats congregation was elected leader of the Labour Party just four years ago he was regarded as the leader of the most radical wing of the party.

In 1976 he was detained for two months — a move linked apparently to utterances he allegedly made that coloureds should disassociate themselves from their links with whites and tie their destinies to that of the black people.

## REJECTED

In August 1977 Mr Hendrickse rejected the Government's constitutional plans for a measure of power sharing between white, coloured and Asian. "I cannot support a plan which does not include urban blacks, especially in view of international pressures and internal demands," he said then.

Yesterday he spoke in favour of accepting the latest National Par-



Rev Allan Hendrickse

... time for protest politics is past.

ty constitutional proposals — in spite of the warning from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, his partner in the Black Alliance.

In his appeal to the Labour Party to give the new constitutional proposals a chance Mr Hendrickse explained his move across the political spectrum.

## FAITHFUL

"We cannot fight a battle without fighting it," he said. "We say with conviction that the time for protest politics has passed."

In many ways this approach is faithful to Mr Hendrickse's view of politics. He has always expressed himself against violence, in favour of negotiation with the Government.

"Yesterday is gone, today cannot last, so let us plan together for tomorrow," was how he summed up his political views at the Labour Party congress three years ago.

to the news

# Labour's popular appeal wanes

By Eugene Saldanha

The coloured Labour Party's decision to participate in the Government's constitutional machinery leaves the party facing several thorny issues, which include diminishing community support and increasing discontent with its policy of "working within the system."

Since the last elections for the Coloured Representative Council in 1975 — in which only 16,8 percent of eligible coloured voters

opted for the Labour Party — a mood of growing impatience in the community has led to the formation of scores of community organisations throughout the country.

The most significant erosion of the Labour Party's support has been in the Western Cape, where community organisations have to a large degree replaced

traditional support for the party.

And in Durban — historically a strong Labour Party constituency — the coloured management committee elections last year were characterised by a huge stayaway of voters.

Former Natal leader of the party, Mr Virgil Bonhomme played a leading role in the

anti-election campaign as a member of an alternative community group.

Many former supporters of the party have now thrown their weight behind three provincial umbrella organisations, which comprise several residents' bodies.

The organisations — the Cape Housing Action Committee (Ca-

hac), the Durban Housing Action Committee (Dahac), and the (Transvaal) Coordinating Residents Action Committee (Crac)—have already indicated their rejection of the Government's constitutional proposals.

The three organisations have mobilised considerable community support against rent

increases, and the housing shortage and inadequate educational facilities. They have a declared policy of non-racialism.

A member of Crac, Dr Ismail Mohammed, said: "The community organisations have always seen the Labour Party as part of the bureaucratic State machinery. Rejection of the Government's pro-

posals would have been an important step in the direction of joining the democratic community."

He added: "In 1969, 37,5 percent of eligible coloured voters went to the polls. In 1975, when the last elections for the CRC were held, 28 percent of eligible voters cast their votes.

He predicted: "The party's decision to participate in the new dispensation will lead to a further decline in the number of people who support it."



# Labour Party 'yes' to constitutional plan

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

**ESHOWE** — The Government's constitutional reform plan was rescued from probable collapse last night when the coloured Labour Party decided to participate in the new system.

At the LP's 17th annual congress in Eshowe delegates voted overwhelmingly to use the planned three-chamber Parliament to try to achieve their goal of one man, one vote in a non-discriminatory unitary South African state in which blacks were included in all decision-making.

There were only nine dissenting votes among the more than 300 delegates.

The decision is a massive boost for the Government. The LP acceptance of the new system was seen as crucial to its success.

But last night's decision has set the LP on a confrontation course with the leader of Inkatha and chairman of the SA Black Alliance, Chief Gaxsna Buthelezi. The LP is a member of the SABA.

In his opening address to the congress yesterday, Chief Buthelezi warned that coloured and Indian participation in the new system would make those two groups "enemies" of other black South Africans.

Last night's decision came after a day of heated debate. Delegates adopted views ranging from total rejection to unqualified acceptance of the plan.

The compromise resolution which was finally adopted said though the Government's plan did not meet the basic demands of the LP, the party believed it could use the new system to achieve its goals.

Earlier in the day the LP leader, the Rev

Alan Hendrickse, said "We are being shouted at that if we go into this dispensation we will be selling our principles. This is not so. The Labour Party's fundamental position — some like and others hate it for this — is that we do not believe that when we enter into negotiations, serve on Government-created bodies or make use of structures that we are denying our principles.

"On the contrary we use these facilities to drive our principles and to reaffirm our beliefs in righteousness, justice, equality and the oneness of our South African nationhood."

Mr Hendrickse paid tribute to the courage of the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, for "having taken the risks that he did."

"I believe it required dedication to that in which he believes to have risked his leadership within the National Party and a further willingness to accept the fact that he will go down in the annals of history as the one who was prepared to accept a split in the National Party rather than continue on the road that would lead to a situation too ghastly to contemplate," he said.

Mr Hendrickse said the congress was aimed at seeing how the LP could contribute to the good of the greatest number of people.

"We say with conviction that the time for protest politics has passed," he said.

The national chairman of the LP, Mr David Curry, said the party held the key to change in South Africa.

He said the party would "force the pace of change" by participating in the new system.

The LP would insist that the Government agreed to a five to 10-year plan to abolish statutory discrimination, he said.

Cape Times 6/1/83 (119) (119)

# PM welcomes 'co-operation'

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has welcomed the decision by the Labour Party to participate in the new constitutional process.

In a statement released to Sapa yesterday, Mr Botha said the government would like to study the decisions and speeches at the Labour Party congress, but inasmuch as they constituted a constructive policy of co-operation, the decision was heartily welcomed.

"The government proved its sincerity to reach the best solution for the Republic of South Africa by promoting a

spirit of unity with the recognition of diversity.

"The congresses of the National Party confirmed this in particular during 1982.

"Within a few months, Parliament will consider certain proposals of the government regarding aspects of South Africa's constitutional future.

"I must point out that important processes have been put into operation during the past few years, like the Carlton Conference, the Good Hope Conference, the institution of the President's Council and the latest summit between Southern African

neighbouring states.

"There is enough to be done for everyone who wants to co-operate positively on all terrains of South Africa's economic and constitutional development.

"Boycotters will lose against those who seek stability, development and security for Southern Africa," Mr Botha said.

● In Johannesburg, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday that the Labour Party's decision would not alter the stand, on principle, of the Progressive Federal Party.

SABC radio quoted Dr

Slabbert as saying that the PFP's stand was that the constitutional guidelines contained fundamental aspects which were unacceptable to the party.

Dr Slabbert said the PFP would try to negotiate the best improvements to the guidelines and would suspend final judgment until the government had made it quite clear what the final package would be.

He said an overriding consideration would be whether the package would contribute to racial polarization or reduce it.  
— Sapa

# Leading Labour members resign

CAPK Times

6/1/83

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ESHOWE. — The Labour Party was yesterday poised on the brink of crisis as three senior members resigned, its entire Zululand section looked set to revolt against the leadership and several other senior members indicated they would resign soon.

The resignations and impending resignations were said to be in protest against the party's decision on Tuesday to participate in the government's proposed three-chamber parliament.

The Labour Party leadership yesterday told journalists that their entry was unconditional.

Speaking at a press conference here yesterday, the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said: "We have not set ourselves any time limit. We in the leadership will have to evaluate the situation from time to time."

"We have no shortlist of priorities, although there are some things we would like to see come out, like a bill of rights and a declaration of intent to move from apartheid."

He said the speech made by the Prime Minister when he unveiled the proposals in Bloemfontein last year was in itself a sufficient declaration of intent.

But at the close of the three-day congress yesterday afternoon, the party looked set to face one of its worst crises ever.

Mr Norman Middleton, former deputy leader and founder member of the Labour Party; Mr Sam Solomon, former Transvaal leader and founder member; and Ms Louise Boesak, former Coloured Representative Council member, all announced their resignations from the party.

Mr Eric Lucas, Natal leader, Mr Mohamad Danogor, Transvaal vice-president and vice-chairman of the Johannesburg Man-

agement Committee, several Zululand branches, members of the Transvaal executive and at least two members of the party's Carnarvon branch indicated they would probably resign after consultation with their respective executive committees.

And a delegation of 48 members of the Eshowe branch of the party told their executive yesterday they were "disgusted" by the decision which was made without a "mandate from the people".

Mr Hendrickse said he was "saddened" by the resignations, but had "no comment" other than to predict there would "be more applications for membership than resignations".

Mr Middleton said later that the party's decision to take part in elections for the new parliament was "undemocratic" and "a betrayal" of the feelings of the "vast majority" of the coloured people.

Mr Solomon said the decision would "distance us from our black brothers and sisters" and was a "stab in the back" for Chief Buthelezi.

Ms Boesak said the LP's decision was "a betrayal of black unity".

Asked about the future of black unity and the likelihood of the South African Black Alliance splitting because of the decision, Mr Curry said "blacks should be grateful to the Labour Party because we made the first step in splitting the National Party's power structure".

● More congress reports, page 2



Mr Norman Middleton ... a "betrayal" of the coloured people



By Jon Qwelane

The whereabouts of two men abducted by South African Defence Force commandos during raids into Mozambique nearly two years ago are still not known.

The two were brought back in January 1981 after the commandos destroyed bases in Matola, near Maputo, used by the outlawed African National Congress.

One of them later turned State witness in a treason trial involving three members of the ANC. The presiding judge ruled the man should not be named. Disclosing the name of the second missing man would identify the witness by elimination.

Lawyers acting for the men's families said police had said the men had long been released, but their families have not seen them.

A third man brought back after the raids, Mozambique national Mr David Thobela, has since been detained without trial in South Africa. He is being held in terms of the Internal Security Act

# Missing . . . two detainees taken 6/1/83 Stan after Matola raid

at Modder Bee Prison in Benoni.

Lieutenant-Colonel C Coetzee, of the Public Relations Division of the South African Police, said the police could not "answer or comment on unsubstantiated allegations" in reply to queries about the men.

Another disappearance was that of former Soweto student leader Mr Peter Lengene from his hideout in Botswana, where he was in exile.

His disappearance caused tension between the South African and Botswana authorities, lead-

ing Botswana police commissioner, Mr Simon Hirschfeld, to travel to Pretoria, where he spoke to Mr Lengene in the presence of senior SAP officers.

He later said, although Mr Lengene had said he had come to South Africa on his own and was not interested in returning to Botswana, he believed this response had been prompted by the policemen's presence.

Information Minister Mr Daniel Kwelagobe said Botswana authorities remained convinced

Mr Lengene had not left the country willingly.

South African police insist Mr Lengene is not in detention, but this week his mother, Mrs Angelina Lengene, said she had not seen her son since his return to South Africa.

Detained with Mozambican Mr Thobela at Modder Bee is Mr Modikae Modibe Tatsa of Orlando East, Soweto. He last saw his home shortly before Christmas 1979, when he was detained under Section Six of the Terrorism Act.

In June the following year he was charged with terrorism, but the charges were withdrawn a month later. Security Police immediately redetained him under Section Six, and in March 1981 called him to give evidence for the State in a terror trial at Ermelo.

He refused to testify and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, reduced to a year on appeal.

On his release in March 1982, Security Police once again immediately redetained him. He has been at Modder Bee since, held without trial in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Lawyers for both Mr Tatsa and Mr Thobela said the men appeared before a review committee last month, but their applications for release were not granted.

A spokesman for the lawyers said the men's detention orders were due to expire in August this year, but "it does not necessarily mean they will be released because, in terms of the Act, the orders can be renewed".

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# Top resignations now rock the Labour Party



DAVID CURRY... "blacks should be grateful"



MOHAMMED DANGOR... reassessing

THE coloured Labour Party was rocked yesterday by the resignation of three senior members and with a threat of further widespread dissatisfaction in the wake of its decision on Tuesday to take part in the Government's constitutional reform plan.

As the LP's 17th annual congress in Eshowe drew to a close, two former provisional leaders — Mr Norman Middleton, of Natal, and Mr Sam Solomon, of Transvaal — and Miss Louise Boesak, from Carnarvon in the Cape, quit the party.

All three are former members of the defunct Coloured Representative Council, Miss Boesak is an aunt of Dr Allen Boesak.

The LP's Transvaal Vice-chairman, Mr Mohammed Dangor, said he and a number of other Transvaal members were reassessing their party membership and would decide in a few days whether or not to quit.

And in Eshowe yesterday an angry group of about 48 local LP members confronted their local party executives to demand an explanation for the action on Tuesday.

"What have you people done? You did not have a

## CHRIS FREIMOND reports from Eshowe

mandate," one member said.

There was strong speculation yesterday that the LP's Eshowe leader, Mr Eric Lucas, would also resign from the party.

Mr Middleton, a founder-member of the LP, said he was "deeply saddened" by the party's decision on Tuesday, which had forced him to resign.

"The only man who is resigning is Mr Chris Henjis (the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning)," he said.

Mr Solomon said the LP's participation in the Government's scheme would lead to the polarisation of black South Africa and was "a stab in the back" for the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the SA Black Alliance, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

"I want to complement the Government for breaking up

the Black Alliance," he said.

The LP is a member of SABA, together with Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha, the Indian Reform Party and Kangwane's Inyandza National Movement.

The LP leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said he regretted the resignations, but expected the party's decision on Tuesday to lead to more people joining than resigning.

The LP's national chairman, Mr David Curry, said earlier that blacks should be grateful to the party for going into a situation in which it would be able to negotiate on their behalf.

And at a Press conference yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said the majority of coloureds wanted the LP to take part in the new system.

The impression of large-scale coloured rejection of the scheme was given by newspaper reports.

He said he did not regard the Government's apparently inflexible stance on black participation in a fourth chamber of parliament as final.

The LP would use the system to negotiate towards its goals and would review its participation from time to time in the light of what was being achieved, he said.

Mr Hendrickse said he expected elections for the coloured chamber to be held in October so that the plan could be implemented next year.

Mr Hendrickse was unanimously re-elected leader of the LP yesterday, and Mr Curry was re-elected national chairman.



NORMAN MIDDLETON... resigned from Labour Party

## What the party said

AFTER the Labour Party's decision on Tuesday to take part in the structures of the Government's new constitutional proposals, the party released the following statement:

"The Labour Party of South Africa believes in the effective participation of all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or creed, in the council of the nation at all levels.

"The party does not see the proposals of the National Party as being the political answer to the constitutional demands of the people, because: (a) they exclude the greatest number of the population, the Africans; (b) they entrench ethnicity; (c) they do not carry out the policy of the party.

"We reiterate our demands for and belief in one-man-one-vote in a unitary system (the latter negotiable).

"Nonetheless, the Labour Party believes that our participation in the tricameral arrangement and its consequent standing committee can assist us in the achievement of such goals and aims, and further instructs its leaders to continue along the road of negotiation with the Government of the day".

# 'Boycotters' warned

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, yesterday warned that "boycotters" would be ousted to the sidelines by those prepared to co-operate in the interests of the security and prosperity of Southern Africa.

He was reacting to the decision of the Labour Party to take part in his proposed new tricameral parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians, in spite of advice from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi not to do so.

"The Government will first study and consider the congress speeches and decisions thoroughly, but insofar as they accepted a constructive policy of co-operation they are heartily welcome," Mr Botha said in a statement.

"The Government has showed its seriousness in trying to achieve the best for South Africa by promoting a spirit of unity which

recognises our diversity. The congresses of the National Party strongly sanctioned this approach, especially during 1982.

Within months Parliament will consider certain Government proposals on aspects of South Africa's constitutional future.

"I must point out that important processes were set in motion, such as the Carlton Conference, the Good Hope deliberations, the establishment of the President's Council and the recent summit discussions between southern African neighbouring states.

"There is enough to do for all who positively want to co-operate on all levels of South Africa's constitutional and economic development.

"Boycotters will lose against those who seek stability, development and security in southern Africa."



P W BOTHA welcomes LP co-operation

CONF...

# Blacks' views 'ignored'

THE Labour Party ignored African opinion when it decided to take part in the Prime Minister's proposed tricameral parliament, the Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday.

"The Labour Party conference made up its mind knowing fully well how we Africans feel about the proposals," Chief Buthelezi said in a statement after the LP voted by an overwhelming majority to participate in the "new deal".

Chief Buthelezi had warned earlier, in a speech at the start of the LP conference on Monday: "Acceptance of the proposals as they are means accepting an incurable ulcer in the body of black unity. We will never heal the rift."

Yesterday, he labelled the LP conference decision as "their prerogative" ... adding that it had not surprised him because of the heavy "behind-the-scenes arm twisting" which had been directed at the LP leadership. Chief Buthelezi then ac-



ALAN HENDRICKSE accepted an incurable ulcer



GATSHA BUTHELEZI cold response

By PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

cus the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, of "vilifying" him, thus implicitly identifying him as a "arm twister".

Referring to the speech in which he tried to dissuade the LP from agreeing to take part, Chief Buthelezi said: "I

did my duty as chairman of the South African Alliance, and also as the African leader with the largest recognisable constituency in the country."

He added: "I take strong exception at the insinuations

made at the LP conference that I, in any way, tried to dictate to them. I was invited by the LP to open their conference. I did not seek it."

Inkatha and the LP are both founder members of the South African Black Alliance, which has already rejected the "new deal".

Whether the Black Alliance will survive the differences between Inkatha and the LP over the new tricameral constitution — from which Africans will be excluded — should be clear by late February, when the Alliance meets in Durban.

"I will be guided by my constituency in Inkatha as to what attitude to adopt at the next meeting of the Alliance," Chief Buthelezi said, having earlier defined the issues raised by the exclusion of Africans from the "new deal" as fundamental.

Apart from Inkatha and the LP, there are two more members of the Alliance: the Inyandze National Movement, of Mr Enos Mabuza, of KaNgwane, and the Reform Party, led by Yellan Chinsamy.

## Vote a 'stab in the back'

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE Labour Party has "stabbed the liberation cause in the back" by its decision to participate in the proposed tricameral parliamentary system, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said yesterday.

"The coloured LP has crossed its political rubicon and nothing shall redeem it and its fellow travellers but their destruction," an Azapo statement released by its publicity secretary, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said.

"They have rendered themselves completely and thoroughly irrelevant and obsolete in the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

"The LP's decision to participate in the white Government's constitution is a denigration of, and an affront to, the informed and patriotic advise of the overwhelming majority of the oppressed.

"Any marriage of convenience with the Pretoria regime by any section of the oppressed and the exploited is a stab in the back to the liberation effort."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, said yesterday he was not surprised by the LP decision.

"To anyone who watched Alan Hendrickse's performance on television after the Prime Minister announced his constitutional guidelines, it was quite obvious that the Labour Party would take that decision," Dr Motlana said.

What was surprising, however, was the extent of the majority in favour of participation in the new constitution, he added.

Dr Motlana thought the Labour Party might have



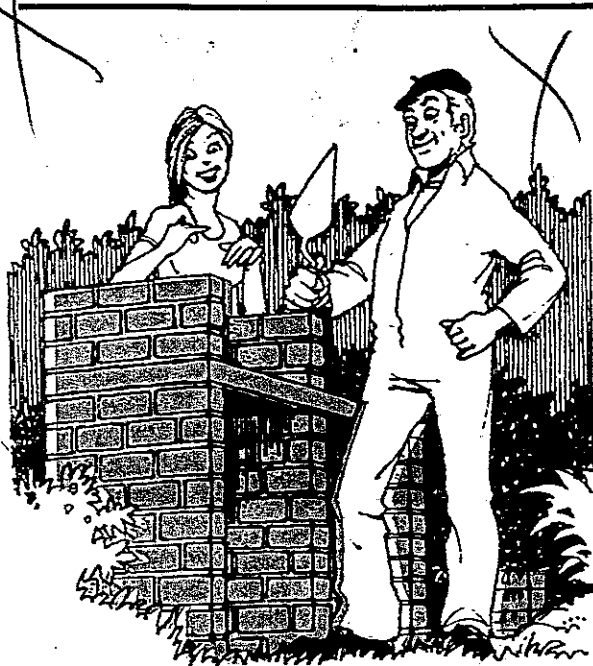
DR NTHATO MOTLANA not surprised

seen how the Progressive Federal Party had been labelled to its disadvantage as a party of boycotters and decided not to suffer the same fate.

"It seems we are doomed to relive the experience of deciding, wrongly, that it is better to participate in government-created institutions than to stay out of them."

Dr Motlana was referring to the bitter controversies among blacks over whether to accept or reject government-created institutions like the old Native Representative Council, the Coloured Representative Council and the separate black assemblies established by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and Mr M C Botha in the "homelands".

But the decision of the LP to participate should be seen in the context of feelings in the coloured community as a whole, which he believed were moving away from the LP.



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# Blacks should be grateful to Labour Party, says Curry

## Break-up of S A Black Alliance feared

African Affairs Correspondent

ESHOWE—The decision of the coloured Labour Party to work with the Government's constitutional plan has imposed severe strains on the South African Black Alliance, a grouping of moderate black, coloured, and Indian political movements.

The next meeting of the Alliance, scheduled to be held in Durban on February 18 and 19, is likely to be a heated affair.

Political observers do not discount the possibility of the Alliance breaking up completely.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, and chairman of Saba, would not comment yesterday on

whether Inkatha, the largest constituent member of the Alliance, would withdraw.

'I will be guided by Inkatha,' he maintained.

Nevertheless, Chief Buthelezi made it clear that the question of coloured participation in the Government's constitutional proposals was a fundamental one.

'We have differed in the past on matters such as disinvestment,' he said.

'But these are not fundamental issues such as the exclusion of Africans from participation in the decision making councils of the State.'

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said he did not see his party withdrawing from the Alliance since the movement was one of the initiators of Saba.

'I am hoping this decision will not affect the future of the Alliance,' he said.

ESHOWE—Black leadership should be grateful to the Labour Party because it had taken the first step in splitting the National Party's power structure.

This point was made at Eshowe yesterday by the national chairman of the party, Mr David Curry.

He was replying to a comment made by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and chairman of the South African Black Alliance, that, if their brothers in the coloured community decided to abandon them, this was nothing new in the history of the black liberation struggle.

Mr Curry said the party was not abandoning blacks but was adding to the total liberation struggle by making black people more powerful.

The national leader of the party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said the party was accepting responsibility for people who were outside Parliament.

At a Press conference Mr Hendrickse referred to allegations made by Inkatha members that pressure had been brought to bear on the Labour Party not to have its conference at Eshowe.

It had been alleged that money had been offered to transfer the venue elsewhere.

'This is nonsense. The Labour Party is powerful enough not to respond to

**African Affairs Correspondent**

arm-twisting of this kind,' he added.

Mr Hendrickse said there was no question of taking disciplinary action against the 10 members who voted against the resolution calling for co-operation with the Government.

He referred to remarks made by Chief Buthelezi that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, had both said blacks would never be included in the constitutional set-up.

'The statement on African participation should not be seen as final,' he declared.

Mr Jonn Vorster, the previous Prime Minister, had said there would never be political rights for the coloureds in a central parliament and yet the Government had moved away from this hard-line approach. Mr Hendrickse said the recent round of parliamentary by-elections had indicated that more whites were now prepared to accept coloureds in a common constitutional arrangement.



# Mixed reception for Labour Party move

Staff Reporter

BLACK leaders and organizations have variously greeted the Labour Party's decision to participate in the government's constitutional plan with vehement condemnation, depression and faint praise.

● The Azanian Peoples Organization (Azapo) strongly condemned the Labour Party's decision, describing it as "an affront to the informed and patriotic advice of the majority of the oppressed".

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said in a statement: "They have rendered themselves completely and utterly irrelevant and obsolete in the struggle for liberation in South Africa."

Azapo said the party's decision would be interpreted as "an endorsement of white supremacist policies" and a "betrayal of the legitimate and democratic aspirations of the oppressed majority".

● The Federation of Cape Civic Associations, which comprises several community organizations on the Cape Flats, said in a statement: "The Labour Party, like all other puppet bodies and homeland governments, has once again illustrated that they do not represent the true interests of the majority."

"The federation predicted during the anti-President's Council rallies in 1982 that there would be political opportunists who would be prepared to 'use government platforms' and who would 'go inside' to make this new multi-headed mon-

## One-man, one-vote call

ESHOWE — At its 17th annual congress yesterday the Labour Party of South Africa voted overwhelmingly in favour of a resolution calling for one man, one vote and rejecting the government's constitutional proposals.

There were only five dissenting votes among about 400 delegates.

The resolution read: "The Labour Party of South Africa believes in the effective participation of all South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed in the councils of the nation at all levels."

"The party does not see the proposals of the National Party as being the answer to the constitutional demands of the people. Because of the exclu-

sion of the greatest number of people, the Africans. It is not the answer to the constitutional demands of the party in our time. It entrenches ethnicities.

"We reiterate our demands for and believe in one man, one vote in a unitary system, the latter being negotiable.

"However the Labour Party believes that its participation within the tri-cameral and subsequent standing councils can assist in the achievement of our goals and constitutional objectives, and further instructs its leaders to continue on the road of negotiation with the government of the day." — Sapa

ster workable.

"It is common knowledge that collaborators would justify their acceptance and participation in these dummy institutions in terms of working for change. But they will not fool or mislead the disenfranchised majority of the people of South Africa."

The federation called on black people to "have nothing to do with the new parliaments, the coming elections and those stooges who collaborate".

### 'Not surprised'

● In a statement on the Labour Party's decision Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of Inkatha, chairman of the South African Black Alliance and Chief Minister of Kwazulu, said he had stressed in his opening speech that it was for the Labour Party to make up its own mind.

He had made it clear how Africans saw the proposals and the dangers, as

he saw them, of rushing into accepting the proposals without going at least through the motions of open negotiation with the government.

"The Labour Party conference has made up its mind knowing full well how we Africans feel about the proposals. This is their prerogative. I cannot at this stage criticize their decision which frankly did not come as a surprise to me knowing as I do the amount of behind the scenes arm-twisting which has been going on and the extent to which I have been personally vilified by Mr Chris Heunis while that arm-twisting was going on.

"I did my duty as chairman of the South African Black Alliance and also as an African leader with the largest recognizable constituency within the country."

● The Labour Party decision was welcomed by

its first chairman, Professor Richard van der Ross, present rector of the University of the Western Cape.

"It comes as no surprise to me. All things considered, the party had no option but to participate in the government's constitutional plan if it were to remain a political party not just a talking shop."

### Indian Council

● There were indications yesterday that the South African Indian Council was likely to give its full support to the government's new constitutional reform plans.

SAIC members interviewed yesterday spoke overwhelmingly in favour of the planned three-chamber parliament.

A formal decision will be taken on January 13 when the Indian Council meets to consider the plan after a report from its constitutional sub-committee.

## PM welcomes 'co-operation'

THE Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, has welcomed the decision by the Labour Party to participate in the new constitutional process.

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"The government proved its sincerity to reach the best solution for the Republic of South

spirit of unity with the recognition of diversity.

"The congresses of the National Party confirmed this in particular during 1982.

"Within a few months, Parliament will consider certain proposals of the government regarding aspects of South Africa's constitutional future.

"I must point out that important processes have been put into operation during the past few years, like the Carlton Conference, the Good Hope Conference, the institution of the President's Council and the latest summit be-

neighbouring states.

"There is enough to be done for everyone who wants to co-operate positively on all terrains of South Africa's economic and constitutional development.

"Boycotters will lose against those who seek stability, development and security for Southern Africa," Mr Botha said.

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IT WAS good to see on 6pm news last night nursing is attracting more people again.

This is heartening from the point of view of patient, but as a superintendent pointed out, partly due to the downturn in the economy.

As soon as jobs become scarce it seems that the two good old standby professions, nursing and teaching, become more attractive.

Soccer fans will have enjoyed the main item of the first "Sports View" programme of the year, an exciting match in the Milk Cup between Manchester City and Southampton.

I enjoyed Christopher Dingle's interview "Midweek" with Pat Cosgrave, former political adviser to the British Prime Minister. Cosgrave's remarks on Thatcher were interesting in that he ascribed growing popularity to sympathetic identification with the basic pulses of the British people.

The lady certainly an aggressor and resolutely best described as Churchillian.

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Jan Bosman

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# Black leaders slam Labour

# Party

BLACK political groups yesterday reacted angrily to the decision by the Labour Party to participate in the new constitutional dispensation, saying the decision was a "recipe for conflict".

The Labour Party voted at its annual congress in Eshowe on Tuesday to participate in the planned three-chamber parliament, as a step towards realising the party's aim of achieving one-man-one-vote for all race groups in the country.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday said the LP had at last crossed the political rubicon, and nothing would redeem it and its fellow travellers.

"Nothing can absolve the LP from the act of joining the National Party's racist conspiracy. This they have done against informed and patriotic advice by the overwhelming majority

of the oppressed," Azapo said.

The organisation said "any marriage of convenience with the Nationalists by any section of the oppressed is a stab in the back for the liberatory effort.

"We interpret the LP decision as an endorsement to white supremacist policies."

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had earlier cautioned against participation in the system in its present form, which excluded blacks.

"We are not crying out that they have sold out, because they did that long ago.

"What they are saying and doing shows the dichotomy in their thinking, and at last the cracks are beginning to show among the ranks of those who have sold out," Mr Tom Manthata of Azapo said.

He said selling out was not only in the LP, but in the whole pattern



CAUTION: Buthelezi.

of operating within the system, which included the PFP because of its observer status with the Black Alliance.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday criticised the resolution of the Labour Party to subscribe to the government's constitutional proposals.

Referring to remarks

by the Rev Alan Hendrickse that the coloureds should use the proposals to ensure a more favourable deal for blacks, Chief Buthelezi said the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had already stated that blacks would never be included in the deal.

"We cannot take the Labour Party more seriously than we take the Prime Minister," Chief Buthelezi said according to Sapa.

The national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday another chapter in South African politics had been started by the Labour Party's decision about the proposed new constitution.

Mr Eglin said: "It is obvious that the tactical decision of the Labour Party congress to fight from within the new constitutional structures was not an easy one for many delegates.

"They must have been well aware that it could result in division within both the coloured and the wider black communities.

"However, the Labour Party having taken the decision to use the new constitutional system to fight against ethnicity and for the inclusion of blacks starts another chapter in South African politics."

Mr Eglin said it was clear that far from the Nationalist government having solved the constitutional issue the new



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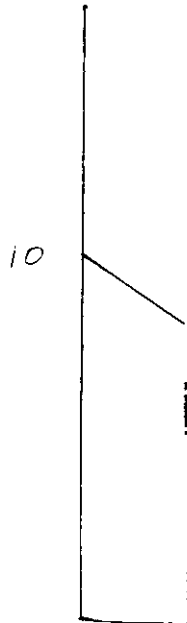


REMARKS: Hendrickse.

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constitution itself, based as it was on the principles of ethnicity and the exclusion of blacks, was going to become the focal point of attacks from both inside and outside the new parliament.

The Natal leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Ron Miller, said yesterday his party welcomed the Labour Party's "realistic" attitude to the constitutional proposals.

The NRP agreed fully with the concept of participation in the proposed system in order to bring about an improvement in the political fortunes of coloured and Indian South Africans.

Had the Labour Party decided to boycott procedures and to remain outside the parliamentary process it would have been to the definite detriment of the coloured community's political advancement, Mr Miller said.

He added that although the New Republic Party did not agree that the ultimate in a new political dispensation was to be found in a one-man-one-vote system, as the Labour Party appeared to believe, the important

thing was for all groups to get together to negotiate a new political dispensation in South Africa.

"In this respect we welcome the Labour Party's decision to get involved at all levels of the parliamentary debate," he said.

Erika Theron, former chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Coloured People, said yesterday she believed the Labour Party had taken a wise decision.

She said this was her view in regard to the full text of the Labour Party's congress resolution as it stood.

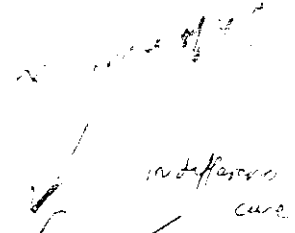
Dr Theron said she had no further comment.

Dr Joe Joshua, chairman of the Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People in Southern Africa said: "We the executive endorse whole-heartedly the vote of the Labour Party on the proposed constitutional programme of Mr P W Botha. We reject with the most clear terms the protest of Inkatha leader Buthelezi and others who support him.

"We think that the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr David Curry are leading our people along the right direction at present. Without bartering our principles in the same way that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is leading the Zulu people, we also feel that we need an image and the LP is leading in the right direction to provide the image. If we have to work in the interest of all black people in southern Africa we agree with Hendrickse that as a part of the black segment, we must have a strong platform to negotiate. I personally give the leader of the Labour Party unconditional support.

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# Unions damn party's move as 'farcical'

S. Post 7/1/83

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By SANDRA SMITH  
 MAJOR non-racial trade unions today joined black organisations in sharply criticising the Labour Party's decision to accept the Government's constitutional plans.  
 The Federation of SA Trade Union's (Fosatu) general secretary, Mr Joe Foster, called the constitutional proposals a "farce of so-called constitutional reform" and condemned the Labour Party's decision to participate.  
 He said the party had now "paraded their political opportunism for all to see".  
 It had shown its true colours to workers last year when its leaders "sided with employers and attacked workers and their unions when they were striking for a fair wage".  
 The party's latest decision finally confirmed its political irrelevance for workers, he said.

"The decision can only be seen as a desperate attempt by an unrepresentative leadership to prolong their own political careers."  
 "To do this the Labour Party has been prepared to sacrifice unity in the struggle and has finally bowed to racist political divisions and abandoned 80% of South Africa's population," Mr Foster said.  
 He said the party had accepted the label "coloured" and was prepared to "sit around a table and wait for a few coloured crumbs".  
 In doing so the Labour Party had sided with the forces of apartheid.  
 Fosatu and its members rejected this "short-sighted opportunism" and felt the party clearly could not give workers assistance in their struggle for economic and political justice.  
 A spokesman for the Food and Canning Workers Union said the constitutional proposals had been

discussed and completely rejected at the union's September conference.  
 "They were seen as a means of dividing the working class and intensifying a "racial war", she said.  
 At the conference it had been said that the proposals represented a distinct danger for coloured workers in that they were being "bought off".  
 The General Workers Union (GWU) also criticised the Labour Party decision, saying that the union rejected any system whereby people were represented along ethnic lines, believing this to be divisive.  
 Two other unions, the General Workers Union of SA (Gwusa) and the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union (Macwusa) have branded the Labour Party action as an attempt by the party's leaders to "enrich themselves from the coffers of apartheid".

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## NOTE CAREFULLY

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

## WARNING

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

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

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# Heunis praises Labour's decision

APG 65 7/11/83 (11/11/83)

THE results achieved so far in talks with coloured and Indian leaders were promising and were tangible proof that when reasonable leaders negotiated in a positive spirit, there would be rewards, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has said.

Commenting in a statement issued in Pretoria yesterday on the Labour Party's decision to take part in the Government's constitutional process, Mr Heunis said the decision showed there was a common desire to improve the present dispensation for the benefit of everyone in the country.

"Since the Congress of the Labour Party of South Africa, the views of all coloured parties are now known.

## PARTIES

"The Government is grateful and also impressed with the responsibility and positive attitude with which the greater majority of members of the coloured population approached this issue."

Mr Heunis said that during the past year, the Government had negotiated with the leaders of several political parties within the Indian and coloured communities.

"The results, so far achieved, are promising. It offers tangible proof that when reasonable leaders negotiate in a positive spirit, rewards shall be forthcoming."

Reasonableness and logic could triumph when "emotionally-laden" problems were tackled jointly.

"In a dialogue on constitutional matters, matters on inter-group relations are usually raised as well.

## "UNDERSTANDING"

"It would however not be possible to reach absolute agreement on everything immediately."

This was being recognised by all the parties concerned.

"It is, however, important that to our mind a sound understanding has already been reached.

"This forms a basis for progress and in this particular regard, the Government entertains great expectations that more satisfactory results will soon be achieved" — Sapa.



Adam Small

# Adam Small: Labour 'sell-out'

Political Staff

ADAM Small, the poet and philosopher, today condemned the Labour Party's decision to take part in the Government's new constitutional plans as a "sell-out".

He said: "Were it not for the fact that I am totally averse to the racist categorising of people I might have said that I was ashamed to be coloured."

In a letter to The Argus he asked: "How, at this point in time, can any black group join a dispensation in which the only base from which negotiation is possible is and remains the philosophy of apartheid?"

## POISONOUS

"After all, the fundamental reason why one had expected 'coloureds', or any other racially stigmatised black group not to fall prey to this ethnically poisonous thing is not so much that 'blacks are not accommodated in the process' but that the process is quite definitely stated by its designers to be one in terms of apartheid philosophy. Apartheid with deluding trimmings, it appears, but deep down the same old apartheid, quite unchanged.

"In fact, even more terrible now, since it will no longer be only the policy of a Government but the foundation and pervasive tenor of a constitution. After all, Mr Botha has confirmed the non-negotiable racist sine qua non for negotiation

over and over again, there shall be 'whites', there shall be 'coloureds', there shall be 'Indians' and so on."

## FUTURE

Mr Small added: "And in no way is there a possibility for really serious talk about an open and free non-racist future for ourselves and our children, let alone the prospect of such a reality in the near future. Even if blacks (the real black blacks, if you like) had been accommodated in this deal, it would have happened on this racist basis

"And so it is 'naught for the comfort' of the Labour Party, or any other black group riding on this wagon of 'evolutionary change', a wagon with many non-negotiable separate compartments, like the 'house of our father' with its 'many mansions'."

JOHANNESBURG — Two leading Transvaal members of the coloured Labour Party have resigned in protest against the party's decision to participate in the proposed tri-camera Parliament.

The province's deputy leader, Mr Mohammed Dangor, and one other member of the Transvaal executive, Miss Silvia Swartz, announced their resignations last night

The resignations come only three days after two former provincial leaders — Mr Norman Middleton of Natal and Mr Sam Solomons of the Transvaal — quit the party in protest.

## By weekend

And sources in the party said a number of other Transvaal members were re-assessing their membership and would decide by the weekend whether to quit or not.

In addition, it is understood that several senior members in the Eastern and Western Cape are also re-assessing their membership of the party.

In a joint statement, the two Transvaal members said: "The Labour Party constitution enshrines the principle of individual rights, whereas the proposed new (national) constitution emphasises group rights, which is a basic aspect of Nationalist ideology.

"The party's standpoint has always been that a national convention of all representative leaders is the only way to avoid racial conflict. The decision taken at Eshowe is a contradiction of the principles that are enshrined in the party's constitution."

Argus Correspondent

# Top Transvaal leaders leave Labour Party

ARGUS 7/1/83

(117)



# Rebels to fight toe-the-line Labour Party

ARGUS 7/1/83

By HUGH ROBERTSON, Political Staff

BREAKAWAY members of the Labour Party met last night to discuss the creation of a new political movement.

And they are expected to convene a meeting in Cape Town before the end of the month with other groups in the coloured community opposed to the Government's constitutional plan.

No clear leader of the new movement group has emerged, but informal discussions last night and today centred on Mr Norman Middleton, one of the Labour Party's most respected leaders. He was among those who resigned in protest against the decision of

the party's congress this week to go along with the Government's constitutional proposals.

The plan of the new movement would be to defeat the Labour Party in elections for the coloured parliamentary chamber and to then refuse to take up their seats in the new parliamentary system.

The Labour Party's national chairman, Mr David Curry, said today that he would welcome a challenge from a new political movement. "The community will have to decide what it wants and such a challenge to us would allow for a debate on the issues which hopefully will result in a clear picture of attitudes in the community.

(Turn to Page 3, col 3)

# Rebels to fight toe-the-line Labour Party

ARGUS 7/1/83

11/1

the entire constitutional plan

(Contd from Page 1)

We are not afraid of the challenge. For the past six months we have been consulting people and doing surveys and we are satisfied that in rejecting the Government's plan, but also deciding to go into the system in order to change it, we have wide support in the community," Mr Curry said.

Neither Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, nor Professor Jakes Gerwel, of the University of the Western Cape, who have criticised the Labour Party, are not expected to enter active politics. "As an academic it is part of my function to articulate opinion," Professor Gerwel said.

He had expected the decision taken by the Labour Party to participate in the Government's proposed constitutional process.

The deduction made that "the so-called brown people" had decided to accept the proposals was false, he said, because the Labour Party was not "the brown people". Professor R E van der

He said he believed the Labour Party was correct in making certain reservations, namely, that its participation in the new dispensation did not mean acceptance of choice. He said he believed the Labour Party was correct in making certain reservations, namely, that its participation in the new dispensation did not mean acceptance of choice.

It was a courageous decision in the sense that it was not easy to take. There were blacks who were unlikely to cooperate with either Chief Gatsha Buthezi or the Labour Party. And there was no reason why the Labour Party should pay attention to those people.

RDM (11A)  
7/11/83

## Crocker, Tambo at conference

HARARE. — The United States assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, and leader of the African National Congress Mr Oliver Tambo will be among the delegates to a joint American-African conference in Harare next week.

The senior vice president of the African-American Institute, Mr Frank Ferrari, said in an interview yesterday that the conference, hosted by his organisation, would "reflect the concerns in Africa about African-American cooperation".

Mr Andrew Young, former US ambassador to the United Nations, would also be among the 200 delegates, Mr Ferrari said. — Sapa.



## CONSTITUTION

# The coloureds move

The coloured Labour Party's (LP) decision to participate in government's proposed tri-cameral parliamentary system gives new impetus to constitutional reform in SA. It could also drive a wedge between the coloured and Asian communities and the Africans.

Although the resolution passed at the LP's annual congress in Eshowe this week gives only qualified support to the proposals, it is regarded as an important milestone in the constitutional debate.

The participation of the coloureds and Indians, who will man two of the three chambers in the new parliament, is crucial to the success of the plan. So far the Indian community has not come out in open support of the proposals.

The South African Indian Council, under chairman Amichand Rajbansi, has said that it wants more time to study them. But it is on the cards that the SAIC will follow the coloured lead. Speaking the day before the

LP decision Rajbansi told the *FM* that the SAIC "would not be guided by what the LP does but we should be on the same wavelength."

He indicated that the SAIC would be meeting (separately) with both KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi and Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis "to discuss constitutional matters." Rajbansi says he intends to bargain "for the best constitutional deal" and is thinking in terms of demands for the easing of statutory discrimination and of a referendum of Indians on the constitutional proposals.

Acceptance by both coloureds and Indians could, however, be setting both groups against blacks who have called for the rejection of the new deal because it specifically excludes them. Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, says although he is cognisant of the black attitude, the LP will not abandon its principle of working for the inclusion of blacks in the system or its

standpoint that ultimately there should be one man one vote in a unitary State. He adds: "As the LP is a member of the Black Alliance blacks will be indirectly represented in the new arrangement."

There were few dissenters when it came to voting on the final resolution but there was discernible concern in the floor debate over participation. Some speakers saw the government's proposals as perpetuating white baaskap, offering bogus power-sharing and furthering the policies of separate

face to face

ALLAN HENDRICKSE

## The reasons why

The Reverend Allan Hendrickse is the leader of the coloured Labour Party (LP) which this week decided to give conditional support to government's constitutional proposals. The *FM* asked Hendrickse to explain his party's standpoint.

**FM:** Why have you decided to participate in government's proposed tri-cameral Parliament?

**Hendrickse:** We favour participation as a starting point to the question of enhancing the greater political participation and political rights for the coloured people and for the people not included in this particular tricameral structure.

**What will be the next step?**

The first step will be to inform the government of our decision and if need be to arrange for a meeting or a discussion programme.

**Do you believe that the LP will be able to negotiate successfully over some of its more firmly held convictions from within the proposed coloured chamber?**

This is our belief, hence our decision to participate within the structure. We do believe that we will be able to negotiate from the position which we take up. From your conditional support for the

proposals it is clear that they are regarded as far from ideal. What do you regard as the major shortcomings?

We have stated emphatically in our resolution that the proposals cannot and do not meet with the ideal. Firstly, because Africans are not included in the structure. We say very clearly that no constitutional arrangement without the participation of the greatest number of people can guarantee us peace and security within our country. Coloured people have been warned by blacks that they will be regarded as "sellouts" if they accept the proposals. How do you view these threats?

It is true that we have been called all kinds of names. It is also true that we have been warned, not only by blacks but by whites, of what would happen or what could happen. We believe that these threats are not real threats. They are the result of misunderstanding and we hope to clear the air in talks with some of the people involved.

**Do you think it will be possible to draw blacks into the tricameral Parliament in spite of the present government position?**

I don't see blacks participating in the tricameral structure as such. But our



participation within the South African Black Alliance (Saba) means that through us, Saba is represented there. Because of the presence of black groups within Saba we are really representing them as well.

**It has been suggested that the LP, through its participation, holds the key to meaningful change for all South Africans. Can you expand on this?**

This is true. We have our heritage from the whites as well as from the blacks. We are in a position to understand both. We do not have the fears of the blacks, nor do we have the fears of the whites. We believe that, with our position of affinity to both sides, we certainly do hold a key position with regard to meaningful change within the present circumstances in SA.

# Boesak calls for united front

28/1/83  
11A  
Cape Times  
7/1/83

By ENRICO KEMP

DR Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, has described the Labour Party's decision to participate in the government's constitutional plan as "disgusting" and "reeking of opportunism".

In an interview yesterday, he said the party had now "lost whatever respect it might have had" and predicted a united front of opposition from community organizations, sports bodies and churches against coloured participation in the proposed tri-cameral parliament of whites, coloured people and Indians.

"What is surprising — and disgusting — is the eagerness with which they have accepted the government's proposals. They have done so unconditionally, knowing that it is based on acceptance of the fact that the homelands policy would be irreversible and that all the basic tenets of apartheid, such as race classification and the Group Areas Act, remain intact and cannot be changed."

## 'Self-respect'

Dr Boesak, who is also the Assessor of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk, the second most powerful position in the church, said he believed that the Labour Party leadership had "other motives — position and money" for agreeing to participate in the constitutional scheme.

He said the resignation of Mr Norman Middleton, a founding member, and other top party members in protest against the decision to participate was "the only thing to do if they wanted to maintain their self-respect".

Dr Boesak said that although the Labour Party had "minute" support in urban and rural areas, he believed that the party had lost support in recent years.

"It was always true that the Labour Party never represented the 'coloured



Dr Allan Boesak

community'. Even in the days of the old CRC, it operated within 20 percent of the people who thought that by participating in the CRC, they could bring about meaningful change."

Asked whether he foresaw a united front of opposition to participation in the constitutional plan, Dr Boesak said: "All community organizations, sport organizations and the churches have so far clearly and unequivocally rejected both the PC and its proposals on political and moral grounds."

"And these organizations do, in fact, represent the vast majority of the people in the urban and rural areas."

## 'No child's play'

He said a united front against the proposals was likely because "people realize it is no longer the child's play of the CRC coloured politics — this is historic stuff."

"People realize in this era the strength of our position in what I call the 'politics of refusal' — for the lack of real political

Cape Times  
7/1/83  
A  
From page 1

power, saying 'no' to any scheme which is politically immoral."

● Dr Boesak was also asked to comment on an article in the Nationalist mouthpiece, the Burger, which quoted the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, saying that Dr Boesak and Professor Jakes Gerwel, dean of the faculty of arts at the University of the Western Cape, "work within the system and receive their cheques from coloured administrations".

Dr Boesak said: "I am the student chaplain at UWC, but this is a church post. I am a minister of the church. Jakes Gerwel has also never been a part of any attempt to sell out our people."

Professor Gerwel said last night that Mr Hendrickse was "drawing a false analogy by equating the Labour Party's chosen position with that of other State-salaried people, such as teachers and university lecturers."

"One should not waste time on this kind of comparison, but rather address the real issues raised by the Labour Party's decision, being among others, that they have chosen to enter into an arrangement which has tremendous polarizing potential within an already dangerously divided society."

He said the Labour Party could not be equated with "the coloured people" and any inference that the "coloured people" had chosen to cooperate with the government was premature.



'Not what the people want'

# Lutherans hit out at Labour 'yes' to PC

TIA  
RDM  
7/1/83

By MAURITZ MOOLMAN

THE coloured Labour Party's decision to join the President's Council has been sharply criticised by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa.

The Rev M D Usher, general secretary of ELCSA, said yesterday the church objected to the party's stand, which follows a recent decision by the church to reject the President's Council.

It was disappointing that the leaders took this stand, bearing in mind that people serving on the PC were nominated and not elected, Mr Usher said.

One could not possibly say the PC was something the people wanted, he said.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has warmly praised the Labour Party decision, reports JOUBERT MALHERBE.

In a statement in Pretoria, Mr Heunis said the Government was grateful and impressed "with the responsibility and positive attitude with which the greater majority of members of the coloured population had approached the (constitutional) issue".

There was a "common desire" to improve the present dispensation in South Africa for the benefit of all, and the results so far achieved were "promising".

He added: "It offers tangible proof that when reasonable leaders negotiate in a positive spirit, rewards shall be forthcoming. Reason and logic can triumph when emotionally laden problems are jointly tackled."

Mr Heunis cautioned, however, that it was not possible to reach "absolute agreement" on everything immediately.

The Lutherans, at their bi-annual assembly in Kimberley last month, rejected the President's Council on the grounds that the general assembly did not believe the new constitutional proposals could "in any way serve as a solution to the problems of this country".

The church, however, emphasised that its

opposition was not based solely on the exclusion of blacks from the President's Council.

"Inclusion of this section of the population would not make the President's Council more acceptable. In fact it could only lead to further entrenchment of the policy of apartheid," the church said.

Opposition to the PC was based on the fact that the "vast majority of the people of South Africa have no democratic rights and have, therefore, no say in the establishment in the proposed constitutional dispensation".

The plans continued to deny rights to all who were not classified white. Laws most resented by unfranchised people such as the Group Areas Act, the Urban Areas Act, and the Population Registration Act were all going to be retained by the Government.

The President's Council was also rejected because it entrenched the tribal homelands and urban councils for blacks.

Most important, education would still be "compartmentalised in terms of race groups". The problems at present facing the unfranchised in this area would still remain as long as a policy of separation prevailed.

"The political system and the policies emanating from it cannot in any way be seen as in accordance with basic Christian principles. The system certainly does not engender proper relationships among people."

The danger the church saw in the new dispensation was that it would create division and enmity among the unenfranchised, the Lutherans said.

A British Embassy spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday the LP's decision to participate was an encouraging sign and showed that peaceful evolutionary change was taking place in South Africa, Sapa reports.

But in an obvious reference to black exclusion from the plan, the spokesman expressed the hope South Africa would still "find its own path to a political dispensation which will command the support of the people of South Africa as a whole".

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Some

Mercury  
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7/11/83

oppose

Eshowe

action

Mercury Reporter

INFLUENTIAL leaders of the coloured community in Durban believe that the ranks of the Labour Party will be strengthened by its decision at Eshowe this week to accept the Government's offer to join in negotiations regarding its constitutional proposals.

However, a significant section is totally opposed to the deal and representatives of this view are demanding a meeting with the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, to thrash out their differences.

Mr Hendrickse, who is staying in Durban, said the feed-back in Natal had been very favourable and he had been stopped in the street by coloured people who wished to congratulate him on the party's stand.

The chairman of the Assegai Association in Wentworth, Mr Cecil Kippen, said that respected figures in the area were 'overjoyed' at the decision taken.

### Outside

Mr Kippen said that, had the Labour Party rejected the plan, the leadership would have been forced to work outside the constitutional arrangement.

Mr Eddie Stewart, a member of the Local Affairs Committee for Wentworth, said that, if the coloured community expected the Prime Minister to become more flexible, the coloureds would have to do the same.

Mr Victor Lawler, who has been involved in community affairs in the Sherwood area for 30 years, believed the majority of people not in the Labour Party agreed with the move.

Dissenting views came from Mr Archie Hulley, a well-known community leader at Wentworth, and Mr Virgil Bonhomme, vice-chairman of the Newlands East Residents' Association.

Mr Hulley said the majority of coloureds were Christians and, as such, could not go against the blacks.

Mr Bonhomme maintained the coloured people wanted an explanation. The decision did not affect coloureds only but all 'oppressed groups'.

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11A FM 7/11/83

development through a system of divide and rule.

Party firebrand Norman Middleton said the inherent ethnicity in the proposals ran contrary to the party's own constitution and as such should be rejected out of hand.

National chairman, David Curry, maintained that as flawed as the proposals were they did offer a form of participation in decision-making. They also offered a platform from which the LP could push for the removal of statutory discrimination and influx control and for a bill of rights and the participation of blacks.

He added that they were an improvement on government's 1977 proposals. These called for nominated coloured representatives and maintenance of the former coloured representative council on which the LP had finally turned its back. "We know we are not moving into true reform. We know we don't have real power. But we do have power."

The resolution drafted by Hendrickse said: "The party does not see the proposals of the National Party as being the political answer to the constitutional demands of the people because of the exclusion of the Africans. It does not answer the constitutional demands of our party or of our time and it entrenches ethnicity. However the labour party believes that our participation in the tri-cameral arrangement and consequent standing committees, commissions and councils can assist us in the achievement of our goals and constitutional objectives."

In a statement to the F/M KwaZulu Chief Minister, Gatsha Buthelezi, (who opened the conference) said the party had exercised its prerogative and made up its mind "knowing full well how we Africans feel about the proposals.

"I cannot at this stage criticise their decision which, frankly, did not come as a surprise to me, knowing as I do the amount of behind-the-scenes arm-twisting which has been going on and the extent to which I have been vilified by Mr Chris Heunis while that arm-twisting was going on."

Adding that the "struggle for liberation" is a long and hard one, Buthelezi said: "If our brothers' and sisters' decision amounts to abandoning us, this is not something new in our long and hard experience."

Member-organisations of the federal SA Black Alliance (SABA), to which the LP and Inkatha belong under Buthelezi's chairmanship, remain autonomous, he said. "We have differed on issues such as disinvestment, for instance, but such issues are not fundamental issues which can compare with the exclusion of Africans in the decision-making councils of state."

The question of what happens now, said Buthelezi, will be decided by each constituent member of the SABA and "conveyed in joint conference of the SABA." In view of Buthelezi's opposition, this could obviously embarrass the LP. Buthelezi said he would be guided by his Inkatha constituents in deciding "what attitude to adopt."

# Middleton ends 18 years with Labour on sad note

DURBAN — The former deputy leader of the Labour Party in Natal, Mr Norman Middleton was a sad man yesterday.

Shortly before the end of the party conference in Eshowe, Mr Middleton rose from his seat at the back of the town hall to announce his resignation.

It was greeted by ironic applause from some delegates, but most were respectfully silent.

Mr Middleton picked up his briefcase and quietly made his way out.

"I have a feeling of deep sadness," he said later. "I was a founder member of the party and throughout the 18 years of my association with it, it has never taken a decision in this way."

He was referring to the controversial decision to participate in the government's proposed three-chamber parliament, for which elections are due later this year.

## 'Insult to blacks'

He believes others will resign after reconsidering their decision.

He felt the party should have consulted the coloured people before making its move.

"The party doesn't know what it is agreeing to."

Referring to a statement by the national chairman, Mr David Curry, that the Labour Party would negotiate on behalf of disenfranchised Africans, Mr Middleton said this was an "insult to black people".

"How can the party pretend to represent Inkatha? Coloureds may be part of the black nation, but they possess privileges denied Africans."

Mr Middleton, first president of the South African Council of Sport, said he had devoted his life to the political struggle for black rights and this would continue.

"My work as a unionist (as co-ordinator of the Council of Unions of SA) will go on." — Sapa

# Heunis welcomes Labour decision

Own Correspondent  
PRETORIA — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has praised the decision by the Labour Party in Eshowe this week to participate in the government's new constitutional system.

And the decision has also been welcomed by the British and Indian State governments.

Mr Heunis said in Pretoria that the government was grateful and impressed "with the responsibility and positive attitude" with which "the greater majority" of coloured people had approached the issue.

"It offers tangible proof that when reasonable leaders negotiate in a positive spirit, rewards shall be forthcoming."

Mr Heunis cautioned, however, that it was not possible to reach "absolute agreement" on every thing immediately. But the "sound understanding" already reached formed a basis for progress.

● The Labour Party's decision was an "encouraging sign" and showed that "peaceful evolutionary change" was taking

place in South Africa. British Embassy spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday.

But in an obvious reference to black exclusion from the pact, the spokesman expressed the hope that South Africa would still find a political dispensation which would command the support of the people of South Africa as a whole.

● Siron Barber, British Ambassador in Pretoria, said he had welcomed the Labour decision.

State Department spokesman John Hughes said "In the context of our policy of constructive engagement, we have said simply that advocates of peaceful change in South Africa away from apartheid towards a system of government by consent of the governed, can look to the United States for encouragement and support."

While noting that the coloured proposals do not address the fundamental question of national political rights for the 72 percent of South Africans who are black", he added, "the process of change is under way, and we support it".

**Mandela**  
W/K ARB 8/1/83  
**home**  
**raided** (114)

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have raided the Brandfort home of Mrs Winnie Mandela and confiscated posters, books, documents and a bedspread during a visit by two Opposition MPs, Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Peter Soal.

A family friend, Mr "M K" Malefane, said police arrived at Mrs Mandela's home at 1 pm and issued her with a summons for allegedly breaking her banning order.

Mrs Suzman said the bedspread "seemed to be done up in the African National Congress — or Inkatha — colours."

**Confirmed**

A spokesman for the SAP Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria confirmed the raid last night.

"A case is being investigated and after completion the documents will be submitted to the Attorney-General. It is then up to him to make a decision whether or not to prosecute.

"If any of the people involved have a complaint concerning the behaviour of the police, I would urge them to report the matter immediately." — Sapa

# Top Tyl man quits Labour Party

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE Transvaal vice-chairman of the Labour Party, Mr Mohammed Dangor, yesterday resigned from the party in protest against its decision to participate in the coloured chamber of the proposed tricameral parliament.

The Natal and Transvaal LP leaders, Mr Norman Middleton and Mr Sam Solomon, resigned on Wednesday.

And in Worcester, the former chairman of the Worcester branch of the LP, Mr David Petersen, said all the executive committee members of the branch had resigned at the Eshowe conference.

He said 75 branch members, dissatisfied with the direction the party was taking had also resigned at recent meeting in Worcester.

Mr Dangor gave three reasons for his decision to resign:

- Where the LP constitution enshrines individual rights, the LP conference decision at Eshowe "accepts group rights

as opposed to individual rights"

- Where the LP has consistently called for a national convention to solve South Africa's problems, the Eshowe decision "detracts from that"

- Where the LP committed itself, by accepting the Du Preez commission, first to helping to find a national consensus as the foundation on which a constitution should be built, it has now accepted a constitution for which there is no consensus.

Mr Dangor said "People have been phoning to urge us to form an alternative political platform to the LP"

Confirming that he was interested in the proposal, Mr Dangor said several people were being cited as potential leaders of the new movement, including Mr Middleton, Mr Noel Dempsey a former Natal LP leader who was banned and Mr Don Matterna, a former public relations officer of the LP.

If founded the new movement was likely to adopt a similar position to the

Anti-SAIC Committee which has campaigned with a large measure of success against participation by Indians in elections to the Indian Council in 1981.

"But the new movement will be closer to Inkatha than the Anti-SAIC."

The Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) condemned the LP decision as "political opportunism".

"The LP showed its true colours to workers last year when its leaders sided with employers and attacked workers and their unions when they were striking for a fair living wage."

"This latest decision finally confirms the LP political irrelevance for workers."

"The decision has only been seen as a desperate attempt by an unrepresentative leadership to promote their own personal political careers. To do this the LP have been prepared to sacrifice unity in the struggle and have finally bowed to racist political divisions and abandoned 80% of South Africa's population."

See Page 7

Under "It's a Delicate Affair", page 7, she says "At some time or another in the course of their working lives most women will face the dilemma of how to handle a boss or client or colleague - male - who oversteps the line the sexual one that is."

She goes on to discuss the female employee's difficulty in handling her boss who takes her to lunch and suggests there are "better" things to come. If she blocks his advances she may wreck her chances.

This is followed by a section entitled "Give and Take" in which she says "Sexual attraction is used by some women as a device to get promotion. But it seems that after the fling their careers come to a dead end" - it is a misconception that businesswomen have got ahead by having affairs."

## MATTER OF FACT

### SACC probe correction

IN THE Rand Daily Mail of September 8, it was reported that Mr Eugene Roelofse, while giving evidence before the Eloff Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the South African Council of Churches, was challenged by counsel for the SACC, Mr Sydney Kentridge, SC, to name those whom he suspected of criminal conduct in the SACC.

The report went on to state that in a note to Mr Kentridge Mr Roelofse named, among others, Mr Elphas Mbata, a former clerk of the SACC.

This was in fact incorrect, as Mr Elphas Mbata was not one of the people named by Mr Roelofse. The Mail misheard the name of the person actually mentioned and mistook it for Mr Mbata.

The Mail apologises for and regrets the error.

TO CORRECT specific errors of fact, write to the Editor at P O Box 1138, Johannesburg, or telephone the Editor's secretary at 710-9111 between 9am and 5pm on weekdays.

If you have broader complaints about the Rand Daily Mail these can be taken up with the Mail Ombudsman, James McClurg, c/o the Editor's secretary.

## Good Buddies sign off

Mail Correspondent

DURBAN - There were 21 000 fewer citizen band radios licensed last year than in 1981.

Mr Tom Calitz, PRG for the Durban Post Office, said this might be because the "craze has worn off" and ill-mannered users who jam the channels were driving the more serious CB radio users off the airwaves.

Mr Brian Duckett, a founder member of React, the CB emergency service said: "It is not uncommon to get people staying on the channel all the time talking rubbish or holding the mike against a radio speaker."

"The user hides behind the mike and can say whatever he or she likes and gets away with it because no-one knows who they are."

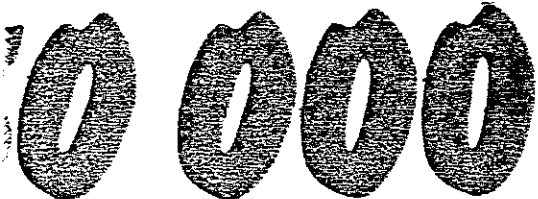
He said the emergency channel was also abused by false alarms. Often distress signals sent helpers on "wild goose chases".

React had lost many helpers because of the abuse of the service, he said.

Because sets were no cheaper the "wrong kind of people" were using them.

POLITICAL comment in this issue by P. Gosson; newswalls by Peter Bunker; news lines and sub-editing by Paul Moravcsik; cartoons by David Anderson, Dave Geska of 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

## WON



## NEAREST CORRECT ENTRY

- DOWN
1. It's unwise to hurry a — too much PORTER/POTTER
  2. — can be a disturbing noise when one wants to concentrate SHUFFLE/SNUFFLE
  4. — and address GAME/NAME
  5. — might become dry as the weather continues hot RIVER ROVER
  6. Results achieved by a — should show a reasonably steady improvement SHOT/SWOT
  7. One thinks of — as frequently in competition POWERS/ROWERS
  8. However hard one tries, landing — could be quite difficult FISH FIST
  10. Scathing — might be followed by drastic action REPORT/RETORT
  12. — from one youngster sets a bad example for his friends LIE/LIP
  13. Military — must be tough and durable GEAR/WEAR
  15. People would know exactly what is meant by a hot — TAP/TIP
  16. Long flat wooden runner for moving over snow SKI
  17. Brilliant comic's — may be closely studied by beginner hoping to follow his footsteps ACT/ART

- ACROSS
1. Pupils in school's higher grades are likely to learn something about the world's great — POETS PORTS
  3. It's easy to see why — could have trouble with his breathing SINGER/WINGER
  6. To — someone might cause permanent damage SLUG/SLUR
  8. Cone-bearing tree valuable for timber FIR
  9. Rodent RAT
  10. Publicity may be an enormous gain for — REBEL/REVEL
  11. Nowadays — has all sorts of aids SPA/SPY
  12. — may change dramatically in character as one passes through it LAKE/LANE
  14. All restraint may be cast aside in a — BOUT/ROUT
  16. A — might be hard to get hold of SHARE/SPARE
  18. A — might put one under a severe strain PEST/TEST
  19. Charges of a — might be rather too high for one PAINTER PRINTER

No. 474

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## Church Services

**ANGLICAN**

ST MARY'S, JEPPE, 39 Park Street, near Jeppe Station. Tel: 726-5945

SUNDAY 9.30am Sung Mass ALL WELCOME

**APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION**

BEREA TABERNACLE: Cnr Erie Ave and Alexandra Rd, Berea. Tel: 657-5474

**GOLDEN TEXT** The Lord recompense thy work and a full reward given thee of the Lord God of Israel, and whose words thou come to trust in. Ps. 12:12

**SUNDAY SERVICES** 10am except Brasbur Sandton and Johannesburg Societies. 9am church news churches. 11am church news churches. 12pm church news churches. 1pm church news churches. 2pm church news churches.



# Labour's vote: A sugar-coated pill for Botha?

2/L ARGUS 8/11/83 (11A) ~~11A~~

By HUGH ROBERTON  
Political Staff

THE pleasure with which the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and other Government spokesmen have greeted the Labour Party's decision to take part in the new constitution could quickly turn sour.

Judging from their early reactions, it would seem that they may have misinterpreted what the party's congress in Eshowe decided this week.

Such a misunderstanding would be excusable, for the decision rested on a confusing and easily misunderstood paradox.

### Scornfully

The congress did not, for instance, endorse the Government's constitutional proposals. On the contrary, speaker after speaker, including the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and the national chairman, Mr David Curry, scornfully rejected the constitutional plan.

And this rejection was reiterated in the final resolution which, in seeming contradiction to everything that had been said, nevertheless

authorised the party to take part in the new system.

What the party actually decided to do was to use the new system in order to change it.

The guiding theory, as explained by Mr Curry and Mr Hendrickse, was to separate principle from strategy. In principle the party rejected the proposals. But its strategy was to use the platform which the proposals offered in order to fight for changes.

The party's objective, as the final "acceptance" resolution stated, is one-man, one-vote for all South Africans within a unitary state, the latter being negotiable.

Much the same strategy was adopted by the Labour Party in the Coloured Representative Council. In principle, the party rejected the entire CRC system. But its strategy was to use the CRC to fight for what it wanted. Ultimately it wrecked the CRC by refusing to approve the budget, thus forcing the Government to dissolve the body and abandon the whole CRC concept.

Whether the same strategy will work this time is a matter of doubt and is the cause of the split which is emerging in the party and in the Black Alliance.



● The Reverend Allan Hendrickse... his party could become a thorn in the Prime Minister's side.

The chairman of the Black Alliance, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, for instance, made it clear that he did not believe the party stood a chance of achieving any

significant changes to the Government's basic plan.

When asked by Weekend Argus what he felt about the Labour Par-

ty's argument that it could fight for the inclusion of blacks by going into the system, he said tersely: "Who are they to say so? The Prime Minister has said very firmly that this will never happen. We cannot take the Labour Party leaders more seriously on this than we can take the Prime Minister."

### Disruptive

Those who have resigned from the party in protest against the decision of the congress share this view. They point out that the Government has learned a hard lesson from the CRC experiment and has ensured that no disruptive strategy would succeed in the new system.

They argue that the only bargaining chip which the party held in its negotiations with the Government was to make its agreement to enter the new system conditional on suitable changes to the plan being made in advance.

And they scoff at the Labour leadership's claim that the Government would have scrapped the whole reform initiative had the Labour Party insisted on such conditions.

The sole reason for the Government having drawn up the plan, they point out, was because the coloured people had no political rights what-

soever. The Government could not have allowed this situation to continue by simply abandoning the whole exercise in constitutional reform. It would have been forced to make some compromises in order to win coloured support.

### Challenge

The Labour Party is thus faced by a challenge from within the coloured and black communities to prove the efficacy of its strategy — to the point where it might even face a challenge from Labour dissidents and others at the coming elections for the coloured parliamentary chamber.

The objective of the challengers would be to ensure that the Labour Party candidates failed to be elected as representatives of the coloured community and that those candidates who were elected instead would simply refuse to take up their seats, thus making a farce of the whole constitutional plan.

In the circumstances, the Labour Party is very likely to prove less than an accommodating or compliant participant in the new system. It could well turn into a thorn in Mr Botha's flesh of an order sufficient to turn sour whatever joy he might have got from this week's decision.



David Curry

# We will continue our fight for reform — David Curry Labour Party resolution 'restatement of policy'

W/C ARGUS 8/1/83 (11A) ~~254~~

OF CAPE TOWN  
ANSWER BOOK

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question

SECTION B

Mr Norman Middleton said in an interview that the party had violated its own constitution by going along with the Government's constitutional plan for a three-chamber parliament.

### "No hope"

"To me it is clear that the courts of law will not accept this decision. If I had the money I would take the matter to court," he said.

The Labour Party, in terms of its own constitution, was committed to the concept of one Par-

liament representing all the people, and to majority rule.

"The system in which the party has now agreed to participate is nothing but white majority rule. The decision to go along with this system is a rape of the Labour Party's own constitution."

### Political Staff

MR DAVID CURRY, national chairman of the Labour Party, says his party will continue its fight and the new system will "succeed or fail on the basis of whether or not the Government grants true reform".

But Mr Norman Middleton, breakaway former deputy leader of the Labour Party, says there is "no hope whatsoever" that the party will succeed where it had failed under the old Coloured Representative Council system.

Former members of the party have accused the party leadership of sacrificing party principles in a secret deal with Government.

The accusations have been rejected by Labour Party leaders.

The party could have no hope of having the Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws scrapped under the new system. Discussion in the proposed coloured chamber would be even more limited than in the old CRC.

### No voting

Under the proposed committee system there would be no voting and everything would be done by "consensus". This meant that whatever was discussed, National Party majorities guided by National Party congresses would have the final say.

Mr David Curry claimed in an interview that most members of the Labour Party supported the stance taken at the party's Eshowe congress this week.

He said the resolution passed by the congress was, in effect, a re-statement of Labour Party policy.

### Nothing new

The party would continue to fight for the inclusion of black people in the constitutional system and would also continue its fight for the abolition

on the Examination Paper)

ners' Initials

of statutory discrimination.

The Weekend Argus Durban correspondent reports that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi says he is prepared to challenge in court any suggestion by Mr Chris Heunis that he tried to intimidate Labour Party delegates into rejecting the new constitutional proposals.

Chief Buthelezi insisted that he was invited to open the congress.

### WARNING

and in column (1) of number of the question used for written joint pen is accepted. be used only for diagrams, for which each separate sheet needs additional to

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

candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

PSL/PD UCT

Verwagting in Suid-Afrika

# Police raid Mandela home

By HELENE ZAMPETAKIS

POLICE raided the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela in Brandfort yesterday and confiscated posters, books, documents and a bedspread during a visit by two Opposition MPs, Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Peter Soal.

A family friend, Mr "M K" Malefane, said six police vehicles arrived at Mrs Mandela's Brandfort home at 1pm and issued her with a summons for breaking her banning order.

Security Policemen arrived in four cars followed by two vans carrying armed, uniformed police. The house was searched in shifts over a three-hour period, Mr Malefane said. Mrs Mandela was questioned about confiscated articles. Roadblocks were allegedly set up in the township as soon as police arrived in Brandfort.

The SP took away documents, a poster, and a bedspread which, according to Mrs Suzman, "seemed to be done up in the African National Congress - or Inkatha - colours".

A spokesman for the Police Division of Public Relations, in Pretoria, last night confirmed the raid.

"A case is being investigated and after completion the documents will be submitted to the Attorney General. It is then up to him to make a decision whether or not to prosecute.

"If any of the people involved have a complaint concerning the behavior of the police, I would urge them to report the matter immediately so that an investigation can be initiated."

112 (114) ROOM  
8/1185

# Lesotho forces may have killed civilians — SADF

Pretoria Bureau Chief

ELEMENTS of the Lesotho Para-military Force could have been responsible for civilian casualties when ANC targets were attacked by the South African Defence Force in Maseru last month, the SADF has claimed.

The claim is made in the latest issue of Paratus, mouthpiece of the SADF which reports that careful planning, based on "absolutely accurate intelligence", preceded last month's early morning attack.

The SADF says in its "official" version of the raid they contacted Brigadier Ramotsokane, deputy commander of the LPF, when LPF men got involved in the fighting.

"A telephone call was made to the operations room at LPF headquarters in Maseru where the deputy commander of the force, Brig Ramotsokane, was informed that SADF personnel were engaged against ANC terrorists and he was asked to withdraw his men.

"The brigadier agreed to do so and immediately sent word to his forces not to interfere.

"Before receiving orders to withdraw, members of the LPF were firing blindly and

wildly towards the South African forces with small arms

"It is possible that the civilian casualties reported after the operation were caught in this fire," Paratus reports

The report also mentions an "unflappable and apparently British" neighbour of an ANC member who almost became involved in the fighting

Members of the assault team were firing into a flat when the occupant of a flat next door poked his head out and exclaimed "I say, what is going on here?"

He was told "Keep out of the way. If you do not want to get killed go inside and lie on the floor."

With that, the inquisitive neighbour promptly disappeared.

After searching the flat for documents, the South Africans began to withdraw.

The men were stopped in their tracks by the same British voice and turned back to see a now familiar face peering out at them from the neighbouring flat and asking if it was safe to venture out again.

# Punkah wallahs drop

The Cape Times, Saturday, January 8, 1983 9

## off in Eshowe heat

By TONY WEAVER

**SHELL-SHOCKED Eshowe.** That's the way residents of this tiny Zululand town were talking after the world and the Labour Party descended on them this week.

Natal's archetypal sleepy hollow boasts two tiny hotels — The George and The Royal. When Monday dawned hot and humid, the owners of both realized all available space was occupied for the next three days.

but had no idea why.

Then the procession of foreign and local journalists and Western diplomats began descending and they realized something BIG was on the go.

Nobody had bothered to let them, the post office or the police know they were about to host the world. That's the way things work in Natal.

Monday was the day many political journalists would

rather forget. The temperature hit 37 deg C in the shade and the humidity rose a couple of points above the level at which whoever decides these things has deemed the air unsafe for human consumption.

But it's hard to stop breathing, so while the canny residents of Eshowe retreated to their fan-cooled colonial residences to sip their pink gins, the business of deciding South Africa's

political future began.

The tree frogs and cicadas fell into respectful silence as the 350 Labourites and 700 Inkatha members crammed into the local town hall sang "South Africa will be free" punctuated by shouts of "amandla ngawethu".

From this point on, the week took on all the aspects of an African classic, and those who were there will savour for years to come the

ironical and sometimes farcical images which could only have come out of South Africa.

Like the night Chief Buthelezi and the Royal family came to the Royal Hotel. The manageress, an endearing colonial figure straight from W Somerset Maugham, went rigid in her seat as the party swept into her forecourt.

"What the hell am I going to do?" she muttered in a

state of panic. "We don't have an international licence and the chief of police is staying here."

Advice was swift in coming from the group of journalists seated with her.

"Call the British consul — then you can claim diplomatic immunity" and "Serve them or your hotel will probably burn down within the week" were the two snippets which galvanized her into action.

The receptionist had already retired upstairs in horror, and local Africans were quick to take advantage of the situation.

The service bar was suddenly inundated with a stream of black faces demanding drinks, and with the most powerful man in Zululand seated inside, it would have been a brave barman who upheld the laws of Pretoria.

On that fateful Tuesday

night when the Labour Party decided it was time to come in from the constitutional cold, all hell broke loose.

After waiting for 45 minutes just to get an answer from the manual exchange, one journalist was told that if he wanted to send a telegram instead, it would reach Johannesburg in 24 hours — 23 hours late for deadline.

The heat and the humidity were the things those who

were there will never forget. This reporter thought he had a radical case of the DTs when he awoke one morning to find an effervescent vitamin tablet quietly fizzing away on the bedside table, another victim of the saturated air.

And one journalist told the only slightly exaggerated story of how he rang for room service and a cockroach the size of a crow knocked on the door and requested permission to enter.

# Opinion on Labour Party decision is divided

Weekend Post Reporters

WAS the decision by the Labour Party this week to support the Government's constitutional proposals "in keeping with the party's record of participating in dummy institutions", as one black leader in Port Elizabeth claimed? Or was it "evolution on the march", as another maintained?

Will it be seen as "a courage act", or a move for "personal advancement"?

There was certainly no single answer to any of these questions in the Eastern Cape this week.

Whatever rift the decision may bring about between Africans (who are not invited to participate in the constitutional revision) and coloureds (who are), there were sure signs of divided opinion among coloureds themselves.

Weekend Post sought reaction from local leaders in the coloured and Indian communities.

Mr Peter Frederick Klivetts, national chairman of the Freedom Party, said: "Allan Hendrickse stuck out his neck politically when under his leadership the congress adopted the stand away from the original Labour Party attitude where the policy used to be confrontation, non-cooperation and boycotts etc.

"To break away from that and take the stand of contact and dialogue must have taken quite a lot of courage — to openly make a statement approving of the guideline proposals by the President's Council.

"This is to pursue peaceful constitutional reform in South Africa.

"Allan must have been aware of the stand that the radicals of the party would take.



GATSHA BUTHELEZI

## Gatsha warns Indians over PC plan

"Ever since the inception of the Freedom Party we have always had a policy of contact and dialogue. We have never deviated from that.

"Evolution is now on the march and it seems the Labour Party has decided to march with that.

"To have rejected that would have made us backroom politicians. We have found ourselves a power base and it is up to us to make it a power base to be reckoned with.

"By rejecting the proposals we would have left ourselves with nothing at all."

He said he thought the opposition shown by Inkatha would "die down".

Dr Basil Brown, chairman of Getrandale Civic Association, said: "Our association is not surprised by the Labour Party's acceptance of the Government's constitutional proposals.

"The decision is in keeping with its record of participat-

**DURBAN** — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and chairman of the South African Black Alliance, has issued a warning to Indians not to follow the coloured Labour Party in its "unseemly haste" to accept the Government's new constitutional reform plans for South Africa.

The KwaZulu leader also said he would call for the South African Black Alliance, a grouping of Inkatha, the Labour Party and the Reform Party, to be suspended while the Labour Party pondered over its actions.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking to a delegation from the Reform Party headed by its leader, Mr Y S Chamsamy, in Umtali.

He said the coloureds had missed a "golden opportunity" and he hoped the Indians would not rush into accepting the proposals.

"If one dared look into the different futures which were all very possible for us, the only one which would hold any comfort for whites and their now fellow-travelling coloureds is the future I have been offering in partnership with Inkatha," he told the delegation.

"There is no single black organisation which offers the same kind of friendship. Inkatha is the last black movement which will do so." — Sapa

vestige of credibility it might still have had."

Mr J Kathan, acting chairman of the Port Elizabeth Indian Management Committee, said this week that the Labour Party decision came as a "guideline" to the local Indian body.

He said his view was that the coloureds were a "larger minority group than we are" and that "their decision to fall in line with the new constitutional dispensation is a guideline for us. We will go along with them.

"The Indians and coloureds should be working together for a common goal and this is a basis for a starting point for further constitutional change.

"Our black colleagues have accepted homelands, they are more or less sorted out. I think they are comfortable and we are not causing them any distress.

"We see this as a happy compromise. Each group has something to look forward to in 1983. On these grounds we justify our situation."

He said he would like to make it clear that the minority groups were working "within a system" and "that system allowed a contact between the government official and the community."

Only working through this system could coloureds and Indians achieve their ultimate goal — direct representation.

"Only by working within a system can someone be heard — otherwise you are just a voice in the wilderness."

Mr Raymond Uren, President of the Eastern Province Council of Sport (EPCOS), said: "I think this decision is pure opportunism. The Labour Party has got nothing to gain from it."

ing in dummy institutions like CRCs and CMCs — bodies which have been rejected by the majority of so-called coloured people.

"It is made up of opportunists who are only interested in their own personal advancement and they have placed themselves squarely in the camp of the oppressive National Party regime.

Mr Willie Dietrich, organising secretary for the Labour Party in the Eastern Province region, and deputy chairman of the northern areas management committee said the Labour party decision illustrated its desire to follow a path of peaceful negotiation.

"There has always been two ways of changing things in South Africa — either talk about it or fight about it. Since 1969 the Labour Party had decided to negotiate for change.

"We are still on that road. Although we rejected the National Party proposals we envisage that these struc-

tures could be used to achieve our goals from within.

"And we have mandated our leaders to stay on the road of negotiation.

"There is nothing we can do from the sidelines. You have to participate in the game if you want to change it."

Mr Dietrich said the overwhelming support shown for the Labour Party decision from a wide cross-section of people at the conference in Eshowe clearly indicated that this was the path the majority wanted to follow.

Mr Charlton Andrews, secretary of Bethelsdorp and Salsoneville Ratepayers' Association, said: "I am astounded that the Labour Party accepted the recommendations, which stem directly from the deliberations of the President's Council, a body on which it had refused to serve in the first place.

"The Labour Party, surely, has now stripped itself of any

11A

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# 'Subversive' bedspread is seized from Mrs Mandela

*Stan* By Carolyn Dempster 8/11/83

A "subversive" bedspread, crocheted in the colours of the ANC, posters, books and documents were seized from the Brandfort home of the banned Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday in a swoop by the Security Police.

The raid began at about 1pm, shortly before Mrs Mandela, currently under a five-year banning order, was due to be visited by two Progressive Party MPs, Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Peter Soal.

Mr M K Malefane, a friend of the Mandela family, claims Mrs Mandela was issued with a summons for breaking her banning order by the six Security Policemen on their arrival. The policemen then proceeded to conduct a thorough search of the house.

## POSSE

"I arrived to meet a posse of SP going through Mrs Mandela's home with a fine toothcomb," said Mrs Suzman. "They conducted the search in a very polite, but thorough way." The last time Mrs Mandela's home was raided in 1981 it was also in the middle of a visit by Mrs Suzman.

"We laughed about the coincidence and then just sat down and talked while they searched."

Although the wife of the jailed ANC leader may receive more than one visitor at a time in her home, she may speak to only one person at a time.

"It is absolutely disgusting the way the Security Police keep harassing this woman. Yet she takes it all with great dignity," added Mrs Suzman.

# Middleton may go to court

By TONY WEAVER  
MR NORMAN Middleton, breakaway former deputy leader of the Labour Party, said yesterday that he intended taking the party to court over its decision to participate in the proposed tri-cameral parliament.

Mr Mohamad Dangor, provincial deputy leader and a Transvaal executive member, Ms Silvia Swartz resigned in protest against the decision. Mr Middleton said yesterday that "if I can raise the money, I will take the party to court because they have raped the constitution".

Speaking from Maritzburg, Mr Middleton said he believed the way in which the decision was taken, and the decision itself, were a "rape of the party constitution".

The party's national chairman, Mr David Curry, said last night: "He will waste his money — the preamble to the motion placed it firmly in line with our constitution".

And as the drama surrounding the party's controversial decision heightened yesterday, it emerged that

Mr Middleton and Ms Boesak both alleged that the decision was deliberately kept "top secret" to prevent counter-mobilization and only a handful of top officials knew of the decision in advance.

Contrary to newspaper reports, Mr Middleton will actively oppose a new movement to fight the LP in elections for the parliament. The movement would then refuse to enter the proposed "coloured chamber", reports said.

Mr Middleton named the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Mr Curry, the Transvaal leader, Mr Jac Rabie and the chairman of the Western Cape Region, Mr Carter Ebrahim, as the leaders of the "clique".

Two leading Transvaal members of the party

Mr Curry denied the accusation. "That's absolute nonsense. The conference was held in open session, and the resolution was compiled by representatives from each region, he said."

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"Jikelele" provided a mixed bag of very informative and educational items.

JOE GUWA

## Man killed in road accident

GEORGE — A man was killed in an accident in Strandkraal Road, George, yesterday afternoon when the car in which he was travelling skidded on the gravel surface and left the road.

He was 23-year-old Mr Faizel Mohamed Patel of Fordsburg, Johannesburg. A passenger in the car, Mr Azhar Ibrahim Bham, 20, also of Fordsburg, has been admitted to the hospital at George with serious injuries. — Sapa



of the United States Senate Republican Senator for Kansas Development and Planning. No details were released of opportunity to pose questions to Mr or Mr Heunis.

## Sprinklers

she said. Permission has been given for two hours' daily sprinkling of sportsfields, at the country club, the high school and the cemetery, but private gardens can be watered only by hand-held hosepipes. No vehicle or boat washing is permitted. There is a R200 fine.

## murder trial

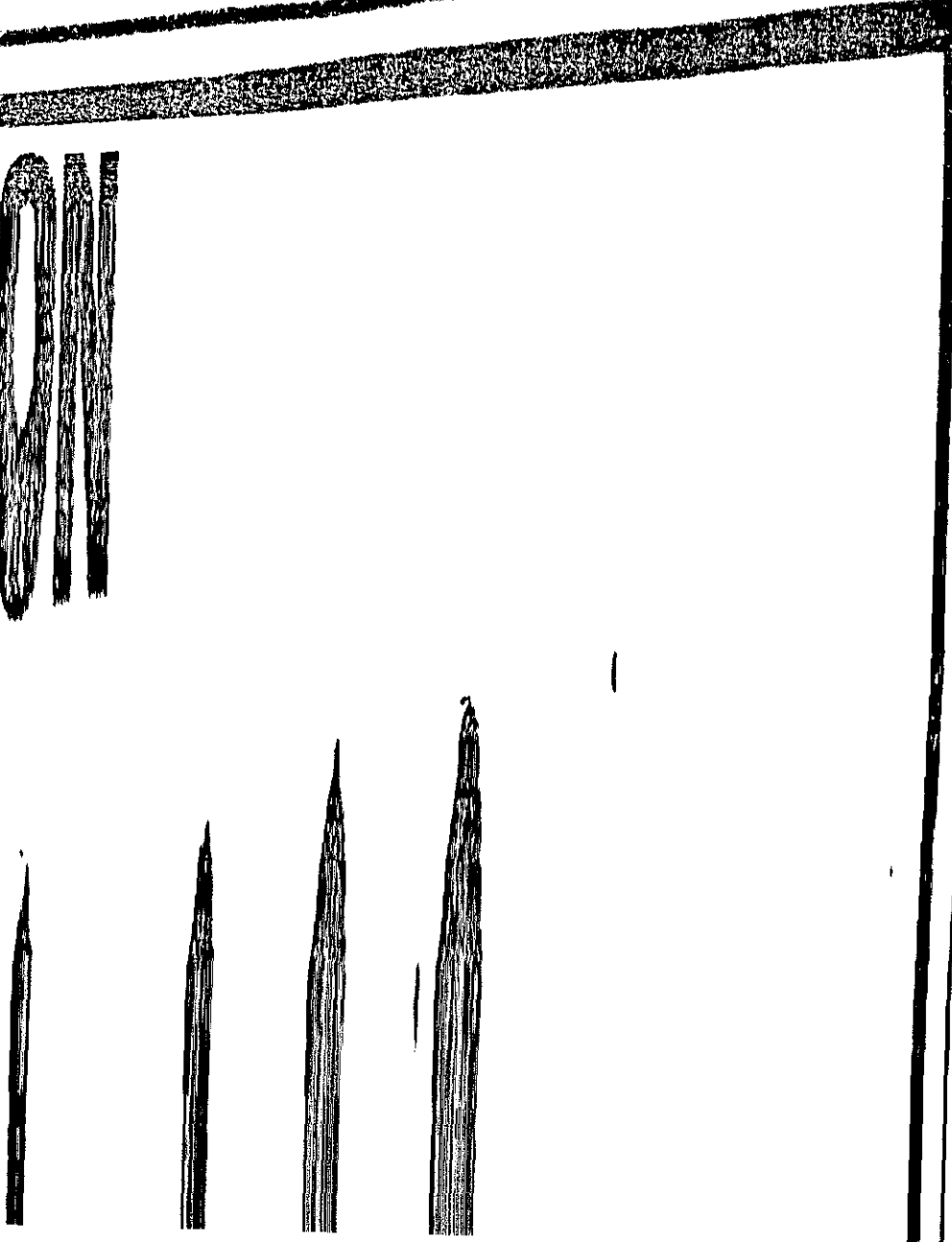
Robertson attempted to murder Mr Lionel Coetzee. He pleaded not guilty to this charge as well. The hearing was adjourned to February 11 for a Supreme Court date. Mr B Carroll was the magistrate. Mr L Wiener appeared for Mr Robertson.

## tests for all SAA male cabin crew

Own Correspondent. JRG. — All male SA Airways cabin staff medical examinations following the death of 230 Americans died of the disease. A Johannesburg panel of "gay" doctors is planning to make available free services to homosexuals who suspect they might have the disease.

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...8/1/83



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Mr Middleton named the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Mr Curry, the Transvaal leader, Mr Jac Rabie and the chairman of the Western Cape Region, Mr Carter Ebrahim, as the leaders of the "clique".

● Top party officials, including the deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, Mr Middleton, and Ms Louise Boesak, a national executive member, were never informed in advance of the leadership's decision to enter into the proposed parliament.

Mr Curry denied the accusation. "That's absolute nonsense. The conference was held in open session, and the resolution was compiled by representatives from each region," he said.

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Colonel "Mickey" Brand

## sprinklers

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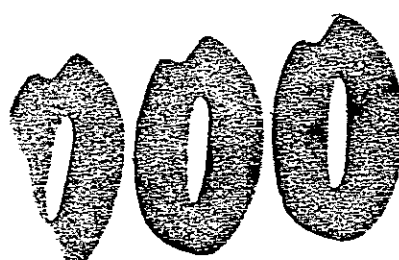
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ORRECT ENTRY



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To

# Indian congress turns critical eye on reform

11A Star 21/1/83

By Eugene Saldanha  
The Government's constitutional proposals are likely to be the target of sharp criticism at the first congress of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (TASC) in Johannesburg this weekend.

More than 300 delegates from trade unions, political bodies and community organisations have been invited to the two-day congress, which will be held in the Selborne Hall.

The congress is the first major gathering of any organisation which

has made known its refusal to work within the Government's constitutional framework. It comes only two weeks before the South African Indian Council meets to decide its stand on participation in the proposed tri-cameral Parliament.

Among the guest speakers at the meeting will be the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), Dr Allan Boesak, and the secretary-general of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), Mr Thozamile Gqweta. Both have already indicated their rejection of the new constitutional dispensation.

Dr Essop Jassat, chairman of TASC, will deliver the keynote address on "the role of TASC in the period ahead".

A spokesman for the committee said the congress would try to "assess and analyse the short-term and long-term effects of the Government's new guidelines".

Later an extensive campaign would be launched to "present the other side of the coin".

## Coloured leader supports P W

By Eugene Saldanha

The attempt by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to initiate reform was a bold step for which he should be congratulated, the chairman of the Johannesburg Coloured Management Committee (CMC), Mr Miley Richards, said last night.

But Mr Richards, deputy leader of the Labour Party, warned that Mr Botha should be "steered in the right direction" so there could be meaningful change. He was addressing the CMC's monthly meeting with Johannesburg City Council officials.

"This committee agrees with the principle of reform ... but if we want to achieve our ultimate aim — which is one man, one vote in a unitary system — then we must work hard to steer the Government in that direction," he said.

A senior CMC member, Mr Percy Pepper, attacked the Government for offering to underwrite any losses incurred by the South African Cricket Union over the West Indies team tour. "Thousands of South Africans are homeless and unemployed. The money ... should be channelled towards housing and creating job opportunities."

gramme of Action.

**L**ARGELY the result of lobbying by the ANC Youth League, the Programme of Action called for the "abolition of all differential political institutions" and a boycott of them until their abolition.

To some extent, however, the ANC decision reflected the disillusionment of older African leaders with the Native's Representative Council (NRC).

Set up in 1936 by General Hertzog as part compensation for the removal of African voters in the Cape from the common voters' roll, the NRC was eventually abolished by Dr Verwoerd in 1951.

But even before it was formally scrapped, its African representatives — who included genuine leaders such as John Dube, Paul Mosaka and Chief Albert Lutuli — had condemned it as a meaningless body.

It enabled the authorities, Councillor R V Selope Themba said, to create the false impression that African leaders had been consulted and had agreed to discriminatory laws.

The councillors could speak, but the government would not hear.

In a celebrated phase, Mosaka condemned the NRC as a "toy telephone", saying: "You talked until your mouth was dry and that was the last you heard of it. It was a disgrace ... tomfoolery, out and out."

But even after adopting the 1949 Programme of Action, the ANC remained more flexible and pragmatic in its approach to racially separate institutions and special communal representation than either the NEUM or the AAC ... to the ire of both.

As late as February 1958, ANC leader Nelson Mandela made a speech of direct relevance to the continuing dispute over collaboration.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi quoted the speech at a rally in Soweto in 1979 in part answer to those who criticised him and his Inkatha movement for serving in the racially and ethnically separate KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Mandela is now serving a life sentence for sabotage and he cannot be quoted in the Press.



**STEVE BIKO**  
anti collaboration

But it is common knowledge that the ANC at the time saw the boycott of separate political institutions as a tactic to be applied selectively, not a principle to be adhered to at all costs.

It is also a matter of historical record that, in 1958, the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO) — a member with the ANC of the multi-racial Congress Alliance — urged coloured voters to vote in the pending 1958 general election to Parliament.

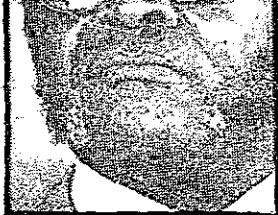
The coloured people in the Cape then had the right to elect four white MPs. African voters in the Cape had long since been removed from the common roll and there were already moves to deprive them of their right to elect three white MPs.

Some 25 years have passed and traumatic changes have taken place ... but it is pertinent to ask: Does the SACPO stand provide a precedent for the Labour Party to point to in justification of its decision on Tuesday to seek election to the coloured chamber of the envisaged new tricameral parliament?

**W**ITH the banning of the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress in 1960 and the arrest and conviction of the first generation of underground leaders in the early Sixties, black politics went into a hiatus.

But when new forces began to stir in the black body politic in the late Sixties the old dispute about whether or not to take part in government-created structures resurfaced strongly.

The anti-collaborationist tradition acquired an articulate proponent in Steve Biko, first president of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) and the driving force behind the philosophy of black consciousness.



**OLIVER TAMBO**  
leads the ANC today

Biko, who died in detention in September 1977, was strongly opposed to participation by blacks in ethnically-based legislative assemblies established in the "black homelands" under the Transkei Constitution Act of 1963 and the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971.

**I**T would lead, he warned, to the "fragmentation of black resistance" on a tribal and racial basis.

"What is happening is that the black world is beginning to fragment and that the people are beginning to talk sectional politics ... Xhosas want their Transkei, the Zulus their Zululand ..."

"Coloured people harbour secret hopes of being classified as 'brown Afrikaners' and therefore gaining admittance into the white laager, while Indian people might be given a vote to swell the buffer zone between whites and Africans ..."

"And in the meantime the enemy bestrides South Africa like a colossus laughing aloud."

While acknowledging the sincerity and courage of some of the leaders who tried to use government-created platforms to improve the lot of blacks, he rejected the notion that the apartheid system could be used to bring an end to apartheid.

The system had been designed to foster the apartheid ideology, and blacks within it would be ensnared by it, not liberated through it.

"If you want to fight your enemy, you do not accept from him the unloaded of his two guns and then challenge him to a duel."

But, asserting a counter view with great energy and equal articulacy, was a spokesman for judicious use of government structures,

"Nothing could be further from the truth."

**I**N a speech to the Urban Council Association of South African in October 1981, Chief Buthelezi denied that blacks could not use government structures to achieve their own ends and to subvert those of Pretoria.

Urging blacks to convert government-created community councils into "chariots to rush our people to battle", he said: "With a well-considered strategy, we can outwit whites ... There is no reason why these structures, created to divide us, cannot be turned into mechanisms of unity."

He cited the takeover of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly by his Inkatha movement, which he said forestalled attempts to force KwaZulu into independence and to deprive more than five million Zulus of South African nationality.

Where, then, does the Labour Party decision to take part in the new parliamentary system fit in?

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, presented it as a chance to use the coloured chamber to champion the claims of blacks as a whole ... to turn the chamber into a beachhead by some blacks from which to plan further advances for all blacks.

Noting that the Labour Party was an "equal partner of the South African Black Alliance" before the decision, he asked: "Why are we (now) no longer black and not able to speak and deal for, and on behalf of, the total black community?"

**B**UT Chief Buthelezi emphatically rejected the view of some observers that there is a parallel between his participation in KwaZulu's Legislative Assembly and that of the Labour Party in the coloured chamber of the new parliament.

The apartheid structures, he insisted, had been imposed on KwaZulu without choice and the question for him, as a hereditary leader, was not whether to accept government policy or not but whether to abdicate as leader and abandon his people.

Mr Hendrickse's decision found its true parallel in the decision of some black leaders to accept independence, Chief Buthelezi said.

Both were optional and both were characterised by the identity mark of "classical apartheid" ... exclusion of Africans from political rights in white-designated South Africa ... in return, respectively, for a junior partnership in white hegemony or "sovereign independence".

As Dr Ntatho Motlana, of the Soweto Civic Association, remarked, South Africa's blacks seem destined to relive the acrid debate about whether — and under what conditions — it is better to fight from within government structures or to stay out altogether.



**CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI ... 'we can outwit whites'.**

# 'Sell-out' <sup>(JIA)</sup> slated by <sup>Stow</sup> Anti-SAIC <sup>8/1/83</sup> Committee

By Moira Levy

The coloured Labour Party has sold out the aspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa by agreeing to participate in the Government's new constitutional proposals, and is assisting the Prime Minister in fragmenting South African society, according to the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee.

In a strongly worded statement criticising the Labour Party's decision, and congratulating those party members who resigned in protest, the committee's chairman, Dr E Jassat, said: "The decision is particularly surprising as it comes at a time when the oppressed people are frequently demonstrating that nothing short of full democracy in a united South Africa will satisfy our aspirations.

"The new constitution is designed to maintain white control while attempting to draw some of the privileged elements of the oppressed people into the white laager.

"The use of increased repression clearly shows that the Government is determined to stem the tide of genuine democracy." The statement calls on all people to "resist the Government in its attempts to divide us in our struggle for democracy".

The Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee is to hold a congress on January 22 and 23 the Selbourne Hall where the proposed new dispensation will be discussed. The committee's protest against the constitutional proposals will be planned at the congress where more than 300 delegates are expected.

"We see the congress as a way for the community to organise resistance against the constitutional dispensation which the Anti-SAIC Committee wholeheartedly rejects," a congress organiser said.

# Unity with whom?

By MANDLA TYALA and DERRICK LUTHAYI.

THE call to bring about unity among black organisations was this week greeted with the question: Unity with whom?

The call was made by prominent Port Elizabeth trade unionist Mr Government Zini, who appealed to black organisations to consider forming a joint decision-making body.

Mr Zini said it was a matter of concern that there was such ill-feeling between certain organisations in the black community.

Mr Gibson Thula, Inkatha committee chairman, agreed with Mr Zini.

"We must strive for unity irrespective of our political affiliations. We should bury our differences and fight for our liberation," he said.

## Discipline

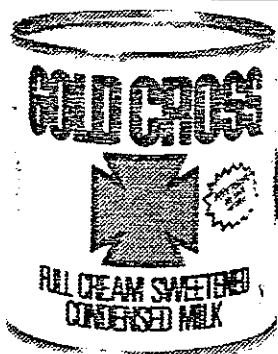
Azania Peoples Organisation publicity secretary Mr Ismael Mkhabela said unity was an ideal worth pursuing, but unity cannot be for unity's sake.

"We stand for a disciplined and purposeful unity.

"Various organisations will call for black unity while neglecting that there should be a deliberate will to resolve the differences inherent in the black camp.

"Experience has taught us a conglomeration of organisations brought together like the Black Alliance will not have the interest of black unity, because individual organisations will continue to perpetuate and sustain

# OK Prices are Every-Day



Gold Cross Condensed Milk  
**69c**  
397 g



Bull Brand Corned Meat 5% Cereal  
**97c**  
300 g

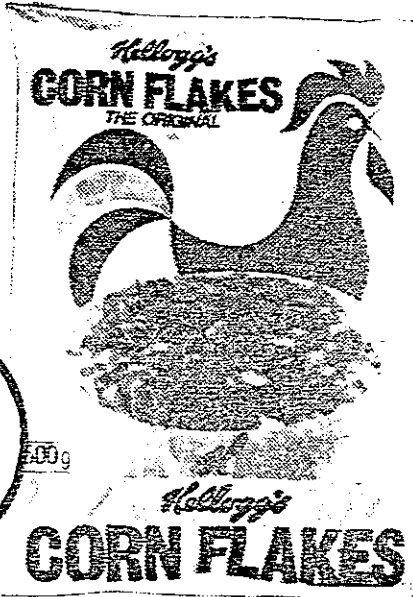
Yum Yum Peanut Butter  
**65c**  
410 g



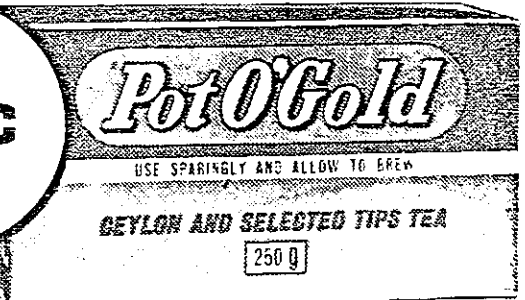
Tomango Tomato Sauce  
**65c**  
500 ml



Kellogg's Corn Flakes  
**85c**  
500 g Poly Pack



Pot O'Gold Tips Tea  
**99c**  
250 g



Bokkie Mini French Polony 1 kg **R1,6**

Sea Harvest Frozen Fish Fingers 400 g **79c**

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**Exploited**

Mr Gasby Mazwi, chairman of the Black Municipal Workers' Union, said: "Our organisation has always been in favour of unity. We are all exploited as workers and citizens and we cannot isolate other sections of our people."

Mr Tom Manthatha, secretary of the Soweto Committee of 10, said there should be no uniting with organisations that operate under the system.

"We cannot unite with organisations such as the Black Alliance and Inkatha. It should be a unity where the leadership is accountable to its constituency."

Peanut Butter  
**65c**  
 410 g



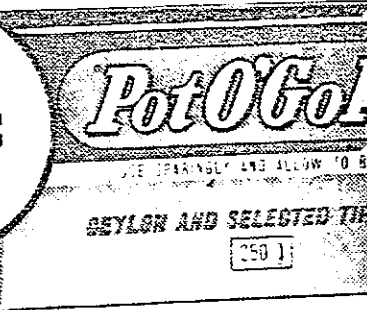
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Pot O'Gold Supa Soft Fabric Softener  
**R1,29**  
 2 L

Bokkie Mini French Polony 1 kg

Sea Harvest Frozen Fish Fingers 400 g

Clover Inkomazi Sour Milk 500 ml

Body Mist Aerosol Deodorant 100 g



OK Plain Wrap Lemon Dishwash Green  
**89c**  
 2 L



**Shop where South Africa shops**

"QUITE cheerful" was the way the Union Buildings mood was described this week after the coloured Labour Party's decision to participate in the Government's proposed white-coloured-Indian constitution.

Somewhat sardonic, even a little snug, the description was nonetheless symptomatic of other views from government circles.

While there is no doubt that the outcome is a mighty relief for the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and his constitutional mandarin, Mr Chris Heunis, there is a sense that this is only one hurdle successfully negotiated.

Others loom ahead.

After all, the Labour Party vote was only round two of what has been projected as a long constitutional road.

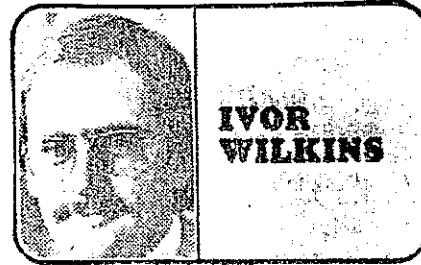
Round one was faced by the traumatised National Party when the constitutional guidelines successfully ran the party congress gauntlet.

Round three comes when the Indian representatives make their decisions — probably early next month.

One well-placed government source said the immediate next step in the process would be discussions between the Government and the Labour Party leadership under the Reverend Allan Hendrickse.

The tenor of these talks would be reported to the Cabinet and there would be

# PW's reform: So far so good but now the Indians must decide



investigations to see whether and how the constitutional plan could be amended to accommodate resolutions adopted at the Labour Party's Eshowe conference.

## Incorporated

"Some changes can be perhaps incorporated immediately, others will be put on the agenda for negotiations once the dispensation is working", the source said.

"There is now an upsurge of optimism in government circles," he said, adding, however, that the Labour Party nod to participation had not been unexpected.

But, that is not to say there are wild scenes of jubilation and dancing on the rooftops of government

buildings.

The Prime Minister's statement after the Labour Party vote "heartily" welcomed the decision but remained guarded and cautionary.

And one Nationalist MP said: "It is good that they have agreed to participate, but that does not mean it is all moonshine and roses.

"They retain their ideal of another system (one man, one vote in a unitary state) and will continue to pursue their policy. It will give rise to battle.

"But that is excellent. Now the system can begin to work. We can wrestle with them and they with us. In that way I believe we will get somewhere."

A prominent Stellenbosch academic, Professor Willie Esterhuysen, said this

week the Government now had a moral obligation to "deliver the goods" to the coloured people.

Senior government sources have indicated their readiness to reward the Labour Party with socio-economic improvements for coloured people.

With coloured — and Indian — elections scheduled for October, some such concessions may be expected during the course of this year to bolster the Labour Party's image with its constituency.

## Reaped

But, one government source predicted that the real fruits would probably only be reaped after 1984 when the system was installed and functioning.

Predictably, the Labour Party's decision has elicited bitter condemnation from various quarters in the black community and has spawned several resignations.

Its partnership in the South African Black Alliance is in jeopardy. The alliance leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, warned the Labourites on Monday,

when he opened their deliberations, that a decision such as the one they have now taken would cause an "incurable ulcer in the body politic of black unity".

One Nationalist source, closely involved in the constitutional exercise, expressed the hope that the alliance would hold together despite this crisis.

"The alliance will be an important link for the next step in the process, which is probably the most important

"That is when we look at political rights for blacks."

Quite what that means when the Prime Minister has stated categorically that blacks are not included in the current plan is unclear, but it seems to hint at a possibility of some future linkage.

In terms of current government philosophy, however, the prospects of direct inclusion for blacks — the target of the Labour Party and the Progressive Federal Party — must remain, at best, utterly remote.

(IA) ~~name~~ 9/1/83



## Acrimonious

The rest of January and much of February promise to be a busy and probably acrimonious time in the constitutional agenda.

Parliament will begin to wrestle with the issue, the PFP arguing for black inclusion, the Conservative Party warning that the end is already nigh and the Government in all likelihood casting aspersions on the patriotism of both sides.

Outside Parliament, the Indian community will be coming to its decision.

Dr E Jassat, Transvaal chairman of the Anti-Saic (South African Indian Council) expressed disappointment but no surprise at the Labour Party decision and said his organisation would meet on January 22 and 23 to discuss the constitution.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who has already urged the coloured community to adopt the "politics of refusal", will open the discussions, which are expected

to end in a resounding no to the Government's proposals

A similar result is expected from Mr Yellan Chinsamy's Reform Party — a member of the Black Alliance, when it meets later this month.

How the Saic itself will decide is less clear. Even government sources who have been involved in what Chief Buthelezi described as the "arm twisting" of coloured and Indian leaders confess they do not know quite what to expect.

## Information

Chairman and leader of the majority National Peoples' Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the Saic's constitutional sub-committee would meet on Thursday prior to discussions in Cape Town the next day with Mr Heunis.

"We feel we still need some information from the Government," he said, adding that some "tough bargaining" lay ahead.

Mr Rajbansi, too, was unsurprised at the Labour Party vote, because, he said, the coloured people had always seen their future with whites.

The Indians less so. They had been more closely involved in the black movement. Also, 87 percent of Indians lived in Natal, inexorably linked by trade and proximity with the Zulus whose leader is vociferously against the proposed deal.

## Divided

Observers also recall that when the Government's last short-lived constitutional effort was on the table in 1979, the then Coloured Persons Representative Council (CRC) was divided down the middle, depending on the chairman's casting vote for a rejection.

In contrast, the Saic's rejection was unanimous.

Apart from long-term goals, one of the trade-offs the Saic will demand from the Government is a lifting of restrictions on Indian mobility in South Africa.

Said one Indian politi-



CHRIS HEUNIS  
Next hurdle

cian: "How can you have Indian members of the Cabinet who are not allowed into certain parts of Natal and not into the Orange Free State at all? It's ridiculous."

Government sources have indicated, however, that the leverage of the Indian community is less than that of the coloureds and negotiations so far have tended towards a "take-it-or-leave-it" approach.

With some concessions, however, it is regarded likely in informed circles that the Saic will "give it a go" on lines similar to the Labour Party.

## Unequal

Before they can take up their separate and unequal seats in Parliament, however, they will have to take to the hustings for elections scheduled for October.

These are likely to be not contests between parties and individuals seeking election, but between those who are prepared to stand for election at all and those attempting to boycott the whole exercise.

Here, the Labour Party is at something of an advantage over the Saic members in that it is a properly organised political party with a national network of constituency branches and organisations, a facility not enjoyed by its Indian counterparts.

But, in both camps the "participants" start off as underdogs. The last time the coloured voters had an opportunity to vote, in 1975, less than 30 percent availed themselves of the chance.

In November 1981, when the last Saic elections were held, fewer than 20 percent of the voters turned out.

The real test in October will be whether those percentages shrink or grow.

(11A) S. Express 9/1/33

# 'There was no horse-trading'

By MIKE CADMAN

LABOUR Party leader Alan Hendrickse claims the decision to take part in constitutional reform was made without any prior 'horse-trading' with the Government.

Several coloured leaders have resigned from the party and are preparing to form their own political platform in the wake of the decision, taken at the controversial Labour Party congress held in Eshowe this week.

Speaking after the congress, the Rev Hendrickse also said the Labour Party had no immediate 'shortlist' of constitutional priorities it intended to submit to the Government.

He made it clear his party was prepared to start negotiations on the present basis of the Prime Minister's constitutional proposals.

Accused of "handing the



● Rev Allan Hendrickse

Government a blank cheque" by not demanding preconditions for co-operation, he said: "My meetings with Mr Chris Heunis (Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development), were purely to sort out the queries of the various local branches of the Labour Party.

"We did not discuss the Group Areas Act, Immorality Act or any similar legislation.

"There was no bargaining

## NOW BUTHELEZI HAS WARNED INDIANS: DON'T FOLLOW THE COLOURED IN 'UNSEEMLY HASTE' TO ACCEPT NAT PLANS

or horse-trading between us. Negotiations over discrimination and other issues will take place at a later stage."

Mr Mahommed Dangor, Transvaal deputy leader of the Labour Party, said the decision to enter negotiations with the Government went against the constitution of the party and the manner in which things were done would lead people to leave it.

He said the resignations had not been planned, but has confirmed that he is in-

terested in forming a new party.

Mr Norman Middleton, former deputy leader and a founder of the Labour Party, said he could hardly believe that Mr Hendrickse had gone into the agreement without any safeguards.

"He has virtually given the Government a signed cheque and told them to fill in the details as they please. It seems to me that some sort of deal has been sorted out on the quiet," he said.

Mr George du Plessis, secretary of the Reiger Park Representative Committee, said he did not see how members of the Labour Party could face other black people again.

"I have to go and get on the 'blacks only' carriage on the train and pretend nothing is happening. "And although Mr Hendrickse assures us there has been no reference to army service it will eventually come," he said.



● MF George du Plessis

Reacting to criticism of the party's decision by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chairman of the South African Black Alliance (SABA) and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mr Hendrickse said he hoped it would not bring about the downfall of the alliance.

SABA is composed of the Labour Party; Chief Buthelezi's massive Inkatha movement; the Indian Reform Party led by Mr Y S Chinsamy and the Inyandza movement headed by Mr

Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of kaNgawane

A meeting of all four members of SABA will be held in Durban next month to discuss the Labour Party's decision.

The leader of the Reform Party, Mr Chinsamy, and Chief Buthelezi met at Ulundi on Friday.

Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi afterwards issued a warning to Indians not to follow the Labour Party in its 'unseemly haste' to accept the Government's reform plans.

He also said he would call for SABA to be suspended while the Labour Party pondered its actions.

The executive chairman of the South African Indian Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said a meeting had been arranged with Mr Hennis on January 14.

# Labour Party's move is a propaganda coup for the Government and death knell for the Black Alliance

THE Labour Party's decision to participate in the Government's constitutional plan is a propaganda coup for the National Party.

But it is going to place immeasurable strain on black relations and will probably wreck the Party.



**PETER MABIN**  
**Political Correspondent**

ing deep divisions in the Labour Party. This is shown by the resignation of veteran Labour Party politician Norman Middleton and at least two others, former national party leader, Mr Sam Mkhabela, and Miss Louise Baskin, and Miss Louise Baskin, an aunt of the Reverend Alan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

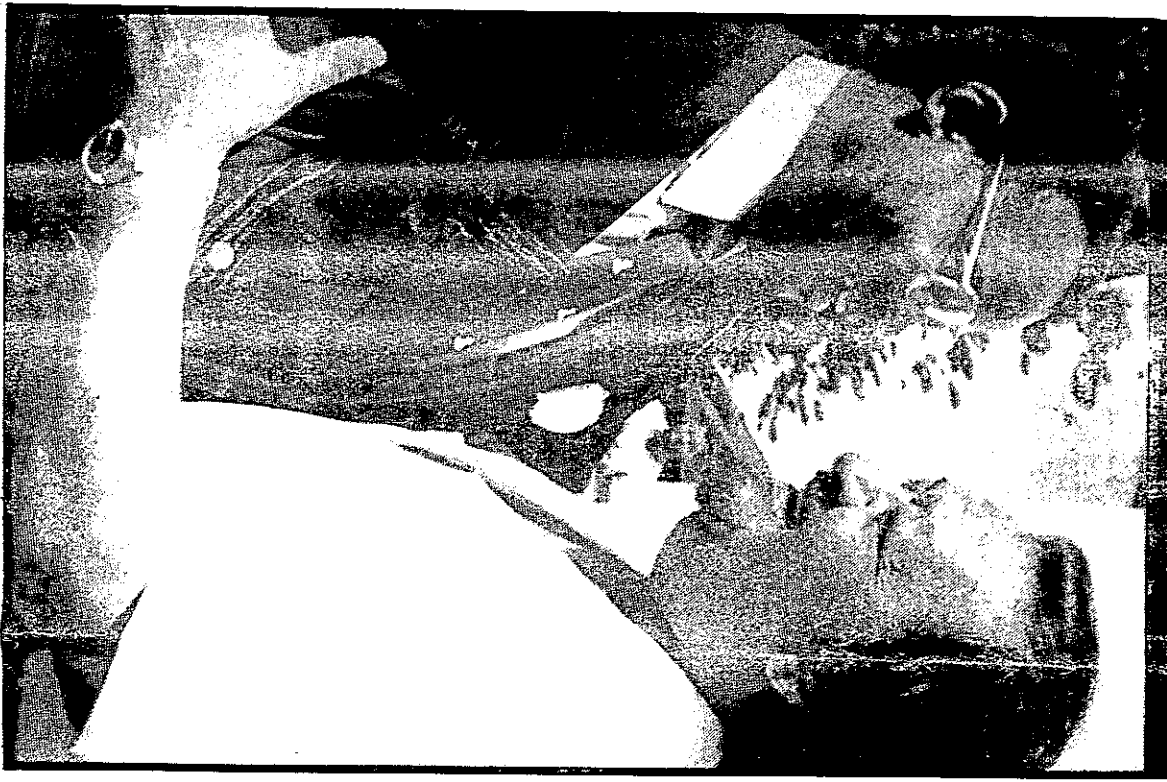
It presages deep tensions building in the coloured community. It is likely to increase the tension between the more conservative coloureds who support the Labour Party and those who are turning their support towards the new breed of community-based organisations such as the Western Cape's Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac).

Now that the Labour Party has decided to participate, Indians presently working in the system through the South African Indian Council, are certain to follow.

# OH, BROTHERS!

**Chief Gatscha Buthelezi Warns Labour Party about decision...**

**Comrades in arms...**



**Chief Gatscha Buthelezi and Rev Alan Hendrickse**

**Afrikaner and coloured share the same path...**

LABOUR Party leader Reverend Alan Hendrickse this week took his party into the white laager by deciding to participate in the Government's new constitutional plan.

It was a decision which threatens to shatter the alliance among Africans, coloureds and Indians and place immeasurable strains on the black community. Here are excerpts from Mr Hendrickse's speech in which he gives reasons for his decision...

"The Afrikaner and the coloured share the same path into the future, a path we will have to walk as fellow South Africans.

"We share the same culture, the same language, the same religion, the same habits... Let us take each other's hands as South Africans and work together to solve the manifold problems. If we don't, there is a very good chance that in a couple of decades there won't be such a thing as an Afrikaner, with or without his own identity."

"But our affinities are on both sides and Mr Enos Mabuza, head of the KANgwane homeland, is right when he says: 'There is an important conciliatory role the coloureds can play in bridging the gap between the fears of the whites and the aspirations of the blacks.'

"The history of the National Party has been a history of passing discriminatory legislation, human rights were forgotten and the rule of law buried.

"Can we condone the insensitive uprooting of people, the lack of mobility, the denial of the right to live? Can we, in a civilised society, tolerate the Mixed Marriages Act? Has the State the right to pass a law like the Immorality Act? Can we forget the death in detention of Steve Biko, Dr Aggett and others?"

"Do not forget that I spent 60 days in solitary confinement, that my wife

all her people, we meet in a spirit of willingness to forgive although we will not forget.

"We say with conviction that the time for protest politics has passed. Cliche regurgitation and vociferous slogan shoutings, foamings and condemnations are not enough.

"We want to say very clearly to those who condemn us and denigrate us for being within the system to come out of their cave of shadows into the daylight of reality.

"I am not ashamed to say that we have a dilemma. We have our loyalties, we have our prejudices. We have our dreams, our hopes, our aspirations. But we are also confronted with the realities of life in our peculiar situation.

"We must be big and bold enough to see the Government's proposals from both a black and a white perspective.

"From a black perspective they appear to be meaningless and here I wish to state emphatically that the Labour Party believes that no constitutional arrangement that does not include the largest number of South Africans can ever be regarded as final nor a guarantee for peace and security.

"The Labour Party views the inclu-

Indian politicians have been playing a waiting game, delaying their decision until they had seen which way the Labour Party was set to jump.

But this week's Nationalist propaganda coup certainly does not mean that the Government can claim, as it seems set to do, that it has the support of most Indians and coloureds for its new deal.

There is growing evidence that the majority of coloureds and Indians do not support the Labour Party or any of the parties participating in the South African Indian Council.

An example of this is the effective boycott in November of the SAIC elections. The anti-SAIC committee was so successful that only about five per cent of the registered voters bothered to turn out at the polls.

This figure is even more significant when one realises that registration as a voter was regarded as a political act by most Indians and only those who were prepared to participate in the system had bothered to register. So it was those already committed voters who were turned around by the boycott.

The Labour Party ran a successful campaign to wreck the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and force the Government to rethink the position of coloureds and Indians.

But since the CRC was scrapped the Labour Party has found itself in limbo. Senior party members like national chairman, Mr David Curry, have been participating in the management committee system which is unfavourably unpopular.

Their decision to join the Government in its plan gives them another platform which they hope will win back popularity and allow them to regain their



But since the CRC was scrapped the Labour Party has found itself in limbo. Senior party members like national chairman, Mr David Curry, have been participating in the management committee system which is unfavourably unpopular.

"For them it will be a clear indication that coloured and Indian people will then become, in our eyes, second-class enemies". One sometimes respects one's large 'enemy' but very seldom his little runners and camp-followers. They are without any honour at all. I do not believe coloured and Indian people can afford this fate.

"The Government proposals are clearly indifferent. We have been subjected to propaganda that the proposals are at least a beginning and a small step in the right direction. I am almost daily amazed at the political naivety of many of my white friends and associates who have been seduced by this propaganda... the proposals are an almost medieval attempt to entrench classical apartheid in the very constitution of our country. I can think of no purer form of political apartheid than the confederalism which is the destiny of the current proposals.

"White South Africa wants to flee from democratic political engagement with black South Africa. It wants to pretend Africans do not exist by making them foreigners who have no political rights.

"Any South African who participates in attempts to entrench racialism in our constitution is misguided or worse. The proposals continue excluding me and my people from the workings of democracy and should be rejected by all blacks. Any participation in the constitutional changes a blessing they do not deserve.

"It would seem to me that rank and file coloured and Indian people are saying: 'Go there and push, argue and negotiate for an adequate minimum basis for further development.' They are saying: 'Do not simply accept or reject the proposals. Use them as a way of starting what we really need in South Africa -- a process of negotiation.

"It would be wrong of us to think we have to accept the proposals or reject them and retain the present political situation. The rejection of the proposals is not an acceptance of the status quo. We have a choice of two political directions.

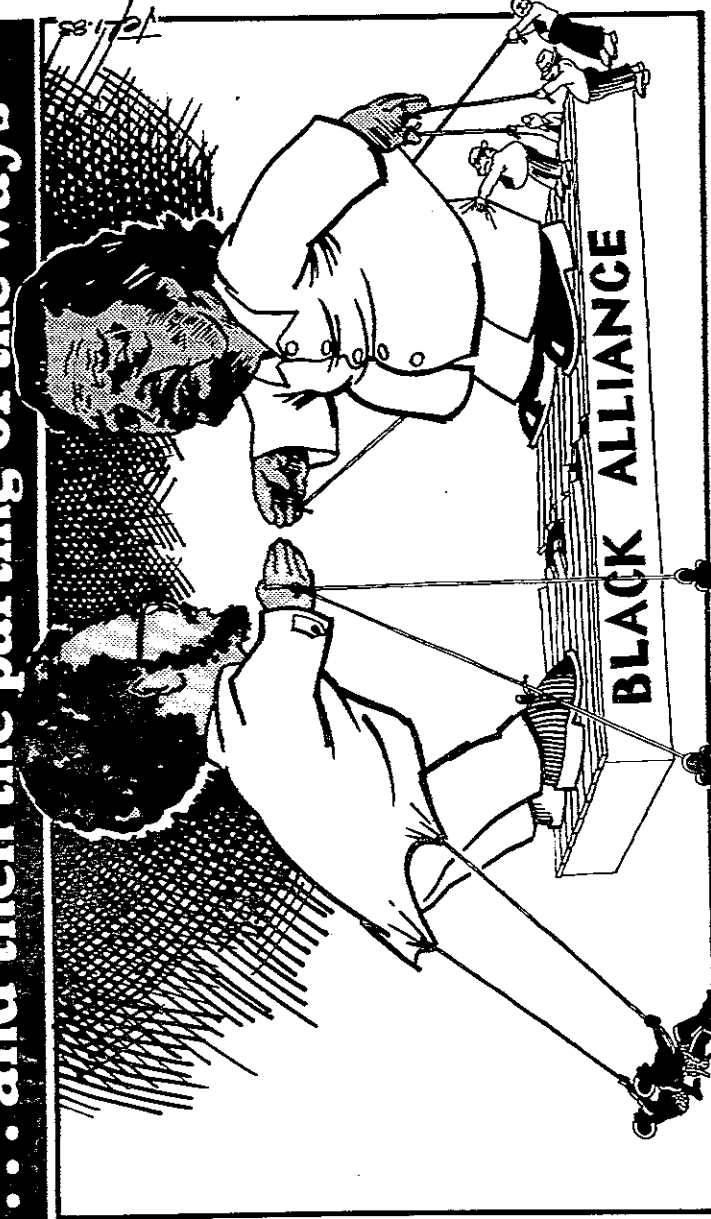
"The one is that which has been contrived by the Prime Minister and his caucus within the four walls of apartheid. The other is the kind of proposals which the Buthelezi Commission has made.

"We must distinguish between using ethnicity in a cheap and divisive way as the Government is trying to do, and recognition of ethnicity as a fact of life.

"There are those who cry for one man one vote and nothing less and to hell with white, Indian and coloured political sentiments. Utopian politics and ideological posturing is not helpful. We need to find a solution which is democratic and just.

greet each other before the Labour Party Congress in Eshowe this week

## ...and then the parting of the ways



"I do not find the exclusion of millions of Africans from the process of government democratic and just.

"A number of severe technical weaknesses in the Government's proposals have been pointed out in the Press. These kinds of problems have to be resolved from a position of strength. The moment one accepts a set of constitutional proposals, one can certainly try to modify them. However, one cannot challenge basic elements in them.

"The division of politics into 'common politics' and what seems to me like 'ghetto politics' is just such a basic element.

"The Black Alliance can neither accept nor ignore the proposals. But they have never been negotiated openly with you or any other members of the Black Alliance. This would seem to me a minimum requirement for any eventual participation with the blessing of the Black Alliance as a whole.

"Black South Africans have seen fit to come together in the Black Alliance. While the Government rejects this indigenous political development in favour of its imposed apartheid ideology we have little hope of constructive politics. We are politically impoverished if we recede into ethnic compartments. And it is in that impoverished circumstance that the Government wants to talk to us because there they are more powerful, in terms of manoeuvring us on the basis of the old divide and rule principle.

"Quite frankly, what I would like to see is for you to establish a group of experts in consultation with the

band and son in jail.

"Because we love our country and

"We in the Labour Party will use our own discretion with regard to the use of structures created by the Government. We will make our own judgments and will not be intimidated or browbeaten by either radical, irrational or irresponsible elements in the total black community on the one hand and Government with its powers of persuasion, legislation and security action on the other.

"One of the main criticisms is that blacks (Africans) are excluded. But I hasten to say that we are black. We are a constituent part of the black community. We are an equal partner of the South African Black Alliance and therefore, if one equal and adult partner goes into meaningful negotiation for the total alliance, may I ask why are we now no longer black and not able to speak for, and on behalf of, the total black community?

"We must realise that the real bargaining and effective negotiation possibilities and power of the coloured people as a constituent element of the black community is dramatically increased.

"We are being shouted out that if we go into this dispensation we will be selling our principles.

"This is not so. The Labour Party's fundamental position -- some like and others hate it for this -- is that we do not believe that when we enter into negotiations, we make use of structures, that we are denying our principles.

"On the contrary. We use these facilities to drive our principles and reaffirm our belief in righteousness, justice, equality and the oneness of our South African nationhood.

"It is a fact that the majority of coloured people expect the Labour Party to go in and speak to the Government from a platform where the Government and the world will have to listen to the voice of the people.

"Many people believe they can fight an argument by speaking in whispers. Many believe they can impress and influence others by sulking and blowing themselves up. Others believe you can fight a physical battle by making fists in your trouser pockets.

"We believe you must fight where you can be seen and heard. There is no bravery in running away. We must not delude ourselves. We cannot fight a battle by not fighting it."

just support.

Their decision means that once again they will be able to decide on community affairs such as housing and education. The Labour Party hopes to use this platform in the same way as it used the CRC to force the Government to extend rights to it and, it says, to other blacks.

But most political observers believe the Government has outsmarted them this time.

The new system has been expressly rigged to prevent the coloureds from being able to turn it into another CRC. There is provision for the white chamber of Parliament simply to take over if the proposed coloured or Indian chambers refuse to play ball.

Both Indian and coloured chambers will have little say over finance. The budget will have to be approved by all three chambers, which effectively means the whites, who hold the balance of power in the entire system, will decide how much money coloureds and Indians will be given to run their affairs.

Those who left the Labour Party this week believe the party has been too hasty in its decision. They argued, as did Chief Buthelezi, that the party should have negotiated before it decided to join the whites. They say that coloureds should have put the ball back in the Government's court by setting their own conditions for participation.

When debate on the proposals began after Reverend Hendrickse made his speech this week, it appeared the Labour Party was set to reject the proposals. Most speakers before the lunch break were opposed to participation.

But after lunch it became evident that the leaders had discussed and were throwing in speaker after speaker who favoured participation, enabling them finally to carry the day.

ceedings. No self-respecting black party or organisation can accept this.

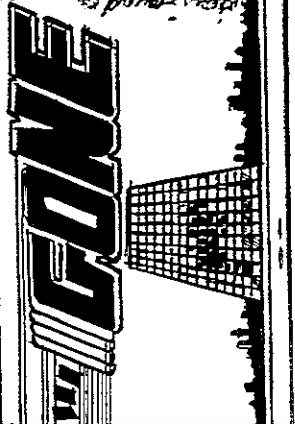
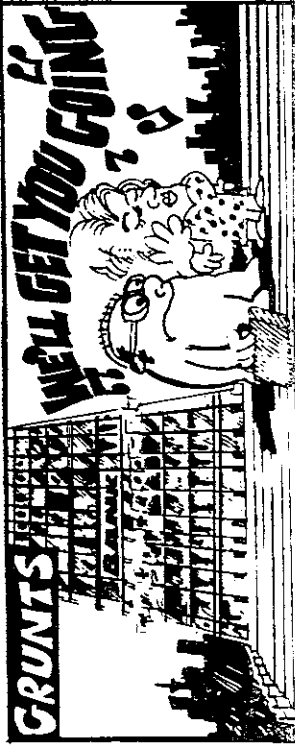
"Connivance in the Government's constitutional proposals by our coloured and Indian brothers and sisters can so easily drive so many Africans into the hands of those who have opted for violence.

"In no way can one regard any proposals which actually offend and annihilate three quarters of South Africa's population as a gradual step in the right direction.

"The present proposals are a trap. It is for our Indian and coloured brothers and sisters to decide whether they would like to play the part of the bait on its dangerous and lethal trap.

"It is a decision for the future of South Africa and it will set a pattern for what kind of future awaits all of us. It will determine the issue of whether change will be violent or non-violent.

"There exists at present a white-black violent situation. Your decision will determine whether to this a dimension of black-on-black violent confrontation at many levels will be added to what is already a very agonising situation.



# I'll throw my son's corpse in the river

11A  
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GCP 9/1/83  
By DERRICK  
LUTHAYI

— Maseru  
victim's  
dad tells  
SA cops

SOWETO — The angry father of a scholar killed in the Maseru raid threatened to throw his son's body into the Caledon River after being told by South Africa he could not bring the corpse back home.

But Mr Thabo Makoa said the South African border cops warned him he would land in big trouble if he dumped the body in the river between South Africa and Lesotho, so he buried his son in foreign soil — in Lesotho — he told GCP this week.

## Buried

Then four days after Mr Makoa had buried his son, Tsepo, he was told by police permission had been granted to bury his son in South Africa.

"I am not prepared to exhume his body. It is expensive, and if they want him here, they can do it themselves.

"They refused me permission to bring back Tsepo's body because they said he had not been positively identified, although I had seen him and identified him as my son. How come they are now so certain that he is my son?" said Mr Makoa.

Mr Makoa said his son was never a refugee and had always visited home in his school holidays.



# Labour loses another member

Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. —  
Another member of the  
coloured Labour Party's  
Transvaal executive has  
resigned in protest  
against the party's deci-  
sion to participate in the  
Government's constitu-  
tional machinery

Mr George du Plessis,  
a founding member of  
the Transvaal wing of  
the Labour Party, said he  
had resigned because he  
could no longer associate  
himself with the party's  
"collaborationist" image.

## "CATCHWORD"

"The party has lost  
whatever respect it  
might have had among  
the black community. It  
has fallen for the catch-  
word called 'power shar-  
ing', which is just another  
word for the mainte-  
nance of Nationalist he-  
gemony.

"My decision to quit  
has not been easy, but I  
cannot associate myself  
with an organisation  
which has betrayed the  
principles for which it  
was founded," Mr du  
Plessis said.

Three other members  
of the Transvaal wing of  
the Labour party — Mr  
Mike Rabie, Mrs Meisie  
Brown, and Miss Mary  
Coetzee — announced  
their resignations at the  
weekend.

## INUNDATED

Meanwhile the leader  
of the Labour Party,  
Reverend Alan Hen-  
drickse, says the party is  
being inundated with re-  
quests from people who  
want to affiliate to it.

He said the recent res-  
ignations would not af-  
fect the party's determi-  
nation to "follow the  
course we have char-  
tered for ourselves".

"We have received re-  
quests from many who  
want to join. The party  
will not suffer any set-  
back because of the res-  
ignations. If anything, we  
will grow stronger."



Chief Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN 10/1/83 11A

# 'Slap in the face' for blacks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says a statement by the U S State Department, appearing to favour the Labour Party move to co-operate with the government on its constitutional proposals, was a "slap in the face" for black South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said this

when he met Senator Nancy Kassebaum, Republican chairman of the Africa Affairs Sub-committee in the US Senate, in Ulundi at the weekend.

He said he could only assume this was a deliberate attempt by the U S to "holster" Pretoria.

In his view, the Labour Party had accepted the government's confederal policy of denying black

people all their rights to be inside South Africa and to take part in the government of the country.

Confederation meant so-called white South Africa would still occupy 87 per cent of the land mass and control virtually all the country's wealth.

The Labour Party had endorsed this type of future for South Africa and it was this endorse-

ment which the American State Department had acclaimed as a bold step in the right direction.

And the former editor of the Transvaler, Dr Willem de Klerk, said in his Sunday newspaper column yesterday that the decision by the Labour Party at Eshowe last week had been taken with strong reservations, which the

government would be foolish to ignore.

"It was a yes... but decision. And the 'but' is that all people, blacks included, must take part on all levels of government; that a unitary state is ideal, although negotiable; and that many of the National Party guidelines are not acceptable," he said.

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Buthelezi slams U S statement on Labour decision

# 'A slap in the face'

Mercury 10/1/83

11A

## African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says a statement by the U S State Department appearing to favour the Labour Party move to co-operate with the Government on its constitutional proposals is a 'slap in the face' for black South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi made this point when he met Senator Nancy Kassebaum, Republican chairman of the Africa Affairs Sub-committee in the U S Senate, in Ulundi at the weekend.

He said he could not express sufficiently his sense of dismay and could only assume

that this was a deliberate attempt by the United States to 'bolster' Pretoria.

In his view, the Labour Party had accepted the Government's confederal policy of denying black people all their rights to be inside South Africa and to take part in the government of the country.

Chief Buthelezi said the confederal system meant that so-called white South Africa would still occupy 87 percent of the land mass and control most of the country's wealth.

The other partners in the arrangement would comprise the 'pathetic, so-called mini-states' such as Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

The Inkatha president said the Labour Party had endorsed this type of future for

South Africa and it was this endorsement which the American State Department had acclaimed as a bold step in the right direction.

He said he was deeply concerned that the State Department at times showed political ineptness in its assessment of the South African situation. The latest U S Government statement was an example of a wrong assessment of the political position.

Chief Buthelezi said the recent raid into Maseru and the earlier raid into Maputo were tragic indications that there had been no fundamental change in South Africa.

Three top officials of Inkatha will meet members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States Congress in Cape Town today.

# Boycott politics a thing of the past for coloureds

IIA

Mercury

10/1/83

Boycott politics and the politics of confrontation may have worked in the past but they are no longer the appropriate strategy for the coloured community.

This, in essence, was the message delivered to the 350 delegates attending the epoch-making 17th congress of the Labour Party in Eshowe last week.

Both the national leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse and the national chairman, Mr David Curry, spelled out clearly the party's motivation for

for being within the system and working in the system to come out of their caves of shadows into the daylight of reality, the Labour leader declared.

On the same theme, Mr Gurry pointed out that when whites such as Mrs Helen Suzman used the system they were hailed as 'democrats'. 'But when

mitted delegates with his hard-hitting address which represented the summing-up of the views of those in the party who had opted for co-operation.

South Africa was irreversibly on the path of reform, he emphasised. 'We are going to be sitting there, forcing the pace of change'.

Political correspondents and analysts at the conference found it interesting that, while Mr Curry in his speech called for a five- or 10-year plan for the removal of statutory discrimination and influx control, no such provisos were built into the final resolution.

The motion was, in fact, milder than a previous resolution submitted by the Cape Peninsula region. There is no doubt that the final decision was to the leadership's liking.

It was not only Mr Curry's speech that had a profound psychological impact.

The structuring of the debate on the constitutional proposals favoured acceptance. Then there was the release, at an appropriate moment, of a nation-wide survey on the proposals conducted by party-secretary Frank Peters. This found that, of the 1 000 members polled throughout the country, 75 percent were of the opinion that the Government's constitutional plan could be a useful tool to bring about political reform in South Africa.

Former deputy leader

Norman Middleton 'kicked off' the discussion and was the chief protagonist of those who opposed the proposals. It was plain to all, however, that the opposition had not prepared its case well in terms of either logic or strategy.

Whether by accident or design the delegates who 'switched off' the audience the most were all strongly against the proposals. By contrast, quite a few of those in favour injected some much-needed humour into the proceedings.

The morning debate was like an emotional catharsis, with speaker after speaker articulating, in a highly-charged manner, the resentments and humiliations felt by the coloured people after decades of discrimination.

## Tide turned

Indeed, Mr Hendrickse conceded at a Press conference afterwards that he had been worried that the over-emphasis of past experience would lead to an emotional decision.

The afternoon proceedings, however, were entirely different. The tide started to run strongly in the direction of compromise and negotiation. The emotional 'trip' was over and it was time, in Mr Hendrickse's words, for the harsh light of reality.

Many delegates left the Eshowe Town Hall believing, rightly or wrongly, that they were leaving the 'cave' for ever.

By  
**Patrick Leeman**

deciding to opt for an 'open door' policy on negotiation regarding political rights for the nearly 3 000 000 coloured people in South Africa.

Speakers were loudly applauded when they reminded the audience that the Labour Party, with its avowed obstructionist tactics, had wrecked the Coloured Representative Council.

Mr Hendrickse, however, told the gathering in his opening speech that the time for protest politics had passed.

The regurgitation of clichés and the vociferous shouting of slogans, together with foamings and condemnations, were not enough.

'We want to say very clearly to those who condemn us and denigrate us

we use separate-development platforms we are stooges,' he said.

The national chairman said the Labour Party had used boycott tactics when they were necessary. 'We boycotted the President's Council because it was not an elected body but we think using the three-chamber Parliament is politically expedient.'

Mr Curry made it clear the Government's constitutional proposals did not measure up to the policy of the party, mainly because they excluded blacks. He said the party had nevertheless decided to take the risks involved.

'You must distinguish between policy and strategy,' he said. 'We are the key to change in South Africa.'

The chairman clearly swung the votes of uncon-

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

IT would be "idle speculation" to stipulate a definite date for the holding of elections to the coloured and Indian chambers of the proposed tricameral parliament, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, said last night.

He was reacting to a report in a Sunday newspaper yesterday, which predicted that elections to the two chambers would only be held after the introduction of the new parliamentary system, and that members of the two councils would be nominated as an interim measure.

The report anticipated that the white chamber would be the present House of Assembly and elections to the second and third chambers would not be held until the end of the life of the House of

11A ~~11A~~ RWH  
10/11/82

# No speculation on coloured elections

Assembly, which is not due until 1986.

The report was based on two premises:

- That the Prime Minister was anxious to get the new system off the ground as soon as possible.

- That he had no intention of holding an early election for the white chamber because of his fear of the Rightwing rebellion against his "reformist" plans.

Mr Heunis said of the anticipation that nominated MP's would sit in the

coloured and Indian chambers for an interim period "I have no comment whatsoever".

But he reaffirmed that legislation would be introduced in Parliament in the coming session providing for elections to the coloured and Indian chambers.

After that constituencies for them would have to be delimited and voters registered before the actual elections could be held.

"It would be idle speculation to tie myself to a specific date," Mr Heunis said.

The national chairman of the Labour Party, Mr David Curry, last night rejected any form of nomination to the coloured chamber, even as a temporary measure.

The Labour Party plans to engage the Government in genuine negotiations and wanted the legitimacy conferred by popular election right from the start, he said.

He warned: "Nominations will kill the new system. Nominations have an unfortunate history in the coloured community".

11/17/83 ( ) f. (11A)  
R.D.M.

# Soggot comes from Britain for SA trial

## Mall Reporter

A FORMER South African advocate who is now based in London is expected to arrive in South Africa this week to defend a Soweto man charged under the Terrorism Act.

Mr David Soggot will assist Mr George Bizos, SC, in the trial of Mr Harrison Noggekele, 26, of Soweto.

Mr Noggekele appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday. He was remanded in custody and will appear again on Friday.

He previously appeared with the banned journalist,

Joe Tlholoe, and seven others on charges of allegedly furthering the aims of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The separation of their trials was ordered at a previous hearing when Mr Noggekele appeared with Mr Tlholoe and the seven others who will be appearing for trial on March 22.

The instructing attorney Mr Sello Monvatsi told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday that he had arranged with Mr Soggot, who is based in England, to appear on behalf of

Mr Noggekele to assist Mr Bizos.

# is on ther



men- sanens village dug a hole in a river bed to get water  
nan but she was pushed away from her filled bucket by  
ara- some thirsty cows. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo

## icken farmers bankruptcy

the farmers' financial burden.

A spokesman for the National Maize Producers' Organisation said today that 15 percent of the country's crop had been destroyed and if no rain fell within the next week this figure could soar.

A South African Agricultural Union spokesman said State subsidies

have already been damaged or are just wilting in the heat.

Temperatures in the Transvaal today were expected to equal those of the past week.

The expected maximum for Johannesburg was 32 deg C and in Pretoria the temperature was climbing to 34 deg C. Nelspruit was heading for a temperature of

## Labour's target is Group Areas Act

By Anthony Dugan

The Labour Party will use its new power lever to try to negotiate Government concessions on the Group Areas Act, mainly in respect of the estimated 8 000 black people living illegally in Johannesburg's white flatland and suburbs.

In an interview yesterday the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader, indicated that issues arising from the application of the Group Areas Act would be high on the agenda in early meetings between his party and Government leaders.

### SUSPEND

"We will be asking the Government to stop all further proclamations of group areas and to suspend prosecutions under the Act," Mr Hendrickse said. The first meeting with Government leaders will be held next month and these issues could well be discussed then, he added.

The Government had steadfastly refused to suspend the Group Areas Act, but the Labour Party would now take up a negotiating stance on issues of its implementation, according to Mr Hendrickse.

The Labour Party is now in a strong negotiating position as a result of its willingness to test the Government's new constitutional arrangement, and a determined effort to use its muscle on behalf of blacks who move into "white" areas to escape the housing shortage could have dramatic implications in Johannesburg.

### EVICTION

According to Actstop, a community body assisting blacks prosecuted for living in "white" areas, there are now between 8 000 and 12 000 coloured people, Indians and blacks living illegally in Johannesburg flats and houses.

A Supreme Court decision last month, which effectively ruled that people convicted under the Group Areas Act should

## Schoolboy held for brutal attack

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A schoolboy has been ordered to be detained indefinitely for stabbing and sexually assaulting a teacher.

The 15-year-old boy tried to strangle the woman teacher with a handkerchief, he indecently assaulted her and stabbed her 19 times in the stomach.

After the attack he locked the 44-year-old music teacher in a storeroom where other teachers heard her cries for help an hour later, the Manchester Crown Court was told yesterday.

The boy was convicted of wounding with intent, indecent assault and robbing the teacher of R27.

The judge said he could find no reasonable explanation for the attack. He said the boy may be released once the authorities are satisfied he was safe to be freed.

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ern Transvaal some-  
rval between human  
Masemola of Mara-  
sanens village dug a hole in a river bed to get water  
but she was pushed away from her filled bucket by  
some thirsty cows. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo

# at-stricken farmers acing bankruptcy

peratives about the  
t effective relief  
sures.  
farmers are worried  
eir debts continue to  
ase.  
debtedness to the  
d Bank now tops  
million, three per-  
of which is arrears.  
ore than R1 200 mil-  
is currently owed by  
ers to the co-opera-  
.  
ore than R700 million  
is arrears.  
nother R400 million  
d to commercial  
ks further increases

the farmers' financial  
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A spokesman for the  
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toria the temperature  
was climbing to 34 deg C.  
Neisoruit was heading  
for a temperature of  
36 deg C while in Messina  
and Skukuza tempera-  
tures topped 40 deg C.  
A spokesman for the  
Pretoria Weather Bureau  
said an expected high-  
pressure area along the  
Natal coast tomorrow  
could bring some cooler  
air over the Eastern  
Transvaal.  
No relief in the form of  
rain could be expected,  
he said.  
● See Page 19.

## ran away with him

At the Station Hotel, Roodepoort.  
Mr G J P Scheepers (44), of Rosabil  
Court, Hillbrow, told ambulancemen he  
had a heart condition.  
When a fight broke out in the room  
he was in he did not want to get in-  
volved so he dashed out of a door.

use its new power lever  
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### SUSPEND

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### EVICTION

According to Actstop, a  
community body assist-  
ing blacks prosecuted for  
living in "white" areas,  
there are now between  
8 000 and 12 000 coloured  
people, Indians and  
blacks living illegally in  
Johannesburg flats and  
houses.

A Supreme Court deci-  
sion last month, which ef-  
fectively ruled that peo-  
ple convicted under the  
Group Areas Act should  
not be automatically  
evicted as part of their  
sentence, has partly re-  
moved the shadow hang-  
ing over those facing  
eviction from their  
homes because of prose-  
cutions under the Act.

But, says Mr Cassim  
Saloojee, chairman of  
Actstop, this court ruling  
has in some ways made it  
more difficult to fight  
evictions. "Now landlords  
● To Page 2 Col 4.

Crown Court said yesterday.  
The boy was convicted of wounding  
indecent assault and robbing the teacher  
The judge said he could find no rea-  
son for the attack. He said the boy  
le  
tc

# Labour looks at Areas Act

from page 3

have begun issuing their  
own eviction notices to  
black tenants. A move  
which we believe is the  
result of pressure from  
the authorities. We see  
the Supreme Court ruling  
as closing one door.

Mr Saloojee said he  
knew of 36 families af-  
fected by such a notice in  
one Johannesburg block.  
Similar action had re-  
cently been taken against  
black tenants in three  
other blocks "We believe  
the Government is pursu-  
ing the segregation of liv-  
ing areas as relentlessly  
as ever."

### EMPLOYMENT

He added that the flow  
of coloured and Indian  
people to Johannesburg  
was continuing unabated  
because the recession had  
driven them from other  
parts of the country to  
seek employment.

According to communi-  
ty leaders, more than  
10 000 families are wait-  
ing for houses in Johan-  
nesburg's coloured and  
Indian areas.

Giving evidence in a  
Group Areas case a year  
ago, an official of the De-  
partment of Community  
Development said that  
the accommodation back-  
log was such that houses  
were only then being al-  
located to coloured and  
Indian families who had  
applied nine years ear-  
lier.

● Mr Jac Rabie, chair-  
man of the Labour Party  
in the Transvaal, has  
called on his vice-chair-  
man, Mr Mahomed Dangor,  
to reconsider his de-

Mr Dangor, along with  
several other prominent  
coloured leaders, quit the  
Labour Party after its  
decision to take part in  
the new constitutional  
dispensation.

Mr Rabie said it ap-  
peared to him that  
pressure had been exerted  
on Mr Dangor to quit.  
Mr Dangor could not be  
reached for comment be-  
cause he is abroad.

# Labour guided by 'yes' in two opinion polls

## The reasons

In an interview with the Financial Mail, Mr Hendrickse answered questions on the Labour Party's standpoint:

been warned by blacks that they will be regarded as "sellouts" if they accept the proposals. How do you view these threats?

FM: Why have you decided to participate in the Government's proposed tricameral Parliament?

It is true that we have been called all kinds of names. It is also true that we have been warned, not only by blacks but by whites, of what would happen or what could happen. We believe that these threats are not real threats. They are the result of misunderstanding and we hope to clear the air in talks with some of those involved.

Hendrickse: We favour participation as a starting point to the question of enhancing the greater political participation and political rights for the coloured people and for the people not included in this particular tricameral structure.

Do you think it will be possible to draw blacks into the tricameral parliament in spite of the present Government position?

Do you believe the LP will be able to negotiate successfully over some of its more firmly held convictions from within the coloured chamber?

I don't see blacks participating in the tricameral structure as such. But our participation within the South African Black Alliance means that through us Saba is represented there.

This is our belief, hence our decision to participate within the structure. We do believe we will be able to negotiate from the position which we take up.

It has been suggested that the LP, through its participation, holds the key to meaningful change for all South Africans. Can you expand on this?

From your conditional support for the proposals it is clear that they are regarded as far from ideal. What do you regard as the major shortcomings?

This is true. We have our heritage from the whites as well as from the blacks. We are in a position to understand both. We do not have the fears of the blacks, nor do we have the fears of the whites. We believe that with our position of affinity to both sides, we certainly do hold a key position with regard to meaningful change.

We have stated emphatically in our resolution that the proposals cannot and do not meet with the ideal. Firstly, because Africans are not included in the structure. We say very clearly that no constitutional arrangement without the participation of the greatest number of people can guarantee us peace and security.

Coloured people have

By JERRY McCABE

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, approached the party's recent Eshowe congress with the knowledge that two different surveys had shown about 70% of coloureds favoured acceptance of the Government's constitutional proposals.

Speaking from his home in Uitenhage at the weekend, Mr Hendrickse said the most recent survey had been conducted by the Labour Party and the results had indicated that between 68% and 74% of coloureds found participation in the coloured chamber of the proposed tricameral parliament acceptable.

An earlier survey, conducted in Cape Town by a Natal University lecturer, showed 70% of coloureds supported the Government's proposed reforms.

Mr Hendrickse said that in the Labour Party survey a total of 1 500 questionnaires were sent out.

Thirty per cent of these had gone to Labour Party members selected at random, 50% of the remainder to coloured voters selected from the voters' roll at ran-

dom and the balance to people considered to be opinion-makers in the coloured community.

Since the party's controversial — and unexpected — move to co-operate with the Government, numerous telephone calls and telegrams had been received from people expressing support for the Labour Party.

Commenting on the storm of protest in the black community at his party's acceptance of the new constitutional proposals, Mr Hendrickse said he felt critics had perhaps been a little hasty in their condemnation.

"I think the response is over-hasty in a sense. I am aware most of the critics outside the Labour Party had not even bothered to read the contents of the whole resolution.

"This I think came about because they were asked for comment by the Press, and they responded without knowing what it all entailed."

He said that in fairness to him and his party, critics should approach the decision in "an unbiased and unemotional spirit", and they should take heed of the thoughts being put across.

"We haven't abandoned

Mr Hendrickse arrived home from Durban on Friday night and was up early on Saturday receiving telephone calls from supporters — one from as far afield as San Francisco in the United States.

Only one caller had expressed dissatisfaction with the Labour Party resolution, he said.

Mr Hendrickse indicated he intended going away for a two-week rest, but declined to say where he was going.

the struggle of the workers and are still representative of the grassroots.

"Eighty per cent of delegates to the Eshowe congress were workers representative of grassroots opinion," Mr Hendrickse said.

He regretted the resignations of several leading Labour members as some had previously played important roles in the running of the party.

"Here I think of a man such as Mohammed Dangor in the Transvaal."

Mr Dangor, Transvaal vice-chairman, announced his resignation on Friday.

"As far as Norman Middleton (former Natal leader) is concerned, it was obvious which way he was going when he stood down as national deputy leader of the party," Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Dangor's resignation had been more unexpected as he had participated in discussions with Mr Hendrickse and other party leaders in the Transvaal recently, and had given no indication of dissatisfaction with the direction in which the party was moving.

Two other prominent members who resigned were Mr Sam Soloman and Miss Louise Boesak.

"Mr Soloman's resignation was not really relevant as he has been living in Namibia for the past two years. Miss Boesak was obviously influenced by her nephew, Dr Allan Boesak," Mr Hendrickse said.

"The party did its homework and those who are unhappy perhaps did not do theirs," he added.

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11/1/83

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20

# Labour Party

## has exchanged

ARGUS 12/1/33 (112)

## frying pan for

## fire — writer

APRIL 1933

WASHINGTON. — A JOURNALIST who has written a paper column has been accused of being a member of the Party of "exchanging the frying pan for the fire."

Reflecting the views of many of his readers, Mr William Raspberry writes in the column that the party had accepted a motion for a parliament in which whites would remain sovereign.

This decision made sense only if it was based on the assumption that whites would retain control of South Africa indefinitely.

"But if major change — peaceful or otherwise — is as imminent as many observers believe, this decision may constitute exchanging the frying pan for fire."

Mr Raspberry said the Labour Party had vowed to continue to strike the deal made by blacks in the South African system.

"It's hard to see how I understand the general parliament, coloureds and whites, and legislation without white endorsement."

"And, while they have the treaty, they will block certain legislation, any measure that will be passed."

the white-ruled President's Cabinet, whose decision will be final.

"In truth, if the coloured and white leaders were interested in the future of the South African system, they might have done an effective job of getting white support managed to do it in the past several years."

"By buying the character of the national program, the only solution is participation in the government and the credit for the direction of the most marginal profits for themselves."



<sup>Stan</sup>  
Magistrate rules Keagile <sup>12/1/83</sup>  
statement is admissible <sup>11A</sup>

A Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate today ruled admissible as evidence a statement in which Miss Lilian Keagile admitted acting as a messenger and conveying money for the African National Congress.

The magistrate said Miss Keagile (25), of Molapo, Soweto, who is charged under the Terrorism Act, had not proved she made the statement involuntarily.

In the statement Miss Keagile said she acted as a courier for the ANC between Botswana and Soweto "because my husband became a member in 1980 and because I did not know I was doing wrong."

The statement said she brought

R2 000 to the South African Black Municipality Workers Union in 1981 and contacted people in Soweto for the ANC.

She said the statement was inadmissible because she was assaulted by Security Police and forced to make it.

A State witness in the trial refused to give evidence.

Mr Phillip Dhlamini, secretary of the South African Black Municipality Workers Union, said he refused to testify and would not give reasons because he was sick.

He will appear in court tomorrow after consulting a doctor and attorney.

The case is continuing.

● See Page 4



MR SAMUEL MTHOMBELA: Cannot get employment.

Pic by Solly Molotsi



MR ROBERT SOKA: Sacked because of being a political activist.

Pic by Solly Molotsi

# Employers turn men from the Island away

TWO former Robben Island prisoners have been left stranded for almost eight months because they cannot get jobs after being labelled "political activists" by bosses.

Mr Robert Soka (21) and Mr Samuel Mtombela (24), both of Emdeni, Soweto, also claim that the R50 subsidy which they received from the South African Council of Churches has been stopped.

Both were released from the Island during November 1981 after serving five years for sabotage arising from an explosion near the Inhlazane railway station.

Mr Soka told The SOWETAN yesterday that after his release he had been struggling to make ends meet by doing part-time jobs.

"I have on several occasions been sacked

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

from places of employment because the bosses called me a politician — apparently after learning that I was from the Island.

"I also find it difficult to get employment because whenever a prospective boss wants recommendations from my previous employer then this problem arises.

"I am stranded because I have a family — my mother and three young sisters to take care of. We live on the pittance we get from good samaritans," he said.

Mr Soka said for sometime he received R50 from the SACC, but this money, although not enough, was stopped.

Mr Mthombela also complained of not finding employment, and has received no promise of a job because he has been labelled "a politician from Robben Island".

Mr Tom Manthata of the SACC confirmed that the men's subsidy was stopped after six months. The subsidy was normally given to students and in some cases breadwinners to enable them to acclimatise themselves after serving a period in jail.

He encouraged the two men to approach the SACC if they had other problems.

13/1/83

Sowetan

11A

# Hendrickse 'would welcome referendum'

ARGUS 13/1/83

By HUGH ROBERTSON  
Political Staff

THE Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said today he would welcome a referendum among coloured people on participation in the Government's new constitutional plan.

But, he added, he would not make a formal request for one because as far as his party was concerned there was overwhelming support for its decision last week to take part in the three-chamber Parliament.

He was responding to a request last night by the chairman of the Indian Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, for a referendum in the Indian community on participation in the plan.

## Exclusively

In its negotiations with Indian leaders, the Government has dealt virtually exclusively with Mr Rajbansi and the Indian Council

There would thus be pressure on the Government to accede to their request for a test of opinion prior to the new constitution coming into effect.

Indeed, in a statement today, Mr Rajbansi implied that a referendum was tantamount to a pre-condition for Indian participation in the new scheme.

If the Government were to turn down the request, it would lose credibility among the Indian leaders it has been negotiating with.

And if it were to agree to an Indian referendum, it could hardly deny coloured voters the same privilege.

## No objection

In an interview today, Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party had no objection to a referendum and would welcome one.

"But, frankly, I think such an exercise would be unnecessary as far as the coloured community is concerned. I am satis-

fied that the outcome of the referendum would endorse our decision to go into this new plan.

"I am satisfied, too, that the Labour Party has broad and convincing support in the community. Our congress last week had representatives from every part of the country and from every walk of life.

"Furthermore, the opinion surveys undertaken by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of Natal University, and by our own party, show that we have substantial support and that there is overwhelming support for participation in the new constitutional plan."

## No doubt

Asked whether a referendum would not be a conclusive and desirable way of proving his claims, Mr Hendrickse said: "I would welcome one. I have no doubt which way the vote would go.

"But I am not going to make a formal request for one because as far as my party is concerned we are satisfied that we have overwhelming support."

He added that since the party's decision to go into the Government plan, there had been a spate of applications for party membership which far outnumbered resignations in protest against the party's decision.

"Since Eshowe I have had ordinary people come up to me in the street in Natal and the Cape to congratulate me. And, officially anyway, we have had only three actual letters of resignation."

He had spoken to one who had resigned, Mr Mohammed Dangor, former vice-chairman of the party in the Transvaal, who had given an undertaking to reconsider his decision.

Mr Dangor, an outspoken critic of the Government's proposals, left for a study visit to the United States yesterday and spoke to Mr Hendrickse hours before leaving.

# ANC airlifted out of Lesotho

ARGUS 13/11/83 (11A) 877 767  
Argus Africa  
News Service

MASERU. — More than 100 members of the African National Congress (ANC) were airlifted out of Maseru and flown to Maputo last week.

The airlift, conducted in secrecy from Lesotho's Leabua Jonathan Airport, lasted several days.

Observers have rejected suggestions of either South African or Lesotho Government pressure on the ANC, saying that the ANC hierarchy realised that Maseru was too dangerous after last month's South African Defence Force raid and went voluntarily.

Sources claimed they were flown to Maputo on at least six flights chartered by the ANC.

An unconfirmed report said the aircraft included Lesotho Paramilitary Force planes.

The airlift was completed days before a United Nations delegation arrived in Maseru to assess the damage caused in the raid.

It is reported from Harare that sources in the frontline states close to the outlawed ANC's external mission said today that the refugees flown out of Lesotho were in transit and due to leave the kingdom.

Their departure from Lesotho was hastened in the wake of the raid.

But the exodus did not represent a clampdown by the Lesotho Government or any souring of relations between Lesotho and the ANC, the sources said.



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*CAPE TOWN 13/11/83*

# Congressman's views on Labour move

**CANDIDATE MUST** enter in  
number of each question  
the order in which it has  
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**Staff Reporter**

MR CLEMENT Zablocki, chairman of the US House Foreign Affairs Committee, said yesterday he was "concerned" that the South African Government may have misinterpreted official American reaction to the Labour Party's (LP) decision to participate in the proposed tri-cameral parliament.



**Mr Clement Zablocki**

All answer books

Number of
Number of

Mr Zablocki, a Democrat from Wisconsin and leader of a ten-man US congressional delegation to South Africa and Zimbabwe, was addressing a press conference at D F Malan Airport. Soon after the Labour Party had taken its decision to participate in the new constitution, the US State Department commented that it supported the move as "part of the process of change".

Surname

First Name(s)

Date

Degree/Diploma you are registered for

Subject

(to be copied from the Examination Paper)

cerned that there is a misinterpretation of our position".

"The State Department response last weekend (to the Labour Party decision) was not an endorsement (of the constitutional proposals)".

It was "much too early" to comment on the Labour Party's decision and any comment would have to be withheld till further constitutional developments had taken place in this country.

He said that in his view, change in South Africa would be peaceful and that the "main desire of our government is to see peace and stability all

over the world".

In the course of the delegation's visit, they met, among others, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, a delegate from Inkatha, the national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, the PFP MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, and the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

The delegation lunched with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Pretoria yesterday before flying to Harare for the conference of the African-American Institute.

Internal	External
(2)	(3)
Examiners' Initials	

Paper No. *TWC*

(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

**NOTE CAREFULLY**

1. The answers only on the right hand pages will be marked. The left hand pages may be used for rough work, but no credit will be given for such work.
2. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
3. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
4. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

**WARNING**

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

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



ies who were left homeless yesterday when d a creche at the start of the new school term. ing under a blanket, prepares to feed three- brother, Kwandiwe, 3, dozes.

Picture: Ivor Markman

week after West Indies Cricket: Board chairman Alan Rae said that he should be praised publicly for rejecting the SA offer after he had denied involvement.

One Jamaican cricket correspondent said he found it difficult to believe that wicketkeeper David Murray, once a black power supporter, had accepted

At Lord's in London, Jack Bailey, secretary of the International Cricket Conference (ICC) was "in meetings and not available for comment."

But cricket officials admitted they were "badly shaken" by the scale of the SA coup.

A well-known cricket figure said: "It is obviously a coup for South Africa and they may even get their money's worth this time. This team will provide stiff opposition for the Springboks."

Peter Lush, marketing manager and press spokesman for the Test and County Cricket Board, said it may have to reconsider its attitude to contact with South Africa if reports of a rebel triangular West Indies, Springbok, England series prove

accurate. Mr Lush warned that the three-year test bans on Graham Gooch and the other English rebels could be extended.

The TCCB declined to comment on a request from the Anti-Apartheid Movement that the West Indians touring South Africa should be banned from playing in England in future and that all English players should be banned from visiting SA.

In an interview with the Daily Telegraph of London, British Minister of Sport, Neil MacFarlane, said there would be no attempt to ban individual South African sportsmen from playing in any event in Britain.

● Nine West Indies rebels were stranded in Madrid last night after flying there from Miami to avoid publicity in London.

The players are reported to include the tour assistant manager Gregory Armstrong, Clarke, King, Stephenson, Greenidge and Dereck Parry.

They found the Madrid-Johannesburg flight fully booked and, by late last night, attempts to get on it had not succeeded.

## road plan delay

dents who would be adversely affected by the scheme is a councillor and member of the committee, Vice-Admiral James "Flam" Johnson.

He added that one of the most popular amenities at St James, the road-side park, would be reduced to a strip of grass. In papers before the

# Azapo warns of boycotts

Staff Reporter

ANGRY black leaders yesterday described the West Indies cricket tour of South Africa as a "prostitution" and a "shameful, deceitful and supreme affront" to the majority of South Africans.

The Azanian Peoples Organization (Azapo) said: "The rebel tour is a supreme affront to the overwhelming majority of blacks in this country who are subjected to the worst system of exploitation and oppression."

Azapo, along with the Azanian Students' Organization (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), was in the forefront of opposition which led to the SAB soccer tour being aborted last year.

### Black boycott

Azapo warned that any public sponsors which emerged for the tour would face a black boycott of their products and bluntly told the West Indian cricketers they were enemies of the people of South Africa.

"They are helping to sustain and maintain a system which strips millions of blacks of their citizenship, uproots settled black communities and subjects them to the degradation of influx control," Azapo said.

The organization appealed to "progressive forces both within and without the country to join in the campaign ... to isolate South Africa"

The chairman of the South African Cricket Board, Mr Hassan Howa, cited a letter from team



Mr Hassan Howa

manager, Albert Padmore, and six other players to the Barbados Cricket Association, which said their decision to take part was based on their "respective economic positions and outstanding liabilities".

Mr Howa said this summed up the attitude of the team, which he described as "prostitution". "It's incredible — blacks here are shoved into reserves and left out of any meaningful political dispensation while they (the SACU) bring in blacks to play sport — that's not cricket, that's politics."

The South African Council on Sport (Sacos) slammed the tour as being "both deceitful and shameful".

The organization also asked from where the SACU was getting money to pay the cricketers, as the union had recently appealed for funding to pay members of the Sri Lankan rebel touring side.

Sacos suggested to SACU and "other collaborators" that it rather spend its funds on black housing, especially for squatters living in Crossroads.

## 5 soldiers to be buried together

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Five of the eight soldiers who died in a landmine explosion on the SWA/Namibian border last week are to be buried together tomorrow morning in the Security Forces Burial Acre in

It will be attended by the Free State Defence Force commander, Brigadier W.C Meyer, while 1 Parachute Battalion from Bloemfontein will form the guard of honour. Rifleman A Aboud, 22, of Virginia, will also be buried tomorrow but in

disturbed. The scientists are planning the reconstruction of the world.

- 6.00: Nuus
- 6.14: Atkv-Jeugdrama. Die Brief van translated Spanish drama was the Langenhoven High School in bed and by coincidence s en friends visit him at the s ducer Aida Young
- 6.37: Uit en Tuis. A magazine prog whole family.
- 7.20: Sterretjie. The comedy, drama that surrounds Judy, a young dent. Producer Jan Scholtz
- 8.00: News
- 8.28: Weather
- 8.40: The Loneliness of the Long Di Colm Smith's exceptional tale tance running makes him a pri of Borstal where he has been ing a bakery. But he is als young man, and as he practi race between Borsta and th school, he comes up with a s trov the pompous governor, w motives behind Smith's train
- 10.13: Portfolio. An arts magazine p sented by Roger Corfield.
- 10.42: News
- 10.57: Epilogue. The Rev Roger Vol

TV2

- 6.30: Umthungi Nesityebi. Umaki sela. The story is about a v who loves clothes and he goe lor in town who uses magic Eileen Thorns. Presenter Nor Ezabasha Jikelele (Youth Ne lzindaba/lindaba (News)
- 7.00: Jikelele (Magazine Programm Isikhumulo Sezindiza Saselori This programme deals with t at Heathrow Airport in Lond
- 9.00: lindaba/lzindaba (News)
- 9.25: Iphunga Elimnandi/Ezenkolo

## Last night's

TV1

SPORTS VISION featured a sport out of the usual run of things last night — powerboat racing

I find this programme offers an intelligent spread of sporting coverage, dealing with games which most viewers have participated in or can readily identify with, and occasionally offering something, for example, the much maligned show-jumping programme, which appeals to the sporting specialists.

WKRP, Wednesday night's usual comedy standby, was something of a let-down last night.

The story, revolving around Herb's drinking habits, was shallow and this particular episode would really have bombed without the wise-cracks of Bailey and the inimitable Mr Carlson

NEIL VEITCH

## Girl falls from mo

Staff Reporter A 17-YEAR-OLD Moorreesburg girl, Helene Lu train on 6 30pm: friend

# 100 from ANC quit Lesotho

11A  
~~11A~~  
Star  
13/11/83

By Pat Bulger,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

MASERU — More than 100 members of the African National Congress (ANC) were airlifted voluntarily out of Maseru last week and flown to Maputo.

The airlift, conducted in strict secrecy from Lesotho's Leabua Jonathan Airport, lasted several days, according to two well-placed independent sources.

But observers have rejected suggestions of either South African or Lesotho Government pressure on the guerilla movement. Rather, they say, the ANC hierarchy has realised that last month's SADF raid has made Maseru too dangerous a base from which to launch attacks on South African targets.

It is widely believed that Maseru will in future be used as a transit point for would-be guerillas bound for Maputo. The sources claimed the ANC members were flown to Maputo on at least six unscheduled flights. According to an unconfirmed report, two Lesotho Paramilitary Force (LPF) aircraft were among those used in the operation. All the flights were apparently chartered by the ANC.

Observers say the evacuation suits both the ANC and the Lesotho Government which, while reluctant to be seen to be bowing to South African pressure, does not want Maseru to become a regular SADF target.

They are divided on what extent the evacuation will hamper the ANC's campaign, but they agree that it is a temporary setback, and add that the raid has strengthened the movement's resolve.

They feel it has also strengthened the ANC's hand in its battle against the rival Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) by the widespread interpretation that the raid proved that the ANC and not the PAC is the South African Government target.

The airlift was completed days before a top-level United Nations delegation arrived in Maseru to assess the full damage caused by the raid.

Asked why the Lesotho Government had not publicised the evacuation to bolster its claims that it will allow the ANC a peaceful presence only, a diplomatic source said the government would not want to be seen to be clamping down on the ANC.

"There are so many South African spies in Lesotho that the South African Government probably knows all about it without being told officially," the source said.

The UN mission, which is being led by the under secretary-general in charge of special political questions, Mr Abdulrahim Abby Farah, will report on ways to ensure the safety of more than 10 000 South African political refugees in Lesotho.

# Would-be terror recruits jailed

Two men arrested on their way to Lesotho for military training were jailed for three years by the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday.

Samuel Thabo John Lerumo (19) of Zone 1, Meadowlands, and Akila Mogale Mapheto (21), address not given, were found guilty of participating in terrorist activities.

They pleaded not guilty and will lodge an appeal.

The magistrate said

that in terms of the Internal Security Act of 1982 he no longer was bound to impose a minimum sentence of five years for terrorism.

He said the men were young "amateur terrorists" who intended fighting the Government, but had not managed to get in touch with any terrorist organisation.

They were arrested on November 11 1981.

They were remanded pending an appeal.



Monday, January 13, 1983

# SAIC to present view on Govt proposals

11A ~~7/2/83~~ Mercury 13/1/83

## Mercury Reporter

THE South African Indian Council's constitutional sub-committee meets under a cloak of secrecy in Durban today to present its recommendations on the Government's planned three-chamber parliament.

The public and Press would be barred from the meeting and no Press statement would be issued after it, the meeting's executive chairman, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said yesterday.

The SAIC's executive leaves for Cape Town tonight to hold talks with Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, tomorrow. Mr Rajbansi said the meeting was part of an 'on-going' discussion with the minister.

The ruling group in the council, the National Peoples Party, also met behind

closed doors yesterday and in a statement afterwards, its leader, Mr Rajbansi, said the NPP wished to give the proposals for constitutional reform a fair trial provided it obtained a 'yes vote' from the Indian community by means of a referendum.

'The party further requires a commitment from the Government that the new constitutional arrangement is a starting point to the general acceptability of future constitutional arrangements, irrespective of the model, by all sections of South Africa's multiracial community.'

In the meantime discussions with the Government in regard to the removal of discriminatory legislation and practises, such as the Group Areas Act, or the declaration of intention to do so would be continued.

He added: 'In this respect we object very strongly against the continued retention of legislation which prohibited Indians from free movement through the Orange Free

State and certain parts of Northern Natal.'

The leader of the opposition Democratic Party, Mr Jayantilal Bhailal Patel, is on holiday overseas, but a spokesman, Mr Ismail Patel, said the party believed that it had no mandate from its electorate to commit the Indian community.

'Although we have been elected on to the council by 10 percent of the voters we still have a right to go back to them to seek a mandate before accepting the new constitutional reform plans.'

He said his party would be meeting Mr Heunis in Cape Town on January 26.

'We will inform the minister that unless the Government gave us an undertaking to repeal discriminatory legislation, including the Group Areas Act, hold a referendum among Indians to gauge their support or rejection of the proposals and include blacks in the new dispensation, my party will not support the proposals.'

## 'United front' call against proposals

### Mercury Reporter

A MEETING is to be organised as soon as possible to co-ordinate the nationwide activities of a 'united front' of all organisations, black and white, opposed to the Government's constitutional proposals.

This was said yesterday by Mr Norman Middleton, former deputy leader and Natal chairman of the Labour Party.

Mr Middleton tendered his resignation from the Party after its annual congress in Eshowe last week when it passed a resolution in favour of co-operation with the Government on

the constitutional plan.

Other well-known figures who have lent their support to the 'united front' idea are the vice-chairman of the Newlands East Residents Association and former Natal Labour Party member, Mr Virgil Bonhomme, and the chairman of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr. Allen Boesak.

Mr Middleton said he hoped the groups concerned in the campaign would sink their political differences and emphasised that, as far as he was concerned, time was running out to implement a concerted, nationwide effort to oppose the plan.

Mr Abdul Rahim Farah — foreground — arrives in Maseru as part of a six-man UN delegation to assess the raid damage and Lesotho's position, as receiver of refugees.

Picture: MIKE PITRO

14/11/83



ROM

# Maseru — a month

## after SANDF's raid



**CHRIS MARAIS** visits Lesotho and reports on its fragile relationship with South Africa.

and give the country more legitimacy to receive and give sanctuary to refugees from South Africa.

The delegation leader, Mr Abdul Rahim Farah, flew in on Tuesday and is spending the week consulting with refugee leaders, Lesotho Government representatives and touring houses gutted during the raid.

In the short term, appeals for aid from the international community will benefit the landlocked country's struggling economy.

But in the long term?

Once the international community has flown away, there are again two players in this field of crisis diplomacy: Lesotho and South Africa.

Until these two countries come to some accord and solve their mutual insecurities, relations will continue in bitterness and suspicion.

Ntshu Mochhele, went into self-exile in Zambia. The man — whose credentials could not be checked — said King Moshoeshoe was going to the United Nations to speak on behalf of the ANC, not the people of Lesotho.

Lesotho has linked the BCP and the South African Government in the past, claiming that the external wing of the BCP enjoys support from across the border.

And now, in the midst of all these words, a six-man delegation from the United Nations has arrived to assess the damage in Maseru

buses for the ANC in Lesotho, does their mere presence in that country justify an invasion for a day from South Africa?

In the midst of these claims and counter-claims a strange call was patched through to the Daily Mail newsdesk some weeks ago.

It came from a man who claimed he was a spokesman for the Basuto Land Congress Party.

The BCP has been engaged in a low-intensity battle against the Lesotho Government for more than two decades, and its leader,

THE bars of soap are wrapped, the shower works and the hotel room is spacious. A modernistic landscape hangs from the pastel wall, and room service comes with a warning to leave the tray out afterwards.

Room 329 overlooks a very deep pool, and in the mornings a fat man comes out to swim a constitutional two laps.

Beyond that, in the valley, lies Maseru. For the Philadelphia-tanned tourist, Maseru — seen from the sliding windows of an international hotel for two days — can be a quaint experience.

Buy beads in the street, visit some of the sandbrick buildings, tug at the coin bandit and read the history of Lesotho from the back of a restaurant menu.

Then whisk out via the tiny airport, where the departure lounge sports a sign saying:

"South African Airways wishes you a merry festive season!"

No harm, no foul. Also, no gritty aftertaste in the mouth to tell of a bad experience.

But Maseru, the size of a downscaled Grahamstown, is in the grip of a bad experience.

Yessir, just more than a month ago there were soldiers in the streets and explosions in the night.

The morgue at the Queen Elizabeth II Hospital — you can see it from your window — took in 42 bodies on December 9.

Since then the bodies have been laid to rest ... but the experience of that night has not.

The South African Defence Force raid into Maseru is now the apex of a war of words that has left even the most astute Southern African propagandists gasping for more inspiration.

Receiving media news in Maseru can be confusing.

South African newspapers resound with statements from our political, military and security chiefs identifying many of the dead as wanted ANC men who were bent on introducing terror into the South African festive season.

They provide names of some of the dead, complete with case histories and former arrests.

They also express their regret at the "unfortunate" deaths of the Lesotho nationals who died "in the crossfire".

In the month that follows the raid, the letters pages of all the major newspapers in South Africa carry the views of readers on the raid.

It becomes a tug o' war of opinion, and there is no clear line of resolution on the matter.

The SABC, which you can pick up on television in Maseru, follows the line.

But switch off the TV sound for a minute to listen to the local radio news and another world of opinion comes through.

Were they talking about the same raid? Maseru holds strong in its decision to continue to remain a receiver of refugees.

It denies that the ANC holds military bases in its country, instead, it states that many of the people killed were South African refugees living openly in the town suburbs with their Basotho neighbours.

Whether they were active or not, there can be no doubt that the majority of the dead were ANC members.

That becomes ultimately true when, at the burial ceremony, the flags of the ANC are draped over 27 coffins and ANC leader — Oliver Tambo — takes a last walk of sorrow past the boxes.

The issues go further. If, indeed, there were no military training

IIA 3027A FM 14/1/83



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Wrab's Knoetze ... 'There must be one administration' FM

ernment on the proposed constitution. On the face of it a referendum of the 850 000 strong community seems the most reasonable way of reaching a decision.

This is what Amichand Rajbansi, executive chairman of the SA Indian Council (SAIC), says he wants. Rajbansi intends raising the matter when he meets Constitutional Affairs Minister, Chris Heunis, in Cape Town today (Friday). The Anti-SAIC Committee, which agrees with Rajbansi on little else, also wants a referendum.

The SAIC is generally acknowledged to be unrepresentative, having been elected on a 10% voter turnout in November 1981. Two Indian members of the President's Council (PC), Ismail Kathrada and Mahmou Rajab, believe the SAIC is not the place for Heunis to seek a binding Indian commitment. Former PC member, Pat Poovalingam, who applauds the coloured Labour Party's decision, points out that an HSRC survey last year found that 57% of Indians favoured participation. He reckons the true figure may be 70%.

Rajbansi tells the FM he is also due to meet KwaZulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi to discuss Indian participation in the new constitution. Although Buthelezi says he does not "prescribe" to Indians (or the coloureds) he has warned of the possibility of racial friction developing between Africans and Indians should the latter co-operate in a system which excludes Africans.

Buthelezi's use of the homelands system as a base from which to pursue non-homeland ideals is essentially the same strategy moderate ethnic parties claim to be using. Labour intends using the new system to call for repeal of the Group Areas Act and is maintaining its stance that ultimately SA must have "one-man-one-vote in a unitary state."

The Inkatha leader obviously does not see Labour's rejection of protest politics in favour of a "platform for negotiation" in the same light as his use of the KwaZulu legislature.

For Indians, especially those in Natal, the warning of racial friction is a potent factor. The Buthelezi Commission survey last year found that most Indians (and coloureds) feared antagonising Africans by accepting franchise rights which excluded the majority.

Yelman Chinsamy, leader of the Reform Party — a member of the SA Black Alliance (SABA) with Inkatha and the Labour Party — says Indians in Natal will "have to think twice because things could explode... our salvation here is with the blacks."

Chinsamy, who maintains close touch with Buthelezi, denies that his party exists in name only (as is widely believed) and claims a membership of 4 000. He tells the FM that the question of participation has been referred to political scientists for assessment of the "advantages and disadvantages." A report is expected shortly. The party will then place the matter before a SABA meeting on February 18 before

delivering its verdict and advice to the Indian community.

The most left-leaning party in the community, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), together with the Transvaal-based Anti-SAIC Committee, can probably claim a support base of about 25% of the Indian community. Surveys have shown the NIC to have the strongest following of any single party in Natal, although Rajbansi constantly refers to the "silent majority," suggesting that they would favour his brand of politics

Radical rejectionist groupings such as the Durban Housing Action Committee, draw wide support over specific bread and butter issues

Whether this translates into acceptance of the full platform of such groups is an open question. In any event, these groups will in principle have no truck with a "separatist" Parliament and its exclusion of the black majority. They will campaign against accepting the new constitution.

Anti-SAIC Committee chairman, Essop Jassat, is in favour of a referendum (in which he will campaign for a "no" vote) and does not see much use in fielding even "boycott candidates" for the mooted third chamber. He doubts, however, that government will agree to a referendum.

ple, the fire station, Orlando Stadium and the majority of clinics are in our area, plus the electrical headquarters and all the main stations. Soweto has to pay for all this, so service charges in Soweto are higher than in Diepmeadow or Dobsonville."

On the other hand, the two smaller councils feel their areas have been treated as secondary and that unification will entrench that. They argue that Randburg, Sandton, Germiston and Alberton run separate municipalities while sharing essential services like electricity and sewerage.

Dobsonville's Mashoa told the FM: "Our council is totally opposed to unification. We feel that since Dobsonville was taken over from Roodepoort by Wrab in 1973 we've been unfairly treated. Conditions in Dobsonville have deteriorated tremendously. With the inception of the Black Local Authorities' Act we could become self-sufficient and completely viable, as before the takeover. If our assets — a sorghum brewery, a maintenance depot, petrol storage facilities — were given back, we'd be economically viable."

Diepmeadow's Mahuhushi complains: "Wrab doesn't give us financial details. They're not getting less powerful, but more, though their people are becoming part of the council administration."

There also seems to be considerable hostility on the part of councillors towards Knoetze's administrative style. It looks as though sparks will be flying before November this year.

## THE CONSTITUTION Indian referendum?

Unlike the coloureds, SA's Indians have no reasonably representative political party to decide whether to co-operate with gov-

# Welcome, Indians

7 or so years ago in South Africa s played cricket with whites in vincial or Springbok teams. It was and the custom. Apartheid was at se, undefeated.

neant South African teams did not West Indies, India or Pakistan. It stop their playing with England, and New Zealand - until people d in fighting apartheid began cam- g against sports contacts with ricans.

onical that at a time when South ricket has abandoned apartheid it h more violently opposed by anti- l groups and others than when it antly and unashamedly racialistic.

s of course South Africa itself its international contacts for six 7 when the Vorster Government asil D'Oliveira from touring here MCC in 1967-68.

irony. D'Oliveira was happy to e for nothing. Now we're so keen oreign players that we pay huge lure them here. And the blacker the better.

d and the other "white" countries play South Africa because they ibutive boycotts from the black But the latest teams to breach the f South Africa are all black.

n unhappy circumstance that a ies team — so long wanted by ican cricket players and fans — visiting this country in defiance hes of people in the local commu- well as anti-apartheid groups t reflects the tragic divisions in ty. Nonetheless we welcome the ans warmly.

be a matter for argument that

# A political heritage betrayed

*W/L ARGUS IS 11/85*

*11A*

By EDGAR MAURICE

THE political struggles of the so-called Coloured people have for a long time been marked by the sharp division between those who choose to work within the system, and those who see no merit and, indeed, real danger in doing so.

Those against have always had the upper hand.

### Difference in method

The "system coloured" frequently aver that they share the aims of their opponents, and that the only difference is in method and means.

Often, of course, this is no more than a convenient rationalisation to hide the very real personal benefits they receive, and the petty privileges they enjoy.

Over the last 40 years there has been a whole series of Government-created bodies which have provided homes for the collaborators — the original Coloured Advisory Council, the Union Council for Coloured Affairs, the notorious CRC, and the abortive Coloured Persons Council.

### Stripped of rights

During the life-time of these bodies the coloured people have been stripped completely of all vestige of rights in their own country. A catalogue of woes is hardly necessary.

If, therefore, one is to judge the strategy of working within the system by the simple test of results, there is only one answer. It has failed utterly to stop the loss of rights, even if, to be kind, it has not been a party to it.

And now the Government, which has been responsible for some of the most despicable legislation in the history of this country, has come along with a "new dispensation" for some of the victims of its policies and practices.

### Within the system

And has invited them once again to work within the system.

It seems as though the Government really believes that all the

deep-seated bitterness that has for so long filled the hearts and minds of people will suddenly disappear at their announcement of a new deal.

Many of the details of the proposals are still unknown.

### Secret meetings

But the broad outlines are clear enough to anybody who has studied the three reports of the President's Council, the two Hansards of its sittings, the guidelines and pamphlets issued by the Government, and the many speeches that have been made. (And knows what happened at the secret meetings that have been held.)

There can be no question but that the proposals entrench racism and race classification, that they continue the policy of apartheid in social, educational and political affairs, and that they perpetuate white (Afrikaner) hegemony.

In all these ways, they fly in the face of all the well-known demands of the so-called coloured people over several generations. Their acceptance is no more than the basest betrayal of a very proud political heritage.

Much has been said, quite rightly, about the exclusion of the African people. But would they really want to be included on these terms?

### Day of reckoning

Bishop Tutu has spoken of "the day of reckoning" and Chief Buthe lezi has referred to "second class enemies".

The threats are altogether unjustified. Because it is not a question of colour. And large sections of the coloured community share their feelings about those who collaborate on these terms, whether they be coloured, Indian or African.

### Fateful decision

It is against this background that the Labour Party has cast aside all previous insistence on a national convention of acknowledged leaders, and has taken its fateful decision to work inside the system.

And once again we have been told that it is not a difference of objective, but merely of the means to achieve the end.

There is ample evidence to show that no coloured or Indian chamber

will be able to alter such things as race classification, group areas, separate voters rolls and Coloured Affairs Department — all of which are anathema to the coloured people

And all of which the National Party is determined to preserve. Indeed, they are the very stuff of which the "new dispensation" is made.

### Non-racial aims

It follows that any party which "goes inside" and also claims to share the non-racial aims of others, can have only one purpose: to break down the whole structure

It is naive in the extreme to believe that the new tricameral parliament can be brought to an end in the way the CRC was terminated, by simply refusing to pass a budget. It is quite a different kettle of fish

In any case, that sordid affair took 10 tragic years. Are we to wait another 10 years, or more, to get back to square one?

### Fresh dynamic

The coming period will add a new dimension and a fresh dynamic to the politics of South Africa. And it will provide an excellent opportunity for the rising generation of young progressive leaders to show their mettle, and to win public support for the principles of non-racialism.

The Eshowe decision will, of course, have to be brought to the people at meetings and from public platforms. Speeches and votes of confidence and no-confidence, and all the accessories of the hustings will become the order of the day. Those standing for election will use every available means to get the votes.

Boycotting election means far more than staying away from the polling booths. It is far from a passive, negative political technique

Its success depends on leadership, organisational ability, planning and political drive. But it can make very plain the will of the people

# Mystery over Lesotho raid protest letter

By CHRIS MARAIS

MYSTERY surrounds a protest letter signed by 19 Canadian doctors who claimed that information released about the recent SA Defence Force raid on Maseru was inaccurate.

Initial reports published in the Rand Daily Mail a fortnight ago indicated that the group of doctors were living in Lesotho and had first-hand knowledge of the raid.

The story emanated from Ottawa, Canada.

A Mail team sent to investigate the protest found there are only two Canadian doctors working in Maseru at present.

It was established that the letter, sent to the Canadian Department of External Affairs protesting over the "inaccurate" portrayal of the raid to the rest of the world, could have been sent by Canadian doctors who had at one stage worked in Maseru.

The letter said South African soldiers had deliberately shot peaceful refugees in their beds and murdered women and children.

The doctors addressed the letter to Canadian External Affairs Minister Mr Allan

MacEachen but asked that their names should not be made public because they feared South African reprisals that could endanger Canadian aid programmes in Lesotho.

A Canadian Government spokesman said the government had not yet indicated what action it would take on the letter.

A Lesotho medical administrator said this week there were only two Canadian doctors working in Lesotho at present.

One worked for the Flying Doctor Service. The other, Dr A Menzies, worked at the Queen Elizabeth II Hospital, where the bodies were taken after the raid. Dr Menzies was not on duty that night.

"I have no knowledge of the letter and no first-hand experience of the raid," he said.

The local official said it appeared the letter had been compiled by Canadian doctors who had once worked in Lesotho.

He confirmed that relatives of raid victims had initially not all identified themselves to the government but they were now doing so.

# Natal Indian Congress will talk to Govt if ...

15/1/83 (11A)  
RDM

Mall Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Natal Indian Congress, an ardent opponent of apartheid, is prepared to negotiate with the Government to bring about change by peaceful means, provided certain "very stringent" and "non-negotiable" preconditions were met, according to Professor Jerry Coovadia, acting chairman of the NIC.

He said these included the dismantling of apartheid, the release of political prisoners, the repeal of repressive legislation, the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, and the abolition of the migratory labour system and bantustans.

He was commenting on the decision by the National People's Party — the majority party in the South African Indian Council — to support the new constitutional proposals but on certain preconditions.

"NPP's decision is a cynical manoeuvre to gain credibility among the Indian people," he said, adding that the SAIC did not represent the Indian community.

Replying to the NIC attack, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the NPP and chairman of

the SAIC executive, said: "This is typical kite-flying of the NIC".

"The NIC must explain to South Africa that since when has it become the mouthpiece of the people. How many people from the community elected them as the representative of the Indian community?"

The Rand Daily Mail correspondent in Cape Town reports that members of the SAIC held extensive discussions with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Cape Town yesterday.

After a meeting lasting more than two hours, Mr Rajbansi said "all points" were raised.

These included the question of the removal of discriminatory laws, the creation of a black chamber in the proposed parliament, and the possibility of a referendum or any other means of getting positive reaction from the Indian community.

Certain proposals were being "considered", he said.

Mr Heunis will meet the NPP again next month.

Post Focus

THE decision by the Labour Party to participate in the new constitutional system is likely to open a floodgate of similar responses from various political groupings in the Indian and coloured communities.

Political analysts are predicting that the proposed coloured chamber of Parliament could have as many as six parties represented and the Indian chamber double that number.

Scores of parties ranging from splinter groups to national organisations could participate in the elections for the two chambers.

Apart from the political parties that actually contest the elections there are likely to be a large number of outside pressure groups campaigning for a boycott of the new constitutional proposals.

All this will lead to a proliferation of parties and personalities, although the relative strengths of the parties and the extent of community support for the constitutional proposals will only become fully apparent when elections are held.

Here are some of the more important present political groupings in the coloured and Indian communities:

**Labour Party.** The LP held its watershed 17th annual congress two weeks ago. It has a long history of opposition to the apartheid policies of the Government but its strategy of using Government-created structures to achieve its ends has often made it a target for

# Labour nod for Govt plans

11A  
E-Post  
15/1/83



The Rev ALLAN HENDRICKSE



Mr DAVID CURRY

# may open floodgate

By BRIAN POTTINGER, Political Correspondent

more militant political groupings in the black community.

The LP claims its most significant success so far has been the collapse of the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CRC) after Labour had fought and won majority control of the hated institution.

Labour also participated in the local government management committee system with the intention of collapsing the bodies and bringing about direct par-

ticipation on city councils.

The leadership has in the past walked a tricky path between using apartheid institutions for tactical ends and running the risk of being accused of "selling out".

Two previous leaders of the LP — Mr M D Arendse and Mr Soany Leon — were edged out of their positions after entering into negotiations with the Government on constitutional issues.

Mr Leon himself was unseated in 1978 by a "militant" triumvirate of the

Reverend Allan Hendrickse, Mr David Curry and Mr Norman Middleton, after Mr Leon had expressed himself in favour of the Government's old three-parliament system.

A committee established by the Labour Party under one of its members, Mr Les du Preez, came out strongly against the three-parliament system and warned that consensus should be reached among all South Africans before a new constitution could be

put into effect.

The LP suffered a number of defections, including those by Mr Leon and Mr Arendse, in bitter disputes that surfaced after the LP decided it would boycott the proposed nominated Coloured Persons Council (CPC) which was intended to replace the collapsed CRC.

In Eshowe two weeks ago, however, Mr Hendrickse and Mr Curry won the support of the LP congress to participate in

the Government's new "three-chamber" system, and Mr Middleton bowed out.

In its history the LP has stood uncompromisingly in favour of a one man, one vote system in a unitary state (or a negotiated federal structure) with black South Africans included.

While the party leadership sees the decision at Eshowe as a question of tactics to achieve the above ends, its more militant elements, led by former dep-

uty leader Mr Middleton, sees participation in a racially-divided constitutional system as a compromise of basic LP principles.

The critical issue now is what support the LP still enjoys in the coloured community.

**Freedom Party.** The FP, now under the leadership of Mr Charles Julies, derives from the old Federal Party formed by Dr Willie Bergins. The FP won fewer seats than the LP in the 1969 CRC first general election but gained majority control of the CRC after it was packed with Government nominees.

The renamed Freedom Party lost the 1975 CRC elections hands down.

The FP has already expressed itself in support of the new constitutional proposals.

**Congress of the People.** Cope was formed as a semi-political movement in September 1980 under the guidance of Mr Lofty Adams, a former LP member and at present a President's councillor.

At its congress in Knysna this month Cope opted to convert to a fully-fledged political party and elected Mr Peter Marais its leader.

It opted to participate in the new constitutional system provided a number of conditions were met by the Government.

**The Middleton Group.** A group of dissident LP members who left after the Eshowe congress in protest against the party's decision to participate in the new

# More may follow Labour Party

From Page 1

constitution are reportedly in the process of forming a new party.

Key figure in the new group is Mr Norman Middleton, a former deputy leader of the party and Natal representative. Other people mentioned in the new group include Mr Sam Solomon, former Transvaal leader; Mrs Louise Boesak, aunt of the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches; Dr Alan Boesak; Mr Eric Lucas, Natal LP leader, and Mr Mohamad Dangor, Transvaal vice-president.

The Community Groups. Under this broad heading are a number of community organisations and their umbrella bodies. One of the biggest is the Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) which has already denounced the proposed constitutional system. During its fights against Group Areas removals and on other community issues these organisations have built up substantial grassroots support which could be mobilised against the new proposals.



Mr M D ARENDESE

Reform Party. The RP, under the leadership of Mr Yellun Chinsamy, emerged as the dominant party in the old South African Indian Council. Its party platform is essentially similar to that of the LP and it became one of the founder members of the South African Black Alliance together with Inkatha, Kangwane and the LP.

In September 1980 the RP was shaken by the mass defection of eight members leaving it a minority group. The walkout was led by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, a former Durban Local Affairs Committee member and at



Mr SONNY LEON

the time the public relations officer for the RP.

Several of the RP members who left with him were subsequently to join the President's Council.

The RP decided to boycott the SAIC elections in November 1981. The party still retains its membership of the Black Alliance but its constituency strength and approach to the new constitutional proposals following the LP decision are still uncertain.

National People's Party. The NPP is the majority party in the SAIC with approximately 30 representatives. Party leader is Mr

Amichand Rajbansi, presently the chairman of the SAIC.

The NPP decided this week to support the new constitutional proposals.

Democratic Party: A minority party in the SAIC led by Mr J B Patel. It is also expected to participate in the new constitutional proposals.

Natal Indian Congress. The NIC is a veteran political organisation whose existence dates back to Ghandi's days and links to the other great congress movements such as the ANC and PAC.

Although the NIC was not banned like the other organisations, many of its foremost leaders have gone into exile.

The NIC created the Anti-SAIC Committee which waged a highly successful campaign against the November elections, resulting in very low polls of between 10% and 20%.

Still a powerful force in the Indian political community, the NIC could be expected to mobilise significant opposition to the new proposals.



# Azapo president sees 1983

## as a year of challenges

16/1/83

MANY challenges await us in 1983. In the political arena P W Botha seems prepared to spare no effort in forcing his so-called constitutional reforms down our throats.

Some people within the oppressed camp seem prepared to sacrifice their long-term happiness in free Azania for a short-term, myopic "privilege of expression" in white parliament.

The recent Labour Party congress at Eshowe should be viewed in a very serious light. The fact that the party's leadership is prepared to be co-opted into the Government camp should not be viewed as representative of the community as a whole.

### Rainbow

If the collaborators have decided to follow their anticipated rainbow, let the masses be redeemed from such reactionary leadership.

The President's Council can only work if some people are prepared to man such structures whilst we the community are prepared to let them have a good time folding our arms with no resistance at all.

Azapo commends the stand taken by the Labour Party members who resigned from the party after realising that one cannot dine with the devil without soiling one's hands.

Mr Khehla Mthembu, the President of Azapo, has issued this New Year message to Golden City Press. Mr Mthembu sees 1983 as a year of challenges in which the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha "will not spare any effort to force his so-called constitutional proposals down our throats."

Azapo shall always keep her doors open to repentant people who want to participate meaningfully in the liberation struggle and who show this by resigning from Government-created institutions.

### Loaded

It is never too late to mend one's way of life.

Still on the political note, the Government is tightening the screws on the so-called urban black. The Orderly Movement Bill is one of the most draconian laws ever mooted in Parliament.

It is true that the dice seems loaded against the oppressed masses in this country, but with all of us committed to programmes of liberation I am sure we can change that.

### The right

1983 is the year where we should fully assert ourselves and make our demands categorically clear and simple. Perhaps we have been too complicated for the Government to understand our expressions, otherwise how does one explain the unprecedented generosity of Dr Piet Koornhof in giving away part



Mr Khehla Mthembu... the recent Labour Party congress at Eshowe should be viewed in a very serious light.

of the Azanian soil to a foreign country?

Every inch of the Azanian soil belongs to the people and it is the people who have the right over it.

On the local affairs, people need to be reminded that David Thebehali and his fellow-travellers postponed their elections last year to 1983 to accommodate the promised "improved" legislation for local management.

Once more let it be known that we, the masses, do not recognise the community councils, management

committees, and other similar structures.

The people serving in them are serving their masters, and not the community.

There can never be any meaningful local management / government without any effective say in the central governing processes.

I appeal to all those serving in such collaborationist structures to relieve themselves of those positions.

### Toothless

The people should know that the Government's tactics are toothless without the assistance of the oppressor to man them.

Anybody who volunteers himself to sell his people and serve the interests of the oppressor puts himself at an opposing position to the aspirations of the masses.

What the people want is the total rejection of the oppressive and exploitative system and its replacement by a just, people-orientated system of rule.

We want to urge the masses to forge ahead with all projects and programmes that shall unify all black progressive forces.

The Azanian People's Organisation is throwing its doors open to all freedom loving patriots to rally around the banner of black consciousness.

(This is an edited version of Mr Mthembu's statement.)

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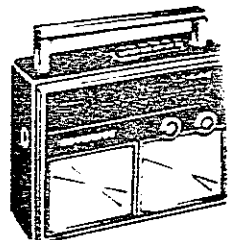


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16/1/83

# Coloured groups aim at election boycott

JOHANNESBURG — coloured political and community organisations have launched an Anti-SAIC-style campaign against Labour Party support for Government reforms.

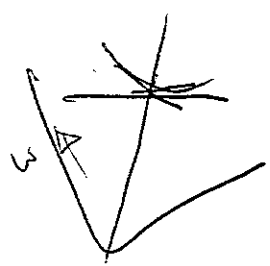
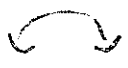
The campaign, launched in Western Township on Friday night, aims at mobilising opposition to coloured participation in the President's Council, and for a total boycott of PC elections in October.

A seven-man local anti-PC ad-hoc committee was elected by about 80 political, trade union and student representatives at Friday's meeting.

The committee plans to dissolve in two months, a spokesman told GCP, after linking up with anti-PC movements in other regions to form a national opposition organisation.

After its election, the committee rejected Labour Party claims to representing the majority of coloureds, and the party's decision to support the Government through the

1983 PC ELECTIONS



# 3 in court over ANC and Swapo burglaries

28/10/22  
1/17

By BRUCE STEPHENSON  
London Bureau

LONDON. — The three men charged with conspiracy and breaking into the London offices of exile black nationalist groups are expected to be committed next week for trial at the Old Bailey.

Swedish "freelance journalist" Mr Bertil Wedin, 41, British-born former Rhodesian pilot Mr Peter Caselton, 38, both charged with conspiring to break into the Swapo, ANC and PAC offices and dishonestly handling stolen documents, and small-time burglar Mr Edward Aspinall, 23, charged with burglary, appeared in Horseferry Road Magistrate's Court yesterday for formal remand.

The head of the anti-terrorist squad, Detective-Inspector Hilton Coles, told the court Mr Aspinall had travelled to Holland on a false passport after jumping bail.

He had been caught there by the Dutch police in the act of stealing a car and sent back to Britain.

British police had alerted exit and entry points in this country after he disappeared last month, but they did not know he had been

sent back because he was using a false identity.

He was arrested in Paddington, London, on Tuesday night when he was a passenger in a car which was stopped at a road block set up for other purposes.

Scotland Yard issued a warrant for his arrest after he jumped bail, and he was apparently recognised by police manning the road block.

Mr Aspinall, a small, unkempt figure in blue jeans and a blue lumberjacket, did not speak in court yesterday. There was no application for bail by his counsel, Mr Michael Romain.

Both Mr Aspinall and Mr Caselton are being held in custody for fear they would try to leave the country. Mr Wedin is on strict bail.

The crown will ask for committal to trial next week.

Three weeks ago, a representative of the Director of Public Prosecutions told the court the robberies were "more than petty pilfering" and involved "intelligence gathering operations which could have wide international implications."

A only

Transvaal Labour Party leader  
Jac Rabie tells Jean le May:

# Why I accepted the PM's offer

11A  
S. Express  
16/1/83

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

	Internal	External
(1)	(2)	(3)
4	53	52
2	51	54


WHEN Jac Rabie walks about in his home town these days, people hasten up to him to shake hands.

"Congratulations, many congratulations," they say. "You've done something to get coloured people a place in the South African sun."

The Transvaal leader of the Labour Party is convinced that the party's decision this month at its Eshowe congress to participate in the new constitutional process is correct and that it will be supported by the majority of coloured people.

If the decision to go along with the new process cost Mr Rabie any anguish, he didn't show it when I spoke to him at his home in Reigerspark, Benoni, this week.

He was totally relaxed, sprawling safari-suited and barefoot, a large, loose-limbed man with a serious regard which can crinkle into a captivating smile.

"We reckon that 70% of coloureds support the Labour Party," he said. "And since Eshowe we've had hundreds of applications for membership.

"Now other coloured political parties are talking about 'co-operating' with us. I don't think the Labour Party will be interested — if anyone wants to get on the bandwagon, they can join the LP.

"Talk of a split in the LP is poppycock. Only six people have resigned."

Rabie is a professional politician. As such, he reacted coolly to allegations that the Labour Party's decision could spell doom for the S A Black Alliance, a loose association of the LP, Inkatha, the (Indian) Reform Party and the KaNgwane Inyandza movement.

He did not think the alliance would break up.

Mr Rabie trained as a teacher, but has been in politics fulltime since 1969 when he became an elected member of the now-defunct Coloured Representative Council.

He knows politics and — this must be made clear — thoroughly understands what the new constitutional process is all about.

He served as a member of the Erika Theron Commission and, as a member of the CRC executive, on the CRC's own Du Preez Committee.

Rabie's constitutional models — part of his work for the Du Preez Committee — are themselves models of clear thinking.

"The Du Preez Committee was specifically created to find a basis of negotiation with the Government on the Prime Minister's 1977 proposals and NOT to state as non-negotiable the Labour Party's own proposals," he stressed.

"Up to then, the Labour Party exercised a strategy of confrontation politics.

"That changed after the Du Preez Committee — once we knew exactly where we stood we entered into dialogue with the Government."

Rabie smiled wryly. "Yes, even that chaotic meeting between the CRC and the Prime Minister on November 9, 1979 — the one that ended in a shouting match and which eventually led to the demise of the CRC — was part of the 'dialogue', because the Prime Minister realised that the coloured people meant business and that they were not going to be fobbed off with the sort of second-class representation envisaged in the 1977 proposals."

At the time, the entire CRC executive were members of the Labour Party except for the chairman, Mrs Althea Jansen, who had been appointed by the Government to break the deadlock when the CRC refused to pass its budget.

The subsequent demise of the CRC was "the best thing that had happened, because it greatly increased the bargaining power of the Labour Party".

"From then on, we bargained from a position of strength as a political party and not from a position of weakness as a segment of a Government-created institution.

"Last year we started negotiating and we've been negotiating ever since. The decision at Eshowe was not a sudden change of strategy. We've spent the last five years preparing the ground for it.

"Naturally, a great deal of preparation went into the Eshowe meeting," he continued. "Regional constitutional committees had examined the Government's latest proposals in the light of Labour Party principles.

"We looked particularly at what it would mean if we stayed out and where that would leave the coloured people and the Labour Party.

"Would it be possible to participate without violating our principles? To make use of the system to bring about change?

And what flags would we pick up on behalf of other groups in the liberation struggle?

"In the end we decided to go for it — we couldn't boycott a seat of power and decision-making.

"But we laid down conditions and we believe that we have a significant conciliatory role to play.

"We've moved from the politics of confrontation through the politics of indirect attack — by destroying the CRC — and now we're into the politics of negotiation.

"We think that we can bring about important concessions in the new constitutional process and that at least one of them could be connected with the representation of blacks within the system.

"We're tired of being pushed around by whites and threatened by blacks. We're determined to get ourselves a place in the South African sun."

**QUOTE:**

**We're tired of being pushed around by whites and threatened by blacks. We're determined to get ourselves a place in the South African sun.**

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# Labour Party is joining in a political monstrosity

THE editorial (Sunday Times, January 9) must rank as one of the most unfortunate bits of journalism that has been offered as comment on the Labour Party's Eshowe decision.

The article is politically dangerous and misleading.

The implication must be drawn that anybody who disagrees with the Labour Party's decision must be an ideologue of the right or left, and must be involved in protest politics.

Practical politics in this country demands that we lead people where they can follow, and that we lead people to a feasible and wholesome future.

Events will prove that the black people of South Africa cannot follow the Labour Party, and events will also show that the confederal future to which the Labour Party has now turned in company with Mr Botha is altogether untenable in our circumstances.

An editorial at this important juncture of our constitutional development which opens with the glib language of your first paragraph is politically irresponsible.

## Great gulf

The editorial leaps from this analytically inept paragraph into a statement which is a measure of the great gulf which so often exists between white editorial opinion and black political reality.

You talk about the Rev Alan Hendrickse and the Labour Party having courage equal to, if not surpassing, the courage of Mr Botha, Mr Heunis and Co.

Black opinion is appalled that you hail plans to exclude them permanently from the decision-making process of South Africa as courageous.

Why is it that your editorial is so blind to the fact that the "first tentative step" is on a journey towards confederalism?

You are encouraging the South African Government to form a confederation in white, coloured and Indian interests against blacks.

You are praising the La-



By **CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI**

Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha

11A  
S. Times  
16/1/83



PRACTICAL politics, so often and openly condemned by ideologues of the right and the left, and a multiracial parliament with a promise of power-sharing ever clumsy and can be better

FLASHBACK: Sunday Times editorial, January 9

bour Party for participating in this political monstrosity.

You are encouraging the international community to support apartheid.

Can you not see that orthodox apartheid cannot survive, and that this constitutional proposal leading to confederation is a desperate last-ditch attempt by Afrikaner sectarian interests in control of the Government to entrench apartheid in perpetuity?

You talk about Messrs Botha, Heunis and Co "having their own troglodytes of the right". This implies that the Labour Party has its troglodytes.

## Naive

When one remembers that a troglodyte is a derogatory term and refers to primitive cave-dwellers, the most charitable thing one can say is unprintable.

You are implying that I and Inkatha are troglodytes. We have articulated the African's point of view and we are the most critical of Mr Hendrickse and the Labour Party decision.

You conjoin me with Dr Treurnicht by implication in the phrase: "What Dr Treurnicht fears and rejectionists on the left appar-

ently do not even know..."

It can hardly be held against us that the vast majority of South Africans see no good whatever in the new dispensation.

We do not allow our desire for the best to drive out this good. There is no good.

The only good is selfish racist interests of the Indians, coloureds and whites.

You talk about there being "promise of power-sharing". This is nonsense.

There is no power-sharing for us, and to stigmatise our opposition to the dispensation as a plea for the perpetuation of the present situation and upping the ante on eventual conflict is so poverty-stricken a thought as to make your editorial dangerous.

Do blacks have no right to object to their exclusion from the process of government?

We find no support in editorial opinion for our rejection of a confederalism which would leave whites in control of South Africa in perpetuity.

In the last paragraph you excel yourself in political naiveté.

It is a hard political fact of this country that the majority of the citizens must become a majority in the

decision-making process sooner or later.

It is a political fact that black political aspirations are for one South Africa and one government.

It is a political possibility that the African majority in the decision-making process and the one government which will be formed could be a federal compromise in which white, Indian and coloured interests remain unthreatened.

It is a fact that the drive in African politics is the building-up of power advantages to assist in the negotiating process.

It is naïve in the extreme to believe that politics is about persuading Mr Botha to do this or that.

The realities of our situation remain the growth of political power and clout of blacks.

Coloureds have taken a great deal of trouble to ensure that that clout will come from Africans.

This is a tragedy.

Finally, you are misleading South Africa and the whole world to state that I am "exploiting the system".

My existence is a major stumbling-block to apartheid. Unlike the position in which Mr Hendrickse will find himself, I do not owe my political power to Mr

Botha or to any other Prime Minister.

I do not owe my political power to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly or to Pretoria.

King Shaka never owed his political eminence to any colonial power.

The solidarity of the Zulu people was not dependent on white-created institutions when they defeated the might of the British Army.

White South Africa observes a so-called Day of the Vow as testimony to the fact that the people I now lead have their own will and their own sense of destiny.

An act of history made us South Africans and South Africans we are and will remain.

My people pleaded with me to take up a position in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, not because I needed a platform; not because by doing so I was coming in out of the cold as you say is the case with Mr Hendrickse and the Labour Party.

I did so not to invest my own credibility in a Pretoria-made institution.

I responded to a demand by the people because I already was their leader and I already wielded power.

## No hiring

You and your kind fail always to see that it is because I have an independent power base, uncontaminated by white paternalism of which your editorial opinion reeks, that the South African Government has failed to remove me as a stumbling-block.

I am not a hiring dependent on them for my existence.

I strive to express political opinion which will save your and other white hides.

How can you be so blind to the stirrings of deep things and true political morality?

Is it simply that in your opinion we are troglodytes incapable of sustained morality?

Please stop to consider that the white political opinion that you are supporting in opposition to African opinion has created the modern monstrosity of apartheid.

# Some coloured leaders still believe Eshowe decision was total sell-out

I REFER to your editorial comment (January 9 — "This moderation must be rewarded") in which you praise what others (I am one) have called a sell-out: the "coloured" Labour Party's decision at Eshowe.

Elsewhere I have also called it a "sad mess" (in Afrikaans people speak of a hartseer gemors).

During the few days since people such as I have declared ourselves on this matter, we have (of course) been labelled with all sorts of unpleasant tags: politically naïve, bitterbekke, what have you.

But for sheer effrontery and for sheer arrogance and for sheer condescension ("white" effrontery, "white" arrogance, "white" condescension), your leading article of last Sunday tops the bill.

You describe people within "the coloured community" who will not partner Messrs Hendrickse, Curry, et al, in opting for "going inside" with Mr P W Botha, as "rejectionists of the left" who "effectively



By ADAM SMALL

make common cause with Dr Andries Treurnicht in trying to erect a roadblock on the rocky path of reform".

"With one significant difference," you say. Dr Treurnicht only fears this situation, but "the rejectionists to the left apparently do not even know that any journey, no matter how long, has to start with the first, tentative step".

## Effrontery

And so, we "rejectionists to the left" are not only naïve, not only bitterbekke, and so on: we are also, and fundamentally, stupid — we "do not even know".

I repeat: the sheer effrontery!

Your editorial writer knew full well that he was

referring, inter alia, to certain specific individuals, persons known and with a command of respect in the country.

Still he would insult these people pointblank. (Have certain "white" people gone completely mad?)

But, then, witnessing the Labour Party's decision, certain people who are not "white" have apparently also gone quite mad.

I will stick with my view (I believe a very considered view) that the decision concerned was a sell-out.

May I say that this is a definite time of sifting for people in the country, also people "within the coloured community".

One has to declare oneself. There is no way of escaping expression of one's position and stand.

You commend Mr P W Botha's vehicle of reform (through the misty port-holes of which we catch glimpses of "coloured" and other shady travellers).

You commend it for the fact that it has started out (three cheers). I cannot cheer.

## Joking

For, when the journey is defined, it proves to be one through, and to, cloud-cuckoo land ... and, of course, apartheid in all its basic glory.

And how miserably foolish of the Labour Party (in 1983) to fall back on "black consciousness" and say that they, too, being "black" can and will speak "inside" for all black people! What an

affront to black people. ...

In conclusion: now that "the coloureds" will also be represented in government (according to your line of thinking), my children and I will, no doubt, sooner or later be called upon, compulsorily, to fight in the war in which the country is engaged — also to go "to the border" compulsorily.

Messrs Hendrickse, Curry, et al, you say, "must use their presence in Parliament to achieve meaningful advances in coloured housing and education", and so on.

For the third time: the effrontery of your view ... and the callousness of it.

Can you really believe that I, and all of us who feel similarly, must be prepared to let our children risk their lives (machine-guns, landmines, what have you, yes?) for a prize of "meaningful advances in coloured housing and education"? "Coloured housing, coloured education"....

You must be joking. X

Magnum, but no force — a paper empire that blew away in the first gale

By Charlene Beltramo

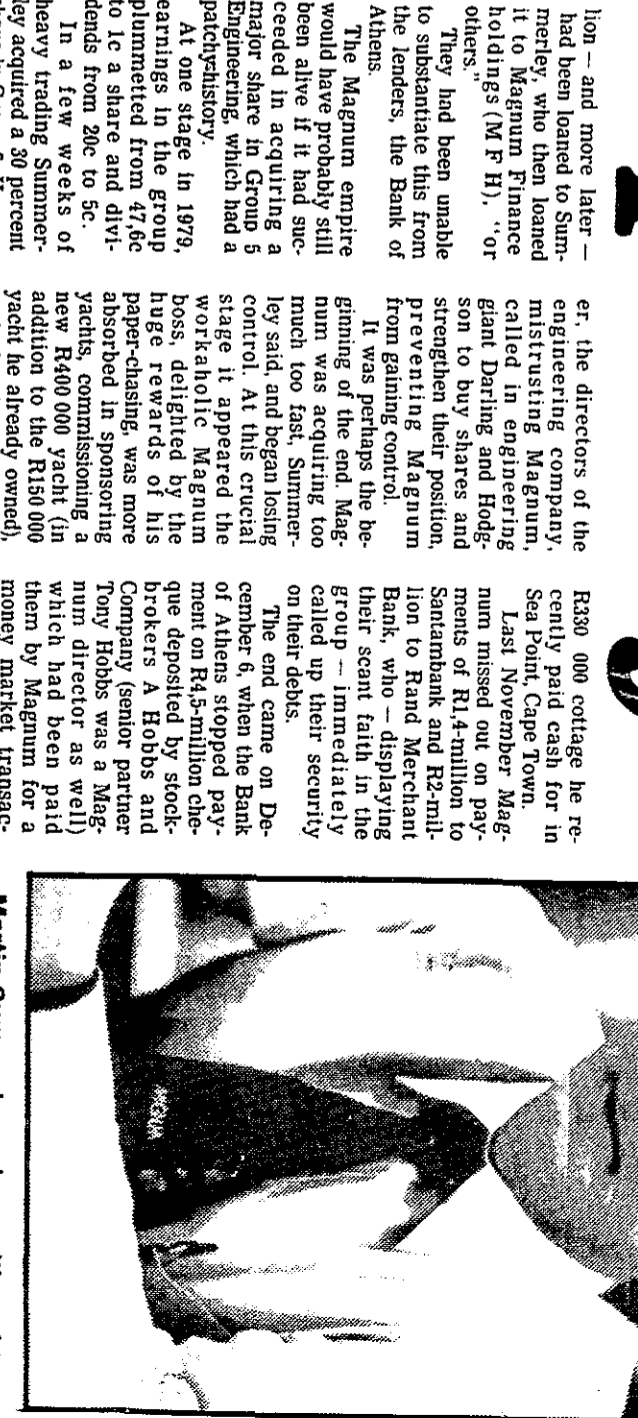
MARTIN Summerley was the modern day "emperor-without-any-clothes." He built a paper empire that, for the large part, consisted of little more than inter-company deals and promissory notes... and cheques in the bank.

# Losing legacy of a mad piranha policy

He traded on Johannesburg's sycophantic and often blinkered adoration of the appearance of money and power and on the old saying, that if you're a few thousand or hundred rands in debt, banks will take action against you and grind you into the limoleum floors of debtors courts — but if the figure is in millions they'll bail you out. Most times.

In Summerley's case the legend worked until his R70-million Magnum group, like an out-of-control piranha began gobbling too many shares too quickly on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. This week the man the Press had referred to as a financial whizz-kid, was accused in the Rand Summit...

Mr Hoffman alleged all three were involved in alleged alterations of the group's books to switch the name of the Magnum company that borrowed R5,4-million from Javocor, a subsidiary. He produced copies of audited balance sheets that he claimed showed Mr Thomas — now employed by the liquidators — had used erasing fluid to change the name Magnum.



Martin Summerley... busy with yachts.

# The struggle continues — Middleton

By Barney Mthomboti

AT one stage Norman Middleton had four feathers on his cap. Now he has only one, but he swears his involvement in sport and politics is as intense and vigorous as it was during the bloom of his career.

Mr Middleton — trade unionist, politician and sports administrator — resigned from the Labour Party at its Edinburgh conference recently after the party he helped found more than 18 years ago "abandoned its principles."



Middleton

What made his resignation even more painful is that he had sacrificed his leadership role in non-racial sport so he could remain in politics through his association with the Labour Party for which he was deputy leader.

"I'm sad about leaving the party, very sad," he said in a candid interview at his sparsely furnished union offices in Pietermaritzburg.

"My fight is not with the party as such, but with the leadership. I'm convinced in my mind that, although I can't prove this, the leadership has made a deal with the Government. What saddens me is that this has become the politics of the intellectuals. The leadership seem to have built their houses up there and forgotten about the ordinary membership. There was no consultation with the people in this matter. The most distressing thing is that the Labour Party violated its own constitution. The constitution is not something anybody can just push aside. It stands for...

one-man one-vote in a unitary state and that all people should be represented in the Government of the day. "They have abandoned the principles under which the party was formed."

Mr Middleton said he was opposed to the proposals not only because Africans were excluded but because they were based on racism. "To me the proposals are a new form of entrenching apartheid. It's the same old prostitute with a wig on."

"And what upset me is that the Labour Party says when they're in there they will talk for their black brother. To me this is an insult to black people. For years we have been accusing whites of talking for us and now we want to do the same thing."

The Labour Party should have prepared its own proposals and sat down and negotiated with the Government. "What they have done is to give Botha a blank cheque. Every time they have a problem, we come to their rescue. The Labour Party has solved P.W.'s dilemma. What saddens me most is that the Government seem...

cars — including a R30 000 Mercedes Benz 500SEL and a R75 000 Lamborghini for Summerley's personal use — and several hundred thousand rands in stocks and shares. Pennington confessed the group had "moved too fast and sailed too close to the wind" for four years. Often he said, they issued cheques "then had to rush out and raise the funds."

# Another leader quits in protest

By PETER MANN Political Correspondent

THE Natal and Zululand chairman of the Labour Party, Eric Lucas, has resigned in protest at the party's decision to participate in the Government's constitutional plans.

One of the most senior men in the party's hierarchy, his resignation, along with that of Norman Middleton, Sam Solomon, and others, illustrates the deep divisions in the party over the decision to co-operate with the Government.

In an interview this week Mr Lucas said he had informed the party of his resignation and would now fight against the decision. "The time for horse trading and bargaining is before you decide to co-operate, not afterwards," he said. He added he did not believe the views of the coloured population had been adequately canvassed and that the party should have insisted on a referendum. He said many people, wanting to know what he was going to do, were opposed to the decision. "The opposition is so strong that I have decided I cannot just bow out of politics altogether. We have to fight the decision. Although he believed the Labour Party was still the major force in coloured politics only three weeks would tell how much the decision had harmed its support."

# Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

## Only players can win the game

**O**H what a falling about: there has been over this newspaper's view that, if you want to have a say in the constitutional future of South Africa, you have to get into the debate.

It is a view widely held by white South Africans — as widely as it is disputed, understandably, by most blacks and by many coloureds.

Nevertheless, because the first and most significant gift of the projected change in South Africa's constitution is that it will, however hedged about with qualifications, involve a form of multi-racialism, the political opinions of the previously powerless have gained a new and important relevance to those in power.

Even at this early stage — as evidenced by the sigh of relief that went up in Government circles once the Labour Party's decision was known — coloured and black opinion has become a vital part of the political process and not merely the easily ignored voice of protest of the past.

The time has passed when the unenfranchised had to rely on liberal whites to put their views in Parliament. From now on South Africans of other colours will be able to speak, argue and bargain for themselves — and the Government will be compelled to listen.

It is for this reason — no less than the eminence of the writers — that the opinions so forcibly expressed on the opposite page

today merit serious consideration.

But it also is precisely for this reason that the constitutional proposals which they have rejected outright contain the seeds of hope which, in their anger and disappointment, the rejectionists have chosen so studiously to ignore. Hope, not because of what those proposals offer now, but because of what they can become if and only if they are given the chance to fail in their present form.

But that chance will not come about if the best minds among people of colour remain stuck in the old habits of protest and rejection. Real politics of the kind which determines who gets what, when, where and how, has perforce long been a spectator sport for South Africans of a darker shade of pale. Today they are being offered a chance to get down into the ring and slug it out for themselves. Only once they are there do they stand a chance of changing the rules of the game.

To accept — as the rejectionists do — that the future, as Mr P. W. Botha sees it, is the future which will inevitably come about, is to do more than ignore the simple fact of momentum in politics. It is to use naivete as a cloak for a dangerous inaction. For that belief is as naive as the conviction that powerless protest can exert greater pressures on Government than hard bargaining from those with whom it will shortly share power.



ANC exiles fear  
attack, quit ~~the~~ <sup>11A</sup>  
refugee camp <sup>ROOM</sup>  
<sup>17/1/83</sup>

Political Staff

SEVENTEEN African National Congress exiles walked out of the Mawelawela refugee camp in Swaziland on Friday because they apparently feared that an attack against them was being planned.

The exiles had been in detention at the camp — situated between Manzini and Mbabane — since December 16, when ANC refugees in Swaziland were rounded up and held in "protective custody" in the wake of the South African Defence Force raid on ANC members in Lesotho.

A Swazi Government statement at the time of the detentions said there was a danger that ANC members in the country could be attacked "from outside our borders". Initially, 27 exiles were detained, but more were arrest-

ed later.

Earlier this month, 17 of the detainees voluntarily left for Maputo. The exiles had complained they were less safe from attacks at the camp than in the towns.

Sources in Swaziland said yesterday the 17 exiles who remained at Mawelawela were concerned that people claiming to be journalists who took photographs of the camp may have been part of a plot to attack them.

They apparently confronted guards on Friday afternoon and said they were leaving — even at the risk of being shot for doing so.

The Swazi Commissioner of Police, Mr Titus Msibi, confirmed the information, but declined further comment because the matter was in the hands of the military and prison authorities.

# Welcome — by the Security Police

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — In a prominent article in the Washington Post on Friday, Mrs Helen Suzman, the Progressive Federal Party member of Parliament for Houghton, said Security Police harassment of Mrs Winnie Mandela had the ironic effect of rescuing Mrs Mandela from "the obscurity which is inherent in her banishment to Brandfort."

The article was one of the main items on the opposite-leader page of the Post and was the only item accompanied by an illustration — a drawing depicting two giant legs walking over two small, bent human figures.

## VISIT

Mrs Suzman described a visit she made last week to the wife of the banned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, at Brandfort. "A dreary little one-horse town in the middle of the veld," Mrs Suzman called it.

She said that in contrast to a previous visit (when her permit to visit was rejected as invalid by a member of the Security Police who arrived at the house), she did not need a permit to enter Mrs Mandela's house, only a permit to enter the black township.

Armed with this, she and a colleague drove confidently to the house. But Mrs Suzman went alone to the door since Mrs Mandela was allowed to see only one person at a time.

"As we embraced, I saw to my astonishment that the tiny house was full of large, white men," Mrs Suzman wrote.

## RAID

A Security Police raid was in full swing and five or six men were taking books off shelves, posters off walls.

"Very politely the head guy inquired who I was (as if he didn't know), asked the purpose of my visit and whether I would mind waiting outside while his men completed their search.

"I said I minded very much. I had a plane to catch. And I told him to go ahead and not bother about us talking.

"So there was this extraordinary scene with Winnie and me sitting on a sofa in her minute living room, chatting away about Nelson, her daughter and other matters with all those men milling around and every now and then asking Winnie to sign for an article they were taking away — books, documents, papers."

Among the "trophies" confiscated by the police were a framed certificate from an American black women's organisation, a poster of a white girl with a burning South African flag, and a crocheted bedspread made up in yellow, green and black, the colours of the ANC "... a subversive bedspread undoubtedly!"



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er in the day  
Captain Jan Calitz a  
police liaison officer for  
the Western Cape, said  
last night that Mr Kevin  
Newman, 22, of Tobago  
Close, Portlands Mit-  
chells Plain was gunned  
down about 4.15pm at the  
corner of Ranger Close  
and Ferrier Street.

Asked whether the kill-  
ing might have been gang-  
initiated, Captain Calitz  
said: "It might have been  
a professional killing. It  
is too early to say."

Mr Newman was walk-  
ing in the street when a  
light delivery vehicle  
went past. An unknown  
number of people were  
inside the vehicle.

Captain Calitz said four  
shots were fired and one  
struck Mr Newman in the  
chest.

### NSRI search for dinghy

Staff Reporter  
TWO National Sea Res-  
cue Institute launches  
searched the sea off  
Camps Bay for an hour  
last night after a local  
resident had called to re-  
port that a dinghy was in  
trouble.

The launches conduct-  
ed an intensive search  
but found nothing and re-  
turned to their stations  
about 9.30pm.

West German Uta Saebel, 15, of Werdorf, can't afford a horse so she  
has taught her 18-month-old heifer Hansi to show-jump.

# ANC 17 quit Swazi camp

Own Correspondent  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Sev-  
enteen African National  
Congress exiles walked  
out of the Mawelawela re-  
fugee camp in Swaziland on  
Friday because they appar-  
ently feared an attack.

The exiles had been in  
detention at the camp, be-  
tween Manzini and Mba-  
bane, since December 16,  
when ANC refugees in  
Swaziland were rounded  
up and held in "protective  
custody" by the authori-  
ties in the wake of the  
South African Defence  
Force raid on ANC mem-  
bers in Lesotho.

A Swazi Government  
statement at the time of  
the detentions said there  
was a danger that ANC  
members in the country  
could be attacked "from  
outside our borders".

Initially, 27 exiles were  
detained but more were  
held later.

Earlier this month, 17 of  
the detainees left for  
Maputo voluntarily. The  
exiles had complained that

they were less safe from  
attacks at the camp than in  
the towns.

Sources in Swaziland  
said yesterday that the 17  
exiles who had remained  
at Mawelawela were con-  
cerned that people claim-  
ing to be journalists who  
took photographs of the  
camp may have been part  
of a plot to attack them.

The exiles apparently  
confronted their guards on  
Friday afternoon and said  
they were leaving — even  
at the risk of being shot  
for doing so.

The Swazi Commissioner  
of Police, Mr Titus Msibi,  
confirmed the informa-  
tion, but declined further  
comment because the mat-  
ter was in the hands of the  
military and prison  
authorities.

Other government  
spokesmen were either un-  
available yesterday or de-  
clined to comment. It is  
not known if the exiles  
were re-detained or al-  
lowed to return to their  
homes.

Meanwhile sources in  
Lesotho have reported that  
there has not been a major  
exodus of South African  
exiles since the SADF raid  
last month.

Some people had left the  
country but most were be-  
lieved to have decided to  
stay.

## Missing soldier mystery

**EAST LONDON.** — The  
father of a soldier who  
went missing in the oper-  
ational area more than  
two months ago says he is  
still waiting for the de-  
fence force to give him all  
the details of his son's  
disappearance.

The defence force has  
confirmed that Corporal  
J A Strauss has been  
missing since November 7  
and that a board of inqu-  
iry is investigating.

"I am still waiting for  
the defence force to tell  
me something positive  
about my son's disappear-  
ance," said Mr Wietz  
Strauss, an Aliwal North  
furniture store manager.

Mr Strauss said he had  
made repeated telephone  
calls to the SADF but all  
he had been able to es-  
tablish was that his son,  
who was attached to 201  
Battalion at the Omega  
base — had gone missing  
after being made to walk  
some distance to his camp  
as punishment for a  
"minor offence".

A defence force spokes-  
man said on Saturday that  
an investigation was still  
under way and further de-  
tails would be given to Mr  
Strauss when they be-  
came available.

Disciplinary action  
would be taken if shown  
to be appropriate.

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## TRANS ORIENTAL

# Coloureds organise to fight new deal

11A  
Stew  
17/1/83

By Eugene Saldanha  
About 15 Transvaal community organisations have formed an ad hoc committee to fight the President's Council's constitutional proposals.

The organisations include the Westbury Residents Action Committee (Wrac), the Reiger Park Ratepayers and Tenants Committee, the Riverlea Residents Action Committee and the Eldorado Park Ratepayers and Tenants Committee.

A spokesman for the ad hoc committee said the organisation's major aim would be to ensure that coloured people were not "co-opted" into the Government's proposed tricameral Parliament.

"We have the coloured Labour Party's claim that it is representative of the so-called coloured people. Their decision to participate in the tricameral parliament shows they have accepted the apartheid system," the spokesman said.

He said the committee would try to co-ordinate the efforts of "the many church, trade union, community and student organisations which are opposed to the Council's constitutional proposals".

A joint executive meeting of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council committee (TASC) and the Natal

Indian Congress has voted unanimously to reject the Government's new constitutional proposals.

The organisations, which met in Johannesburg at the weekend, have resolved to launch a national campaign to have the proposals rejected by the Indian community.

In a joint statement released at the weekend, the organisations said:

"The Government has been driven into a corner and they need the support of the Indian and coloured communities to defend white domination.

"It will do so by implementing the President's Council proposals, which will force coloureds and Indians to join whites in Government institutions.

"Nationalist domination will be maintained because there will be a white majority in all the central structures of government in disproportionate ratio.

"Indians and coloured people will be compelled to join the army to defend apartheid.

"This is a manoeuvre aimed at fragmenting black unity which has been built over many decades of joint struggle," the statement says.

The organisations condemned the Labour Party for accepting the proposals.

# ANC refugee talks in Swaziland

311A  
ROOM  
18/1/83

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

CONFIDENTIAL talks were held in Swaziland yesterday on the future of 17 African National Congress exiles who refused to remain in "protective detention" because they feared an attack.

It was reported in Mbabane yesterday that the journalists who sparked the exodus from the Mawelawela refugee camp when they photographed it, work for a South African newspaper.

Swaziland's Deputy Prime Minister, Senator Ben Nsibandze, confirmed yesterday that the 17 exiles left the camp on Friday. He declined to say where they were, or what would become of them.

They had been in detention since December 16 when ANC refugees were rounded up after the SA Defence Force raid on the ANC in Lesotho. At first 27 were detained and more arrested later. Earlier this month 17 left voluntarily for Maputo.

The 17 remaining detainees left the camp on Friday — and defied guards to stop them. They believed photographs of the camp were being taken by people planning an attack.

Informed sources said a group of exiles — headed by the ANC's acting representatives in Swaziland, Mr Abiom Duma, who had been in detention — and the representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr E Owusu, held talks with Senator Nsibandze yesterday, indicating that plans may be underway to move the exiles out of the country.

Meanwhile The Times of Swaziland reported that two unnamed journalists working for the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, were arrested and questioned by the Swazi police after photographing Mawelawela without permission last week.

They allegedly defied a senior government official, Mr A R Shabangu, the Permanent Secretary in the Deputy Prime Minister's office, who had refused permission to photograph the camp.

The journalists were later released and are understood to have returned to South Africa. Government officials reportedly threatened to ban Rapport in Swaziland if its staff again disobeyed official directives. Rapport executives could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

Star 18/11/83

# Swazi row over ANC escapers

The Star's Africa News  
Service

MBABANE — Aator for row is developing in Swaziland over the ease with which 17 detained African National Congress exiles were able to "escape" past troops guarding a refugee camp on Friday.

An army spokesman said today that the soldiers were on duty at the Mawelawela camp to defend the exiles in the event of a Maseru-style attack on them and not to prevent them leaving.

But Swazi police commissioner, Mr Titus Msibi, is understood to be angry that the ANC men should have been allowed to walk out and today was awaiting instructions on whether to round them up again.

Friday's move appeared to be well planned and co-ordinated.

The 17 approached the guards in a group and said they were leaving even if the troops fired on them.

Swazi sources said today that, once out of the camp, the exiles dispersed and returned to their homes in Manzini and Mbabane.

# We MUST be part of the new constitutional plan

THE Labour Party finds itself in a precarious position, as do all political groupings within the oppressed masses of South Africa.

The multitude of political formations operating within the oppressed group bears testimony to this dichotomy and dilemma.

Admittedly, this creates a great deal of confusion ... to the detriment of a national united front. What is the authenticity of these many voices?

To my mind, the LP is the symbol and embodiment of the so-called "coloured" people's will to present a united national front against all forms of oppression and discrimination ... the first such movement since the traumatic and devastating split of 1943.

This corresponds with the great Nelson Mandela's view that "coloureds" must organise themselves into a national body in order to attain their freedom.

Such a body could then cooperate with African bodies on matters of common concern.

In this vein he approved of Sappo's participation in the 1948 elections, although blacks and "coloureds" from other provinces were excluded.

From this premise alone, I believe the LP's decision to participate in the tricameral arrangement was the correct one.

Furthermore, the LP fully sensed its reconciliatory role in bridging the gap between the fears of whites and the aspirations of blacks. Realpolitik demands that this be done.

This strategic decision took place against the background of elements on the right who tarred the party as being boycotters, not having the interests of the community at heart, lacking a sense of co-operation and being prescribed to by the PFP, its media and Inkatha.

To the left, critics who enhanced the strategy of boycott to an inflexible principle, attribute the party's "inability to advance the national cause in a manner commensurate with the demands of the times" to its erratic policy of yielding to oppression, regarding itself as a body of gentlemen with clean hands and failing to see the problems of the "coloureds" in the proper perspective.

This, it said, imported to the party character taints of



## says JAC RABIE, Transvaal leader of the Labour Party

reactionism and conservatism. These assumptions, however, are devoid of all truth.

Through all these rumblings and grumbings the LP carried on with its mammoth task of striving — in a deeply divided and polarised society — to establish a true democracy for all the people of this land.

In doing so it applied various strategies, never losing sight of its basic principle of a free society for all.

This brought about a greater degree of unity amongst the "coloureds" and it resulted in the formation of the SA Black Alliance — against the threats of Jimmy Kruger — with no criticism from the ranks of the party.

The party frequently applied the boycott protest and confrontation in its struggle against racial discrimination.

On the bread and butter side the LP applied boycotts

against white bread because of price hikes.

It boycotted Simba chips, Fattis and Monis, Rainbow chickens, Rowntrees, Eveready batteries, foreign firms, etc. because of the oppressive attitudes of these firms.

The LP, not as a matter of principle, but as a tactical weapon and because it correctly gauged the prevailing conditions, also applied the boycott politically.

It boycotted the opening of the Coloured Representative Council (CRC), the CRC budget, the imposition of Government policy via the executive of the CRC, which, in a pre-planned manner, led to the demise of the CRC.

It boycotted the Erica Theron Commission because it was regarded as a farce, the Schlebusch Commission for the same reason, and the nominated Coloured Persons' Council, which led to it being stillborn.

This successful strategy

damaged the influence of these sham institutions and discredited those who supported them.

It also increased the bargaining power of the LP and set the pace for reform.

This same strategy was applied to the President's Council, which subsequently never allowed the black council to get off the ground.

At times, therefore, it might be correct to boycott ... but at other times it might be unwise and dangerous.

Hence the LP did not boycott the (National Party's) 1977 proposals. It rejected them outright, so as to prevent their implementation.

The Les du Preez Committee was appointed to formulate alternatives. This committee exposed the fraudulent nature of the draft constitution, and its alternatives became the basis for negotiations with the Government of the day.

This is still the premise of

the LP struggle.

With its national conference held at Eshowe, the LP arrived at a crucial stage in the history of the party, its people and the black community.

It was realised that the politics of protest *only* was over, affirmative action was imperative and that we must think in terms of power at this stage.

We were fully aware that, in the boycott stance, there is the failure to draw the vital distinction between participation in the new scheme of things by people who accept racial discrimination and who wish to co-operate with the Government in the oppression and exploitation of their own people, on the one hand, and the participation — not because of any desire to exploit them, but in the interests of the liberation struggle and a true democracy — on the other hand.

The LP decision, therefore,

was correct in more ways than one.

It rejected the proposals, apartheid and the exclusion of blacks, because they do not answer the constitutional demands of the LP and of our time.

Further, they are based on and entrench ethnicity.

However, the LP believes its participation within the tricameral arrangement and consequent mixed Cabinet, standing committees, commissions and councils, can assist us in the achievement of our goals and constitutional objectives.

We fully realise that it is going to be a tough and arduous task. I see the following approaches as possibilities for the LP:

- Demanding the participation of blacks ... even before full implementation.
- Direct negotiations with the Government, in order to get them to declare their intentions to review, inter alia, the following iniquitous laws — the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act, the Provision of Separate Amenities Act, the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act, separate educational systems, influx control and separate universities.

We also want them to hold a referendum and release political prisoners.

- Persuade the Cabinet not to promulgate any legislation that will further affect human relations adversely and increase polarisation.

Consensus can be strived for even before legislation is drafted. Here, the scrapping of discriminatory legislation can also be invited.

- Standing committees can also be set up into black legislation that ignores human rights.

- When it comes to arbitration in the new President's Council, the power of persuasion can be applied.

The LP has proved its bona fides in the struggle.

I can therefore only say to our critics: stop dividing the community even further. We have never condemned the strategies you applied in the total liberation struggle.

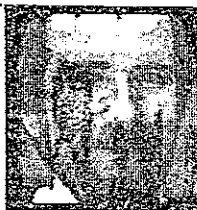
To say: "The LP has sold out" smacks of opportunism and naivety of the highest order.

The use of such distasteful divisionary tactics is the brainchild of the oppressors to perpetuate our oppression ad infinitum.

# The Nats

## will still pull all the strings

11A  
~~ROOM~~  
ROOM  
18/11/83



**CHRIS FREIMOND, Political Reporter,  
gives his view on the LP's decision**

years been formulating a plan according to its needs and wishes.

The "new deal" was approved by an NP federal congress and four provincial congresses. What the party, in effect, agreed to was the retention and entrenchment of NP control of South Africa.

**T**HE cornerstones of apartheid — which continues to be the basis of the new constitutional era — were fully endorsed.

Separate development will continue. There were assurances that separate residential areas and schools will remain, that no coloured or Indian Cabinet Ministers will be appointed to "white" portfolios and that there will not be a fourth Parliamentary chamber for blacks or a black executive president as long as the NP remains the dominant group in Parliament.

The concepts of coloured and Indian chambers in Parliament and a "mixed" Cabinet with coloured and Indian Ministers appointed to oversee matters concerning their communities were accepted.

Yet the LP still believes it can use this system to push for its goal of full participation for all citizens at all levels of decision making, and an end to apartheid.

This is clearly impossible, unless the NP

decides to completely ignore its party congresses and agrees to negotiate a handover of power to a majority government. A highly improbable course of events.

Some LP leaders believe the resolutions adopted at the NP congresses were "open ended" enough to allow party leaders to reconsider the "non-negotiables" without betraying congress decisions.

But even if this is so, it appears that all that can happen in terms of the guidelines is that the LP — and those Indians who decide to take part — can negotiate with the NP on details within the framework agreed to by the NP congresses.

Fundamental changes — such as the scrapping of the Group Areas Act or moves towards a black chamber — without referral back to the congresses, even if the resolutions were "open ended", could be fatal for the NP.

**O**BVIOUSLY, such moves cannot be ruled out for ever. NP leaders may, at some stage, agree to some of the LP's more immediate demands, and they may even be able to have the status of some "non-negotiables" changed by congresses.

But such concessions are likely to be limited to relatively insignificant demands.

The LP's ultimate goal of a negotiated democracy in a unitary state is highly improbable within the framework of their agreed participation.

Some LP leaders concede this. But they believe that when compromise turns into confrontation, their position within the system will be too powerful for the NP to ignore their demands for further concessions.

This is effectively an acknowledgement that the new system will lead inevitably to confrontation with frightening possibilities.

It points to the instability and inadequacy

of the foundation on which the LP hopes to build.

The LP leaders at the Eshowe congress led delegates to believe a rejection of the NP's proposals would have meant a return to the status quo.

**T**HEY surely could not have believed that themselves, and must have known that the NP was forced by various factors to initiate reform.

The new plan relies for success on credible coloured and Indian participation.

The NP desperately needs that participation to save its reformist initiative and, in effect, to save the party from possible disintegration.

With that in mind the LP leaders must have realised how potentially powerful their position was.

They need not have been "boycotters". They could have welcomed the NP's initiative and accepted the sincerity with which it was offered.

But they could also have refused to accept what the NP dished up. They could have demanded — and rightly so — a say in how they and the rest of the country will be governed.

For them to argue that this is precisely what they will be doing in the negotiations preceding legislation has a hollow ring to it when the possible alternatives to the Eshowe decision are considered.

It was not a case of accepting "as a starting point" what little the NP offered — or losing everything.

**O**NE alternative was offered by a strong ally of the LP, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, when he opened the congress.

He suggested, in effect, that it welcome the spirit in which the NP's offer of reform was made, but reject it in principle because of its major flaws regarding black South Africans and continued discrimination.

The LP could have voted to establish its own committee of experts to consider the NP plan and formulate a response. The NP could have been asked to appoint representatives to the committee to discuss both plans.

Obviously a similar committee could have been established by the Indian community, and a logical extension would have been talks with blacks as well. All groups could have met finally in a joint committee.

It would have meant an on-going series of discussions hammering away at basic problems and fashioning an acceptable constitutional model... which is quite different from the negotiations on NP terms which will be taking place in the coming months.

It would not have been an easy or a quick exercise. It would have demanded the utmost understanding and compromise from all participants.

But it would have meant South Africans were talking to each other — not at each other, or for each other — on equal terms about problems facing their country.

At least whatever emerged would have had a good chance of being a negotiated deal — a genuine "starting point" — acceptable to the majority of those involved.

And it would hopefully have saved South Africa from the frightening polarisation towards which we are now racing.

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11A

# Indians plan to revive TIC

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

A DECISION to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) is in the offing at the first annual congress of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee at the weekend, according to informed sources.

The possible revival of the Transvaal Indian Congress at the Anti-SAIC Committee Congress was foreshadowed when the executives of the committee and the Natal Indian Congress held joint discussions a little more than a week ago.

The Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress were both constituent

members of the old South Africa Indian Congress which allied itself to the ANC at the time of the passive resistance campaign of 1952 and was part of the Congress Alliance until the banning of the ANC in 1960.

Neither the Transvaal Indian Congress nor its Natal counterpart were banned at the time. But both lapsed as viable organisations when their leaders were either banned or went into exile. The Natal Indian Congress was revived more than a decade ago, but not its Transvaal sister organisation.

The Anti-SAIC Committee was formed to oppose Indian participation in last year's elections to the South African Indian Council (SAIC) — a Government-created institution. Less than 15% of the registered voters went

to the polls.

In a joint statement released yesterday the Anti-SAIC Committee and the NIC rejected the proposed new tricameral parliamentary system, and opposed participation by Indians in the Indian chamber.

They said participation would strengthen white rule by forcing "coloureds and Indians to support whites in Government institutions" and thus facilitate the fragmentation of unity between Africans, Indians and Coloureds "built up over many decades of common experience and joint struggle".

Warning the leader of the National People's Party and chairman of the SAIC executive committee, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, not to participate in the proposed new system,

they said "Indian South Africans have in their history never taken sides with the racist regime against the interests of the African people and do not intend to do so now."

They pledged themselves to the attainment of "a society based on the principles of the Freedom Charter".

The Anti-SAIC Committee congress is expected to be attended by about 300 delegates. Among the items for discussion are appropriate "forms of political organisation".

Guest speakers include Dr Alan Boesak of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Mr Thozamile Gweta, president of the South African Allied Workers' Union, and Professor Jerry Coovadia of the Natal Indian Congress.

## 'No Govt cash in TV deal'

By CHRIS OLCKERS

THERE was no Government money involved in the cricket deal that the SABC arranged with the South African Cricket Union to televise games of the touring West Indies team.

SABC TV spokesman Mr Han Jordaan yesterday denied rumours that the Government was funding the reported R500 000 paid for the television rights. He said the amount paid to the SACU was much less.

The SABC paid for the rights and there is no Government money involved at all.

The arrangement with the SACU was not specifically named at the West Indies deal. It covers the cricket season for this coming year, whether there are other teams touring or not. Mr Jordaan said.

He also denied rumours that money received for advertisements shown during special television coverage would be given to the SACU.

## UN team leaves after Maseru raid probe

By MIKE PITSO

MASERU. A five man United Nations delegation which arrived in Lesotho last Tuesday to assess damage caused during the South African Defence Force raid on Maseru, left for New York and Geneva yesterday after talks with the Lesotho Government and leaders of the refugee committee.

The delegation was led by Mr A Farah, the Under-Secretary General of the UN responsible for political affairs. Two delegates were from the

UN High Commission for Refugees in Geneva.

During their five day stay, the delegates held talks with King Moshoeshoe II, Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, members of the diplomatic corps and other UN agencies in Lesotho.

According to reliable sources, the delegates will recommend to the UN that Lesotho be given more economic support by the international community in order to continue to provide assistance and security for refugees from South Africa.

Meanwhile, Lesotho is expected to attend all the meetings of the Frontline States.

Lesotho was represented at a two-day closed meeting in northern Tanzania at the weekend at which seven Southern African states pledged to give political and material support to nationalist movements engaged in guerrilla warfare in South West Africa and to movements fighting for majority rule in South Africa.

It was the first time Lesotho had attended this meeting.

However, the Lesotho Government has denied that there were any ANC bases in Lesotho or that terrorists responsible for sabotage in South Africa had used it as a base.

The South African Government has said the raid on Maseru, in which 42 people died, was a pre-emptive strike against African National Congress targets, who were planning subversive activities against South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei.

Transket and Ciskei.

## Meet the two Bentley superchargers . . .

By LEICESTER SYMONS  
Motor Editor

MORE than 50 years and R150 000 separate the only two supercharged Bentleys in South Africa, which met at Zoo Lake in Johannesburg yesterday.

They are a brand new Bentley Mulsanne Turbo which will cost whoever buys it R225 000, excluding GST, and a vintage 450 "Blower" Bentley, assembled in 1931,

and outstanding performance for their time. Vintage Bentleys scored five wins, including four in succession, in the famed Le Mans 24 hour race from 1924 to 1930. The Mulsanne Turbo, named after the long straight on the Le Mans circuit, has a top speed of about 220km/h and will accelerate to 100km/h in less than seven seconds, according to overseas tests.

"The Mulsanne Turbo is

in South Africa. He should know. He served his apprenticeship with the company, founded by W O Bentley and helped to build the third of the production series of "Blower" cars.

Only about 50 "Blower" Bentleys were produced and Mr Lyons' example was one of the last before the company was taken over by Rolls-Royce. It came to South Africa as a new car

R50 000. Since then he has spent more than 3 500 hours and a lot of money restoring it.

"The Mulsanne Turbo is a terrific car, but I don't think I would swap", he said.

The Mulsanne has a 9.75l V8 engine. Its makers still do not disclose the power outputs of their engines, but official West German sources do. According to them the Mul-

## More SA merit awards likely

Mail Correspondent

DURBAN. — South African civic and military honours lists will not be extended to include titles — and that's official.

But a committee is investigating the need to bestow further "orders, medals and decorations" on citizens who have rendered good service to the country.

The secretary of the committee, Mr Stoffel Botes, yesterday corrected what he said were "some back to front facts" on the issue after a report in a weekend newspaper.

And the chief official of the State Bureau of Heraldry, Mr Fred Brownell, said the awarding of titles was clearly not suited to constitutional republics.

The committee would recommend changes to the system where it felt this was

# Magistrate accepts statements in Ciskei ANC trial

18/1/83

D. Onyiah  
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11A

ZWELITSHA — A regional court magistrate yesterday accepted statements allegedly made to magistrates by two people charged with promoting the aims of the banned African National Congress.

Mr J. A. Dracatos ruled the statements were admissible despite an objection by the defence advocate, Mr M. T. K. Moerane.

Mr Moerane also opposed the handing in of the statements last year, saying they were made in Afrikaans — not an official language in Ciskei — and had not been made to a Ciskei magistrate.

Yesterday Mr Dracatos said he thought Mr Moerane's preliminary objection had been shelved pending a ruling by the Supreme Court in another trial.

He said he had read in newspapers that the Supreme Court had ruled the statements were admissible, but had not seen a copy of the ruling.

Mr Moerane said he had not seen a copy of the ruling either. He said the problem with the ruling was that no reasons were given and it was couched in negative terms.

Mr Dracatos said he would overrule the objection although he did not have details of the ruling. The defence could appeal later when they got the details, he said.

Earlier an Aliwal North magistrate told the court Miss Jane Nomakhephu Ntsatha, of Zwelitsha, had breastfed her "troublesome baby" while he took a statement from her.

Mr David Fourie said Miss Ntsatha had been nervous when he took the statement.

He added that this could have been because of the baby.

Miss Ntsatha and Mr Mncekeleli Peter of Mgwali face charges of recruiting members for the ANC, possession and distribution of banned literature and recruiting people to undergo training "likely to endanger the maintenance of law and order."

They both pleaded not guilty.

Mr Peter has also pleaded not guilty to undertaking steps to undergo training.

Asked by the prosecutor, Mr P. M. A. Pretorius, during re-examination if he had noticed any marks or bruises on Miss Ntsatha's breasts while breastfeeding the baby, Mr Fourie said he had not looked at her breasts. He said he was embarrassed when she took out her breasts to feed the baby, and looked aside. However, he did not stop her from breastfeeding the child.

Miss Ntsatha told him a security policeman had said she could make a statement to the magistrate if she wished and that she had not been forced.

She said she had no bruises or injuries and he did not see any external signs of bruising.

He said she told him the police did not assault her or influence her to make a statement.

She told him she had not been induced to make a statement and no rewards or promises had

been made nor was she expecting any benefits if she made the statement. Miss Ntsatha made the statement freely without any questions put to her except to explain things she said that were not clear.

The original statement was taken down in Afrikaans and later translated into English. He was satisfied with the translation.

Under cross-examination by the defence counsel, Advocate M. T. K. Moerane, Mr Fourie said he did not ask her about her nervousness. He disputed that she was extremely agitated. She was "fairly nervous," he said.

Mr Moerane put it to him she was nervous because of her ordeal since her arrest four days earlier. Mr Fourie said he could not answer that because he was not there. He said he did not ask her in general terms how she had been treated by the police.

Mr Fourie denied that she had a black eye from being assaulted. He would have noted it down if there was one, he said.

Another magistrate, Mrs Christina Gerber, told the court she took a statement from Mr Peter in November 1981.

She said Mr Peter agreed to make the statement after she had told him he was before a magistrate and was not obliged to speak. He was in sober senses and calm and there were no visible bruises or injuries.

He told her he had not been assaulted by the police or influenced to make a statement.

Under cross-examination by Mr

Moerane she agreed that the interpreter she started the statement with was not the same one she finished with. She had dismissed the first one because he was under "strong influence of liquor." She started afresh with the second one, she said.

She could not remember Mr Peter telling her of assaults when she visited him in police cells at Jamestown.

If he had told her of the assaults she would have noted them down in the register, she said.

Mr Moerane said his instructions were that Mr Peter complained twice of assaults. On the first occasion she told him she would see to the complaint. On the second occasion he was told she was not concerned about assaults. Mrs Gerber said she knew nothing about the alleged assaults.

Asked by Mr Moerane whether Mr Peter was standing or sitting when she asked him preliminary questions printed on the form, she said she thought he was standing. She said it was her practice to ask deponents questions while they were standing.

When asked why, she said she did not know whether there were rules on whether a deponent should stand or sit.

She conceded that a deponent might not feel at ease making a statement standing but thought he would say the same thing whether standing or sitting.

She said she was sitting while taking down the statement because she could not write properly while standing. — DDR

Mercury  
18/1/83  
Talks on (11A)  
'united front'

18/1/83  
African Affairs  
Correspondent

THE response of the coloured Labour Party and the South African Indian Council towards the Government's constitutional proposals will be discussed in Ulundi this weekend by the policy-making central committee of the 750 000-member Inkatha movement.

The central committee will also consider a request to Inkatha to join a 'united front' of organisations and individuals opposed to the proposals.

Inkatha has objected strongly to the plan on the grounds that it excludes blacks from the national decision-making process.

Earlier this month the

Labour Party congress in Eshowe accepted a resolution calling for co-operation with the Government on the proposals in spite of the fact that they fell short of party policy.

There was an angry response from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, who subsequently warned members of the Indian community not to repeat what he believed to be the same mistake.

Last week the constitutional committee of the SAIC approved a recommendation to support the proposals subject to certain provisos.

The Reform Party meets next month.

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# **KwaZulu general election in *Manning* 18/1/83 September**

African Affairs  
Correspondent

CURRENT constitutional developments are likely to feature high on the agenda when the sixth session of the third KwaZulu Legislative Assembly opens at Ulundi on March 2.

The Assembly is dominated by the Inkatha movement which has expressed strong opposition to the Government's plan to establish a parliament with three chambers, one each for whites, coloureds and Indians.

Inkatha objects to the exclusion of blacks from the constitutional proposals.

The term of the Assembly expires on April 17 and nomination courts will sit on May 19 for the second general election in KwaZulu under the present phase of self-government.

Elections will be held throughout the region between September 5 and 9 and there will be a short session of the Assembly from November 7.

The Assembly consists of 131 members, including King Goodwill and his personal representative. Fifty-five of the members are elected and the rest are members of regional authorities.

The second session of the Assembly this year is expected to be held in a new R9 000 000 complex.

The new building incorporates features such as caucus rooms and lounges for members together with sophisticated facilities for the Press.

# Swazis in row on ANC exiles

Argus Africa  
News Service

MBABANE. — A row is developing in Swaziland over the ease with which 17 detained African National Congress (ANC) exiles were able to get past troops guarding a refugee camp on Friday.

An army spokesman said yesterday the soldiers were on duty at the Mawelawela camp to defend the exiles in the event of a South African attack and not to prevent them leaving.

However, the Swazi Police Commissioner, Mr Titus Msibi, is understood to be angry that the ANC men should have been allowed to walk out. He was awaiting instructions yesterday on whether to round them up again.

The 17 approached the guards and said they were leaving even if the troops fired on them.

## DISPERSED

Swazi sources said that once out of the camp the exiles had dispersed and returned to their homes in Manzini and Mbabane.

The exiles were among those detained by Swaziland on December 16 after the South African Defence Force raid on their counterparts in Lesotho.

A wave of fear swept through the camp late last week when two white men were caught by police taking photographs of it.

A police source said the men, who were held briefly and then released, claimed they worked for an Afrikaans newspaper in Johannesburg.

9/11/82

(i) Act of violence

(ii) level of demand

(iii) idea of change of means

(iv) Price Expectations

# Indians

## reject (SIA)

### PW's <sup>ROM</sup>

### plans <sup>1980/183</sup>

INDIAN political movements opposed to the South African Indian Council yesterday rejected the Government's constitutional proposals and warned the SAIC against taking part in the new political framework.

In a statement in Johannesburg, the joint executives of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council and the Natal Indian Congress said the SAIC did not represent the Indian people "and therefore they must not take any decision to participate in the proposals".

"We wish to remind the people of this country that Indian South Africans have . . . in their history never taken sides with the racist regime against the interests of the African people and do not intend to do so now."

The statement condemned the Labour Party decision to participate in the proposals as a "betrayal".

"We are of the view that the Labour Party's decision has been taken in the absence of proper consultation with the mass of the coloured people who, we believe, will have no part in this fraudulent dispensation," it said.

The Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal council had decided that to take part in "any component institution" would be against the interests of the "oppressed majority".

The statement said South Africa's apartheid policies had led to a position where the government was unable to rule on its own.

It had been driven into a corner and needed the support of the Indian and coloured communities to defend white domination.

The statement said implementation of the recommendations of the President's Council would:

- Force coloureds and Indians to support whites in government institutions;
- Maintain white domination by retaining white majority in the central structures of government in a disproportionate ratio;
- Exclude blacks, who were the majority of the "oppressed" people;
- Ignore the demands of the legitimate leaders of the black community; and
- Compel Indians and coloureds to join the army and defend apartheid.

The lot of the "suffering majority" would not be relieved by participation in the proposals, the statement said. — Sapa.

**'Matter** (11A)  
**will be**  
*Mercury*  
**discussed'**  
19/1/83  
**says**

## **Rajbansi**

Mercury Reporter

THE South African Indian Council last night denied it would not participate in the Government's new constitutional proposals if its conditions were not met.

The chairman, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said that the matter would be discussed by the council before a decision was taken.

A meeting between the executive committee of the SAIC and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, was held in Cape Town last Friday where a referendum or a nationwide survey to gauge the attitude of the community towards the constitutional proposals was discussed.

The removal of discriminatory legislation and practices or the declaration of intent to do so and black participation in the new plan were also discussed.

809 x 20  
108

160

# SA Asians urged to try out Govt plan

By NEIL LURSSSEN, Argus Bureau

WASHINGTON. — The Los Angeles Times, the leading newspaper on America's West Coast, says South Africa's Asian community should follow the example of the coloured Labour Party and take part in the new constitutional dispensation.

"There are risks," the Times said in an editorial, "but the coloureds are right for now to go along with the proposal. The Asians should do the same."

"Both groups should then use their new political platforms to campaign for conciliation between whites and blacks and for a significant power-sharing role for the black community."

The newspaper's point of view contrasts sharply with liberal opinion in the United States which has been critical of the Labour Party decision to go along with the constitutional plan.

The Reagan Administration gave the Labour Party its muted support, seeing the development as an indication of the "larger process of change".

Typical of the criticism is the comment of a leading black columnist, Mr William Raspberry, who wrote in the Washington Post that the Labour Party might be exchanging the frying pan for the fire.

Liberal criticism has generally been on the lines that any constitutional reform that excludes full participation by Africans is not worth considering and that coloured participation gives the Government undeserved credit for racial reform.

However, the Times suggested in its editorial that the coloured and Asian groups might be able to use leverage from within the system to achieve reform.

"If coloureds and Asians find themselves stymied, if they find their role totally insignificant, they could pull out," the newspaper said.

## Concessions

It added: "That would represent quite an embarrassment for the Botha Government, which might well be inclined toward concessions to avoid it."

"And, as non-white groups know so well, concessions from Pretoria are hard to come by."

The newspaper said the constitutional plan left key questions unanswered:

● By bringing in blacks, was Pretoria starting a process that inevitably would lead to further racial change in spite of the current rhetoric?

● Or was this a new political scheme designed primarily to try to exclude the Africa majority completely and for ever?

"The rulers of South Africa are probably not sure themselves of just what might emerge from granting even extremely limited power to coloureds and Asians," the newspaper said.

Citing the exclusion of Africans as the major flaw in the proposals, the Times said the fate of South Africa's 18-million Africans remained the central issue in the country's politics.

And their political future was bleak, the newspaper added.

ARGUS  
19/11/83  
11A



# Canadians 'did not see' the raid killings

Mail Correspondent

TORONTO. — The Canadian External Affairs Ministry has conceded 18 Canadian relief workers who said South African forces deliberately shot and killed innocent women and children in the raid into Lesotho on December 9 did not appear to have witnessed any of the killings first-hand.

The Canadians made the charge in a letter to External Affairs Minister Mr Alan MacEachen in which they asked for the recall of the Canadian Ambassador to South Africa, new sanctions against South Africa and a United Nations inquiry into "this act of aggression".

Thirty South Africans and 12 Lesotho citizens were killed in the raid on Maseru.

The Canadians wrote that "several among us have spent a great deal of time learning about this atrocity from the Lesotho, South African and international communities" and that they felt "certain aspects have been inaccurately portrayed to the rest of the world".

An External Affairs Ministry official said the Canadi-

ans did not contend they saw the raid and "I don't think they were in Maseru at the time".

"They were in other parts of Lesotho and what they say is that they made inquiries and reached these conclusions.

The Ministry refused to identify the Canadians because it said the letter was "private correspondence".

Reports originally said 19 Canadian doctors signed the letter. But the official said only 18 signed and she did not know their occupations.

The letter said in part: "The South African Defence Force claimed that it destroyed 12 African National Congress military bases, killed 30 terrorists, seized a large cache of weapons and military supplies while seven Basotho civilians were killed in cross-fire. We would like to make the following points.

"First, the Lesotho Government has emphatically stated that Lesotho is not a base for any form of terrorist activity, the government does not allow arms caches or insurgency training.

"Secondly, 12 targets were in fact the residences of South African refugees who lived openly amidst their Basotho neighbours as members of the community. Their homes were highly visible, situated on public thoroughfares, and any military activity would have been immediately apparent.

"Thirdly, the 30 so-called terrorists were in reality South African refugees. Men, women and children alike were slaughtered. Among the critically injured was one woman six months pregnant who was shot in the abdomen.

"Fourth, it is common knowledge that the majority of the victims were asleep when attacked and were either slaughtered in their beds or dragged outside and shot.

"Fifth, the Lesothos who were killed in the cross-fire were deliberately shot, also in their homes, because the invasion forces mistook their house for that of a South African refugee, entered and shot indiscriminately those they found."

20/1/83  
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Survivors

# Azapo vows to halt cricket tour

THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) vowed yesterday that they were still determined to frustrate the West Indian cricket tour despite the crowds that have witnessed matches so far.

Mr George Wauchope, the organisation's secretary for sport, said they were busy formulating strategies with other anti-tour groups — which they could not identify — to step up the campaign of halting the tour.

"We are leaving no stone unturned and we need all the support we can from all those concerned to drive a point home that the visit is a drawback to the struggle," he said.

## APPEAL

In the meantime, Azapo has appealed to its affiliates to locate and harass the visitors. This follows fruitless attempts last week to locate the tourists in Johannesburg and brief them about the harm their presence was causing in the black community.

And this week, at least twelve organisations signed a pamphlet circulated in East London calling for the boycott of the tourist match against Border — which the visitors won on Monday.

The organisations are: The Border Council of Sport, Border Cricket Board, Border Soccer Board, East London Rugby Union, East London Sportsfield Association, Border Senior Secondary Sports Union, Border Primary Sports Union, Black Student Movement (Rhodes University), South African Allied Workers' Union, General Workers' Union, Food and Canning Workers' Union and the United Women's Organisation.

In a statement, the National Council of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa also called for the boycott.

11A

Sowetan

20/1/83

# ANC <sup>11A</sup> camp ~~2/2~~ claims denied <sup>2011-2011-83</sup>

Mail Reporter

AN AFRIKAANS Sunday newspaper photographer, who is alleged to have taken photographs of an African National Congress refugee camp in Swaziland, has denied Swazi Government claims that the photographs were taken without permission.

Mr Hannes Reinecke, of Rapport, said yesterday that he and a journalist Johan Botha had approached the Swazi Government for permission to interview ANC refugees living in the camp.

"We explained that they had been interviewed by a British Broadcasting Corporation team and that we wished to do likewise.

"A government official told us it would be embarrassing for them to be interviewed by a South African newspaper after they had to flee South Africa.

"We eventually accepted that, but we were never told not to go near the camp. In any case, it is right next to a national road. On Wednesday night I decided to get some pictures to go with the story.

"Later that night we were detained by Swazi police officers in Mbabane, who made it clear and repeatedly stated that we were not under arrest but merely being questioned," Mr Reinecke said.

The journalists were sent back to their hotel after three hours of questioning and their cameras were confiscated.

"The next morning we went back to the police station and after sitting around for five hours we were allowed to go and returned to Johannesburg," he said.

The Principal Secretary in the Swazi Deputy Prime Minister's Office, Mr A R Shabangu, said the journalists defied his instructions not to photograph the camp.

This led to 17 ANC members, who were being detained there in the wake of the South African Defence Force raid on Maseru, staging a walk-out.

They claimed they feared an attack was being planned against them and that they were vulnerable in the camp.

# Reform: 'Power will stay with whites'

**Religion Reporter**  
 EVEN under the proposed new constitution, political and economic power will be retained in white hands and the word "oppression" will remain relevant, says Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio, theologian of the University of Cape Town.

Dr Villa-Vicencio, senior lecturer in religious studies will debate black theology and its significance in the South African situation with Dr Allan Boesak, Ned Geref Sendingkerk theologian and president of the

World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in a series of lectures at UCT next week.

The word "oppression" in South Africa might itself need redefinition after the President's Council proposals, Dr Villa-Vicencio said in an interview.

At the same time, the constitutional proposals themselves still entrenched the status quo in excluding blacks. In this situation, it would be foolhardy for South Africans to ignore the theol-

ogy of liberation or black theology.

In the series of lectures next week, he will sketch social, economic and political factors, including the Afrikaner power structure, in relation to black theology. He will pose certain questions, to which Dr Boesak will respond

Dr Boesak believes that South Africa ignores black theology at its peril.

Both speakers are expected to discuss the consequences in a racist so-

ciety of the declaration of apartheid as a heresy.

Theology in Black and White is the title of the series of lectures to be held at Theatre 3A of the Leslie Social Sciences Building at UCT at 8.15 pm each evening from Monday to Friday next week.

The fee for the full course is R7. Admission for a single lecture is R1.80. Further details are available from the Summer School Office on the first floor of the Leslie Social Sciences Building. ☎ 65-4174 and 65-4177.



Dr Allan Boesak

## PPF win on Rand

**Argus Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — The Progressive Federal Party's Mr Paul Asherson romped home with a majority of 842 votes in yesterday's Johannesburg municipal by-election in the Wanderers (Ward 7).

The 29-year-old company director, whose standing with the PFP dates back more than a decade when he was a member of the youth movement in Durban, hopes to "push Johannesburg into the 20th century".

"I want to serve the people of my ward and the people of Johannesburg," he said after the result was announced.

Mr Asherson, who will be making his maiden speech at the Johannesburg City Council's monthly meeting next Tuesday, defeated his independent rival, Major Allan Ryan, by 1 132 votes to 290.

# Enthusiasm for green city scheme

**Municipal Reporter**

**LEADING** conservationists, architects and town planners have hailed the City Council's report on the greening of the city as "excellent, far-sighted and ambitious".

Representatives of various organisations at the public presentation of the report yesterday were unanimous in their enthusiasm for the scheme.

If approved, the report will serve as a general guide to open space and amenity development in Cape Town for the next 15 years.

"It's an excellent scheme. The City Council must not get bogged down by nitpickers now. They must run with it while it has still got momentum." Professor Neville Dubow, head of the University of Cape Town's Michaelis School of Fine Art, said.

The chairman of the Botanical Society of South Africa, Mrs Kay Bergh, said it was an "excellent" report.

"We are impressed with its thoroughness and its concern for our natural heritage.

Dr Anthony Hall, chairman of the Cape Peninsula Conservation

Trust, said it was a "magnificent" scheme.

The chairman of the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, Mr H L Fish, said the city had taken a new and positive direction in placing the quality of the environment in the foreground of its concerns.

"The report must be commended for covering all areas of the city. It will improve the quality of life for all — those who live in rural areas as well as those in highly urbanised environments.

"It's a very ambitious project and its success will depend on the reaction and participation of the public."

## Waldorf shooting charges

**Argus Bureau**  
**LONDON.** — Two police detectives charged after last week's shooting of Mr Stephen Waldorf have been granted unconditional bail after a three-minute court hearing.

Detective-Constable John Jardine, 37, of the Criminal Intelligence Branch is accused of attempting to murder Mr Waldorf in Kensington on January 14.

Detective-Constable Peter Finch, 37, is accused of attempting to wound Mr Waldorf at the same place on the same day.

**FACE LIFE**  
 The case was adjourned until March 17.

If found guilty, both officers face life sentences.

Mr Waldorf was shot by police who surrounded a car they believed contained David Martin, who escaped from custody while awaiting trial for attempting to murder a policeman.

# SA actor pleads for son in drug-smuggling trial

**Argus Bureau**  
**LONDON.** — South African actor Stratford Johns has made a dramatic courtroom plea for his 20-year-old son, who is facing a drugs smuggling charge.

Mr Johns, who played tough detective Charlie Barlow in the immensely popular British TV series, Z Cars, told a jury in Reading yesterday that his son was "very gullible" and had "die in

Reading Crown Court. "I told me honestly: 'Dad, I did not do it,' and I believed him."

His son, Alan Stratford Johnson, has denied smuggling morphine worth R80 000 in to Britain from India.

The morphine was found hidden in his luggage by customs men at Heathrow airport, but he claims it was planted and that he was used as an unwitting courier.

"I think he is a very gullible boy. He thinks the older generation are a bit silly and thinks a lot of our ideas about politics and medicine are wrong."

He said his son, who admitted in court that he was a regular cannabis (dagga) smoker, had been keen on making a trip to India.

He said it involved a travel club and one of his first jobs was to go over

"I was rather pleased that he was actually going to do something sensible. Like all kids, he has dreams which are a bit pie in the sky and this was a chance for him to sort himself out."

Mr Johns said that soon after his son arrived home in Britain he received four strange telephone calls from a man asking for his son.

"The first was from

something like: 'I'm on my way over.'

"They were from a man with an Asian voice."

"I was suspicious only after the last call from London."

"It was a man with an English-sounding voice asking for Alan. When I told him Alan was facing a very serious drugs charge, he said he did not know that and hung up immediately."

The jury was expected

# ANC exile skips bail in Mbabane

Mail Reporter

MBABANE — A warrant for the arrest of an African National Congress exile, Mr Patrick Brown Motsa, for failing to appear in court was issued by the High Court of Swaziland yesterday.

Mr Motsa, who is out on R2 000 bail, is one of the 17 ANC members who walked out of the Mawelawela refugee camp last Friday. He was due to appear in court yesterday on charges of attempted murder.

The State alleges that in August last year Mr Motsa shot Chief Solomon Ngomane, of KaNgwane, several times near Matsapa Police College. Chief Ngomane favoured incorporation of KaNgwane into Swaziland and fled to Swaziland to escape intimidation.

During an application for bail last December, the State alleged in an affidavit that Mr Motsa had threatened to

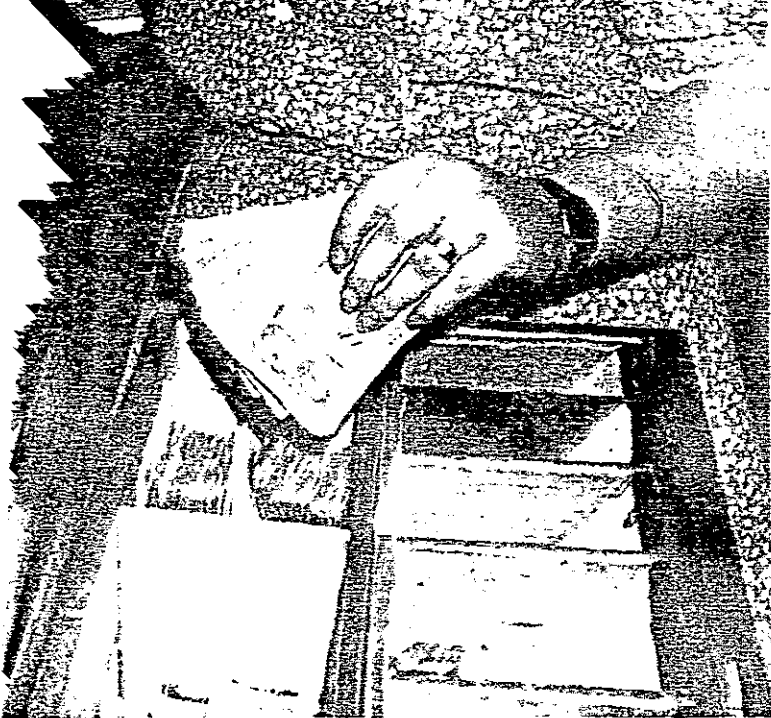
shoot police and turn the gun on himself. It further alleged that Mr Motsa was going to interfere with State witnesses.

An application by the State yesterday for forfeiture of bail was dismissed by Mr Justice Ben Duma, who said: "Motsa must be arrested and be brought to court to explain why he failed to appear on the said date."

The defence contended that Mr Motsa's failure to appear in court was because he feared arrest for leaving the camp without the government's permission.

Meanwhile a representative of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Swaziland, Mr E P Rowusuebo, said yesterday: "All the 17 refugees who walked out on Friday cannot be traced. The authorities claim that they returned to their homes, but we have no information about this."

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29/1/83



... returns the R1 000, which was missing from the Rissik Street Post day a man bought Bonus Bonds worth R7 500 but paid only R6 500.

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

## 33 is full of promise for Desiré

African Desiré Wilson, world's leading woman driver, and her husband look like having a year.

Wilson has been operations Director of the New York Grand Prix and negotiated almost been committed Desiré to drive in five International Sport Association races as well as in the Indy series in the United States.

Desiré is also negotiating with a Chicago company for backing to run an Indy car in 13 races in 1983. "We have set up a new home for ourselves in New York, and are excited about our prospects this year," Desiré said. "Alan's job is a prestige one and carries a tremendous amount of responsibility, and

I am looking forward to a busy year on the track with another shot at the Indianapolis 500 the big prize." The New York Grand Prix is to be run on the site of the 1964 World Trade Fair at Flushing Meadows. Alan Wilson will be responsible for the layout of the track, co-ordinating construction of the circuit and all spectator facilities, and co-ordination of the race organisation. "The site for the track is a park," he said. "And when the race is over we have to hand it back to the people of New York. This means no buildings or barriers can remain, and it is going to be an incredible personal challenge for me. At the same time I am flattered that I was chosen for the job, and am looking forward to it." — Sapa.

## Borg to thrill Thais

BANGKOK. — Tennis superstar Bjorn Borg of Sweden arrived in Thailand yesterday for a seven-day visit which will include calls on senior Thai leaders, a royal princess and some exhibition tennis. He will also make a five-day trip to Katmandu, capital of Nepal. He is accompanied by his wife Marianna, his parents and his coach. — Sapa.

ALFRED DUNHILL, LONDON, PROUDLY PRESENTS

# DUNHILL

## » LUXURY LIGHT «

IN KING SIZE 30's  
AND  
LUXURY LENGTH 20's

Luxury Length 20's.

# Leaders urge black unity

Year	
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**Own Correspondent**  
**Afr**  
 DURBAN. — Meeting for the first time since 1975, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu and President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei yesterday dedicated their countries to opposing a constitutional deal that excluded blacks.

In a statement afterwards at Tongaat, Chief Buthelezi said that whatever political differences might have developed between Kwazulu and Transkei, there was an urgent need for the two areas to unite and fight apartheid.

The leaders issued a statement committing themselves to black unity as a means of liberating all South Africans.

Chief Buthelezi, also president of the national Inkatha movement, told President Matanzima that a united demand for a non-racial federal solution could lead to a practical reality.

In terms of the strategy Kwazulu and the other so-called homelands would

continue to refuse independence. Meanwhile, Transkei and other "independent" homelands could oppose Pretoria's constitutional changes leading to confederalism.

They agreed to search for a formula to promote unity.

President Matanzima and Chief Buthelezi said the meeting had been held because the leaders realized that blacks in South Africa had been excluded from decision-making for generations.

They said a united front against political and racial discrimination was needed and that white domination thrived on continued black disunity.

But in November last year Transkei sent a top-level delegation to Ulundi to discuss, inter alia, the concept of a federal solution for South Africa involving the independent homelands, the self-governing regions and the urban blacks.

The recent lifting of a ban on Inkatha by Transkei paved the way for the meeting.

	White	Total
	..	..
	..	..
	8 587	8 587
	8 981	8 981
	10 245	10 245
	11 368	11 368
	12 119	12 119
	12 444	12 444
	11 368	11 368
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Address:

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Telephone: (021) 437 380

Officials: General Secretary: G.J.B. Janse van Rensburg

Area of Operation: National

Founded: 1924

Registration: Yes

# 'Test your support with a referendum' challenge to NIC

IIA

## Mercury Reporter

THE clash between the South African Indian Council and its rival body, the Natal Indian Congress, took a new turn yesterday with a challenge to the NIC to test its support in the community through a referendum.

The challenge was issued by the SAIC's executive chairman, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, following a warning to the SAIC not to accept the Government's new proposals for constitutional reform.

In a joint statement this week, the NIC and the Transvaal Anti-SAIC committee said the SAIC did not represent the Indian people

and it should therefore not commit the community by deciding to participate in the new political framework.

Hitting back, Mr Rajbansi said if the NIC and the Transvaal Anti-SAIC committee were so concerned about racism then they could be tagged as a racist organisation.

"The very ethnic nature of the two bodies, which are also working in a racist atmosphere by only concentrating on Indians, makes them so.

"We are using the system with honesty, dedication and applying practical politics to get a better deal for our people."

If these two bodies claim that the SAIC has no mandate to say yes, my comments are that both these organisations have been put to shame by the conditions which the SAIC has laid with the Government before a firm decision can be taken on the new constitutional deal.

"May I know from where did the NIC and its cohorts in the Transvaal get a mandate to take a decision on behalf of the Indian people to reject the proposals?"

He said the SAIC had made it very clear that it wanted to be guided by public opinion.

11A Mercury 21/1/83

# Buthelezi attacks Mercury editorial

SIR — Even now that I have had time to think about your editorial of Thursday, January 6, under the heading 'Weapons at hand', it remains for me atrociously ill-conceived. Its blindness to the realities of our situation is so complete that it must necessarily be contrived. It has the effect of provocatively pushing the Government's line of reasoning. In essence it says that because the first dose of poison has not killed you, there is hope that more doses will prove a tonic.

The President's Council is the first step towards the establishment of a confederation, which is the only final form classical apartheid can take. You say it is a first step towards a future situation in which 'all peoples, blacks included, participate fully in the decision-making process'. This blind assertion is no more than a white liberal refusal to look at the nature of South African politics.

The movement in South African politics has been a movement away from democracy. For three decades, every step the National Party has taken has been a step which has made South Africa ever more rejected and kept us as the pariah of the world.

## Hideous

The nature of white-dominated South African politics is politically hideous and oppressive. I believe that the final poverty of white liberalism is now showing as white editorial opinion, and many business leaders support the Government in what they are doing. The South African Government has no plan for black involvement in the country's government because white opinion has not pushed for that involvement other than through politically disastrous expressions of opinions such as your editorial.

Your editorial remarks can only be made in a context in which whites have common ground in a tacit agreement that the evil day of black participation in government must be delayed as long as possible. Your opinion rests on the sub-strata of white belief that blacks would be politically incompetent to form a government or to participate in a government.

## Prevarication

The gradualism which they read into P W Botha's so-called guidelines is no more than political prevarication by liberal opinion which recognises that it is uncivilised to exclude blacks, but which has not got the courage to be civilised.

Liberal opinion has not shed the 18th- and 19th-century belief in the inherent inferiority of blacks. There is no white opinion being expressed at this point in time demanding black involvement now. Nobody in your position is now demanding the introduction of a democratic government which would necessarily be black-dominated because demography would ensure this. Whites hail never-never schemes as progress.

## Tell all

It would, Sir, be honest of you to tell the world where you stand on this issue. Do you believe that a black majority in government is what this country needs? I am not asking whether you think it is politically feasible. I am asking whether you agree with it in principle for us here and now.

The Natal Mercury has given no evidence of believing in democracy. Because the Government has been retrogressive for over 30 years, white opinion has come to accept that reform can only come in the direction of that retrogression. There is no salvation of apartheid through apartheid, and the President's Council is the stringent application of apartheid's principles. It separates final decision-making powers from the dependence of a non-white electorate.

You say that I am 'understandably disappointed'. I am not important. It is the betrayal of black South Africa and the denial of all political decency that is important. And you continue to misconceive my position when you ask: 'Would Chief Buthelezi himself have had the platform he exploits so effectively were it not that he had used the imperfect system that was available?'

## Appalled

I have been shocked and appalled again and again recently by the view that I 'exploit the system'. KwaZulu had the kind of sovereignty which made it necessary for the British Empire to go to war against it. Long before there was a white government in South Africa, the people of Natal had their

own government.

The political institutions of the Zulu people were not created by whites, and I derive both my political credibility and my clout from a position which is not made by whites. The effectiveness of my platform has constantly been under attack by Pretoria. I do not derive my credibility from them. I trace my descent both through my mother and my father to the founding fathers of the Zulu Kingdom and the Zulu nation.

## Born to it

I was born into a position of political leadership, and it is this position which is recognised by Inkatha's mass membership. Nowhere in Africa have 750 000 people formally achieved a political organisation such as Inkatha. That massive showing of strength and solidarity is not a success on the part of Pretoria, and is not due to any platform that they have given me.

The liberal view that I am dependent on platforms handed out by white administrators is another aspect of liberalism's blindness to the realities of our situation.

The same blindness is evident when you say: 'It simply means that the party is determined to do something about it rather than shouting the odds from the sidelines'. You give us to understand in these words that unless we accept the political handouts from Pretoria we can only shout political odds from the sidelines. You say virtually that the coloured people have no politics other than the politics of the President's Council. You say they have no options, and you spurn everything that the Black Alliance stands for.

## Abdication

It is tragic that some wisdom only comes in retrospect. The Natal Mercury will be proved woefully wrong. The Labour Party's decision will lead to the demise of the Labour Party. It is the party's final political cul-de-sac from which it will be virtually impossible to retreat. They can achieve nothing where they are going, and they prolong the status quo in what they are doing.

It is politically naive in the dangerous extreme to talk about the coloured position as one 'to carry the fight to the Government'. It is not the cowering of the people we see. It is the abdication of their leaders that we witness. For me the equivalent would have been the acceptance of so-called independence.

Had I done so, the coloured and Indian communities of South Africa would have seen the final betrayal. Fortunately for us the coloured move is not a final betrayal. The decision of the Labour

Party is deeply disappointing, but it is disappointing because they have opted out of the political process. I would so much have preferred them to remain inside it.

The real political process will continue, and I hope and pray that my brothers and sisters, who are misguided to have done what they did, will come to their senses before it is too late and return to the real politics of opposition while it is possible to do so.

MANGOSUTHU GATSHA  
BUTHELEZI  
Chief Minister,  
President. Inkatha

P Bag X01  
Ulundi  
3838

**FOOTNOTE:** Among the points made in the leading article to which Chief Buthelezi refers is that, while the Government may not at present have any plan for black involvement in decision-making, 'never' was a silly word in this context. Reality would sooner or later make it inevitable.

'After all, a short while ago Mr Vorster as Prime Minister said the future of the coloureds should be left to our children' and Nationalism once talked of sending all Indians back to India. Yet in the few short years of Mr Botha's premiership there has been change which in Afrikanerdom's terms is dramatic.'

## Absurd

To conclude that the essence of the article was that 'because the first dose of poison had not killed there was hope that more doses would prove a tonic' is absurd. Simply paraphrased, the point being made was that reality dictated that coloured leaders use whatever tools or weapons were at hand.

Why Chief Buthelezi should have any doubts about where we stand in regard to black participation we do not know, having stated repeatedly that we favour their participation, but without domination. We do not accept majority rule is the answer now or in the immediate future. Chief Buthelezi, however, believes fervently in majority rule for obvious reasons.

Numbers, however, have certainly not ensured democratic government — as understood in civilised communities — elsewhere in Africa.

If an open society has any hope of prospering then some political formula will have to be contrived which protects the rights and future of all, and that will require gradual negotiated change involving the co-operation of all groups.





### No panicking

Writers have those in 'power' will have to be persuaded of the need to change. They must not be panicked into capitulation by fiery rhetoric or counter-productive threats.

Our view is that the first real engagement, as perfect as it may be, only begins with a tri-continental Parliament. Political forces, of which Chief Bachelet is but one, guarantee that the

What is the alternative? threats from the side ones. It is not a case of accepting

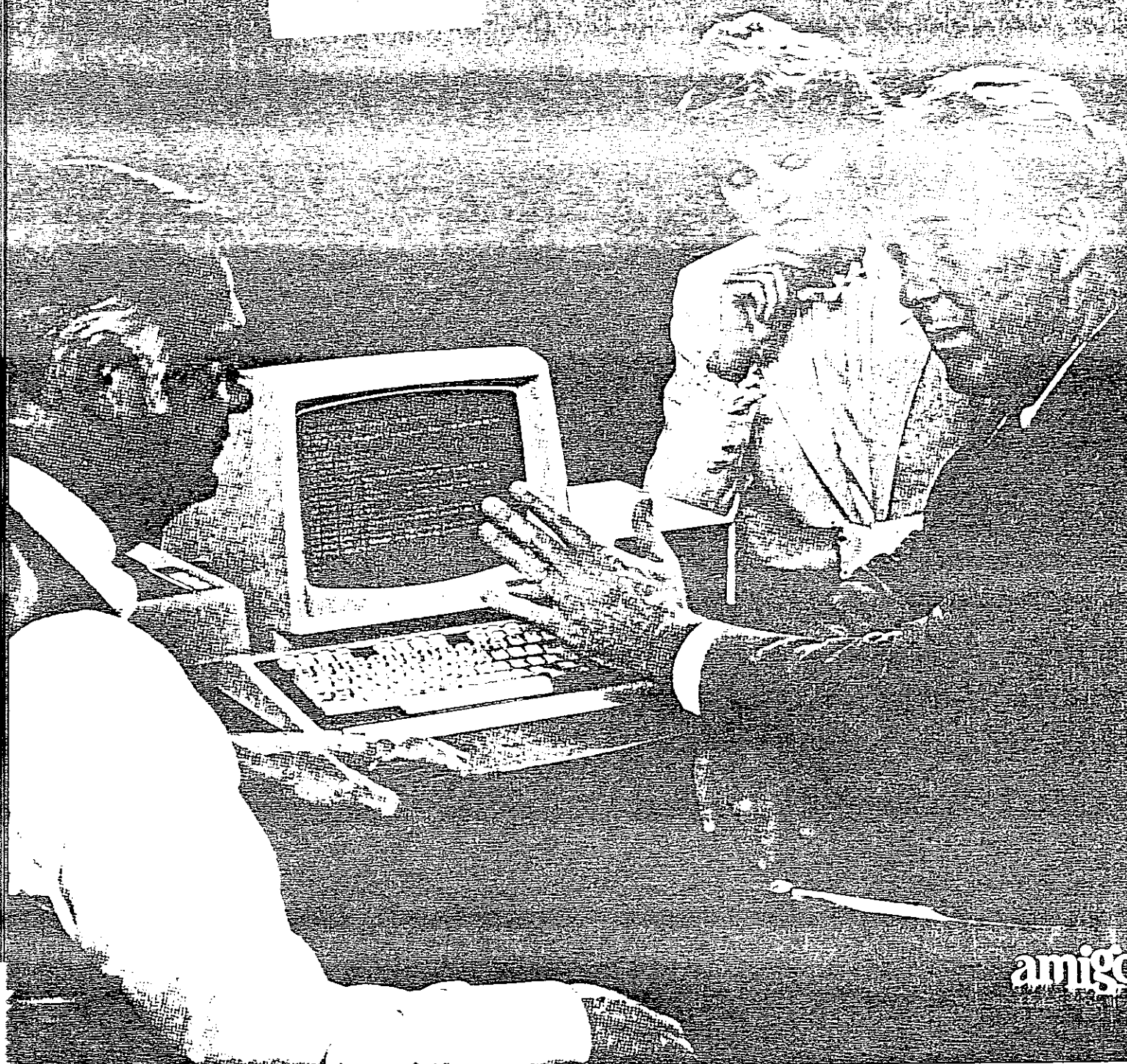
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# Indian congress turns critical eye on reform

11A Star 21/1/83

By Eugene Saldanha  
The Government's constitutional proposals are likely to be the target of sharp criticism at the first congress of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (TASC) in Johannesburg this weekend.

More than 300 delegates from trade unions, political bodies and community organisations have been invited to the two-day congress, which will be held in the Selborne Hall.

The congress is the first major gathering of any organisation which

has made known its refusal to work within the Government's constitutional framework. It comes only two weeks before the South African Indian Council meets to decide its stand on participation in the proposed tri-cameral Parliament.

Among the guest speakers at the meeting will be the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), Dr Allan Boesak, and the secretary-general of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), Mr Thozamile Gqweta. Both have already indicated their rejection of the new constitutional dispensation.

Dr Essop Jassat, chairman of TASC, will deliver the keynote address on "the role of TASC in the period ahead".

A spokesman for the committee said the congress would try to "assess and analyse the short-term and long-term effects of the Government's new guidelines".

Later an extensive campaign would be launched to "present the other side of the coin".

## Coloured leader supports P W

By Eugene Saldanha

The attempt by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to initiate reform was a bold step for which he should be congratulated, the chairman of the Johannesburg Coloured Management Committee (CMC), Mr Miley Richards, said last night.

But Mr Richards, deputy leader of the Labour Party, warned that Mr Botha should be "steered in the right direction" so there could be meaningful change. He was addressing the CMC's monthly meeting with Johannesburg City Council officials.

"This committee agrees with the principle of reform ... but if we want to achieve our ultimate aim — which is one man, one vote in a unitary system — then we must work hard to steer the Government in that direction," he said.

A senior CMC member, Mr Percy Pepper, attacked the Government for offering to underwrite any losses incurred by the South African Cricket Union over the West Indies team tour. "Thousands of South Africans are homeless and unemployed. The money ... should be channelled towards housing and creating job opportunities."

ZWELITSHA — A man told the regional court magistrate here he was made to stand next to Steve Biko's grave at the Ginsberg cemetery in handcuffs and leg irons while police threatened to shoot him.

Mr Mncekeleli Peter of Mgwali said the investigating officer, Warrant Officer Bezuidenhout of Aliwal North, told him he was going to die like a dog in the same manner Steve Biko died if he did not tell the officer what he wanted him to say.

Mr Peter was giving evidence in a trial with-in a trial to determine the admissibility of confessions allegedly made by him and a co-accused, Miss Nomakhophu Ntsatha of Zwelitsha.

Both are appearing before Mr J. A. Dracatos charged with promoting the aims of the banned ANC.

They have pleaded not guilty to being members of the ANC, recruiting members for the ANC, being in possession of and distributing banned literature and recruiting

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PIA  
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**Accused: gun held to my head**  
D. Dracatos 22/1/83

people to undergo training likely to endanger the maintenance of law and order.

Mr Peter has also pleaded not guilty to taking steps to undergo training.

Mr Peter said he was taken out of his cell at dawn and driven to the graveyard. He was made to stand next to Steve Biko's tombstone. He said W/O Bezuidenhout had asked him to talk about Steve Biko's organisation.

He and other policemen moved backwards and the officer pulled out his firearm and threatened to shoot him if he did not talk, he said.

He said W/O Bezuidenhout had wanted him to admit he was on his way to undergo military training as a terrorist when he was arrested at Burgersdorp in November 1981.

At the King William's Town security police offices he was told to strip naked. He said he was prodded with a gadget that gave him electric shocks. The gadget had two metal prongs that rotated as it was brought towards him.

He said he screamed with pain and at one time felt dizzy.

At one stage he was taken into an office where he saw Miss Ntsatha standing on a wet spot. She later told him it was her urine. He was asked to talk on terrorism before her.

When he refused he was taken back and electric shocks were again applied on him.

At one stage W/O Bezuidenhout pointed a gun at his face threatening to kill him, he said. DDR.

Transkei  
suspects  
freed 22/11/83

UMTATA — Three men charged under Transkei's security legislation were told yesterday by an Umtata Regional Court magistrate, Mr I R Carlisle, that they were free men.

Mr Ezra Mvuyisi Sigwela, 42, a field-worker of the Transkei Council of Churches, Mr Wilson Mzwandile Fanti, 55, a Stutterheim taxi-operator, and Mr Alfred Siphiso Xobololo, 60, deputy-leader of the Transkei opposition Democratic Progressive Party, had pleaded not guilty to charges under Section 27 of the Transkei Public Security Act.

They were alleged to have engaged in activities aimed at furthering the objectives of the banned African National Congress, or to have acted in the direct or indirect interests of the ANC. — Sapa

# 3 found not guilty on terror charges

UMTATA — Three men charged under Transkei's Public Security Act were found not guilty in the regional court here yesterday.

Mr Ezra Sigwela, 42, Mr Wilson Fantl, 55, and Mr Alfred Xobolo, 60, were all found not guilty under the terrorism section of the act.

The men were alleged to have engaged in the activities aimed at furthering the aims of the outlawed African National Congress between January 1981 and August last year.

They were also alleged to have conveyed people to Lesotho and to have aided and advised people to avoid official border posts between Transkei and Lesotho to enable them to proceed to Maseru.

They were also alleged to have assisted, harboured or concealed people they knew were members, sympathisers or recruits of the ANC; to have indoctrinated people in Transkei in matters pertaining to the ANC; and to have recruited, encouraged and aided the recruitment of persons to join the ANC.

The men were further alleged to have sent and received messages, made payments and received money for arranging journeys and organising transport, obtained necessary documents and arranged liaison between members and sympathisers of the ANC.

They had pleaded not guilty to all the counts.

The magistrate, Mr I. R. Carlisle, said the state had relied heavily on evidence by two accom-

plices-turned state witness.

He dwelt at length on the legal implications on evidence that has been given by an accomplice.

He said an accomplice could easily implicate the accused because he wanted to shield a friend or wanted his own freedom. He could give evidence favourable to the state to gratify the police and in turn hope he would get an indemnity from prosecution.

The first accomplice, Mr Mlungisi Mtshontana, was currently under detention and professed not to know when he would be released.

That gave him a good reason to tamper with his evidence to suit the case of the state, he said.

Mr Mtshontana had said he was illiterate and had avoided committing himself, especially on dates. But it was clear throughout the time he gave evidence that he was politically aware.

Mr Carlisle said Mr Mtshontana was an organiser of the official opposition party in Transkei, the Democratic Progressive Party. At one stage, Mr Mtshontana had said there was some disquiet among members of the ruling party in Sterkspruit.

Mr Mtshontana had gone there and tried to take advantage of the situation and canvassed people to join his party.

That could not have been done by an ignorant person, the magistrate said.

He said the overriding impression he got from Mr Mtshontana was that

Mr Mtshontana was more concerned with saving his own skin than telling the truth. He was blatantly lying and frequently contradicted himself and sometimes pretended to have forgotten the sequel of event.

Mr Carlisle said the second accomplice who gave evidence, Mr Sizani Mtshontana, was not different from his cousin, the first accomplice.

Besides those two accomplices, the state had no other evidence to prove their case against the accused.

The magistrate said Mr Sizani Mtshontana was aggressive and refused to take the oath when he was called to the witness box. He used the chance to expound his political manifesto which was nearly that of Karl Marx.

Mr Mtshontana clearly did not recognise the independence of Transkei and other national states. He was evasive in answering questions.

Mr Carlisle said it was impossible to place reliance on the evidence of the accomplices.

None of the accomplices' evidence directly connected the accused with the ANC.

Mr Carlisle said the accused had given reasonable explanations about their actions which were not rebutted.

The magistrate found that the state had failed to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the three men had committed the crime as set out on the charge sheet and acquitted them. — DDR.

# Labour in weak position for bargaining

By ANDRÉ DU TOIT

Cape Times  
22/1/83

Dr Du Toit is associate professor of political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, and a co-author of "Censorship: A Study of Censorship in South Africa" (Institute of Race Relations, 1983). This is the second of two articles. The first appeared yesterday.

THE immediate effects of the Labour Party's decision to "go in" have been to increase tensions within its own ranks, to create a crisis within the Black Alliance, and generally to increase the divisions in black politics. And this, in turn, can only undermine its own bargaining strength.

To be at all effective in any pluralistic legislature a minority party must either have vetoing powers in specified but significant circumstances, or it must have the possibility to build majority coalitions and alliances together with other minority groupings.

But if such "ganging up" is excluded, and if the governing party is assured of a built-in white majority, which can also not be checked by minority vetoes, the most determined leadership of the Labour Party will find itself left to the tender mercies of its new partners. If we are to believe the second report of the President's Council — which has yet to be endorsed by the government — this is precisely what the set-up in the new constitutional system will be. On these lines the Labour Party is likely to find that the vaunted new "consensus politics" is a trap designed to drain it of any independent bargaining power.

## Prevent boycotts

Similarly, the Labour Party would be in a potentially strong position if its continued participation were to be essential to the functioning of the new constitutional system. If a threat to withdraw its co-operation would imply that the very machinery of government would grind to a standstill — budgets cannot be approved, teachers or civil servants cannot be paid, essential services cannot function — then the party would always be able to count on a powerful trump card. But again the second report of the President's Council points to a parliamentary system specifically designed to prevent and counter possible boycotts or walk-outs.

Finally, successful bargaining requires compromises; it must involve give and take on all sides, but never outright victory. The effective bargainer must thus at all times be able to steer a clear course between negotiable and non-negotiable issues.

Here the National Party has adopted a much tougher and shrewder course. The guidelines adopted by the NP congresses allow considerable flexibility on many issues of detail, but also unambiguously bind the party leadership to certain fundamental principles.

Confronted with claims to scrap the Group Areas Act, to desegregate schools within a unified education system or to extend political rights to urban blacks, the NP

leadership can and must say that they have no mandate to depart from the guidelines approved by the party's congresses. As far as the NP government is concerned these are thus non-negotiable matters.

By contrast the resolution adopted at the Labour Party congress is weak and ambiguous; it commits the Labour Party to an objective known to be anathema to any NP leadership — one man one vote within a unified political system — and then in the next breath declares these to be "negotiable" issues. This more or less amounts to a blank cheque to the party leadership to bargain for whatever it can get; but it also deprives that leadership of having any entrenched position of its own in such bargaining encounters.

The position is thus that the Labour Party will participate in the new constitutional system with the stated aims of wresting concessions from the NP government on issues which the latter can and must declare to be non-negotiable. This the party aims to do from a weak and isolated political base within a system specifically designed to neutralize its favourite strategies. To say the least, the outlook for the Labour Party to work against the new system from within is not very bright — in part because of the timing and manner of its own decision.

## Credibility

Obviously the Labour Party will have to be rewarded for participating in the new constitutional scheme. The government also has a stake in making the new system work, and this includes a minimum of credibility to its junior partners. But the NP leadership will be in the position where it can largely determine the nature and extent of such rewards unilaterally. Fundamental principles involving group areas, race classification, separate education or black political rights will not be touched until such time as the NP congresses will be ready to face them.

Only a party with a strong and independent political base would be able to force the government's hand on this — and if it is still in earnest on this score the Labour Party will quickly have to find ways in which to extend its political base within its designated electorate rather than seeing it be eroded still further.

by LEON MARSHALL,  
Political Editor

**A large majority of coloured people in the Cape Town area reject the Government's constitutional proposals.**

But a more marginal majority also agree with the Labour Party's decision to participate in the proposed scheme, and if an election were called it could bank on considerable support. The major problem might be a mass stay-away from the polls.

These are the major conclusions from a poll done for Weekend Argus in the Cape Town metropolitan area to establish the political mood and trends in the coloured community, particularly in view of the major controversy sparked by the Labour Party's Eshovwe decision.

Of all the people polled, an overwhelming 61 percent said the Government's proposals were not acceptable against only 25 percent who considered these acceptable.

The proposals were rejected particularly by better educated people of whom 72 percent said they found them unacceptable. But even among those with a primary education only 47 percent said they found the proposals unacceptable against 30 percent who said they were acceptable.

The younger generation, too, are strongly opposed to the proposals. Of people between the age of 15 and 34 a high total of 65 percent said the proposals were unacceptable. But even in the age group of 35 years upwards 54 percent rejected the proposals.

In spite of these conflicting attitudes to the Government's scheme, a feature of the poll was the large number of people — 36 percent — who admitted they did not understand the proposals against 25 percent who said they did, and 37 percent who said they understood them partly only.

On the Labour Party's decision to participate in the scheme, although itself, too, rejects the proposals, opinions were more evenly matched. But again it was the better educated and to a more limited extent the younger generation who offered the strongest resistance.

Of all the people polled, 50 percent said they agreed with the Labour Party decision, 40 percent did not and 10 percent either did not know, refused to say or were not interested.

Of the younger generation — 15 to 34 years — 49 percent backed the decision against 41 percent who opposed it. In the age group 35 years upwards 52 percent agreed with the decision as against 38 percent who disagreed.

# Weekend Argus poll: What the people feel

w/c ARGUS  
22/1/83  
11A

## HOW THEY VOTED

SAMPLE SIZE	Total		15-34		35+		Prim. only		Some High.	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Do you understand the Government's constitutional proposals?	439	222	217	271	188	201	238			
Yes	25	32	18	26	11	29	9	38		
Partly understand	37	37	36	65	11	39	37	36		
Do not understand	36	29	43	36	35	50	24			
Don't know/refused/not interested	3	2	3	2	2	4	4	2		
Are the proposals acceptable to you?										
Yes	25	22	29	21	32	30	21			
No	61	67	54	65	64	47	72			
Don't know/refused/not interested	14	11	17	14	14	22	7			
Do you agree with the Labour Party's decision to participate in the scheme?										
Yes	50	43	53	49	52	38	42	34		
No	40	50	29	41	38	26	51			
Don't know/refused/not interested	10	7	12	10	10	16	5			
Would you vote for the Labour Party in an election?										
Yes	37	31	44	37	38	42	34			
No	10	13	6	9	10	6	12			
Don't know/refused/not interested	6	6	6	7	8	10	3			
What are your main reasons for accepting the proposals?										
It is a good contribution which will serve coloured interests								13%		
It represents some progress a step in the right direction								13%		
Blacks are excluded								4%		
What are your main reasons for rejecting the proposals?										
Blacks are excluded								28%		
The proposed system entrenches apartheid								26%		
Coloureds will not benefit								25%		
Proposals do not go far enough								17%		
Do not trust government								3%		
Labour Party has been misled by the Government								2%		

Of those with primary education only 58 percent supported the decision, 26 percent came out against it and 16 percent didn't know, refused to answer or were not interested. In the better-educated group, 51 percent were in favour and only 5 percent abstained from answering. What would happen if an election was called?

Of all the people polled, 37 percent said they would vote for the Labour Party, 10 percent said they would vote against it and a massive 47 percent would not vote, didn't know, refused to answer or were not interested.

Another interesting feature of the poll was the reasons people gave for accepting or rejecting the Government's proposals.

Of all the people polled, 13 percent accepted the Government plan because they considered it a good constitution which would serve coloured interests; another 13 percent accepted it because they thought it represented some progress or was a step in the right direction. Only four percent accepted it because blacks were excluded.

People's main reason for rejecting the proposals was the exclusion of blacks. Out of the total sample 28 percent listed this as their major reason. Another 26 percent rejected the proposed system because it entrenched apartheid, 25 percent because it would not benefit the coloured people, 17 percent because the proposals did not go far enough, 3 percent because they did not trust the Government and 2 percent because they believed the Labour Party was being used by the Government.

In general the poll showed that the majority of men understood or partly understood the proposals, while the vast majority of women either did not understand or only partly understood the proposals. Of the men, 22 percent found the proposals acceptable while 67 percent considered them unacceptable, as against 29 percent of the women who accepted the proposals and 54 percent who rejected them.

A majority of men — 50 percent — disagreed with the Labour Party decision to participate as opposed to considerable support among women — 58 percent — who approved of the party's move.

Women were equally divided between voting for the Labour Party and abstaining in an election, with 44 percent on both sides, and only 6 percent saying they would vote against it.

Among the men, 50 percent would either not vote or didn't know, would not answer or were not interested as opposed to only 31 percent who said they would vote for the Labour Party and 13 percent against it.

The poll was conducted by Argus Market Research in an area which included Cape Town, Wynberg, Simon's Town, Goodwood and Bellville. The sample size was 439, which included 222 men and 217 women, with 271 between the age of 15 and 34 and 168 35 years and upwards, and 201 with a primary education and 238 with a higher education.

'BOYCOTT TO US IS A TACTIC, NOT A PRINCIPLE'

By D M G Curry

CONFUSION exists over the position in which Coloured people find themselves. It is time that we examine our society, because our situation is not a closed one with no exits for even limited situations can be transformed into avenues to freedom

because of in fighting among ourselves, efforts have become nullified and this prevents constructive action. For too long others have spoken for us. It is time we speak for ourselves. It is a pity that we do not even approach one another with open minds.

Reject apartheid

It is a fact that most of our people reject apartheid, that they reject the policy of separate development. This is the basic tenet on which the Labour Party has been constructed.

We have been and still are an anti-apartheid party.

Many people especially the boycotters, refused to participate in the system. To them boycott is a principle not to be deviated from. They believed that they show their rejection with the politics of stay away.

We in the Labour Party realised that this was not enough. We had to enter these political structures to plan our rejection.

If we have merely motives for mercenary gain we would be sitting pretty on the President's Council? The destruction of the CRC and CPC is proof of our success.

Because of our consistent rejection of the budget during sessions of the CRC, coloured teachers with degrees are now receiving equal pay for equal work.

Total rejection

Our total rejection of discriminatory salaries led to the dismissal by the Government of Sonny Leon as chairman of the executive and our resignation as executive members of 1975.

Boycotts and low percentage polls did not destroy coloured councils. With the support of the coloured people, the Labour Party not only eliminated stooges but also became part of the process that split the National Party and broke the log jam in Afrikaner politics. For us now to leave the political arena just because these platforms happen to be apartheid ones, does not make sense.

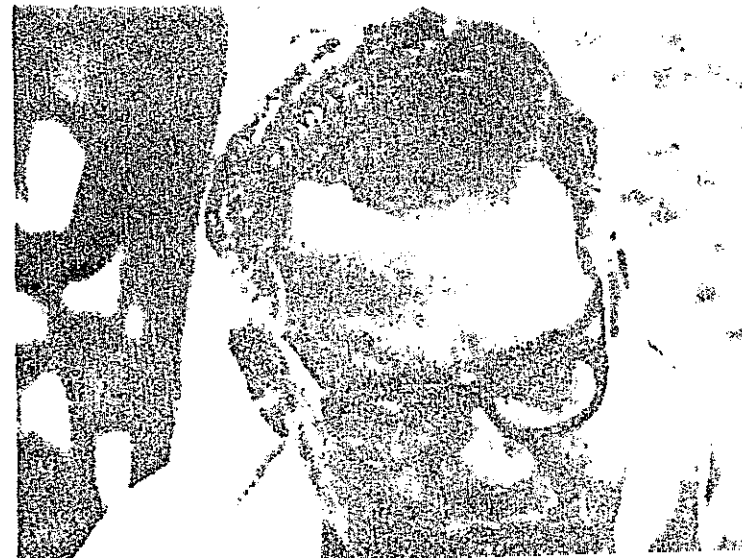
Political sidelines

Our critics are not unique in the loathing, contempt and rejection of discriminatory bodies. We unlike others, are not content to sit back and nurse our grievances on the political sidelines. We are tired of playing pavement politics.

We are determined

Effective political action is needed

W/L ARGUS 22/1/83 (117)



cal situation in which there was precious little to build on and we virtually had to start from scratch.

The fact is that these apartheid structures are a terrible legacy of defeats suffered by our people and which our party inherited from past failures and errors of past organisations, not least among the boycotters.

But one thing is certain; we are determined not to repeat the mistakes and follies of the past, a cardinal one among them being transforming the tactic of boycott into an iron principle that made it impossible to act politically and therefore leads to political death.

Ivory towers

The boycotters in the ivory towers have boycotted themselves out of relevance. Proof of this is the public admission that the coming period will provide an excellent opportunity for the riding generation of young progressive leaders to show their mettle and to win public support for the principles of non-racialism.

The older generation of principled boycotters have already thrown in the towel. We shall not allow our children to fight our freedom. We shall do the job ourselves.

A tactic

We repeat, boycott to us is tactic, not a prin-

the CRC and and we used the platform against its own creators thus forcing them to close it down. If this is not effective power politics then someone must have his head read.

Not strong enough

Our continuity is not politically strong enough to destroy the system by merely staying outside.

When we entered the CRC in 1969 we were also accused of being "system colonisers", collaborators and stooges. These "nicknames" are old hat to us.

We cannot afford the intellectual luxury of talking about the liberatory struggle like university academics studying for a degree. What is demanded of us is to transform our theories into effective political action.

For election

Our people as in the past, will judge us whether we are part of the problem or part of the solution.

We are standing openly for election. We value constructive criticism, because criticism is the crucible in which democracy is formed.

But we will not let criticism that is of no market value to us.

Vehicle of reform

We will test the National Party's claim that they are the vehicle of reform.



spoken for us. It is time we speak for ourselves. It is a pity that we do not even approach one another with open minds.

### Reject apartheid

It is a fact that most of our people reject apartheid, that they reject the policy of separate development. This is the basic tenet on which the Labour Party has been constructed.

We have been and still are an anti-apartheid party.

Many people, especially the boycotters, refused to participate in the system. To them boycott is a principle not to be deviated from. They believed that they show their rejection with the politics of stay-away.

We in the Labour Party realised that this was not enough. We had to enter these political structures to prove our rejection.

We did not accept the CRC and neither do we accept the present proposed Coloured Chamber. As in the past we will use it as a platform to operate from.

The accusation is again being made that we are going for personal benefits. If this is true then why did we work effectively for the abolition of the very structures that gave us pretty privileges?

the executive and our resignation as executive members of 1975.

Boycotts and low percentage polls did not destroy coloured councils. With the support of the coloured people, the Labour Party not only eliminated stooges but also became part of the process that split the National Party and broke the log jam in Afrikaner politics. For us now to leave the political arena just because these platforms happen to be apartheid ones, does not make sense.

### Political sidelines

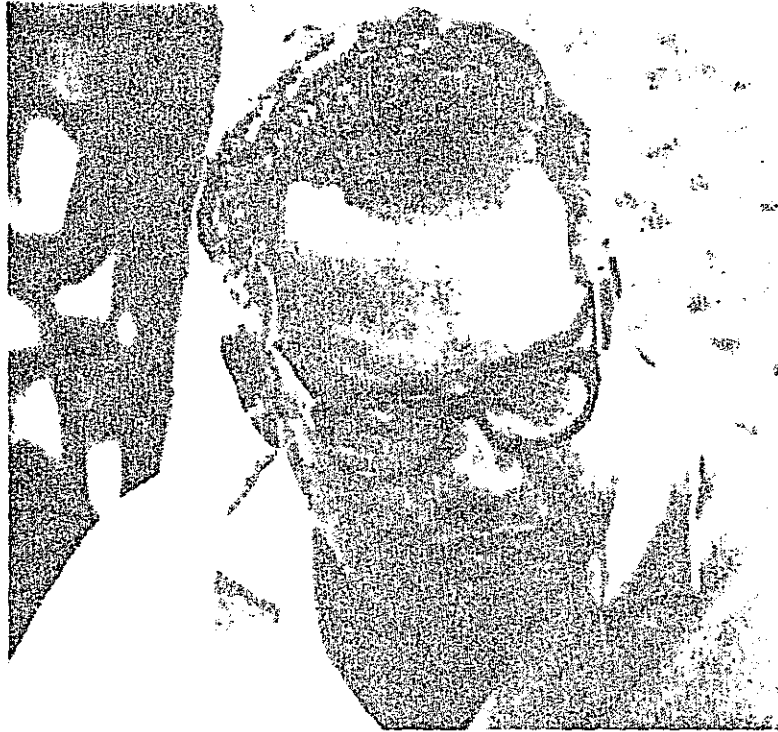
Our critics are not unique in the loathing, contempt and rejection of discriminatory bodies. We, unlike others are not content to sit back and nurse our grievances on the political sidelines. We are tired of playing pavement politics.

We are harnessing our rejection of the system behind positive action to work effectively for real participation in Government and true reform.

Those who object to our approach tell us that all this is "irrelevant".

Just how irrelevant is the Department of Coloured Affairs which control the education of our children and also social welfare?

# action is needed



Mr David Curry

These statements are made by those who come from the middle-income group. Of course, housing is also "irrelevant" to them. It is a pity that we never

see them at the doors of the Government trying to negotiate more money to house the poor.

We did not ask for separate institutions and neither do we offer

them to the people. We enter these bodies with the express purpose of meeting the Government on its own platforms.

We entered the politi-

past, a cardinal one among them being transforming the tactic of boycott into an iron principle that made it impossible to act politically and therefore leads to political death.

### Ivory towers

The boycotters in the ivory towers have boycotted themselves out of relevance. Proof of this is the public admission that the coming period will provide an excellent opportunity for the rising generation of young progressive leaders to show their mettle and to win public support for the principles of non-racialism.

The older generation of principled boycotters have already thrown in the towel. We shall not allow our children to fight our freedom. We shall do the job ourselves.

### A tactic

We repeat, boycott to us is tactic, not a principle. A good general does not put all his eggs in one basket.

The conditions for mass political action in our community do not as yet exist. We have to politicise our community not only by protest politics. Even down-right reactionary bodies can be used to achieve goals.

The Government gave us a lemon and the Labour Party made the lemonade. We got

"system coloured", collaborators and stooges. These "mechanics" are old hat to us.

We cannot afford the intellectual luxury of talking about the liberatory struggle like university academics studying for a degree. What is demanded of us is to transform our theories into effective political action.

### For election

Our people, as in the past, will judge us whether we are part of the problem or part of the solution.

We are standing openly for election. We value constructive criticism, because criticism is the crucible in which democracy is formed.

But we will not buy criticism that is of no market value to us.

### Vehicle of reform

We will test the National Party's claim that they are the vehicle of reform. If it is we, the coloured people, who will make or break this new deal. If our going in will merely be used as come-into-my-parlour-said-the-spider-to-the-fly politics, then we shall take the necessary steps.

The National Party is no longer that strong granite wall from our political experience we have learned that political shrewdness is not the sole prerogative of white minds.

Helen (11A)  
Joseph ROOM  
22/1/83  
to open  
congress

PRETORIA

MINING

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**Political Editor**

The veteran political campaigner and first person to be house-arrested in South Africa, Mrs Helen Joseph, will open the annual congress of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC (South African Indian Council) Committee today.

The congress has aroused special interest because of strong indications that it may decide to revive the defunct Transvaal Indian Congress.

The congress was originally to have been opened by Mr Ishmail Sajojee, the last president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, which, together with the Natal Indian Congress, had deep roots in South African politics.

Guest speakers will include Professor Jerry Coovadia, of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Allan Boesak, of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Mr Thozamile Gweta, of the South African Allied Workers' Union.

The congress starts at 2.30pm at the Selbourne Hall, Johannesburg.

Year	White	Total	
1970	..	..	
1971	..	..	
1972	..	..	
1973	52	52	+
1974	..	..	
1975	52	52	×
1976	52	52	×
1977	52	52	×
1978	52	52	\$
1979	52	52	\$
1980	52	52	\$

Address: 465 16th Ave  
Rietfontein  
0002

Telephone:

Officials: Secretary: C.J. Pretorius

Area of Operation: Pretoria

Founded:

Registration: Yes

Industrial Council: Baking and Confectionery Industry (Pretoria)

~~HA~~ S. Times  
23/1/83

# Lesotho warns refugees of tough steps

LESOTHO is following Swaziland in threatening stern measures against African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) members who "violate their conditions of stay".

This is the latest development, sources in both countries said yesterday, in what is developing into a continuing programme of harassment of South African refugees after a raid on Maseru in December by the South African Defence Force.

Since then Swaziland has rounded up ANC refugees,

**By NORMAN CHANDLER**

some of whom have gone to Mozambique and others placed in a transit camp "for their own protection".

It was reported this week that 17 people from the camp had refused to remain behind barbed wire, and defied the Swaziland Army guards to shoot them if they walked out.

The 17 have now disappeared although they were to have appeared in a Swaziland court on Wednesday.

Lesotho's Minister of the Interior, Chief Maseribane, stepped into the refugee controversy on Wednesday when he said that four members of the PAC charged with assault by the Lesotho Mounted Police faced "tough measures" if they were found guilty.

The four - Mr Gasson Ndiovu, 57, Mr Steve Khumalo, 27, Mr Tyelo Motsoene, 25, and a Mr Getye, 25 - appeared in court after a confrontation between two PAC factions which resulted in six people being admitted to hospital.

The case continues on January 27.

He said that refugees who violated their conditions of

stay in Lesotho would face "severe punishment and deportation".

There are about 10 000 refugees in Lesotho, most of them from the Transkei and Ciskei. Swaziland houses about 11 500.

About 100 Lesotho refugees flew from Maseru to Maputo a fortnight ago in an airlift which involved commercial and Lesotho paramilitary force aircraft.

It was a direct consequence of the SADF raid, which left 42 people - including 12 civilians - dead.

There have been many arrests in Swaziland - particularly in the Manzini area - of people allegedly in possession of AK-47s, handgrenades, limpet mines and handguns.

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**'NEW DEAL'**

By Stan Maher

THIS week's "secret" meeting between Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu and Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei was the latest in a round of behind-the-scenes talks involving South Africa's black leaders.

They are working towards their own constitutional "new deal" as a federal concept, independently of Mr P W Botha's plan for the country.

And Chief Matanzima indicated in a tough Transkei Radio broadcast on Friday the time would come when the world would have to choose which of the new constitutional set-ups to recognise.

The chief architect of the black initiative is Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa. He said the behind-the-scenes talks were part of a concerted effort to bring the leaders of independent and self-governing states, as well as of South Africa's urban black communities, to a black constitutional "summit" as soon as possible.

The meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Chief Matanzima was the first for many years.

But Dr Phatudi said the Tongaat talks between the two chief ministers should not be seen as an isolated incident.

It would surprise only those people who did not know black leaders were now working actively towards their own constitutional "new deal" independently of Mr P W Botha.

He said: "The majority of leaders share this federal view, although we have to hammer out the details. The final product must be the joint effort of all concerned."

Chief Matanzima yesterday called for a federation of black states which would include urban blacks. He said in the broadcast after the meeting with Chief Buthelezi that blacks now wanted to form their own Parliament "as against the whites-Indians-coloureds (Parliament) so the world can decide

**World has time to choose as blacks counter P W's plan**

which of the two has the sole rights in this land."

Chief Matanzima said blacks wanted a majority government in South Africa with an all-race Parliament. The first step towards this was to put the blacks' house in order.

Dr Phatudi said the new move had been given impetus by the Government's failure to include blacks in the constitutional new deal now being worked out.

Asked whether he thought Mr Botha was trying to reach the same goal by a different route, he said: "I would not dismiss that interpretation."

But he said there was a fundamental difference of approach between the Prime Minister and the black leaders.

"Mr Botha speaks of a confederation of states. We are working for a federation. You can interpret confederation so that it can become federation," he said.

"But we feel it must be done by a coming to gether, not by separation of people. You cannot replace apartheid by apartheid. This is why our initiative is open to all groups, all races, including Mr P W Botha."

Dr Phatudi said it was essential South Africans share one country, with a single nationality and citizenship "which we must fight and defend, all of us."

He said: "I don't think there's a way of escaping this conclusion if you are a patriotic South African."

"The economics of South Africa compel us to come together," he said.

"We must have one economic structure. But you cannot keep the economics together if you keep the politics apart."

*Phatudi's plan*

# Indians get ready to resist

IIA S. Tribune 23/1/83

resist

## We won't defend white domination, says powerful Transvaal committee

By CHARLENE BELTRAMO

WHILE the coloured Labour Party has, with little more than a murmur, chosen to follow the course of power-sharing South African-style, the Indian community under the powerful Anti-SAIC is girding itself to resist.

The Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee (TASC) held its first congress on Friday and yesterday in Johannesburg. Guest speakers included Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches; Professor Jerry Coovadia, executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, and Mr Thozamile Gqweta, president of the SA Allied Workers' Union.

The recent decision by the Labour Party to go ahead with the Government's new constitutional plans for power-sharing makes any moves now by the Indian community particularly significant.

The Government has already been making strong overtures to Indian community representatives and has even issued a propaganda sheet called *Phoenix* in Indian suburbs.

However, the spirit of non-violent resistance cultivated by Mahatma Gandhi in this country at

the turn of the century has not been lost on the Indian community.

Although Gandhi was expelled from the Natal Indian Congress — which he founded in 1894 — when he agreed to collaborate with General Smuts a few years later, the NIC has continued to spearhead non-violent resistance in the country.

It and the Transvaal Indian Congress submerged after the Government banning of the SA Indian Congress with the African National Congress in 1960.

However, a decade

later Gandhi's grandson, Mewa Ramgobin — now a banned person — helped revive the NIC, which later spawned the anti-SAIC committees in 1980 to fight the first Indian Council elections the following year.

These bodies had devastating success. Of the voters who registered — and many spurred by anti-SAIC campaigns refused to do even this — only 10.5 percent voted in the November, 1981, elections.

Dr Essop Jassat, chairman of TASC, said this weekend's meeting was



□ Jassat



□ Coovadia



□ Boesak



□ Heunis

## Government and President's Council members refuse to speak at constitutional forum

From TONY SPENCER-SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY of Cape Town has been unable to find a single member of the Government or the President's Council prepared to take part in a week-long public forum on the constitutional proposals to be held this week.

The venue is Jameson Hall, which can take more than 1 000 people.

Speakers include Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwa-

Zulu, Dr Nthato Motlana of Soweto, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition, Professor Willie Esterhuysen of Stellenbosch, and black theologian Dr Allan Boesak.

The discussion could still strike sparks as the speakers include Mr David Curry, national chairman of the Labour Party — which has agreed to go along with the proposals. Mr Lofty Adams of the PC is mentioned in the printed programme as a speaker, but he has pulled out.

The man who put the course together, Professor Rob Shrire, professor of political studies at UCT, said he had unsuccessfully approached the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, a large segment of the Cabinet and the National Party caucus, and "every single member of the President's Council who could articulate a rational argument."

Their refusal, said Prof Shrire, gave "little reason for optimism that deeds will follow words."

primarily to discuss the constitutional proposals.

"Now that the Labour Party has decided to go along with the Government, it is doubly important to show the black communities we are not selling out.

He said that although the Transvaal community was not very big, it was more active. "Most of the struggles led by Gandhi took place in the Transvaal which had far harsher laws than Natal."

Informed sources have also predicted that the delegates at the congress,

which meets behind closed doors today, will vote on whether or not to revive the formerly powerful Transvaal Indian Congress to take over the reins from TASC.

Opposition to Indians playing a role in the Government-type of power-sharing is not only coming from the mainstream of Indians under the anti-SAIC bodies, but also from the maligned SAIC.

A SAIC delegation last week to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, called for the dismantling of apartheid "before we co-operate."

However, the NIC is taking a harder line. It will consider negotiating with Government, it says,

only if apartheid is dismantled, political prisoners are released, repressive legislation is repealed, the Group Areas Act is scrapped and the migratory labour system and homelands are abolished.

□ By accepting the Government's new constitutional deal, the Labour Party had become "the junior partners in apartheid", Dr Allan Boesak told the congress.

In the proposed system, there would be no opportunity to change the apartheid laws that were the lifeblood of the system as they fell under the jurisdiction of the "white" Parliament.

He said it was quite clear the proposals were devised to give shape to the "PW Botha brand of Nationalist policy, geared to the needs of streamlined apartheid."

The proposals excluded the majority of the South African nation and as such constituted "a recipe for violent confrontation and disaster."

# Why we're going in

11A  
9<sup>th</sup> Times  
23/11/83

REACTIONARY politics is still very much a part of the South African scene. And the Labour Party's decision to stand for election for the three-chamber parliament has certainly stirred the pot.

To the Labour Party the Government's proposals are inadequate. They leave out the blacks and they entrench white domination. They are really not thought through, and so one can go on.

Although they represent a brave first step from traditional apartheid, this step is too small to really get South Africa off its present course of increased polarisation and ultimate large-scale violent confrontation, a disaster that could tear the country apart and destroy the land we all love.

## Fundamental change

The Labour Party has decided to take part in the proposed constitutional programme not because it is in any way adequate or acceptable, but to improve it and to make it more acceptable so that the present trend towards polarisation and violence can be halted and reversed; so that the process of real fundamental change can be developed.

In the Sunday Times last week Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Adam Small condemned the Labour Party in sharp tones for participating in the Government's plans for constitutional reform. Today, the LP's national chairman replies . . .

By DAVID CURRY

It is a sincere attempt "to change the system from within the system".

If we had decided to stay out, this process would have taken its course — with inevitably disastrous results.

Ours is a sincere attempt to avert a calamity. Many of us view the future with concern.

When the chips are down, our own violent experience in this country could make the one in Zimbabwe look like a Sunday school picnic. It will be a war in which all of us will be losers.

Our decision to test the sincerity of the Government is a calculated risk.

With its 4:2:1 entrenched position, the Government can squash all attempts to bring about real change.

If it does so, the Government would prove correct those who now criticise our decision.

It would strengthen the hand of all those who say the only language the Government understands is boycotts and violence, who say that reasoning has been tried before but that it has never worked and that it only postpones the ultimate showdown.

## Politics of negotiation

We as a party have opted for peaceful change and the politics of negotiation. We have closely examined where the politics of polarisation is leading us. Even

whites on the far right see violence as the solution.

We are stating our strategy publically. Those who disagree with us must declare their own methods and reveal how they propose to work for change in South Africa. They must show the courage of their convictions and openly state their case.

We do not have guns, and do not believe in guns. We do not believe in violence and in strategies that will lead to violence. We have mustered the courage to use those vehicles and those levers that we as a party find appropriate.

We do not choose meeting the Government on the battlefields of South Africa. We prefer to meet at the conference table.

It is a brutal political reality that it is with white South Africa, and the Afrikaners in particular, that we have to work out a strat-

egy for peaceful development and we in the Labour Party propose to play that mediating role. Somebody must take the first steps and risks involved.

The Labour Party has taught the Government a lesson. It is that a white minority cannot indefinitely oppress and enforce its will on other population groups.

Maybe we are excessively optimistic, but having taken the calculated risks to test the Government's sincerity, history will not be able to accuse the Labour Party of not having tried.

## Within the system

Is "going into the system to change the system" so contemptible a notion as some of our critics make it out to be? We do not think so.

Why? The reason is that the overwhelming majority of South Africans — white, black, coloured and Indian — are still within the system.

This applies to all parliamentary parties, to all of us who live in our own demarcated areas for each racial group, who study at ethnic



DAVID CURRY — "We want to change the system from within"

universities, and so on.

All leaders, including politicians, use their particular race or group as bases from which to operate. We therefore feel that the accusations against us are bandied about too freely and too superficially.

Let it be stated very clearly: we are going into the system to work for true reform. We are going to make something that is imperfect more perfect; something that is basically unacceptable, acceptable. We will speak up for all South Africans.

It is an insult to our community to label us as being incapable of fighting for the human rights of all South Africans.

Our track record as a party is open for inspection. We destroyed the coloured council, elected or nominated, by effective political action. We eliminated the base for separate development with the help of the people who voted for us.

We left the CRC and operated outside. If we had ulterior motives we would never have asked the Government to close the very platform our critics said gave us credibility.

Some said that we would disappear as a party, but the fact of the situation is that it is with the Labour Party that the Government has to negotiate.

Because these platforms are useful for projecting our constitutional demands we will use them as we deem fit and nobody, certainly not the National Party, will dictate to us how we will wage the liberatory struggle as we see it.

Those who oppose us must form political movements and get actively involved in the people's liberation.

## Appropriate steps

We refuse, like some of our critics, to become mere intellectual windbags — nothing to offer but words.

We are doing this for the sake of the future of all South Africans, both black and white. However, if after a reasonable period of time our hopes prove to be wrong, then — as we did in the days of the CRC — we will review our position and take appropriate steps.

We do not have guns, and do not believe in guns. We do not believe in violence and in strategies that will lead to violence. We have mustered the courage to use those vehicles and those levers that we as a party find appropriate.

# Indians set to revive congress (11A)

By BOETI ESHAK

A NEW Indian political force may emerge today and it is likely to be the revival of the dormant Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC).

The decision to form a new force will be taken by the Transvaal Anti-Saic committee (Tasc), which began its first two-day congress at Johannesburg's Selbourne Hall yesterday.

One of the most important decisions will be to decide what Tasc's future role will be.

Tic and the Natal Indian Congress (Nic) were members of the old South African Indian Congress, which allied itself to the African National Congress (ANC) at the time of the

passive resistance campaign of 1952.

It was part of the Congress Alliance until the banning of the ANC in 1960.

Although Tic and Nic were not banned, they faded from the political scene. Then, ten years ago, Nic was revived but not Tic.

Instead, the political vacuum among Indians in the Transvaal was eventually filled in 1981 when Tasc was formed — to oppose participation in the first South African Indian Council election.

The success of Tasc encouraged them to continue mobilising opposition to other government-created institutions and other aspects affecting

the community.

"The present situation in the country demands that we unite and organise ourselves," the chairman of Tasc, Dr Essop Jassat, said in his keynote address to the congress yesterday.

"We must seriously consider the Government's strategy and its implications and map out a future course for ourselves.

"Many people are of the opinion that to be able to meet these demands, Tasc cannot function and exist as it presently is.

"There is a feeling that the time has arrived for the transformation of Tasc into a political organisation, an organisation which will take up

*S. Thies*  
much broader issues and represent and echo the aspirations, hopes and desires of the Indian people of the Transvaal."

Dr Jassat also condemned the West Indian cricketers touring South Africa.

"We call on the Caribbean cricketers to abandon their tour immediately and return home in order to avoid the wrath of their governments, their people, international condemnation and our utter contempt," he said.

"Until South Africa is on the path of social justice and democracy, we also call upon all artistes and sportsmen to stay away from South Africa, including the homelands."

1975				52	52	✕
1976				52	52	✕
1977				52	52	✕
1978				52	52	\$
1979				52	52	\$
1980				52	52	\$

Address: 465 16th Avenue  
Rietfontein  
0002

Telephone:

Officials: Secretary: C.J. Pretorius

Area of Operation: Pretoria

Founded:

Registration: Yes

Industrial Council: Baking and Confectionery Industry (Pretoria)

# Labour Party to explain reform decision

A.G.G.  
24/1/83  
11/11/83

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE LABOUR Party starts a series of meetings today to explain its decision to participate in the proposed new constitutional system.

The leader of the party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and the Transvaal leader, Mr Jac Rabie, will speak at Uitenhage tonight, at Despatch tomorrow, in East London on Wednesday and in Queenstown on Thursday.

On Saturday afternoon Mr Hendrickse and Mr David Curry will address a meeting at Vredenburg.

Mr Hendrickse said today that a series of meetings would also be arranged in the Transvaal.

Next week he would listen to the no-confidence debate in the Assembly.

So far, reaction to the party's decision to participate in the new system ranged from "cautious to good".

Many party supporters had misunderstood the decision but, as it was explained to them, more agreed with it.

Mr Hendrickse said it was important to understand that the party had decided on participation in and not acceptance of the new system.

The decision taken at the Labour Party congress in Eshowe had made it clear that the party had severe misgivings about many aspects of the proposed new system, but that it was prepared to participate to try to improve it.

The meetings will take place against the background of sharp criticism of the party's decision in some coloured and Indian quarters.



By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE old Transvaal Indian Congress, which was a member of the Congress Alliance with the African National Congress in the 1950s, is to be revived.

The decision was made at the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee's annual congress yesterday.

The congress further resolved to establish a United Democratic Front to mobilise resistance on a nationwide scale to participation by Indians and coloureds in the Prime Minister's "new deal" three-chamber Parliament.

Noting the exclusion of Africans from the envisaged tricameral Parliament, the congress labelled it "a move away from democracy towards entrenchment and consolidation of minority rule" and an "attempt to conscript Indians and coloureds into the military to defend the system".

The call for the establish-

# Indian Congress to be revived

11A ROM 24/1/83

ment of a United Democratic Front came from Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Dr Essop Jassat, chairman of the Anti-SAIC Committee.

Dr Boesak, who is a leading coloured opponent of participation in the new constitutional proposals, was one of several guest speakers.

The opening address was given by the veteran political campaigner, Mrs Helen Joseph. Both Dr Boesak and Mrs Joseph drew standing ovations.

A steering committee was established to facilitate formation of the United Democratic Front and a declaration of its fundamental principles drawn up, to which aspirant members will have to subscribe.

A key requirement for membership is: "An unshakable conviction in the creation of a non-racial, unitary state in South Africa undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations as formulated in the bantustan policy."

The decision to reactivate the Transvaal Indian Con-

gress was taken to meet the demands of the new political situation created by the pending "new deal".

The Transvaal Anti-SAIC was formed in June 1981 with the specific purpose of dissuading Indians from voting in elections to the South African Indian Council in November that year. Less than 15% of registered voters went to the polls.

An Anti-SAIC statement said yesterday: "It is believed that the Anti-SAIC, which enjoyed tremendous support during the Anti-SAIC campaign, has outlived its man-

date. It is (now) necessary to assert more positively our position in relation to the broad democratic forces."

The resolution to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress was proposed by an old member, Mr R Parakh, and supported by two African trade union leaders, Mr Thozamile Gwetha, president of the South African Allied Workers' Unions, and Mr Samson Ndou, president of the General and Allied Workers' Union.

The Transvaal Indian Congress is one of the oldest political organisations in South Africa, with its origins going back to the British Indian Association founded by Gandhi before the Act of Union.

With the Natal Indian Congress, it was part of the Congress Alliance with the ANC in the 1950s. Through its membership of the alliance it acquired what the Anti-SAIC Committee yesterday dubbed "a hard-won legitimacy in the Indian community".

Pictures — Page 4

IN 1977, when the Government first came with constitutional proposals, the Labour Party executive rejected them for the following reasons:

- they entrenched apartheid;
- they were devised exclusively by the Government and South Africa's people had no part in their formulation;
- they would mean inclusion of "coloureds" and "Indians" and exclusion of the Africans;
- they entrenched white domination.

What is the difference between the proposals from 1977 and the proposals by the President's Council in terms of the reasons mentioned?

Yet the Labour Party and the South African Indian Council (SAIC) have now accepted them.

It is clear that once again the voice of Mammon has spoken louder than the voice of principle.

But there must be no doubt: the Labour Party and the SAIC are the new partners of the Government. These are the junior partners in apartheid.

From now on they will share the responsibility for apartheid, for the creation of yet more homelands, for the resettlement of black people, for the ongoing rape of human dignity, for the death of those who resist this evil system.

They will be co-responsible for the continuation and enhancement of the civil war in which South Africa is already engaged. From now on, in terms of active planning and legislation, apartheid no longer has only a white face.

**T**HERE is a great sadness in all this and a persistent measure of inevitability. One ought not to play around with evil. Working within the system for whatever reason, contaminates you. It wears down your defences, it makes easier those rationalisations for staying in.

The system even allows you some petty victories, so that you believe you can actually beat it. All the while it draws you closer, blunting your judgment, and finally exposing your powerlessness by your "joining the system to fight the system".

And what you call compromise for the sake of politics, is in actual fact selling out your principles and the future of your children.

The situation calls for vigilance. We must not compromise the struggle we have been engaged in for well nigh a century. We shall not betray the ideals we have, the belief in a truly democratic South Africa.

The dream of justice, a free nation, of a humanised society, did not die in Eshowe. The people who made those decisions in Eshowe never understood this dream, have never been part of this struggle.

Our response to the crisis facing us today is a dialectical one. It is the politics of refusal which has within it both the Yes and the No.

We must continue to struggle for the liberation, freedom and human dignity of all the people in South Africa. And so while we say Yes to this struggle, we say No to apartheid, racial segregation and economic exploitation



Dr Allan Boesak ... addresses delegates at Transvaal Anti-Saic Committee's annual congress. He received a standing ovation.

Picture: PATRICK LAURENCE

11A ROM 24/1/83

# Boesak hits at the spirit of Mammon

The Labour Party's decision to participate in the Government's new constitutional dispensation has sparked off an intense political debate which could form the basis of a political realignment. One of the most forceful advocates of the politics of refusal is Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches. Political Correspondent JOHN BATTERSBY has sent this edited version of Dr Boesak's address to the annual congress of the Transvaal anti-SAIC committee in Johannesburg at the weekend.

of the oppressed masses in South Africa.

We must continue to show South Africa and the world that there are black people who refuse to be intimidated by the violence of apartheid or tempted by its sugar-coated fruits.

So while we say No to hollow solutions built on personal gain and petty group self-interest, we say Yes to integrity and commitment.

We must refuse to let our children die in a war waged for the protection of apartheid and South Africa's neo-colonialist designs in

Namibia, and for frustrating the hopes of the Namibian people for freedom, democracy and genuine independence.

This is the politics of refusal and it is the only dignified response black people can give in this situation.

In order to do this we need a united front. Most of the Christian Churches and all of the democratically-minded organisations in our community have unequivocally rejected the proposals of the President's Council and our participation in them.

There is no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations and sports bodies should not pool their resources, inform the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name, and on the day of the election expose these plans for what they are:

- An entrenchment of apartheid and white domination.

- Based on the premise that "the horror and policy of the South African Government is irreversible".

- A retention of the basic tenets of apartheid: racial classification, group areas, separate education, the so-called security laws etc;

- A denial of any real opportunity to change these laws as they fall under the jurisdiction of the white Parliament.

- Geared to the need of a streamlined apartheid and designed to suit the needs of the National Party congresses with the "coloured" community playing no part whatsoever in their making.

- The unashamed acceptance of ethnicity as an indispensable basis for doing politics in South Africa. But ethnicity does not solve problems, rather entrenches them and is inseparable from racism, however subtle.

- The exclusion of the majority of the South African nation, thus constituting a recipe for violent confrontation and disaster.

- They are also morally wrong and unacceptable. As a Christian I cannot and will not accept responsibility for the continuation of apartheid.

**A**ND we want to remind those Western governments who are now so satisfied with this government that they should not be misled. The black people of this country know what they want and it is not this.

We shall not be satisfied until we have our full human rights.

Why can Britain go to war (in the words of Mrs Thatcher) "so that the people of the Falklands may have the right to live freely under the government of their choice", but we are denied that right?

Why can Americans have a system guaranteeing the equality of all under the law and justice for all, but we are denied that?

The test of a good South African government will not be made in Washington or London or Moscow, it will be made right here in this land.

I want to conclude by reminding you three words — three little words that we must cling to, that express so eloquently our seriousness in this struggle.

The first word is the word ALL. We want ALL of our rights and we want ALL of our people to have their rights.

The second word is the word HERE. We want all of our rights right HERE in South Africa — in a united South Africa. We do not want them in impoverished homelands, we don't want them in our separate little group areas.

The third word is the word NOW. We want our rights NOW. We have been waiting so long now — we have been struggling so long now. We have pleaded petitioned, cried, marched, been jailed, exiled, killed for so long now.

NOW is the time.

# Foes of 'new deal' form united front

11A  
Ston 24/1/83

By Peter Sullivan,  
Political Correspondent

CapeTown

Opponents of the Government's constitutional proposals are mobilising to unify coloured and Indian resistance against the Labour Party's decision to participate in the plan.

As a period of intense politicking starts among coloured and Indian people, Dr Allan Boesak, who leapt to world prominence with his election as president of the Reformed Churches, is emerging as a major rallying force.

"One ought not to play around with evil, working within the system for whatever reason contaminates you.

"It wears down your defences; makes easier those rationalisations for staying in," he told an Indian political congress at the weekend.

The Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (Tasac) congress established a United Democratic Front (UDF) to unite resistance to the Prime Minister's new deal.

Leaders from Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi spoke out strongly against the new deal when the Labour Party opted to go in.

## Participation opposed

But this is the first time an organisation has been formed to unite the opposition.

Dr Boesak told the congress that the situation called for vigilance, and added that it would be interesting to see what the Progressive Federal Party did in relation to the mainstream of South African politics which opposed participation.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of kwaZulu said today he was heartened by the decision to form a united front: "We of Inkatha would support any united moves to oppose the new reforms."

Today the Labour Party started a series of meetings to inform coloured people of the reasons for the party's controversial decision.

And the South African Indian Council itself has reacted cautiously by calling on the Government to hold a referendum of Indian people to gauge support for participation.

Parliament starts on Friday with a session certain to be dominated by the constitutional issues. Elections for the coloured and Indian communities are likely to be held this year and there is some unfounded speculation of a white election as well.

## Black exclusion

The only people who will not be facing a year of great politicking will be the black community — but the very rejection of the proposals is based on the fact that they are excluded at all levels: Parliament, the Cabinet and the President's Council.

A poll conducted by the Argus Market Research Bureau in the Cape Town metropolitan area showed a large majority of coloured people rejected the Government's proposals.

A slimmer majority agreed with the party's decision to participate in the scheme, but if an election were called a major problem could be an organised boycott.

Of 439 people polled, altogether 61 percent labelled the Government's proposals unacceptable.

● See Pages 2 and 15.

mercury  
Devan cuts <sup>24/1/82</sup> <sup>(11A)</sup>  
all ties with party

Mercury Reporter

FORMER Indian Council executive member, Mr P I Devan, said yesterday he relinquished all ties with the National Peoples' Party, the ruling group in the council, on the day he left his executive seat.

He was responding to a decision taken by the party at the weekend to expel him as an ordinary member.

Mr Devan, deputy leader of the party, said when he resigned from Exco he had made up his mind to leave the party completely, and had advised party leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and several other party members of the decision.

He said party members were now trying to score points by giving the impression that he had been axed, whereas he had resigned.

'My decision to cut off ties completely was taken after a recent meeting of the party at which Mr Rajbansi was granted unlimited powers which allowed him to axe any member who did not toe the line,' Mr Devan said.

He said he warned members of the double-edged effect of such a mandate on the long-term interest of the community, but his pleas had been ignored.

# Reform: Indians draw battle lines

STAR

24/1/83

11A

By Eugene Saldanha and Tony Duigan

Two new political organisations are to be formed to raise opposition to the Government's constitutional proposals at grassroots level.

After fading from the scene more than 20 years ago, the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) is to be revived and a "united democratic front", aimed at opposing the Government's proposed reforms, is to be launched.

These decisions were taken at the weekend congress in Johannesburg of the Transvaal Anti-SA Indian Council Committee (Tasc), an organisation formed in June 1981 to campaign for a boycott of the Indian Council elections that year.

About 400 delegates to the congress resolved that Tasc should ask former leaders of the TIC to revive the organisation within the next two months. "Transvaal In-

dians need a vehicle to function politically," said Tasc's chairman, Dr Essop Jassat.

Both the TIC and the Natal Indian Congress were members of the SA Indian Congress, which aligned itself with the African National Congress before its banning in 1960.

The congress was opened by veteran civil rights campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph, who took the place of Mr Molvi Is-

mail Saloojee, past chairman of the TIC, who died on Saturday.

The meeting also endorsed a call by the President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, for the formation of a united front of those organisations opposed to the Government's proposals.

A steering committee was appointed to initiate this united front and to "consolidate the alliance against the President's Council proposals", according to a Tasc spokesman.

Indications are that the principles of the united front will be based on those of the Freedom Charter.

In a statement released after the congress, Tasc said the new constitutional proposals were rejected, among other things, because:

- They were an attempt to divide black people and entrench minority rule.
- The majority of people were not consulted about the proposals, which were an attempt to conscript Indians and coloured people into the army to defend an indefensible system.
- See Page 15.

## Indian priest dies hours before a dream is born . . .

By Eugene Saldanha

A grim mood prevailed at the congress of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committees (Tasc) at the weekend when it was announced that a former president of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), Molvi Ismail Saloojee (77), had died after a heart attack.

He died hours before the dream he had nurtured for the past 20 years was realised — the reactivation of the TIC.

After studying for the Muslim priesthood in India, the Molvi (a title given him after he had entered the priesthood) joined the TIC in the early 1940s and developed a close relationship with Dr Yusuf Dadoo (now in exile), Mr Mervy Thandray, and the late Mr Nana Sita.

Molvi Saloojee was detained on several occasions during the defiance campaign and the passive resistance drive.

In 1964 Molvi Saloojee was banned while he was president of the TIC. The banning was lifted in 1974.

The chairman of TASC, Dr Essop Jassat, told the crowd of more than 2 000 at Molvi Saloojee's funeral on Saturday night: "The Molvi was a continuous source of encouragement and hope to thousands. His participation in the liberation struggle was not only academic — he dedicated 50 years of his life to achieving freedom for all South Africans. The seeds sown by him and people such as Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Ahmed Kathrada, (who is imprisoned on Robben Island), will soon give birth to a free society."

## Boesak rejects new deal

By Anthony Duigan

There is no basis for cooperation with the Government under the new constitutional proposals which are based on ethnicity and keep alive tribalism, Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, has said.

In his address to the first congress of the 20-month-old Transvaal Anti-SA Indian Council Committee in Johannesburg on Saturday, Dr Boesak vehemently attacked the new political dispensation for coloured

people and Indians.

He said: "The determination of black South Africans to be free has made it clear to white South Africans in no uncertain terms that there can be no peaceful existence for them in this land unless it is also peaceful co-existence with blacks."

Dr Boesak said the new constitutional proposals had to be rejected because:

● They entrenched apartheid and those laws which were its lifeblood — racial classification, group areas, security

laws.

● The proposals were devised to give shape to one more brand of National Party policies.

"There is no reason why we should place our future in the hands of people who for so many decades have shown that they do not have our interests at heart," he said.

● The proposals unashamedly accepted ethnicity as an indispensable basis for politics in South Africa, keeping alive tendencies towards tribalism and narrow nationalisms.

● They were morally wrong because they den-

ied rights and privileges to fellow South Africans. Justice denied one was justice denied all, he said.

The Labour Party had been co-opted as junior partners in apartheid by accepting the proposals, he added.

"From now on they will share the responsibility for the resettlement of black people, for the on-going rape of our dignity.

"The only issue is the most effective way in which white control of the economy and white political domination can survive in South Africa.

"In other words, the argument is about how to do the same thing differently in order for it to remain the same."

Dr Boesak said he hoped the official Opposition "will be given the wisdom to decide to remain in the mainstream of opposition — that is, with us".

24/1/53

## Cricketers called mercenary

JOHANNESBURG — The West Indian cricket team touring South Africa were mercenaries who showed "selfish disregard" for the concerns of non-white South Africans, the Anti-South African Council said yesterday.

In a statement at the end of its first congress in Johannesburg, the movement called for a boycott of such tours.

TASC, which says it represents the majority of Indians in South Africa, said the total isolation of South Africa in the fields of sport and culture promoted "the struggle for freedom".

It said the government and "its racist allies are ever-persistent in their attempts to undermine the efforts of freedom-loving sports people by organizing sell-out tours and squandering millions of rands earned through the toil of the oppressed masses". — Sapa

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# Congress revives Indian Council

CAPE TIMES 24/1/83 (119)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee decided at its annual congress yesterday to revive the old Transvaal Indian Council (TIC), which was a member of the Congress Alliance with the African National Congress in the 1950s.

The congress further resolved to establish a United Democratic Front (UDF) to mobilize resistance on a nation-wide scale to participation by Indians and coloured people in the Prime Minister's "new deal" three-chamber parliament.

Noting the exclusion of Africans from the envisaged tricameral parliament, the congress labelled it "a move away from democracy towards entrenchment and consolidation of minority rule" and an "attempt to conscript Indians and

coloureds into the military".

The call for establishment of a UDF came from Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Dr Essop Jassat, president of the Anti-SAIC Committee.

Dr Boesak is a leading opponent in the coloured community of participation in the new constitutional proposals.

The opening address was given by the veteran political campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph.

A steering committee was established to facilitate formation of the UDF and a declaration of its fundamental principles was drawn up.

A key requirement for membership is: "An unshakable conviction in the creation of a non-racial, unitary state in South Africa undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations as formulated in the bantustan policy."

The decision to reactivate the TIC was taken to meet the demands of the new political situation created by the pending "new deal".

The Transvaal Anti-SAIC was formed in June 1981 with the specific purpose of dissuading Indians from voting in elections to the SAIC in November that year. Less than 15 percent of registered voters went to the polls.

An Anti-SAIC statement

said yesterday: "It is believed that the Anti-SAIC, which enjoyed tremendous support during the Anti-SAIC campaign, has outlived its mandate. It is (now) necessary to assert more positively our position in relation to the broad democratic forces."

The resolution to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress was proposed by an old member, Mr R Parakh, and supported by two African trade union leaders, Mr Thozamile Gwetha, president of the South African Allied Workers' Unions, and Mr Samson Ndou, president of the General and Allied Workers' Union.

## Ghandi

The TIC is one of the oldest political organizations in South Africa, with its origins going back to the British Indian Association founded by Gandhi before the Act of Union.

With the Natal Indian Congress, it was part of the Congress Alliance with the ANC in the 1950s. Through its membership of the alliance, it acquired what the Anti-SAIC Committee yesterday dubbed "a hard-won legitimacy in the Indian community".

Unlike the ANC, neither the TIC, nor its sister organization, the Natal Indian Congress, were banned. Both, however, lapsed as viable organizations because their leaders were either banned or forced to flee into exile.

The veteran passive resister and last president of the TIC, Molvi Ismail Saloojee, was scheduled to deliver the opening address at the Anti-SAIC congress but died on Saturday.

# Police threats at Biko's grave

ZWELITSHA — A man told the Regional Court here on Friday that he had been made to stand next to Steve Biko's grave at the Ginsberg cemetery wearing handcuffs and leg-irons while police threatened to shoot him.

Mr Mncekeleli Peter, of Mgwali, Ciskei, said the investigating officer, Warrant-Officer Bezuidenhout of Aliwal North, had told him he was going to die like a dog "in the same manner Steve Biko died" if he did not talk.

Mr Peter was giving evidence in a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of confessions allegedly made by him and co-accused, Miss Nomakhephu Ntsatha, of Zwelitsha.

Both are charged with promoting the aims of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

They have pleaded not guilty to being members of the ANC, recruiting members for the ANC, being in possession of and distributing banned literature and recruiting people to undergo training likely to endanger law and order.

Mr Peter has also pleaded not guilty to taking steps to undergo training.

He told the court he was taken out of his cell at dawn and driven to the graveyard.

He was made to stand next to Steve Biko's tombstone. Warrant-Officer Bezuidenhout pointed his pistol at him and threatened to shoot him if he did not talk.

Mr Peter said he was prodded with a gadget that gave him electric shocks.

At one stage he was taken into an office where he saw Miss Ntsatha standing on a wet spot. She later told him it was her urine. He was ordered to talk on terrorism before her.

When he refused, he was taken back and given more electric shocks. — Sapa



CPH 7-11-75 24/11/75

# Toivo promised welcome

From KOOS COETZEE  
WINDHOEK — The leader of Swanu. Mr Moses Katjuongua, visited the founder of Swapo, Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo, on Robben Island on Friday.

Mr Ja Toivo is serving a 20-year sentence on Robben Island.

Mr Katjuongua visited him on the island after attending the University of Cape Town Summer School last week.

Yesterday Mr Katjuongua told a Swanu rally attended by 700 people in Katutura that Mr Ja Toivo was "in very high spirits" and that he had inquired about the well-being of old friends such as Swapo-Democrat leader Mr Andreas Shipanga.

He had told Mr Ja Toivo that he would be welcomed back in SWA Namibia "with flowers and our beloved staple diet: porridge".

He and Mr Ja Toivo had talked on a telephone through a glass panel and although three people had listened in, they had talked freely.

At the meeting in Katutura several calls were made by Swanu speakers for closer co-operation between Swanu and Swapo.

Ja Toivo who founded Swapo in the 1950s in Cape Town, was deported from the City in 1958.

# Boesak slams Labour Party

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On the split in the National Party over the proposals, Dr Boesak said there was no real difference between the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and Dr Andries Treurnicht, who left the NP to form the Conservative Party.

"The argument between these two gentlemen is not about the ideology of apartheid, but about the most effective way in which white control of the economy and white political domination can survive in South Africa."

Dr Boesak's speech was greeted with prolonged cheering from a multiracial crowd of about 400, chanting "freedom" slogans.

The audience also greeted the banned human rights veteran Mrs Helen Joseph with deafening applause and shouts of "Amandhla" when she opened the congress. — Sapa

that they do not have our interests at heart."

The new proposals should be rejected because they:

- Entrenched apartheid and white domination.
- Accepted as a basic premise that the homeland policy was irreversible.

- Retained such basic tenets of apartheid as separate education and security laws.

- Did not allow for the changing of apartheid laws as they would fall under the jurisdiction of the white parliament.

- Unashamedly accepted ethnicity as "an indispensable basis for politics in South Africa", a premise which all democratically-minded people had rejected because they knew ethnicity entrenched rather than solved differences.

- Excluded the majority of South Africans from government and were a recipe for violent confrontation and disaster.

ment there could be no peaceful existence in South Africa unless it included peaceful co-existence with blacks.

The government had used the Westminster system of government to establish a "winner-takes-all majority" in Parliament, and as an excuse to use the word "democracy" when "they knew they were oppressing blacks".

"But now that real majority rule is staring them in the face, they discover that the Westminster system will not work."

Dr Boesak said the government's constitutional proposals had been designed to suit the needs of the National Party congresses and should not be accepted.

"There is no reason in the world why we should place our future in the hands of people who for so many decades have shown with unabashed clarity

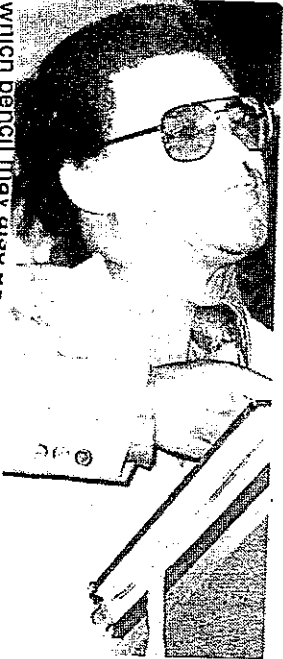
JOHANNESBURG. — Apartheid had ceased to have a purely white face with the acceptance by the Labour Party of the government's constitutional proposals, the president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches, Dr Alan Boesak, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing the congress of the South African Indian Council, Dr Boesak said those who accepted the proposals would in future share responsibility for apartheid.

"These are the junior partners in apartheid," he said.

"From now on, they will share the responsibility for apartheid, for the creation of yet more homelands, for the resettlement of black people, for the rape of our human dignity."

Dr Boesak said apartheid was in crisis. It was beginning to disintegrate, and black South Africans had shown the govern-



Dr Alan Boesak ... 'junior partners in apartheid'.

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2. Do not write in the left hand margin.

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Examiners' Initials	Internal		External
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APPROXIMATE BOOKS

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

# Labour Party failed to make conditions

Cape Times 24/1/83

By WILLEM VAN VUUREN, of the department of political science, University of the Western Cape

THE Labour Party's resolution to participate in the proposed new system of government could have been rationally defensible as a pragmatic strategy, had it not implied a decision to do so unconditionally.

No matter how hard its leaders try to deny this unconditionality with reference to all the "demands" written into the preamble to the resolution, the fact remains that the party has not made its decision to go into the new system dependent on any conditions. The preamble merely expresses some good intentions, it does not set any conditions.

This means that while the radical ideal of hyper-democratic reform ("one man one vote in a unitary system") is professed, the Labour Party has agreed to co-operate in a scheme which contains very few, if any, conditions for effective democratic change. In fact, it could be argued that the party's decision constitutes an acceptance of many practical conditions that operate against the realization of their idealistic intentions — which makes the resolution even less comprehensible when it is presented as a "pragmatic" decision.

## Means and ends

For while the requirements of a rationally defensible pragmatism differ decidedly from those of ideological perfectionism, it is not some kind of unprincipled opportunism which merely pays lip service to political ideals. Unlike the ideological perfectionist, the strategic pragmatist distinguishes clearly between means (conditions) and ends (ideals); instead of identifying the two in such a way that it forces him to put perfectionistic demands ("all or nothing") with regard to



The writer

means, i.e. instead of insisting that the conditions in themselves must constitute the desired end, the pragmatist is prepared to accept imperfect situations which contain the practical conditions for their own improvement — in the direction of his ideals.

This means that, as a pragmatic strategy, the Labour Party's decision to go unconditionally into a system which they regard as being seriously flawed needs to be justified with reference to the system's inherent improbability. And this would require a presentation of the existing facilitating conditions, or those that could be developed within the system for working towards the realization of the party's expressed ideal, which is to bring about a non-racial democracy by allowing "the effective participation of all South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed...".

## Junior partner

Unfortunately, the party seems to have accepted quite the opposite with its Eshowe decision, namely an apartheid-based autocracy in which the counter-acting conditions for achieving the above ideal are contained. At the most, the Labour Party could now find itself in the position of a co-opted junior partner in a constitutional structure tailor-made for perpetuating Nationalist domination under conditions which secure the autocratic and apartheid features of the system.

Since the resolution has been hailed as the culmination of a process of "consultation and negotiation" between LP and NP leaders, and calls for the continuation of such negotiations, questions arise as to whether any aspects of the proposed constitutional plan were actually negotiated, and which aspects the Labour Party sees as future negotiables. Elements of its apartheid basis? Eg the Group Areas, Population Registration, Prohibition

of Mixed Marriages, Separate Amenities Acts, pass laws and forced political separation, the establishment of "bantustans", etc?

Or would they "continue to negotiate" about the autocratic features of the system, such as the proposed procedure whereby 50 Nationalists are likely to elect the executive president? Or the excessive autocratic powers of the president, who would be able to dissolve Parliament for 12 months and take any emergency measures he deems necessary for "state security", and thus to rule as a "dictator", as the chairman of the PC's constitutional committee has admitted? Or the emasculation of the present elected Parliament, whose sovereignty is not only transferred to the president, but which will also be subjected to a President's Council comprising a guaranteed 75 percent Nationalist-approved appointees (under a Nationalist president) who would assume an arbitrating role usually reserved for legal experts and constitutional courts? Etc.

Or the 4:2:1:0 ratio for the distribution of political power, with the nought representing the proportional power of 70 percent of the population? If these apartheid and autocracy-securing conditions were non-negotiable before the Labour Party's "yes", when an anxious NP must have been most susceptible to a bit of bargaining, why would they be declared negotiable once the system is in operation? Who really negotiates from a position of strength?

In other words, it is indeed very difficult to see how the LP's unconditional entrance can improve their bargaining power to negotiate the facilitating conditions for a non-racial democracy from "inside". Because such an apartheid-free democratic system implies the very antithesis of the proposed

system on which continued Nationalist domination depends. And if "they can't be expected to give away power" now, why would they do so in the future?

## Destruction

Without a realistic chance of gradually transforming the system in the direction of their stated ideals, it seems that the only logical alternative for a Labour Party that does not want to exchange pragmatism for opportunism would be to seek the system's destruction, thus seeking to achieve its political ends through the revolutionary substitution of the system instead of its evolutionary reform. Surely, this is not what they want?

In the first report of its constitutional committee, the PC has founded its whole reform philosophy on the premise that "political change may be brought about in two ways — by way of revolution or by way of reform". And the basic condition that gives rise to the need for reform, it says, "is the virtual monopoly which white South Africans have of formal political power outside the black national states". That is to say that, in order to prevent revolutionary change, the present system of white domination must be transformed into a more democratic system of power sharing (which about expresses the kind of theoretical niceties that are sprinkled in the Eshowe resolution).

## Impotence

However, it should be asked where the PC, or NP for that matter, has proposed the practical conditions for overcoming this acute political problem. For their proposals do not even constitute a genuine first step towards power sharing, whose crucial necessity is theoretically accepted by both. Because it would be impotence, not power, that would be shared in the emasculated tri-cameral Parliament that is now being offered to coloured people and Indians — and a white opposition.

Thus it is hard to understand why the Labour Party had not, as a necessary condition for the evolutionary attainment of its ideals, insisted on genuine power sharing between the three politically privileged groups in a sovereign parliament. That would have been a progressive step, and more comprehensible as a pragmatic move towards the eventual inclusion of blacks.

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# Labour leader: We can share power

ARGUS 25/11/83

Argus Bureau

## PORT ELIZABETH —

The Labour Party last night got the go-ahead from about 500 people to take part in the Government's constitutional proposals.

A vote of confidence came at a meeting in Uitenhage last night — the first of several report-back meetings — with only four people voted against.

The party's leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said the coloured people were getting possibly limited power-sharing. But it remained power-sharing.

The coloured people would for the first time take part in decision-making.

Mr Jac Rabie, Transvaal leader of the party, said the party's decision was on strategy and not principle.

## JA-BROERS

Since 1943 he had heard the "revolution was around the corner". Why did it not happen?

Those on the left said the Labour members were ja-broers.

The party had not said it supported the Government's constitutional proposals. "We're using it as a vehicle."

Mr Rabie attacked the Rev Allan Boesak. "Dr Boesak is born out of apartheid. The Ned Geref Sendingkerk is the oldest church born out of apartheid," said Mr Rabie.

## NULLIFIED

Mr Boesak was in a subsidised post to which whites contributed but this did not mean he dealt with subsidised principles.

Mr Rabie said the Labour Party was the opposition party to the Government. The pseudo-liberals had been "nullified".

Mr Hendrickse warned young ministers against being ensared by popularity.

## CATASTROPHE

"If you say violence is the answer, then you don't belong here. If you're being taught violence is the answer, then you best join the boys on the border. To talk about violent change is to talk about self-annihilation.

"I believe we have chosen the path of peaceful co-existence rather than catastrophe. We have chosen the path of dialogue and negotiation. I still believe in the SA Black Alliance.

"For the first time we are going to be part of decision-making and for the first time we have bargaining power."

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, could not go back, Mr Hendrickse said. If coloured people rejected the proposals, they could only stand outside the system and shout. They could not use their influence to get more.

More than a month after South African soldiers broke the night silence with gunfire, the Maseru raid continues to preoccupy Lesotho. Pat Bulger of The Star's Africa News Service reports



The house outside Maseru that was one of the targets during the South African raid against the ANC in Lesotho last month.

# The 'Nation of Refugees' keeps a dangerous promise

Star  
25/1/83  
VIA

The skinny black South African in the United Nations refugee office in Maseru was nervous.

He had come from South Africa but he wouldn't be returning yet, was all he would say.

Perhaps he had come to start a new life in Lesotho, perhaps to take up arms. Most white South Africans of his age were still going to their first teenage parties.

He seemed apprehensive about being in Lesotho where 27 fellow political dissenters were killed by South African soldiers last month.

His nervousness was typical of the present unease among

refugees who know the South Africans can and might repeat the raid.

Lesotho, however, says it has an historical duty to provide a home for refugees.

Lesotho was built by Moshoeshe the Great from refugees — the remnants of Nguni and Sotho tribes scattered during the tribal wars of the 19th century.

It came to be regarded as a "nation of refugees." Ironically shortly before the raid a local journalist described the king dom as "a haven for refugees."

The Lesotho Government fears to turn a large number of

control resident political exiles.

While the targets of the blitz still smouldered, Lesotho's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Charles Molapo, said his country would continue to offer asylum to those "fleeing Bantu education".

To South Africa's chagrin Lesotho refuses to clamp down on exile movements like the African National Congress, even though they receive active support from some political exiles in Maseru.

You must understand the deep feeling of solidarity we have for the refugees and political exiles.

While Lesotho has proved a willing protector of refugees, it has not proved itself an effective one.

Informed observers believe that, contrary to official denials, Lesotho's forces did in fact retreat when threatened by the SADF during the raid.

The Government is, however, widely believed to have quietly welcomed the recent departure of more than 100 ANC members who apparently fought further South African raids.

Yet short of expelling all the ANC members, the country's limited

*D. Dispatch*  
25/11/83  
11A  
108  
337

# ANC trial: detainee says doctor did not examine him

ZWELITSHA — An Aliwal North doctor, to whom a detainee was taken asked a security officer if the detainee was a "terrorist," the regional court heard yesterday.

Mr Mnckeledi Peter said the doctor did not examine him but just looked at a blood clot in his nose and said he scratched himself with his fingernails.

Mr Peter claimed that his nose bled after he had been assaulted by a Warrant Officer Bezuidenhout. He said that at the time he was taken to the doctor he had visible facial marks.

Mr Peter was giving evidence in a trial with-

in a trial to determine the admissibility of statements allegedly made by him and a co-accused, Miss Nomakhephu Ntsatha, to magistrates at Aliwal North.

Both are appearing before Mr J. A. Dracatos on charges of promoting the aims of the banned African National Congress.

They have pleaded not guilty to being members of the ANC, recruiting members for the ANC, possession and distribution of banned literature and of recruiting people to under go training.

Mr Peter has also pleaded not guilty to taking steps to undergo training.

Yesterday he said that when he was taken to the doctor, his face and lips were swollen, part of the skin in his lower lip was torn and he had pains all over his body.

He said the doctor told him that the nosebleeding was caused by fingernail scratches.

Mr Peter said he was assaulted by Warrant Officer Bezuidenhout

and told to admit certain things to a magistrate. He said he had been threatened with further assaults if he did not mention all the issues W/O Bezuidenhout wanted.

He said he was assaulted by another policeman a few days after making the statement to the magistrate.

The policeman asked him why he did not tell the magistrate he was going away for military training and that he had also recruited Mr Vusumzi Mlahleni to be a member of the ANC.

At the time he was going to make the statement to the magistrate, W/O Bezuidenhout told him he would be standing near the door as he made his statement to the magistrate.

Mr Peter claimed that the magistrate, Mrs Christina Gerber, did not tell him he could speak freely or that she had nothing to do with the police investigation. She did not caution him that he was not obliged to make a statement.

At the time of making

the statement he was afraid of being assaulted by the police and thus did not make his statement freely and voluntarily.

He would not have made the statement if he had been told he was under no obligation to make the statement, he said.

Under cross-examination by the prosecutor, Mr P. Pretorius, he said he had agreed to admit things he did not know because he had had enough of the assaults.

He agreed that he took the police to Vusumzi Mlahleni's place to fetch a copy of the Freedom Charter. They had both picked it up at a sportsfield.

Asked by Mr Pretorius where he got his food while detained in the Jamestown police cells, he said he did not know.

Mr Pretorius put it to him that his food was bought at a cafe and the account came to R400. He said he did not know about that.

The case continues today. — DDR.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

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## DAILY DISPATCH

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## SHOP 45

VINCENT PARK CENTRE

# Hendrickse committed to black alliance

25/11/83  
11A  
D. Dispatch

UITENHAGE — The Leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, stressed at a meeting here last night that he still believed in the South African Black Alliance.

Addressing a crowd of about 500 people Mr Hendrickse said that the alliance held an answer to unity in that it formed a basis for black leaders to find points of agreement.

"We don't want a situation like the one in Zimbabwe. When freedom comes we don't want to have our leaders fighting off ideological differences," he said.

Mr Hendrickse said he had not — as many people had stated since the party's Eshowe conference — "somersaulted" in leading the Labour Party into participating in the government's new constitutional proposals.

"We have not once said we agree with the proposals and have stressed that we stand by one man one vote in a unitary system. We are not going in for coloured people alone but for all South Africans who cannot be presented.

"The very structures which have been created

to divide us can be used as machinery for unity. I believe we have made the right decision and we will escalate the process of reform."

He said that those who stood on the outside were indicating they were happy with the status quo and he criticised people like Doctor Alan Boesak of the NG Sendingkerk for his attack on the Labour Party decision to participate.

A motion of confidence in the party leadership was accepted with only three votes against. — DDC.

See also P13

# A triumph of non-racialism

BY MALCOLM PURKEY

THE Botswana Conference and Arts Festival has to be the most important South African cultural event to happen in the last few or ten years. What an indictment of the started culture of apartheid, that a festival of serious artists of the highest calibre had to meet and discourse outside the borders of South Africa.

For once the whole range of debate was heard and artists met from inside the country and in exile, could exchange views and witness each other's work without the direct and immediate interference of the state. There was also a welcome relief from the sense of unreality imposed by the participation of commercial industry and advertising in the festivals that are now taking place in the country. Festivals that function as tourist attractions on the East Town, Durban, can hardly pay serious attention to art that is dedicated to critical analysis and resistance against the sources of the most vibrant art in the country.

One thing struck me as most significant. The conference accepted as given that artists have an absolute moral responsibility to their society. The issues under debate focused on the nature of this responsibility.

The thousand or so participants from South Africa, both black and white, were quite clearly sympathetic to debate that centred around principles of non-racialism and commitment to the struggle for freedom in South Africa, the festival itself being a most forceful affirmation of these principles.

The only dissonant note was struck by a small group of black consciousness proponents, who seemed to have commandeered power in excess of their support. Much to the surprise of the majority of the participants, including many black consciousness sympathisers, who recognised something very important was happening, a leader of this little group declared the whole conference invalid.

From my own point of view, many issues were clarified. It is absolutely vital for practising artists, especially those working in the more immediate and popular media such as theatre, to have a very clear analysis of the structures which underpin apartheid in order to incor-



Hugh Masekela and Wilson "Kunc Force" Sibisi

porate these observations and understandings into the work being produced. It is not sufficient merely to reflect repression and degradation. To do so can begin to have a counter-productive and reactionary function. Many new South African theatre pieces fall into this trap. They show an inadequate understanding of the exact relationship between class and race as social determinants in the structure of South African society, and thus degenerate into a concern for surface and appearance. Art must not only pose problems. It must also hint towards a solution. Of course, the solution must be grounded in reality. There is always the danger of romanticising "Africa" as a future paradise, with no regard for the problems of urbanisation, industrialisation and the rest of the world's interest in the outcome of the intense struggle going on in South Africa.

The Botswana Conference and Festival evoked all these issues and more, but mostly it was a joyous celebration, a microcosm of what South Africa could be. I for one hope it will become an ongoing event and wish for the time when it can come home where it belongs.

## The drums of blackness were pounded loud

BY NAPE e'MOTANA

THESE were theatre shows, dances and poetry. Musically, the legendary trumpeter Hugh Masekela was part of the high-voltage package that included mostly exiled virtuosos like Dollar Brand, Johnny Dyani and Jonas Gwangwa. And Botswana's modest capital was just caught up in a cultural hubbub; he will never forget.

When I arrived in Gaborone, I found scores of South African whites. I later learned from several "home boys" that this "influx" didn't please them as they wanted a "whole-black" affair and not something that resembled a pot of mas.

The tone of the festival was the main



(11A) 1204  
27/11/83

# 'Sellouts a threat to SA's Indians'

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

A SMALL "collaborationist minority" pose a serious danger to the long-term security of South African Indians, according to Professor Jerry Coovadia, of the Natal Indian Congress.

By lending credence to the proposed tricameral parliamentary system, which excludes Africans, they are risking the security of the Indian community as a whole, he says in a detailed analysis of the constitutional proposals.

In a paper read to the Transvaal Anti-SAIC congress — at which it was decided to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress to mobilise Indian opinion against the proposed new system — he identifies middle class Indians as those most vulnerable to participation.

"They can be seduced into accepting that the new proposals mean security and benefits for themselves, and translate this misconception into a belief that what is good for them is good for the Indian people as a whole and indeed for the country altogether," he said.

"This is not true as the majority of Indians do not enjoy financial advantages and are mainly working class.

"Old style apartheid, which antagonised all blacks, has given way to a new policy of dividing blacks against one another," he said.

"Our task is to remind Indian and coloured South Africans that their security and destiny is in national liberation and not ethnic expediency."

Boycotts of separate and inferior institutions in the past — including the SA Indian Council and the Coloured Representative Council — had been a major factor in forcing Pretoria to offer its new deal, he said.

# Azapo attacks bid to revive 'ethnic' body

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organization yesterday condemned a decision taken at the weekend by the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) as one calculated to strengthen the forces of ethnicity and harm the cause of black unity.

"From our point of view, any ethnically-based organization by Indians, coloured or Zulus is directly in line with Pretoria's policy of apartheid," said Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, publicity secretary for Azapo.

On the related decision to establish a United Democratic Front, Mr Mkhabela said: "We see it

as a conglomerate of ethnically-orientated groups which perpetuate ethnicity and tribalism at a time when the oppressed should be rallied into a single organization which does not have ethnicity in its structure."

The decision to revive the congress was backed by Mr Thozamile Gweta, of the South African Allied Workers' Union, and Mr Samson Ndou, of the General and Allied Workers' Union.

Commenting on criticisms that the Transvaal Indian Congress was a specifically Indian organization, Mr Ndou recalled that the TIC, like the Natal Indian Congress, had been part of the Congress Alliance with the African National

Congress, the (white) Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured Peoples' Organization.

Far from being ethnic organizations, they were "people's organizations" which subscribed to the "people's document", the Freedom Charter of 1955, he added.

The chairman of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee, Dr Essop Jassat, rejected Mr Mkhabela's criticisms.

South Africa's laws, he said, forced people to live in different "ghettos" and it was easier for them to mobilize politically from their respective areas.

"Azapo claims to be against ethnicity, but they exclude whites."

# Buthelezi slams door on Labour Party

Mercury Reporter

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi has recommended to the central committee of the 750 000-strong Inkatha organisation that all activities of the South African Black Alliance, the national forum comprising coloureds, Indians and

blacks, be suspended.

In a speech laced with condemnation of the Labour Party, the coloured population's largest political party, the KwaZulu leader said its recent decision to participate in the Government's new constitutional deal amounted to 'a betrayal of our ideals'.

It made him realise just how alone blacks were in their struggle for liberation.

Although he realised how coloureds, too, had suffered severe social, economic and political injustices, they had not had to bear the brunt of apartheid's burdens — in fact they were 'so much better off than black anger of the future may well lump them together with whites if there is ever a day of reckoning'.

However, this did not mean blacks should abandon all coloureds because it could not be said that all coloureds had abandoned blacks.

The Chief still saw much hope in that many prominent coloured leaders in various fields had registered their disgust at the LP's decision.

## Vanishing

This in itself he saw as being a problem in that the unity established over the years between different sections of South Africa's non-white communities was vanishing, if it had not disappeared already.

But, as president of Inkatha, whose members he intended leading to freedom, he recommended no further dealings with the LP — which had chosen to 'relinquish its position among the ranks of the powerful'.

With the LP participating in the President's Council and the new Parliament, blacks could expect 'a brave speech or two' about the need for

## Negotiations appeal

African involvement in the overall decision-making process from its members, but such rhetoric would be an attempt only to appease black anger.

'We are past the point where people can achieve anything by talking on behalf of disenfranchised blacks. Ours is now a scene of power politics and, unless those who talk also carry a hard political clout, we are wasting time,' he said.

He went on to criticise sharply sections of the English-language Press, with the exception of two newspapers, for having 'applauded Mr P W Botha's fraudulent plan as reform'.

## Indians warned on boycott politics

Mercury Reporter

INDIANS and coloureds should negotiate with the Government for peaceful change in South Africa rather than engage in protest politics, Mr Yunus Moolla, chairman of the Natal Association of Local Affairs Committees, said yesterday.

Mr Moolla, who is also a member of the South African Indian Council in the Stanger constituency, said he would step down from the SAIC if opponents of the SAIC were prepared to use the body as a channel of communication with the Government.

'I will be only too happy to call on the Government to hold fresh elections for a new Indian Council if Dr Essop Jassat, chairman of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC committee, and Prof Jerry Coovadia, chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, agree to use the Indian Council to bring about change rather than condemn the organisation.'

He was commenting on the formation of a United Democratic Front in the Transvaal at the weekend to mobilise nation-wide resistance among Indians and coloureds to the Government's new three-chamber parliament.

Mr Moolla said rather than rejecting the proposals outright there should be an objective analysis of the long term bene-

fits. 'I can very easily find pitfalls in the proposals and blow it to smitherings, but in doing so I must also think of the alternatives.'

'We have suffered long enough and boycott politics in themselves have not brought the desired relief.'

'We are not geared to bring change by violence and revolution. It is therefore desirable for all the peoples of South Africa to enter into the arena of negotiation with the Government for peaceful change.'

## Ineffective

'The United Democratic Front should talk to the Government, the SAIC, and the black leaders to find alternatives to the constitutional reform proposals which will be acceptable to all.'

Prof Jerry Coovadia, chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, said yesterday that the history of participation in Government-created institutions had been clearly shown to be ineffective.

'What Mr Moolla is asking us to do is to assist in the maintenance of racialism and the exploitation of the black majority and to be party to future legislation directed against blacks.'

He said the NIC was prepared to talk with the Government, but only if certain pre-conditions were met.

# Labour Party gets lively

IIA  
E. Post  
25/1/83  
'yes' in U'hage

By SHIRLEY PRESSLY

THE Labour Party got the go-ahead for its decision to participate in the Government's new political system from an enthusiastic, emotionally-charged capacity crowd at a report-back meeting in Uitenhage last night — the first of several meetings to be held all over the country to gauge LP members' feelings on the Eshowe resolution.

The party resolved at its congress earlier this month to take part in the Government's proposed three-chambered parliament and use it as a platform from which to fight for the political future of all blacks.

The resolution repeated the party's belief in and demand for one man, one vote in a unitary system.

It stated that the party did not see the proposals of the Government as being the political answer to the constitutional demands of the

people because it excluded the greatest number of South Africans — the Africans. It did not answer the constitutional demands of the party and was based on an entrenched ethnicity.

A vote of confidence in the Rev Allan Hendrickse as leader of the LP, and in the party leadership, was passed almost unanimously last night. Only four people voted against.

The crowd, with enthusiastic singing of *South Africa Will Be Free*, power signs and shouts of "amandla", gave a roar of approval to Mr Jac Rabie, Transvaal leader of the party, and Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Rabie said any division within the party was on strategy and not princi-

ple. He drew an analogy of those who cursed the darkness and walked around with matches. This remark drew thunderous applause.

Since 1943, he said, he had heard that "the revolution was around the corner". Now it was not a question of asking when it would happen but why it did not happen, said Mr Rabie.

Forces were busy at work trying to divide the LP. Those whose viewpoints were Left of the LP said the Labour members were *ja-broers* who did not care for the interests of the community.

Nowhere had the party said it supported the Government's constitutional proposals. "We're using them as a vehicle," he said.

The LP had two goals. In the short term these were bread and butter issues such as pensions, housing and education, and in the long term the goal was full citizenship.

Since Eshowe, people were saying the LP was no longer regarded as the voice of the coloureds.

Mr Rabie delivered a veiled attack on Dr Allan Boesak, who has strongly criticised the LP, and asked him to reconsider his stance. He warned Dr Boesak, head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, that to bring the church into party politicking would bring division.

One of the criticisms levelled at the LP was that it

was preparing the road for compulsory military training for coloureds. Over 4 000 coloured youths had volunteered and there were not enough facilities to train them all.

Mr Hendrickse said the LP had chosen the path of peaceful co-existence rather than catastrophe.

"Now they talk of Hendrickse doing a somersault. There comes a time when you must stand still and consider. We have chosen the path of dialogue and negotiation. I still believe in the SA Black Alliance. We don't want things to happen in SA as is now happening in Zimbabwe.

"We will not rest until all South Africans participate in decision-making. For the first time we are going to be part of decision-making and for the first time we have bargaining power."

● Editorial comment  
— Page 6

# Black federation bid looks a non-starter

By BRIAN POTTINGER  
Political Correspondent

WHILE the political scene in South Africa is being dominated by the debate over a constitutional structure for only 30% of the population, there have been some interesting developments in the background, concerning the future of the other 70% — the Africans.

An early announcement is expected from the Government on steps which are intended to further strengthen the urban black community's ties to the "homelands" but there is increasing evidence from non-independent homeland governments that they are seeking some form of broad agreement with which to confront Pretoria.

The Government's attitude is that urban blacks should be represented in new metropolitan authorities which would have a status higher than municipalities, while retaining their political links with the homelands.

These links have been created to a certain extent through the procedures whereby black people living in urban areas are put on the voting rolls for constituencies back in the homelands.

In many cases the allocation of voters has been done in an arbitrary fashion, with people slotted into areas they have never even visited.

This process has done little to enhance the already low level of interest by urban black communities in "homeland politics".

For the last few years Government think-tanks have been working on the

problem and come up with several ideas to tighten the links between "urban" and "homeland" blacks.

Ironically, the apartheid apologists accept the argument of black political leaders that it is illogical to divide South African blacks into "urban" and "homeland" — but give a twist to it.

While black political leaders use the claim to argue for black rights in a common South Africa, Pretoria's theorists use it to justify the linking of urban black political rights to the homelands.

One of the ideas raised was that urban-based blacks should be allowed to have direct representation in their homeland governments on the basis of urban constituencies.

This scheme drew little support from the homelands, who realised the effect a massive, urbanised and no doubt progressive electorate would have on the homeland body politic, dominated as it is by conservative, traditional leaders.

A second possibility — which could well be announced this session of Parliament — is that the various black ethnic groups in urban areas elect representatives who act, firstly, as local representatives of the homeland governments (conceivably with some executive powers) and, secondly, as an electoral college from which will be chosen representatives to the homeland assembly itself.

These representatives could be seated directly in the assembly or slotted in as some form of council of



Chief MATANZIMA  
... into trap?

review over issues which directly affect urban-based blacks.

Whatever the final form of the structure, it is on the cards that a significant proportion of the community it is intended to serve will reject it. Surveys show that homeland politics of any sort hold little interest for the vast majority of urban blacks.

The second issue which has arisen concerns the creation of a broad front of "homeland" governments against Pretoria.

The idea is not new but was given added impetus last week by meetings between Transkei's Chief Kaiser Matanzima and Kwa-zulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi over the possibility of creating a federation of black states.

Chief Matanzima's intentions are clearly to establish a power bloc which could confront Pretoria and



Chief BUTHELEZI  
... challenge

vie with it as the legitimate government of South Africa.

But observers believe he is in danger of falling into a trap. The basis of the Nationalist Government's policy has been that blacks must be excluded from the political process in common South Africa and to that end it has created homelands, given independence to some of them, proposed a Black Council as adjunct to the President's Council and punted the idea of a "constellation of states".

The Government will this year push ahead with its attempt to create the necessary secretariat and structures for a confederation of states involving South Africa, Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.

And there is strong speculation that the Government will also try this year to set up a council of

black leaders representing the self-governing homelands. It is probable that the conference will end with a permanent protocol forum for Pretoria and the non-independent homelands.

Although Transkei's intentions in creating a rival "federation" might well be to counter the Pretoria-sponsored confederation, it will have the same effect in the long-run of lumping the homelands together as a self-defined non-South African group.

And what is worse, it will be a group with ownership of 13% of the land area, irredeemably poor and hopelessly dependent on Pretoria's largesse.

Professor Robert Schrire, head of the University of Cape Town's Department of Political Studies, believes the time is inopportune for the Matanzima initiative, and he gives it little hope of success.

"It is not a little irony that the man who did more than any other to break black South Africa's bargaining position is now attempting to create new bargaining structures from a very weak base," he said.

While there is a need for unified action of this sort, it cannot come from those parties who have taken the independence road.

It is these considerations which are causing such a cautious response from the leaders of other non-independent homelands. They see little point in running their heads into an apartheid noose of their own making when they have been battling for so long to escape the one being dangled by Pretoria.

emphasis on the program, for which purpose may also be used.

- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

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

~~11~~  
**Inkatha**  
*25/11/73*  
**expels**  
**leading**  
**member**

African Affairs  
Correspondent:

A LEADING member of Inkatha in Kwa Mashu and a Kwa Mashu councillor, Mr W B Jwara, has been expelled from the movement by the policy-making central committee.

In a resolution adopted at a meeting during the weekend, the committee said it was satisfied that Mr Jwara's repeated activities constituted a gross violation and disrespect of the movement's standing policies and constitution.

The committee resolved that the activities of Inkatha in Ward 6 of Kwa Mashu should be controlled by the interim committee of the movement in the township until branch elections were held.

26/1/83

# Accused denies food worth R400 a month

ZWELITSHA — An accused told the regional court magistrate, Mr J. A. Dracatos, it was not true that he consumed food worth R400 a month while in detention at Jamestown.

Mr Mncekeleli Peter, of Mgwali, said this during re-examination by defence counsel, Advocate M. T. K. Moerane, during a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of confessions allegedly made while in detention.

Mr Peter and Miss Ntsatha, of Zwelitsha, have pleaded not guilty of promoting the aims of the banned African National Congress.

It is alleged they continued to be members of the ANC, recruited members, possessed and distributed literature and recruited people to undergo training likely to endanger the maintenance of law and order.

Mr Peter is also alleged to have taken steps to undergo training.

During cross-examination on Monday the state prosecutor, Mr P. M. A. Pretorius, asked Mr Peter to dispute that his food while in detention at Jamestown was bought from a cafe and amounted to R400 a month.

Mr Moerane asked Mr Peter how many meals a day he ate and what he had for each meal.

Mr Peter said he ate brown bread and coffee in the morning. Asked what was on the bread and whether it had butter or honey, he said it was dry.

The midday meal was rice and potatoes. There was no meat but he got pilchards at times. He said in the evenings he had bread and sometimes two meat pies.

Mr Moerane asked if there were any desserts like pudding and custard. Mr Peter said there were none. It was not true that his food bill amounted to R400 a

month. *D. Dispatch*  
Miss Lulama Pillso, 18, of Dimbaza told the court she spent a night in the King William's Town cells with Miss Ntsatha in 1981. She observed Miss Ntsatha had been assaulted. There were marks on her body, chest, arms and thighs and her face was swollen.

A former district commander at Aliwal North, Colonel P. J. Ras, said he visited the accused and other detainees before he was transferred to Port Elizabeth. He asked them if they had complaints or requests. The accused had never complained.

Mr Peter asked to be put in a cell with another man and Miss Ntsatha asked for permission to write home. He refused both requests.

None of them had any marks.

Colonel Ras said he recorded what the detainees told him in a notebook.

When told by Mr Moerane that his instructions were that he never recorded what was said in the presence of detainees, he said he did not think it necessary to make notes in the presence of detainees.

Mr Moerane asked if the lapse of time between the time the report was made and the time it was recorded could not cause misrepresentation of what had been said.

Colonel Ras asked if Mr Moerane was casting a slur on him or if he was being demeaned.

Mr Moerane explained that the misrepresentation might not be intentional but he caused by fallible human memory.

Colonel Ras said it was not worth his while to misrepresent or hide anything.

Colonel Ras denied Mr Peter had complained that he was not allowed to wash himself and his clothes. However, he re-

quested to be allowed to wash his clothes.

Mr Moerane said his instructions were that Mr Peter had complained he was not allowed to go out of his cell for sunlight and fresh air.

The colonel said he couldn't remember. If he had made such a request to him he would have known about it.

When told that Mr Peter's request to wash his clothes was not acceded to until they developed fungus, he said he could not answer that.

Before the lunch adjournment Colonel Ras said the accused were detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act until he was transferred.

After the adjournment he conceded that they were no longer detained under Section 22 at the time of his transfer. He denied having said they were under Section 22 at the time of his transfer.

After Mr Dracatos had told him he had said so, he apologised. He said he had since realised they could not have been detained under the section indefinitely. He said he had not been told this by anyone during the lunch break but had remembered himself.

He conceded that there were alterations of dates in the police register and in his notebook about his visits to the accused. On the first visit, on December 1, his watch had registered November 31 and this had to be altered.

Under cross-examination by Mr Pretorius Colonel Ras said he would not have volunteered his notebook if it had been deliberately falsified. He said he never lied.

On the question of fungus on Mr Peter's clothes he said he would have seen it if there was any.

The case continues today. — DDR.

# Red China opposed to revolt in SA

By Howard Barrell,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

Star

26/1/83

HARARE — Communist China sees unity between blacks and "progressive whites" in South Africa as the most effective way to change the political system, according to a report published in Harare today.

The Chinese also doubt the suitability of armed struggle under South African conditions.

In a remarkably frank interview, the former Africa expert of The Ob-

server, Mr Colin Legum, met China's Assistant Foreign Minister responsible for African affairs, Mr Gong Dafei.

Asked to comment on the black militant view that armed struggle was the only effective way to secure basic changes in South Africa, Mr Gong said: "We, of course, understand this feeling; but the way we see it is that blacks should unite with progressive whites to change the political system."

The important fact about South Africa was that about a quarter of

its population was white, and the whites had been in the country for several hundred years.

Mr Gong said that while China supported the uprising of blacks "the blacks can't drive the whites into the sea and the whites can't continue with apartheid forever".

Asked how he thought issues should be confronted in South Africa, Mr Gong said: "We believe that what is required is that the white regime abandon apartheid and racial discrimination so blacks and whites can form a national government in which

all races co-operate.

"To support either whites or blacks would only create confusion."

In this respect, Zimbabwe Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe had adopted a "very wise policy" towards whites with his reconciliation policy.

On the pressures China thought should be applied on the South African Government, Mr Gong said: "We should welcome international pressure and Africans should be united in exerting more pressure of their own. It will take time. This is a protracted struggle."



# Pamphlet attacks LP decision

EAST LONDON — A pamphlet attacking the Labour Party's decision to accept the government's constitutional proposals has been distributed here on the eve of the party's meeting in the Parkside Civic Centre tonight.

The pamphlet was issued by an organisation called the Anti-

President's Council Committee.

Yesterday the Labour Party's leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who will address tonight's meeting, said he did not know the organisation that issued the pamphlet but invited its representatives to the meeting where he would deal with their accusations.

Mr Hendrickse said the tenor of the pamphlet showed ignorance, in that "we are being attacked for accepting the President Council's proposals. We did not accept those proposals. We accepted the proposals based on the government's guidelines.

"I do hope these people will attend and make

their accusations there. This will give us a chance to respond and give them the true facts once and for all," Mr Hendrickse said.

Former political and civic leader, Mr Peter Mopp, confirmed yesterday that he would chair tonight's meeting which is regarded as one of the most significant

ones in the 15-year history of coloured institutional politics here.

The party's Transvaal leader, Mr Jac Rabie, will share the platform with Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Mopp confirmed that a meeting had been held in Duncan Village as a preview to tonight's meeting.

and officials are expected to be elected at tonight's meeting.

Mr Mopp confirmed that following an earlier visit to East London by Mr Hendrickse, a request had been made to revive the party. A meeting was called of interested parties and there was enthusiastic response, according to Mr Mopp.

The Labour Party leadership will address a meeting in Queens-town tomorrow night. — DDR.

"People were not fully aware of the constitutional proposals. We held a meeting to explain it to them in the hope that it would help them to articulate their questions to the party leadership," Mr Mopp said.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party has been revived in East London

*Dispatch*  
**Koeberg blast:  
ANC praised**

*26.11.83*  
From SIMON BARBER

*11A 182*  
WASHINGTON — The UN special committee against apartheid has sent a letter to ANC president Oliver Tambo congratulating him for last year's sabotage campaign which included an attack on the Koeberg nuclear power station.

The letter also pointed out that South African white women and children could face "ten fold" retaliation for the SADF raid into Lesotho.

The author, committee chairman Alhaji Yussuf Maitama-Sule, told Mr Tambo that "the freedom fighters of the ANC have demonstrated, by their courage and their skill, that the final stage of the struggle for the elimination of apartheid has begun and that it will triumph."

# Labour Party vote sparks off big split . . .

By Jon Qwelane and Eugene Saldanha

The state of black politics in South Africa has been thrown into disarray, with various black leaders adopting differing stands on a number of issues.

At the core of the matter is the proposed tricameral Parliament, on which whites, coloured people and Indians will be represented in a 4:2:1 ratio.

Africans are excluded.

What first confused the situation was the decision three weeks ago by the coloured Labour Party to participate in the Government's new dispensation.

The decision was bitterly attacked by Inkatha's leader, kwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Inkatha and the Labour Party are co-members of the South African Black Alliance whose chairman is Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi, prompted by the decision of the Labour Party to take part in the envisaged political structure, suspended all activities of the alliance.

The central committee of Inkatha met over the weekend and "strongly condemned" the Eshowe decision of the Labour Party to work with the Government.

The Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (Tasc) held its annual congress at the weekend and resolved to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress.

This move further alienated some black politicians, with the Azanian Peoples' Organisation slamming the revival of the TIC as likely to cause black disunity and entrench black division on ethnic lines.

The organisation has distanced itself completely from the rebirth of the TIC.

This week in Uitenhage the Labour Party's stand was endorsed at a meeting that unanimously passed a vote of confidence in the party's leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, and the party's entire leadership.

"I believe we have chosen the path of peaceful co-existence rather than catastrophe. Now they talk of Hendrickse doing a somersault. I still believe in the SA Black Alliance. We do not want what is now happening in Zimbabwe to happen in South Africa," Mr Hendrickse told the meeting.

The secretary of the General and Allied Workers' Union, Mr Samson Ndou, yesterday defended the decision to revive the TIC.

"The TIC is a signatory of the Freedom Charter, which is one of the most democratic documents ever drawn up. No organisation which subscribes to the aims of the charter can be described as ethnic or tribal. The TIC is an organisation of the people," he said.

The chairman of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee, Dr Essop Jassat, said yesterday the greatest political co-operation between different race groups in South Africa took place during the heyday of the African National Congress, the SA Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the SA Coloured Peoples' Organisation.

IIA  
Stau  
26/1/83



The Reverend Alan Hendrickse . . . the man at the centre of the black political storm

## Black parties in disarray over changes



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi



Dr Jassat

## 'Fight for crumbs of a mouldy cake'

By Eugene Saldanha

Implementation of the constitutional proposals on local government would place an increased financial burden on numerically small and underdeveloped areas, according to a leading official of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (Tasc).

Dr R A M Saloojee, the committee's vice-chairman, said most coloured and Indian communities could not survive as autonomous group areas because they were not financially viable — a position

which would lead to a widening of the gap between privileged white areas and poorer areas.

He was outlining the basis of Tasc's rejection of the proposals at the organisation's congress last weekend.

CONTINUED

"It is unquestionably a fact that most Indian and coloured areas are not viable.

"While the Government has merely promised to make adequate arrangements for financial viability, the President's Council has fumbled along and made unimaginative suggestions on broadening the tax base," he said.

Dr Saloojee argued that all avenues of communication between the local authorities which are envisaged in the plan would be "mere discussion forums".

"While the Indians and coloured people are expected to join the Nationalists in protecting the Group Areas Act, the present stringent limitations of that Act will continue to haunt us ... and will lead to opportunists wrestling for the bigger crumbs of the mouldy apartheid cake.

"But the proposals go even further ... they suggest that election to office in the local ghettos be controlled by the loaded vote system, where material worth through the rateable value of properties, directorships of companies and monetary status will be the deciding factors.

"This will lead to a servile co-responsibility, the enforcement of influx control and the suppression of the popular will," Dr Saloojee said.

On education he commented: "The assertion that communities will be able to exercise an influence over education policy is palpably false.

"Separate education is seen by whites as a non-negotiable item. The Government, through its national education policy, budget allocations and executive authority, can prevent any meaningful change in the present system."

# God on blacks' side — Boesak

CAPE TIMES 26/1/83

114 ~~114~~

Staff Reporter

BLACK theology attempted to articulate God's concern for the poor and the oppressed universally, Dr Alan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said last night.

Addressing a University of Cape Town Summer School course on "Theology in Black and White", he said God was always on the side of the oppressed and this applied equally to South Africa, where blackness and oppression were synonymous.



Dr Allan Boesak

### 'Symbols'

"We are saying that God is on the side of blacks because they are poor, oppressed and dispossessed in our society," he said.

Dr Boesak, the author of *Farewell to Innocence*, a summary of his doctoral thesis on black theology and black power, said blackness and whiteness were both "symbols" in South African society.

"Whiteness symbolises the vast, destructive,

seemingly invincible psychological, military and political power structure in this country.

"Blackness in turn is an existential human reality in this society."

He said racism was an experience which he found very difficult to relate to white audiences.

"How can I even begin to explain the reality of racism — the systematic undermining of one's human dignity, the dehumanization of people and

their feelings. And when it all becomes legal, it is almost unbearable."

### Memory

Dr Boesak said his earliest recollection of racial discrimination was at the age of four when, on a very hot day, he and his father tried to buy cold drinks from a shop in their hometown Kakamas. He was told that the cold drinks were reserved for whites.

Although it was "impossible" for any white person to understand the black experience, Dr Boesak said there were "those whites who identify with blacks and their oppression in an existential way and are committed to their liberation from oppression".

● Dr Boesak's address was the second in a five-part debate with Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio, a theology lecturer at the University of Cape Town.

Tonight, Dr Villa-Vicencio will speak on "Theology and Socio-Economic Liberation".

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

	Internal	External
(1)	(2)	(3)
1	3	
3	6	
2	3	
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Examiners' Initials	DFN	

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

### NOTE CAREFULLY

- The answers only on the right hand pages will be marked. The left hand pages may be used for rough work, but no credit will be given for such work.
- Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
- Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

### WARNING

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

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

# Hendrickse cheered and jeered at EL meeting

27/1/83

11A  
E. Post

By KEITH ROSS

AMID jeers and cheers the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrikse, explained his stand on the Government's new constitutional proposals to a meeting in East London last night.

Feelings ran high and the meeting was interrupted when brawling between party supporters and protesters broke out at the back of the hall.

Several times young protesters against the party's participation in the constitutional proposals tried to address the crowd of more than 1 000 from the stage but were foiled by party officials who disconnected the microphone from its amplifier.

The protesters responded with clenched fist salutes and cries of "amandla".

The meeting was attended by many members of the South African Allied Workers Union who also interrupted proceedings by stamping their feet and singing.

The meeting was conducted against a non-stop barrage of protest.

The East London meeting was in sharp contrast to the strong support Mr Hendrickse received at meetings held in Uitenhage and Despatch, his "home" territory.

Last night Mr Hendrickse tried to bridge the ideological gap between party officials and the protesters.

He said he had no doubt

that imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was the leader of the broad spectrum of people in South Africa.

"We salute those who have opted to work from outside the country," he said.

"The Labour Party is the only body politic which has openly advocated the withdrawal of investments in this country."

Mr Hendrikse said all present believed in "one man, one vote" but opinions differed on how this should be achieved.

"There is no one solution," he said.

"We have a common goal and we dare not allow ourselves to be separated by strategy differences. If our strategies differ they should be complimentary."

He said some people in the country wanted to achieve their aims by working outside the system. Others had opted to use the system as a means to an end.

"We want to use the democratic movement to have a voice both inside and outside Parliament," he said.

The leader of the party in the Transvaal, Mr Jac Rabie, also stressed that the Labour Party intended to use the existing machinery to achieve a policy of one man, one vote within a unitary system.

"We are the only group who can bring black and white together - because they are our forefathers," he said.

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180 x 230 cm  
3/4 Bed size

200 x 230 cm  
Double Bed size

**R17<sup>99</sup>**

**R20<sup>99</sup>**

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# OK

GREY MILLS KAYE-EDDIE 10856 C00077

...dents participate in dec- meeting of the trustee sions or university fund- in April

## Mum faces Terror Act

A FORMER political refugee, an alleged member of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, and a mother of a three-month-old baby, made a brief appearance in the Umtata Magistrate's Court on Tuesday on terrorism charges.

Mr Mumankosi Lawrence Ntinkca (35) of Tveni near Engcobo, and Miss Nomthandazo Lusizi Lusizi (35) of Cojosa near Idutywa, both former employees of the Transkei Government, were not asked to plead and no evidence was led.

The case was postponed until February 16 for a trial date in the Transkei Supreme Court. Miss Lusizi was released on R1 000 bail while the public prosecutor, Mr B Z Poswa, said an order from the Attorney-General required that Mr Ntinkca be refused bail.

The two were both arrested by the Transkei Security Police in October last year. —Sapa.

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**GEEN & RICHARD**

**Anti-Council group set to take off**

**ONS LAUGHT: M**

**Pinky Ngakane**

**THE ANTI-COUNCIL**

**to councils committee**

# Labour Party stand explained



MR HENDRICKSE ... no one solution

... the South African government's new constitutional proposals, the leader of the party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, told about 1,500 people at a rowdy meeting in the Parkside Civic Centre last night.

The first of the 1500 people to enter the hall was Mr Hendrickse, who was seen to be in a state of some excitement.

The meeting was well attended and Hendrickse, who was seen to be in a state of some excitement, said the party was not in a hurry to accept the government's proposals. He said the party would be discussing the proposals in detail and would be making a decision on them in the next few weeks.

Several young people walked onto the stage at Hendrickse's invitation and were ordered off by Mr Peter North, who chaired the meeting. At one stage

Mr Hendrickse had the microphone snatched from him and had to struggle to get it back. He later said that the crowd of about 1,500 people had been very noisy and that he had to shout to be heard.

Mr Hendrickse, in a speech lasting about 45 minutes, said the party was not in a hurry to accept the government's proposals. He said the party would be discussing the proposals in detail and would be making a decision on them in the next few weeks.

The pamphlet was distributed on the eve of the meeting and again outside the civic centre last night.

We are being attacked for accepting the President's Council proposal, but we did not accept those proposals. We presented the

proposals based on the government's guidelines," Mr Hendrickse said.

There was also "no one solution to the constitutional problem" and the Labour Party had studied the options and settled for the strategy it thought would best serve

the party's interests. He said the party was not in a hurry to accept the government's proposals and would be discussing them in detail in the next few weeks.

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For this reason, the pamphlet issued by an organisation called the Anti-President's Council and critical of the party's decision should be rejected. Mr Hendrickse said.

The Transvaal leader of the party, Mr Jac Rabe, stressed that the

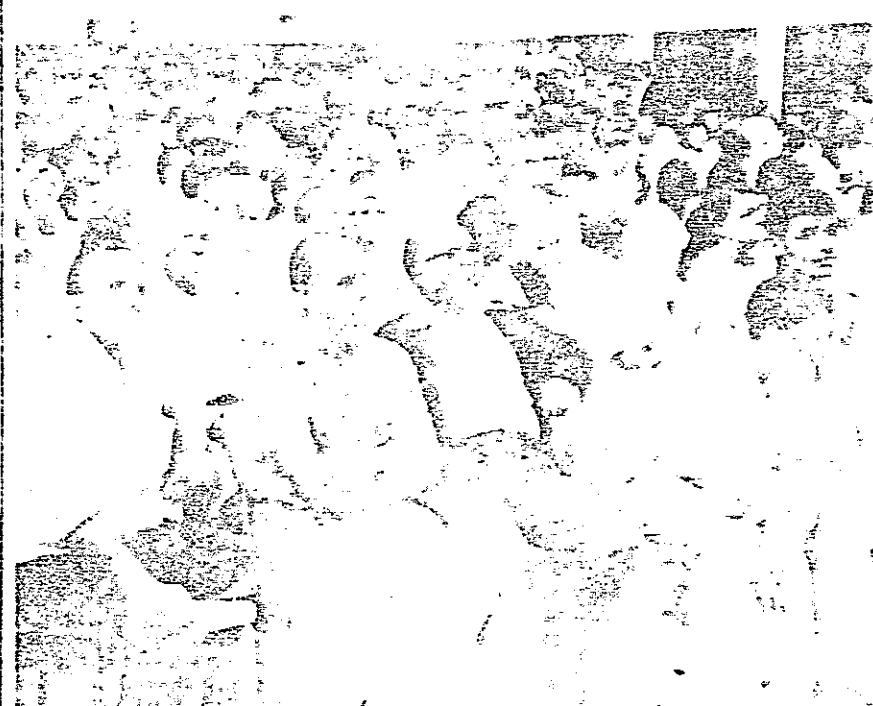
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Part of the crowd of 1,500 people who attended the Labour Party meeting in the Parkside Civic Centre last night.

## Thatcher gets master spy

LONDON — A powerful new spy master is to work at Number 10 Downing Street, the prime minister's official residence.

His job will be to sift intelligence reports from around the world and give an assessment to Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

This spy boss figure, packed from a handful of top civil servants, will work in the latter office, the inner council of Mrs Thatcher's advisers.

The appointment of a new spy boss follows a long series of humiliating British security failures culminating in the failure to anticipate the Argentine invasion of the Falklands last year.

The appointment was recommended by the Franks Committee report on the Falkland war.

The spy master will be chairman of the British intelligence committee.

The Franks report suggested that the committee had not given enough weight to intelligence and other indications of Argentina's trigger artillery just before the Falklands invasion.

In the House of Commons debate, Labour leader Michael Foot insisted that vital reports and intelligence assessments before the invasion were not considered by the Cabinet. DDC.

## Officer's detention stuns colleagues

... the officer's detention stuns colleagues.

... the officer's detention stuns colleagues.



# Boesak walks out of reform debate

Argus

27/1/83



Dr Allan Boesak



Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, refused to take part in a University of Cape Town summer school debate on constitutional reform because of the presence on the platform the national chairman of the Labour Party, Mr David Curry, and the chairman of the People's Congress Party, Mr Peter Marais.

Reading a statement in the packed Jameson Hall before the start of the debate last night, Dr Boesak said: "Under normal circumstances this meeting would not have presented any special problem

"Circumstances however are not normal. When I was first approached by the organisers of this course last year I accepted, but I also immediately requested not to be put on the same platform with certain people. Initially I did not know what the exact format of the course was going to be

**Shocked**

"I was then shocked to

logue is very necessary, but there comes a time when dialogue, because of its meaninglessness, becomes complicity.

"The betrayal we are witnessing is the betrayal of all the things for which we, including our children, have died.

" I have therefore no choice but to withdraw from the proceedings."

Mr Curry said although the party had decided to participate within the tri-cameral arrangement, the Labour Party did not accept the Government's proposals because they left out blacks and entrenched white domination.

**Two choices**

The Government had two choices for change — by violent or peaceful means. "It is with white South Africa and Afrikaners in particular, that we must negotiate with and the Labour Party had decided to initiate this process."

He felt that "shouting and protest politics alone" would not get them into the government of South Africa. It was the party's choice to use government platforms as a strategy. He

# ... walks out ... debate



Dr Allan Boesak

Staff Reporter

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"Circumstances however are not normal. When I was first approached by the organisers of this course last year I accepted, but I also immediately requested not to be put on the same platform with certain people. Initially I did not know what the exact format of the course was going to be.

## Shocked

"I was then shocked to discover afterwards, that despite my request, the organisers had placed me on the the platform with the very persons I had asked not to be associated with.

"I consider this to be a matter of respect of black opinion even though we have few rights — we are powerless in this society. However, I believe we do have the right to be heard and taken seriously."

Mr Boesak added: "What is at stake is much more than the academic debate of extreme views you have come to listen to. Out there, there is a reality of death struggles which no one can afford to ignore. To have dia-

logue is very necessary, but there comes a time when dialogue, because of its meaninglessness, becomes complicity.

"The betrayal we are witnessing is the betrayal of all the things for which we, including our children, have died.

"I have therefore no choice but to withdraw from the proceedings."

Mr Curry said although the party had decided to participate within the tri-cameral arrangement, the Labour Party did not accept the Government's proposals because they left out blacks and entrenched white domination.

## Two choices

The Government had two choices for change — by violent or peaceful means. "It is with white South Africa and Afrikaners in particular that we must negotiate with and the Labour Party had decided to initiate this process."

He felt that "shouting and protest politics alone" would not get them into the government of South Africa. It was the party's choice to use government platforms as a strategy. He added the government could not be fought with boycotts and stayaway methods.

However, if after a reasonable time the Labour Party found that the reform of the government was merely a fraud, then they would take the necessary steps.

## Destruction

Taking part in the debate, Mr Marais said: "South Africa is on the road to destruction unless it deals with me and my age group. Unless South Africa negotiates with me, my child will try and wrest power from your hands whether he succeeds or not, regardless of the consequences."



Magistrate's Court in London after charges been withdrawn.

## ... murder charge

... colleague William ... on four counts of murder.

Mr. Somes had been given protection in Britain because of his British passport and the lack of an extradition treaty between Britain and South Africa.

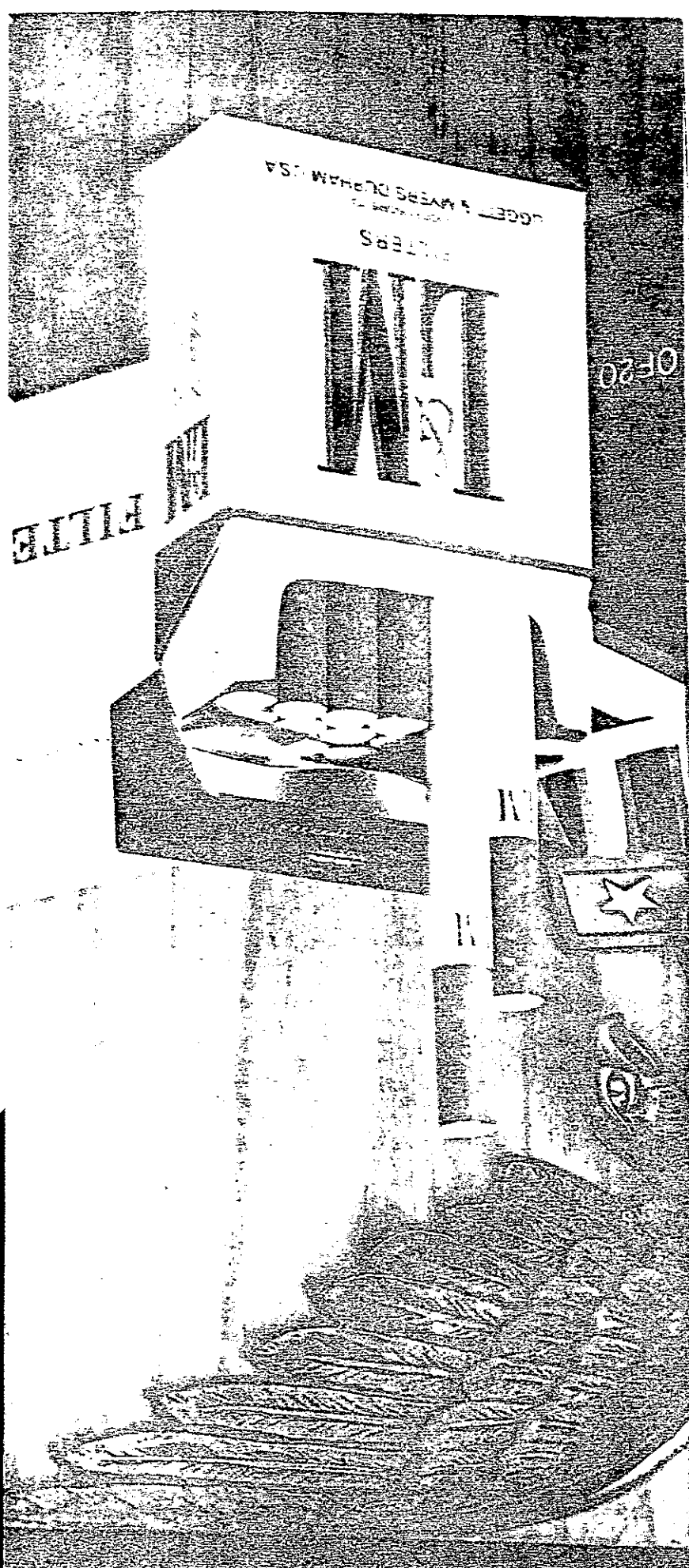
Nearly all the witnesses live in South Africa. The South African authorities have been urged to make them available to give evidence here, but they have not given the necessary assurances.

As a result I have no alternative but to withdraw the charge."

Saga reports that the Minister of Justice, Mr R.J. Coetsee, has reiterated the South African Government's willingness to conclude an extradition agreement with Britain in order to facilitate the return of Mr Somes to South Africa.

The Minister, in a statement in Cape Town, said he considered this to be the most practical solution to serve the ends of justice.

*Agnes*  
*27/1/83*



# Rough ride for Allan Hendrickse at meeting

11A  
A 9/2  
27/1/83

P  
O

Argus Bureau  
EAST LONDON — Pan-  
demonium reigned for  
much of a Labour Party  
meeting addressed by the  
Rev Allan Hendrickse  
here

and during Mr Hen-  
drickse's address the  
chairman had to take the  
microphone when heck-  
lers drowned out his  
speech.

## OBJECTIVE

Mr Hendrickse denied  
the party no longer stood  
for one man, one vote in  
a unitary system.

"The liberation of all  
oppressed people and the  
creation of a new society  
based on one nation re-  
mained the primary ob-  
jective," he said.

"It does not matter  
what vehicle or means  
we use to achieve the  
manifestation of our  
ideals.

"There are people who  
have opted to use the sys-  
tem as a means to an end  
and not an end in itself.  
Others work outside the  
system."

Mr Hendrickse said  
people should be careful  
of divisions among them-  
selves. Strategies to  
achieve a new society  
should be complemen-  
tary and not create divi-  
sions.

The party stood for  
one man, one vote but  
was prepared to negoti-  
ate over a unitary sys-  
tem.

## FEDERATION

Answering a question,  
Mr Hendrickse said a  
geographic federation  
might be considered.

To loud jeers from the  
audience, Mr Hendrickse  
said if nothing could be  
achieved through negoti-  
ation "we'll come back to  
you and we'll opt out".

He said he was sure  
most coloured people  
supported the party's de-  
cision to participate in  
the Government's new  
constitutional proposals.

Mr Hendrickse will ad-  
dress a meeting in  
Queenstown tonight!

Sections of the audi-  
ence of 1500 frequently  
jeered and clapped or  
broke into song, drown-  
ing out the speakers

Twenty minutes after  
the meeting began last  
night a fight broke out at  
the back of the hall and  
took about 10 minutes to  
quell.

A pamphlet calling on  
people to disassociate  
themselves from the La-  
bour Party, which had  
"declared themselves  
willing to assist in the  
oppression and exploita-  
tion of the masses", was  
handed to people as they  
arrived at the meeting

Twice the chairman  
had to remove the plug  
of the microphone to si-  
lence people who mount-  
ed the stage uninvited to  
address the meeting.

Sections of the audi-  
ence were openly hostile  
to the party's leadership  
— Mr Jac Rabie, Trans-  
vaal leader and Mr B  
Barlow, chairman of the  
local Coloured Manage-  
ment Committee, also  
addressed the meeting —

**Sell your  
Persian rug**

We pay cash for genuine Persian  
rugs in any condition. Come in and  
talk to us.

*Ludy  
Gensenhauser*

14 Eusebius Street, Cape Town 8001  
Tel: 25-2783

# Doctor's procedure concerns defence

27/1/83

D. G. G. G. G.

~~309~~  
~~309~~  
~~309~~  
11A

ZWELITSHA — Defence counsel in an ANC trial told the regional court here he was concerned about the procedure whereby detainees taken to a doctor were certified healthy with no abnormalities detected although they were not thoroughly examined.

Advocate M. T. K. Moerane, of Durban, said this during the cross-examination of an Aliwal North part-time district surgeon, Dr H. J. du Plessis.

Dr Du Plessis was called by the state to give evidence about his examination of two people charged with furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress.

The doctor produced a medical report in which he stated he had seen one of the accused and found him healthy with no abnormalities although he had only looked at his nose.

Miss Jane Ntsatha, of Zwelitsha, and Mr Mncekeleli Peter, of Mgwali, have pleaded not guilty before Mr J. A. Dracatos to furthering the aims of the ANC.

The state has alleged that they were members of the ANC, recruited members for the ANC, possessed and distributed banned literature and recruited people to undergo training likely to endanger the maintenance of law and order.

Mr Peter is also alleged to have taken steps to undergo training.

Dr Du Plessis agreed with Advocate Moerane that his report on Mr Peter was extremely condensed and did not give a clear picture of what happened in his consulting room. He conceded that the report did not refer to the nose-bleeding he had examined Mr Peter for.

Mr Moerane said anybody reading the report would think that he had examined the accused thoroughly.

Dr Du Plessis agreed that the report was not a full medical certificate.

Mr Moerane asked him why he had not mentioned in his report that he had examined Mr Peter's nose. The doctor said he was busy at the time Mr Peter was brought in.

Asked by Mr Moerane if the reason was not that the policeman who had assaulted Mr Peter wanted a clean bill, he replied he did not tell lies because that would create problems for him.

Mr Moerane suggested Dr Du Plessis had been manipulated by Warrant Officer Bezuidenhout in order to certify Mr Peter healthy with no abnormalities detected. The doctor said he saw Mr Peter alone in his consulting room.

Under re-examination by the state prosecutor, Mr P. M. A. Pretorius, the doctor said he had not been manipulated. He was a religious man and was not lying in court.

In his evidence-in-chief Dr Du Plessis said Miss Ntsatha was brought to his surgery by the security police in November 1981 complaining of a sore throat. She had acute tonsillitis and had one or two blisters in her mouth. The blisters were compatible with tonsillitis or her biting herself.

He did not examine her to see if she had been assaulted but only for her specific complaint.

Mr Pretorius asked him what his reaction would have been if Miss Ntsatha had blue eyes and a swollen face. The doctor said he would not have missed observing

this and would have reported it to higher police officials.

He said her state of mind was completely rational.

Dr Du Plessis said he also examined Mr Peter that month.

Mr Peter had complained of nose-bleeding. There was evidence that the nose had bled before. There were small blood clots stuck to the hair in his nose.

He said he did not ask him to undress because he had been brought with a specific complaint of nose bleeding. He saw no signs of assault or injury and would have noticed them if there were any.

Under cross-examination by Mr Moerane, Dr Du Plessis disputed a suggestion by Mr Moerane that Miss Ntsatha had been taken to him in order to eliminate any accusations of assault that might be later alleged. The doctor said she had been brought to him for a specific complaint.

He agreed with Mr Moerane that if he had been asked to examine her for possible assault he would have examined her thoroughly.

A former station commander at Jamestown, W O D. R. Spann, told the court that at no stage did Mr Peter complain of assaults while he was detained there. He was never assaulted at the Jamestown police station. If he was ever assaulted there he would have known about it. It was not true that he was never given an opportunity to wash his clothes.

He said Mr Peter was kept in isolation at Jamestown and denied access to a lawyer, his family, and a spiritual adviser of his choice.

He denied that Mr Peter was not allowed out of his cell for exercises. On many occasions he had wanted hot water and this was agreed to.

W O Spann agreed with Mr Moerane that entries for other security detainees were recorded as stock theft although the detainees had been brought in by the security police for investigation under security. He said he was not on duty when the entries were made.

W O P. J. Fouche, of King William's Town, said he was present when the accused were brought to the offices.

He did not witness any assault or ill-treatment nor did he take part in any assaults on them.

He took no interest in the investigation of their case and had carried on with his duties.

The case was adjourned early in the afternoon until today because of a fault with the recording machine. — DDR.

11A

# Anti-council group set to take off



ONSLAUGHT: Mr Pinky Ngakane.

*Sowetan 27/1/83*

THE ANTI-community councils committee, to operate on a national level, will be launched at Mohlakeng Township on Sunday.

The committee is the brainchild of the Mohlakeng Civic Association (Moca), which is in turn an offshoot of the Soweto Committee of Ten under the leadership of Dr Nthato Motlana.

This will materialise at the Moca Sunday meeting, starting at 1pm at the local Methodist church.

The Greyhound's pending 12.5 percent fare increases will also come under the spotlight at this meeting, as will the rent issue of which a report-back will be made to the public.

Moca's chairman, Mr Pinky Ngakane, said members of the anti-councils committee would be elected at the meeting. The members, who will form a sub-committee to Moca, will then liaise with similar bodies countrywide to fight community councils.

Mr Ngakane said the contention of the new body was to formulate strategies of how to keep people away from the polls during the September community councils elections.

The meeting would also get a public opinion on the Greyhound fare hikes to be introduced from March 1.

Mr Ngakane said: "It is interesting to note that while petrol is going down with 1 cent, Greyhound is increasing its fares."

# Tutu accuses SA Government of 'playing marbles'

27/1/83  
Some form  
11A

THE Government's proposed constitutional reforms have come under a bitter attack from two leading church figures at the opening of a special plenary session of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference in Pretoria.

In a fiery onslaught the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, accused the Government of wasting time by "playing marbles" with constitutional proposals instead of dismantling apartheid.

He said it appeared the country was heading for a bloodbath unless

there was a change of heart by the Government.

"Unrest is endemic in our country. Violence is escalating, oppression is increasing and there is a heightening of militarism of our nation," he said.

The church was the only institution that could do anything to stem the tide of troubles in South Africa, he added.

"If we do not present a united front, we might as well throw in the towel."

Bishop Tutu also insinuated outspoken church leaders were being ostracised by the

## 'Violence escalating, oppression increasing'

Government. "The Government is very sly. They are trying to pick us out one by one, starting with the SACC," he said.

The Bishop said there was a desperate need for reconciliation in South Africa, but this could

only be brought about through justice for all.

The head of the Johannesburg diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, described the constitutional proposals as being "worse than classical

apartheid.

"We are moving towards a situation that is worse than we have ever had here before," he said.

In an obvious reference to the willingness of the "coloured" Labour Party and some In-

dians to participate in the new constitution, he said the Government's new motto was "come and be alone with us."

He echoed Bishop Tutu's call for a united church front to oppose the Government's policies.

Another guest speaker, the Reverend Joseph Wing, general secretary of the United Congregational Church of South Africa, praised the Catholic Bishop's conference for its disclosures in its controversial report on Namibia,

# East Cape black organisations form alliance

By JIMMY MATYU

11A

E. Post

27/1/83

SIXTEEN black organisations involved in civic affairs, trade and sport met in North End last night to form a united front known as the Eastern Cape Coordinating Committee (Ecco).

The meeting was convened by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco).

The president of Pebco, Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, said his organisation felt there was an urgent need for a united front to fight oppression and exploitation.

Ecco consists of Pebco,

the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, the Eastern Province Council of Sport (Epcos), the Gelvandale Civic Association, the Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union of South Africa (Macwusa) and the General Workers Union of South Africa (Gwusa).

Others are the South African Committee for Higher Education (Sached), the Eastern Cape Council of

Churches, the Commercial and Catering African Workers Union of South Africa, the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), the Urban Training Project, the Kwazakele Rugby Union, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, the African Food and Canning Workers Union and the General Workers Union.

In a statement on behalf of Ecco, Mr Godolozzi said: "Ecco has formulated a programme of action which would at present focus its

attention on the sell-out stand taken by the coloured Labour Party and the touring West Indian cricket mercenaries."

Two major resolutions were taken at the meeting. The first read:

● "The oppressed people of the Eastern Cape, represented by these organisations, totally reject the West Indian cricket 'traitors and mercenaries'"

The second resolution said Ecco intended destroying the Labour Party for its support of the Government's proposed constitutional changes.

# Democratic Party delegates meet Heunis today

11A

Mercury

27/1/83

## Mercury Reporter

A SIX-MAN delegation from the Democratic Party is to meet Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, in Cape Town today to discuss the new constitutional reform proposals for Indians.

The party, headed by Durban attorney Jayantilal Bhailal Patel, is the official opposition group in the South African Indian Council.

Mr Patel could not be reached for comment last night, but a senior member of the party, Mr Ismail Patel, who will also accompany the delegation, told the Mercury that they would ask the minister to hold a referendum among Indians to gauge their support for the proposals.

'My party believes that it does not have the mandate from its electorate to com-

mit the Indian community.

'Although we have been elected on to the Indian Council by 10 percent of the voters we still have a right to go back to them to seek a mandate before accepting the new constitutional proposals.'

He said they would also inform the minister that unless the Government gave his party an undertaking to repeal discriminatory legislation, including the Group Areas Act and include blacks in the new dispensation it would not support the proposals.

The majority party in the Indian Council, the National Peoples' Party, also met Mr Heunis in Cape Town recently and a further meeting of the party's head committee is to be held with the minister in Cape Town on February 4.



# Phatudi tells of grand plan



SOLUTION: Phatudi.

## United black front to reach common goal

DR CEDRIC Phatudi's federal solution to the country's problems would be open to all people who want a common citizenship and regard South Africa as their homeland.

The fundamental point of the federal formula was that it was colour blind, said Dr Phatudi in a recent interview. "It was for all South Africans, black and white. This is very important. Otherwise it would be like trying to solve apartheid with a different system of apartheid."

"I do not see us reaching our goal unless we involve the independent states, including Venda and Ciskei."

President Kaiser Matanzima will speak to some leaders and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to others, Dr Phatudi said.

Dr Phatudi also wants to argue his federal solution before the South African Council of Churches, Soweto's Committee of 10 and Indian leaders as well.

He described the President's Council's constitutional proposals as a pure waste of precious time because they excluded the majority of South Africans.

"How can you find peace if black people are discounted? If you want peace then blacks and whites must co-operate".

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has said the talks he held with Dr Phatudi and Paramount Chief Matanzima involved seeking a formula for unity, and he had made no agreement on any federation. "The talks were a chance to get together so that we can speak with a united voice because black people are so fragmented," Chief Buthelezi said.

Although he favoured a democratic united state in South Africa, a federation might be the only way of bringing back independent homelands into a South African state, KwaZulu's chief minister said.

"The main thing is getting together on a united basis. The federation can only be thought of in the background as a formula to bring back the homelands."

Meanwhile Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal has said moves

to form a federation reflected a very central political reality. This was that "you cannot divide the South African fiscal system or economic system. It is a totally inter-related and inter-dependent regional system.

"The idea that independent states are going to remain in a kind of marginal beggar-like situation is ultimately unrealistic.

"These labour-supply-

ing areas of the country like Transkei, Lebowa and KwaZulu are inevitably going to experience the deep contradictions between political independence and economic dependence"

What was significant, Professor Schlemmer said, was that the first homeland to take independence had actually started to try to bridge the contradiction emerging.

IIA  
Sowetan  
28/1/83

S. Post 28/11/83 (11A)

# Heckling, singing but Hendrickse supported at Queenstown meeting

Post Correspondent  
QUEENSTOWN — The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, was given wide support when he addressed a meeting here last night.

Despite some heckling, Black Power salutes and songs, the general response was positive.

The meeting was intended to explain the Labour Party's constitution and the reason for their decision to participate in the Government's plans for a new constitutional dispensation.

During Mr Hendrickse's meeting in East London the night before some people urged the disruption of the Queenstown meeting, but most of the 1 500 supporters who attended the meeting supported the Labour Party decision.

"We are now moving along the narrow road. We must not deviate but keep

to the path, and we must not let dissidents try to run our future," Mr Hendrickse said.

Referring to the Rev Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Mr Hendrickse said: "He must not try to mix politics with the church. His church was born out of politics.

"He has had a lot to say because he believes we are selling out our own people.

"At our conference in Eshowe the majority of the meeting voted for change, and the Labour Party has been the driving force to have these changes made. We will now be in Parliament.

"People are prepared to mislead and incite people, but the Africans must not be deceived by people working for their own ends such as Chief Buthelezi."

Mr Hendrickse continued: "Our involvement with

the proposed constitutional proposals is not the complete answer, but it is a beginning, and we can use this position to work for change. We are striving for one man, one vote.

"The Nationalists have changed their ideas because of the Labour Party. We are here as part of the answer and not of the problem.

"Dreams won't become reality unless we get up and do something about them. The Labour Party is now translating this dream into reality.

"Now is the time to take our gloves off and go into battle and fight for what is right. We must move out of the depression towards liberation."

Mr Hendrickse concluded that the Progressive Federal Party had become null and void.

"The Labour Party is now the real opposition," he said.

Account - Police

For you

*D. Dishevelch*  
*28/11/83*

# Threats at Biko's grave denied

*105*  
*371*  
*11A*  
*309*

ZWELITSHA — Warrant Officer P. J. Fouche, of the King William's Town security branch, told the regional court he believed that an accused wanted to leave the country for military training so that he could return to overthrow the present régime.

He was giving evidence in a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of statements allegedly made to magistrates by two accused persons.

Miss Jane Ntsatha of Zwelitsha and Mr Lawrence Peter of Mgwali, have pleaded not guilty before Mr J. A. Dracatos to charges of promoting the aims of the banned African National Congress.

The state has alleged that they were members of the ANC, recruited members for the ANC, possessed and distributed banned literature and recruited people to undergo training likely to endanger maintenance of law and order.

It is also alleged that Mr Peter took steps to undergo training.

Defence counsel, Mr M. T. K. Moerane, put it to W/O Fouche that he and other policemen were armed with this information and took Mr Peter to the tombstone of a "recognised political leader," Steve Biko.

The officer denied ever taking Mr Peter to a graveyard.

Mr Moerane said that in W/O Fouche's presence W/O Bezuidenhout continued his activities of trying to demoralise Mr Peter by saying Steve Biko was a dog and Mr Peter would die a dog, like Biko.

W/O Fouche denied it. He said Mr Peter's evidence was a figment of his imagination.

Mr Moerane said W/O Fouche's lack of recollection of a number of incidents was contrived and not genuine. The officer denied it.

W/O Fouche said he visited Biko's grave shortly after the unveiling of his tombstone. He went

there to read the inscription.

Asked by Mr Moerane why he wanted to read it, he said Steve Biko was a leader. He said he would not say whether he was a political leader but he had a great following.

Pressed further by Mr Moerane W/O Fouche said Steve Biko was a leader of the Black People's Convention which was eventually banned and Steve Biko had been detained on many occasions. The convention could have been a political organisation but he could not say because he had never studied the BPC.

At one stage Mr Moerane said he noticed that the officer repeatedly looked at a certain side of the bench (pointing where the prosecutor, Mr P. M. A. Pretorius sat, and asked if there was any reason for that.

W/O Fouche said there was no reason.

At another stage he asked the officer to look at the magistrate's bench and "not across"

The officer said that in his career he had never lifted a finger against a woman after Mr Moerane had said he too part in the assault of Miss Ntsatha, whereby she was subjected to electric shocks.

Constable W. J. Kotze, of the uniform branch in Aliwal North, told the court that on November 30 1981 he was instructed to take Mr Peter to a magistrate to make a statement.

Under cross-examination he denied that Mr Peter was taken to the magistrate by the investigating officer, W/O Bezuidenhout.

The branch commander of the King William's Town security police, Captain Andre Nel, said the accused were never assaulted in the King William's Town security offices. If there were any assaults where people screamed he would have heard them, he said.

The trial continues today. — DDR.

# Swazi clamp on ANC and govt rebels

Rbm 11/2/82

Mail Correspondent

MBABANE. — New legislation to tighten laws on the illegal possession of arms has been introduced into the Swaziland Parliament in what is seen as a move to crack down on the activities of the African National Congress in Swaziland, and to counter a possible revolt against the government by members of the armed forces.

The Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, said when he introduced the Bill this week: "There are too many free roaming people in the country loaded with guns and other dangerous weapons."

He said the legislation had been introduced as a matter of urgency because "any further delay would cause havoc to the national security and this Bill must be given high priority".

According to Swazi Parliamentary procedure all Bills have to be Gazetted at least three weeks before they are debated in Parliament.

But it was agreed that the Bill to be debated tomorrow was an urgent matter. In support of his appeal for this to be done Prince Mabandla said: "Even soldiers carrying guns need a special authority. But now there are too

many people who are unlawfully in possession of arms of war and other explosive material."

The new Bill is being interpreted as a total clampdown on ANC activities even though Prince Mabandla told the Rand Daily Mail in an interview that anyone, irrespective of his status, who was found unlawfully with arms of war would be charged.

Two weeks ago the Swazi Chief Justice, Mr Justice Charles Nathan, issued a directive to all subordinate courts ordering that cases involving unlawful possession of arms of war should be referred to the High Court for review.

This was interpreted as meaning that offenders might receive stiffer sentences from the High Court than the maximum of two years' jail that the lower courts can impose.

The introduction of the new Bill is also seen as a move to counter growing dissatisfaction with the government among top political, civil and military men in Swaziland.

It is known that some Cabinet Ministers opposed Prince Mabandla's appointment as Prime Minister.

# 'A kick in the teeth'

NA

Mercury

28/1/83

## Buthelezi slams exclusion of Africans

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, last night described the first step in the Government's constitutional proposals as a 'kick in the teeth' for Africans.

It might be a step forward for coloured and Indians, he declared, but it was a step backwards for Africans.

Since Africans were the majority, who ultimately controlled the stability of the country, it was a step backwards for South Africa.

Speaking at a forum at the University of Cape Town to discuss the Government's constitutional proposals, Chief Buthelezi criticised statements in a recent hand-out to the effect that blacks already had their own government in KwaZulu and that, in Soweto, new councils with extended powers were to be established.

The Inkatha president threatened to withdraw the support of Inkatha from community councils in Soweto unless the Department of Foreign Affairs retracted the statements, made in response to a question in the document as to why blacks had not been included in the new dispensation.

He released the contents of a letter written last week to Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-Operation and Development.

### Arms

Chief Buthelezi said he took strong exception to the fact that KwaZulu, which was not an independent State and had no intention of ever being one, should be used by Government departments to create the false impression that, because the region had its own administration, this was the final solution for South Africa's problems.

He said the Government would be forcing the Zulus to take up arms if it tried to foist on them a type of independence which they rejected.

He told Dr Koornhof he had thought community councils were no more than just local governing bodies.

'To now be told, through an official Government document, that they are part of the substitute for excluding blacks from Parliament will now make it problematic for me to encourage my people to support them unless this statement is withdrawn in Parliament,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He said the Government had compromised him in singling out KwaZulu as a final solution for black South Africa.

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Members of the United States Congress will replace the bedspread that South African security policemen seized from Mrs Winnie Mandela recently.

The new bedspread will be presented to the wife of the African National Congress leader as a symbol of congressional concern over civil rights abuses in South Africa.

Senator Paul Tsongas, the Liberal Democrat who takes a keen interest in Southern African affairs and who is an outspoken critic of the South African Government's actions, and a group of his congressional supporters have already acquired a

# US Congress to replace Winnie's bedspread

bedspread of traditional American design.

The bedspread will be displayed for public signing by members of Congress next Thursday and it is expected that scores will put their names on it.

In a letter to his colleagues this week, Senator Tsongas said bannings, detentions and police harassment were standard fare for black political opponents of

the South African Government.

"But Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, endured an exceptionally cruel and arbitrary act of harassment earlier this month."

Senator Tsongas included with his letter a copy of the article written by Mrs Helen Suzman, which appeared in the Washington Post on January 14 describing her visit to Mrs

Mandela and the police raid during which the bedspread was seized.

He wrote to his colleagues: "What we intend to do is to send a new bedspread to Winnie Mandela as a replacement for her abducted bedspread. It will be made available for signature by members of Congress who wish to express their sympathy and support for Mrs Mandela."

## Jurisdiction dispute on sea death

Own Correspondent

BONN — There is confusion in West German legal circles over who should claim jurisdiction in the killing on the high seas of yachtsman Hans Nagel.

The case could be handled either by the public prosecutor of Itzehoe, where Mr Nagel lived, or that of Borken — where Mr Clemens Ebber, owner of the yacht, lived before emigrating to Australia.

Mr Nagel was taking the Pan Tau from its Dutch mooring to Australia for Mr Ebber when he was killed by two British girls during a fight they said he started during a night watch.

Mr Ebber was a member of the Borken Yacht Club, most of whose members usually keep their vessels moored at a Dutch port.

The public prosecutor for Borken is considering claiming jurisdiction on the grounds that this community was the home of the Pan Tau's owner.

If he does not, Itzehoe's public prosecutor, Mr Rolf Schamerowski, will ask the Federal Court to assign jurisdiction to him.

Mr Schamerowski says the case is complicated by the fact that the killing happened on the high seas, that there is no body and there are no witnesses. But he will claim jurisdiction if nobody else does, as Mr Nagel lived in his town.

The director of public prosecutions in London has said the British do not consider themselves to have jurisdiction.



Angie Lovne shows that nightshirts have changed since the days they flapped around the ankles and were worn with long pom-pommed night-cappers.

### 6 Students go hungry

### Shots fired as

### mal 'broke'

CAPE TOWN 28/1/83

## Boesak's refusal <sup>(117)</sup> a surprise <sup>(280)</sup>

Staff Reporter

DR ALAN Boesak's refusal to share the platform with the national chairman of the Labour Party, Mr David Currie, in a debate on the government's constitutional proposals at the University of Cape Town on Wednesday night came as a "complete surprise", the organizers said yesterday.

In a statement, the director of extra-mural studies at UCT, Professor CJ Millar, said the organizers had understood that Dr Boesak had agreed to participate on a panel with Mr Currie, in order to give "an alternative viewpoint".

"The centre for extra-mural studies would never knowingly proceed with any programme without the agreement of our speakers," he said.

● Leading article, page

At the weekend's historic meeting in Johannesburg of community leaders opposed to the Government's new constitutional plan, a "united democratic front" was formed to spearhead the "great refusal" to participate in the deal. Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, was the keynote speaker. This is an edited version of his speech.

## Apartheid in crisis

Apartheid is in crisis. This ideal is beginning to disintegrate. It has been unmercifully unmasked and branded as a heresy.

The shame of racism; the violence which is

needed to sustain the system, the greed and the hypocrisy, the dishonesty in the so-called changes that are said to take place, all of this now stands exposed for all who have eyes to see.

## The homelands sham

We have seen what has happened in the homelands. We know that the independence of those four bush republics is a sham; that the homelands are no more than dumping grounds for the discarded people in this land; that they are places where our old people die of misery

and want, and our children are stalked day and night by hunger, ill health and that peculiar death which sits on the shoulder of hopelessness.

The homelands are places where apartheid signs have been taken off, only to be replaced by the relentless grip of black dictatorship.

## The Labour Party and the SAIC

These are the new junior partners of the government. These are junior partners in apartheid. From now on they will share the responsibility for apartheid, for the creation of yet more homelands; for the resettlement of black people; for the ongoing rape of our human

dignity; for the death of those who resist this system. They will be co-responsible for the continuation of the civil war in which South Africa is actively engaged. From now on, in terms of active planning and legislation, apartheid no longer has only a white face.

## Say NO to a future built on greed

Our response to the crisis facing us today is a dialectical one. It is the politics of refusal, which has within it both the YES and the NO.

We must continue to show South Africa and the world that there are black people who refuse to be intimidated by the violence of apartheid or tempted by the sugar-coated fruits of apartheid; so while we say NO to hollow solutions built on personal gain and group self-interest, we say YES to integrity and commitment.

We must continue to work for a safe and secure future for our children; for a society

where they will not be infected by the poison of racism. So while we say YES to a future built on genuine peace and justice, we say NO to building that future on the participation in greed, exploitation and the nationalism that carry within themselves the seeds of destruction.

We must refuse to let our children die in a war waged for the protection of apartheid and South Africa's designs in Namibia.

This 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.

# BOESAK and the POLITICS of REFUSAL

11A  
GCP  
30/1/83



Dr Boesak on the platform before a packed hall (below) at the meeting of community leaders in Johannesburg.



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# Labour may be kicked out of SABA

By TICKS CHETTY

THE South African Black Alliance — the only political body to represent blacks, Indians and coloureds — faces the threat of a split.

Indications are that attempts will be made to expel the coloured Labour Party at next month's Alliance meeting in Durban.

The relationship between the Labour Party and the other members of the Alliance — Inkatha, the Reform Party and Kangwane's Inyandza National Movement — have been strained since the Labour Party decided to take part in the Government's new constitutional deal.

Sources within the Alliance said this week that the likelihood of an expulsion being decided upon at the February meeting was strengthened by statements made last week by Alliance leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Addressing a central committee meeting of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi said: "The Labour Party has put itself in a position where there can be no joint action with us."

The central committee of Inkatha, which is also headed by Chief Buthelezi, then adopted a resolution supported by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly condemning the Labour Party.

## 'Tracherous'

The strongly-worded resolution read: "We view this act as a mark of betrayal of the black cause of liberation.

"This treacherous decision of the Labour Party has sown seeds of disunity among blacks."

Mr Y S Chinsamy, the Reform Party leader, described the February meeting as a "make or break" one for the Alliance.

"There is no doubt that the relationship between the Labour Party and the other members of the Alliance has become extremely strained."

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said: "We are still a part of the Alliance. We will present our case at the meeting."

Meanwhile, Indian opinion on the Government's proposed tricameral parliamentary system of representation for Indians, whites and coloureds is now even more divided.

The Democratic Party, the opposition group in the South African Indian Council, announced the rejection of the constitutional proposals "in its present form" this week after meeting the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Cape Town.

# Buthelezi fury at official pamphlet

S. Times 30/1/83

BY IVOR WILKINS  
Political Correspondent

A SERIOUS political row is developing over "distortions" in an official Government pamphlet sent out to explain and sell the proposed new constitutional dispensation.

It has so angered Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the KwaZulu leader, that he has said he will not hold discussions with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, until the Government publicly withdraws certain statements in the document.

And the leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, says the document contains "disgraceful distortions".

He intends raising the issue during the No Confidence debate which starts in Parliament tomorrow.

## Exception

The offending pamphlet was compiled by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information on behalf of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

It has not been established how many pamphlets were distributed, but they were for a nation-wide mailing making it likely that tens of thousands went out.

The pamphlet is entitled "Guidelines for a new constitutional dispensation" and



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

contains a question and answer section that deals with aspects of the new constitution.

In a letter to Dr Koornhof, Chief Buthelezi takes strong exception to the reply to the question: why are blacks not included in the new dispensation?

The reply is: "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 ..."

## Paise

Chief Buthelezi says in his letter: "... I take very strong exception that KwaZulu, which is not an independent state and has no intention to be, should be used by your departments to create the false impression as if they already have their own governments and administrations as the final solution for South Africa's problems."

He says the statement is meant to set a section of black people against the government of KwaZulu.

"Your Government which calls itself Christian is making a lie of this nature to appear like truth to the South African public.

"You know that our policy is that we want to participate in the final decision-making bodies of our land."

Chief Buthelezi also warns Dr Koornhof that the statement about Soweto would make it very difficult for him to encourage his people to participate in local government elections.

Black local governments are the linchpin of the Government's policy on urban blacks.

## Problematic

Chief Buthelezi says he had regarded the proposed local councils as no more than local governing bodies.

"To now be told through an official government document that they are part of the substitute for excluding Africans from Parliament will now make it problematic for me to encourage my people to support them, unless this statement is withdrawn in Parliament."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, could not be reached for comment yesterday, but Dr Koornhof said:

"I thought this was a matter between Chief Buthelezi and myself, but I am dealing with it. I will reply to him."

# Offstage waits the spare figure of Helen Joseph

11A

S. Express 30/1/83

THE debate on constitutional change has barely begun, yet it has already transformed the political landscape. Change began, paradoxically, at the precise instant that Mr P W Botha first mentioned it as a possibility.

The very subject had been locked away for so long that the mere lifting of the lid released into the air, like a benign Pandora's Box, a swarm of unexpected consequences.

Among them have been the split in the National Party and the consolidation of the Afrikaner rightwing in the Conservative Party, the split in the Labour Party and in the coloured community, the split in the Indian community and the revival of the Transvaal Indian Congress in an alliance that virtually recreates the radical politics of the Fifties.

Indeed, nothing evoked so vividly the spirit of change as the return of Mrs Helen Joseph (as unflinchingly certain of her course as when she and Lilian Ngoyi led 10 000 women marching in protest on the Union Buildings in 1956) to act as midwife at last weekend's rebirth of a Congress movement.

Few of the old Congress crowd are left. The white Marxists fled in droves in the early Sixties to pursue what they perceive to be the implacable ends of history from a safer base abroad. Nelson Mandela and Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu are on Robben Island. Mrs Ngoyi, like Bram Fischer, is dead.

But Mrs Joseph has survived a quarter of a century since the Treason Trial, most of that time under house arrest in Norwood, and has emerged from it all as tall and spare and unbending as she ever was.

After her endless years of isolation, it was perhaps inevitable that she should turn up again last weekend at the point where Indian, African, coloured and white protest movements came together in a single alliance, a facsimile of the old Congress Alliance, now called the United Democratic Front.

In this facsimile, the Reverend Allan Boesak stood roughly in the place of the Coloured People's Congress, Mr Thozamile Gqweta of the South African Allied Workers' Unions stood in the place of the ANC, Dr Essop Jassat in the place of the Indian Congress.

And Mrs Joseph, of course,

stood where she had always stood.

It was like old times, distorted by the passage of time, but old times nevertheless. Forces that have lain latent ever since Mr John Vorster drove them underground seemed to heave back into view, confirming

## By KEN OWEN

what we suspected all along: ferocious security measures conceal, but they don't change the character of deep-seated political trends.

Even the old feuds between multi-racialists and black nationalists (or, if you like, between Marxists and nationalists, or ANC and PAC, or Umkhonto and Poqo) were recreated, or at least caricatured. The new Indian Congress was hotly condemned by Azapo, heirs to the enduring strand of black nationalism in African politics, and Azapo was in turn condemned, like the PAC of old, as naive. Somehow the black nationalists seem always to lose this particular fight.

When the half-forgotten past steps suddenly forward in such fashion, it is idle to argue that nothing has changed. A most profound

realignment of our politics is clearly under way, and this session of Parliament is bound to give it sharper definition, whether or not it transforms the constitutional system.

The Government, having unleashed a new debate, no longer sets the terms in

which it is conducted. The battle lines were most clearly drawn in Dr Boesak's bitter speech in which he accused the leaders of the Labour Party of accepting a "shared responsibility" for apartheid when they voted at Eshowe to accept the tricameral Parliament proposed by Mr Botha.

"We must not compromise the struggle we have been engaged in for well-nigh a century," he said. "One ought not to play around with evil. Working within the system for whatever reason contaminates you... and what you call compromise for the sake of politics is in actual fact selling out your principles and the future of your children."

It is true that politics makes strange bedfellows, but it is difficult to see how, even by the flexible rules of

politics, the present leaders of the Labour Party can ever make peace with Dr Boesak after being the targets of such language.

It is equally difficult to see where, except through Mrs Joseph, the white communities can find any point of contact with Dr Boesak

so long as he regards compromise as "playing around with evil". His is the language not of compromise but of conquest, and nobody submits willingly to conquest.

His view, if it prevails, must sooner or later undermine Mr Botha's efforts at reform. However modest these efforts may be, their failure — especially failure through repudiation by the coloured community — must throw the initiative in white Afrikaner politics to the Conservative Party.

Reaction against reform would not put us back where we were under Mr Vorster — it would put us farther back. A long descent into the politics of violence would surely be inevitable.

So Dr Boesak has drawn a line: on the one side, the facsimile of the Congress Alliance, and on the other side

the Labour Party, the Indians willing to compromise with Mr Botha (to "play around with evil"), and Mr Botha's own following of verligte whites. On this line the battle will be fought.

What happens in Parliament will reverberate across this division, and it will help determine who, outside Parliament, stands on this side of the line, and who on the other. Play around with the Devil, or play around with the Congress movement. Take your choice.

South African politics always has this curious aspect that it is played on a double-stage. Whatever happens in Parliament reverberates through the politics of the unrepresented communities, affecting their choices in sometimes quite unexpected ways. And whatever happens in the streets reverberates back into Parliament, complicating and confusing a political process that is only superficially 'Westminster'.

Two things are apparent. Firstly, some members of the Opposition will find it awfully difficult to choose between the Labour Party and the new spectre of the Congress movement, between the Rev Alan Hendrickse and Dr Boesak, and they will be tempted to straddle (or perhaps, as Mr Harry Schwarz has suggested, even to opt out). It will

require brilliant political skill to maintain sympathies on both sides of Dr Boesak's uncompromising line, and surely a miracle to combine this trick with preservation of a sound base in suburban white South Africa.

Secondly, the Government will find it equally difficult to sustain its new partnership with the Labour Party and at the same time to contain the Conservative Party's assault from the right.

On the one hand, Mr Botha must protect and foster the interests of his new coloured partners if he does not want to see Dr Boesak's bitter rhetoric prevail in the coloured community. The Labour Party leaders are vulnerable to the jibes like "sell-out", "playing around with evil", "co-responsible for apartheid", and so forth.

On the other hand, Mr Botha must take sufficient Afrikaners with him to maintain his own power base, and he will therefore need to keep a wary eye at least on the style and rhetoric that accompanies his reforms.

His problem, like that of the Opposition, is that anything he might say to one audience is apt to anger or upset another audience.

And every blunder will send somebody scurrying across the Boesak line to where Mrs Joseph stands waiting, as patient as Destiny.

PW'S NEW DEAL JOLTS BLACKS INTO A PUSH FOR UNITY

# The front-runners

3/1/83 S. Tribune (11A)

Asked whether he thought the other independent states would join such a front, he said: "They must see that President Matanzima is not (being) foolish — because they are in the same boat. If he sees reason to disentangle the people of Transkei, I don't see why Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei can't see the realities."

Dr Jerry Coovadia of the Natal Indian Congress said, as a first stage in establishing the United Democratic Front, groups and individuals who had more or less been working together would be contacted. "Later, we realise we may need to broaden it. Our first move is to strengthen our own ranks and consult our members. We were not given a mandate to create the Front, so we will all have to go back to our people and consult with them."

Such consultation was now being conducted in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal and involved all race groups.

Asked whether any collaboration was possible in the future between the homeland-initiated unity bid and their own, Dr Coovadia said nothing was being ruled out but there might be difficulties which would have to be considered at the appropriate time.

Principles on which adherence to the Front would be based include the commitment to a unitary, non-racial democratic state and the total rejection of the Government's reform proposals.

## BY ANTHONY SWIFT

lease Mandela Committee who believe in one-man-one-vote and refuse to work within apartheid structures.

In a brief interview before leaving for America via Cape Town this week, KwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi confirmed he had agreed to participate in an initiative for black unity proposed by President Matanzima and Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa at ice-breaking talks in Tongaat last week.

It was the first meeting of the KwaZulu and Transkeian leader since Transkei broke ranks with the other black groupings by opting for independence.

Chief Buthelezi said that, while some critics would seize on the meeting as an opportunity to throw stones at him, "as somebody always committed to the concept of black unity I could not refuse if Chief Matanzima took me into his confidence and returned as a brother saying he feels now that the unity of black South Africans is essential."

He said he did not want to emphasise the quest for a federal alternative spelt out by Dr Phatudi last week. "I think that could switch a lot of people off — it would be jumping the gun in that it would be asking people to join something that has already been cut and dried. The main focus was the fragmentation of black forces for change and the urgency of getting together."

He said he could never accept any option that excluded other race groups but blacks had to do some homework in their own community.

Dr Dlomo said that when a degree of black unity had been achieved different types of government, including federation, could be considered.

By refusing to take independence KwaZulu has blocked the homelands policy. "But now that it includes confederation we cannot block the whole programme if we keep aloof from the independent homelands."

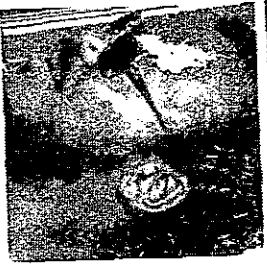
"We think that if the new initiative is handled properly it could help frustrate the next stage of our (black) exclusion. We are trying to keep the independent states in our camp because you must remember they are hiving off with millions of our people."

KwaZulu was not an initiator in the venture but had agreed to contact some groups "because it was felt they would be more responsive to our approach than that of Chief Matanzima or Dr Phatudi." He declined to identify the groups before they were canvassed.

Dr Phatudi said he would be contacting leaders of homelands and "independent" states. Independence had been a barrier to unity and he was delighted at signs that independent states were now having second thoughts and looking for alternatives.



MATANZIMA Made the move



BUTHELEZI How could I refuse?



□ Peter Marais ... repeal act

# Cope rejects Labour decision

*S. Tribune 30/1/83 IIA*

Tribune Reporter

THE Labour Party's attempts to woo support for their decision to participate in the Government's constitutional reform programme suffered a second setback in one week when supporters of the People's Congress Party (Cope) rejected their political somersault at a mass meeting in Wentworth yesterday.

Earlier this week over 1 500 people in East London — one of the Labour Party's traditional strongholds in the Cape — booed, jeered and heckled Labour leaders the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Jac Rabie as sell-outs when they attempted to gain public support for their move to support the reform proposals.

And in Durban, another stronghold, Wentworth voiced its strong disapproval of the Labour Party's shift of allegiance to get a better deal for coloured people in the proposed tricameral parliament.

The opposition Cope, now under the new national leadership of Cape Town's Peter Marais, launched a bitter attack on Hendrickse and referred to him as "a circus lion which will snarl at the crack of the ringmaster's whip so that the world can be deceived into believing that PW Botha is tolerating opposition."

The only solution to the country's political dilemma, Marais said, is the repealing of the Political Non-interference Act which will give people the freedom to join any political party, thereby mapping out a nonracial government.

The Government, he said, can be toppled if people react positively.

"The Labour Party will be party to all the discriminatory laws you suffer because apartheid is still here, proposals or no proposals.

"Your son will still be sent to the border to die and your husband will still be picked up by the security police at 3am, and the Labour Party will be part of all this oppression," Marais said.

"We have suffered for too long and we want a train to freedom. The Labour Party has let you down by jumping on the apartheid express in the wrong direction.

"I am not in a hurry for a settlement and if I negotiate a settlement it must make my son proud.

"The whites want us close to them but not too close.

"They say come and die next to me in defence of the country but should you survive your stint and come and swim on my beach I will have you arrested."

He was applauded when he told an audience of 150 people that the CRC is still alive — in the pockets of people like Hendrickse and others.

Marais outlined Cope's policy — a campaign for a nonracial country in which all South Africans must live.

## Doubt over Indian role in Govt plan

Tribune Reporter

THE Government this week made it clear it has no intention of getting rid of racial discrimination and calling a referendum to test Indian opinion on the constitutional plan.

This disclosure by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, now leaves a question mark over Indian participation in the constitutional proposals.

On Friday the Democratic Party — the opposition party in the Indian Council — rejected the proposals after talks with Mr Heunis in Cape Town.

The ruling party in the SAIC, the National People's Party and the Democratic Party have said the Government would have to hold a referendum to test Indian opinion before they decide on participation.

The National People's Party, led by SAIC executive chairman Amichand Rajbansi, has also laid down conditions such as the removal of laws which restrict Indians from moving and living in certain parts of the country.

Following Mr Heunis' negative response to the Democratic Party's call for discriminatory legislation to be repealed, there is little hope the Government will immediately satisfy the NPP's conditions.

The replies to questions put to him by the Democratic Party delegation were negative and the party decided not to accept the proposals in its present form as it did not satisfy the aspirations of all South Africans.

In a statement to the **SUNDAY TRIBUNE**, Jayantilal Bhaibal Patel, leader of the party said: "Members of the delegation were bitterly disappointed and dejected at the replies given by Mr Heunis. Therefore, we cannot see our way clear of accepting the proposals.

"We are firmly convinced the constitutional proposals in its present form fall far short of the political aspirations of the non-white people of South Africa and have created a schism where various races are divided in both extremes. This can never ensure peace and harmony."

Mr Heunis did not reply favourably when he was asked what plans he had for urban blacks who were in a "political limbo" and how the Government hoped to solve this problem.

The Democratic Party has decided while it will not work within the new political dispensation, it will continue negotiating with the Government — even after the implementation of the tri-cameral parliamentary system — for a dispensation acceptable to all.

Mr Rajbansi said he could not freely comment on Mr Heunis' response to the DP's suggestions because of his position on the SAIC.

However, he confirmed the Government was "stubborn" as far as the question of the inclusion of blacks in the new plan was concerned.

"The NPP will continue to negotiate with the Government for political changes. Proper discussions will take place after the Constitutional Amendment Bill has been read," Mr Rajbansi said.

# Buthelezi's 'disaster'<sup>119</sup> message for US talks

CAPE TIMES 31/1/83

JOHANNESBURG. — The head of the Inkatha movement, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, flew to Washington last night to address leaders from some 110 different nations on the South African Government's constitutional reforms, which he said were "destined for disaster".

Chief Buthelezi, who is also Chief Minister of Kwazulu and chairman of the South African Black Alliance, which meets in Maritzburg next week, will address the annual US Congress-sponsored National Prayer Meeting in Washington on Thursday.

The meeting will be attended by invited repre-

sentatives from all over the world.

Chief Buthelezi will also hold talks with the former US Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Don McHenry, and the chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mrs Nancy Kassebaum, who recently visited Southern Africa.

He said he would tell delegates to the National Prayer Meeting that South Africa was embarking on a path to destruction.

"I will tell them that this (the government's proposed constitutional reforms) is not a strategy for peace, but a strategy for war."

● The Cape Times correspondent reports from Durban that before he left, Chief Buthelezi released the text of a letter to Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development.

The letter criticized the government for issuing a circular setting out the new constitutional dispensation and saying the reason blacks were not included in it was that they already had their own governments.

Chief Buthelezi told Dr Koornhof he took strong exception to the use of Kwazulu in creating a false impression of a solution to South Africa's problems. — Sapa

# Labour out to liberate the coloured people, says Curry

ARGUS 31/1/83 (11A)

By HUGH ROBERTSON  
Political Staff

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PSL/PD

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has been warned by Labour Party leaders that they were going into the new constitutional system "to liberate our people".



Mr David Curry

At a rowdy public meeting in Vredenburg at the weekend, the party's national chairman, Mr David Curry, said to loud applause: "If P W Botha does not deliver the goods, we will do the same to the new system as we did when we broke up the Coloured Representative Council."

Early in the meeting, about 100 members of the Food and Canning Workers' Union sang songs, chanted and disrupted speeches with interjections. But after minor scuffles broke out, and after arguments with the chairman, Mr P Meyer, they left.

**Unanimous**

The 400 people who remained to the end, passed a unanimous vote of confidence in the party leadership and the decision of the party's Eshowe congress to take part in the three-chamber parliament.

The party's leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, made repeated attacks on the "liberal English press", accusing newspapers of deliberately misrepresenting the party's Eshowe decision and of trying to minimise its popular support.

He also hit out at prominent coloured critics of the party's decision, including the poet Adam Small "who attended a tribal Xhosa university, Fort Hare, who has joined an apartheid institution like the University of the Western Cape, and who now turns to us and calls us sell-outs because we are taking part in the apartheid system."

**Same goal**

Mr Hendrickse added: "We are all seeking the same goal. We are all seeking to solve a common problem. We have to see to it that our strategies for doing so work together, are complementary."

Mr Curry said Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Mrs Helen Suzman, and many others whose contribution to the struggle for liberation was admirable, all were using apartheid institutions for doing so.

B

ANDIDATE MUST enter in the number of each question (in the order in which it has rered); leave columns (2) and

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"Whether we like it or not, we are all a part of the apartheid system. What Alan Boesak is trying to do from the outside, we must go inside to do.

"When the unions want more money, they go in and talk to the white owners of the factories. That is what we are doing."

Mr Curry was angrily attacked from the audience by the Rev N A Botha, who accused him of maligning Dr Boesak when Dr Boesak was unable to reply. Mr Curry responded: "My fight is not with Dr Boesak. I pray that he will succeed and I am willing to share any platform with him. But let us argue as brothers, not enemies."

# New black alignment: Phatudi in intense talks

(11A)  
 Star  
 3/11/83

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By Anthony Duigan

African leaders are involved in intense behind-the-scenes negotiations to consolidate support for initiatives outside the Government's new constitutional arrangement.

Surna

The first moves in this attempt at a new political alignment — aimed at creating a loose federation of homeland territories and urban groupings — was made just over a week ago when three homeland leaders held exploratory talks in Durban and Pretoria.

First I

Today Dr Cedric Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, said he would be very busy over the next few days meeting with a wide range of leaders from homelands and rural areas to discuss new non-racial political initiatives.

Date

Dr Phatudi said he would also be meeting with groups from outside the homelands "who understand most clearly the political changes that must take place".

Degr you

The first initiatives in this new alignment of political forces began with the meeting in Durban 10 days ago between President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of kwaZulu.

### FEDERAL SYSTEM

Subj

The occasion was followed by meetings between Dr Phatudi and delegations from kwaZulu and Transkei.

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Dr Phatudi has long advocated a federal system for South Africa defined by geographic boundaries with a single parliament in which each federal entity is represented.

Pape

The latest talks between Chief Buthelezi and President Matanzima are particularly relevant because these two leaders fell out in 1976 when Transkei took its independence.

(

And on the coloured political front the chairman of the Labour Party has warned the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that the party had accepted the invitation into the new constitutional arrangement "to liberate our people".

### NOTE

The Star's Cape Town Correspondent reports that at a rowdy public meeting at Vredenburg in the Cape, Mr David Curry said that if Mr Botha did not deliver the goods "we will do the same to the new system as we did when we broke up the Coloured Representative Council".

1. The ma ro

The 400 people who remained until the end of the meeting passed a unanimous vote of confidence in the Labour Party leadership and its decision to take part in the three-chamber parliament.

work.

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

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

notes, pieces of paper or other material brought into the examination room unless so instructed.

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



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3/1/83



RAID: Mandela

# New design for Win's bed

WASHINGTON — Powerful members of the United States Congress will replace the bedspread South African Security Policemen seized from Mrs Winnie Mandela recently.

The new bedspread will be presented to the wife of the African National Congress leader as a symbol of Congressional concern over civil rights abuses in South Africa.

Senator Paul Tsongas, the liberal Democrat who takes a keen interest in southern African affairs and who is an outspoken critic of the South African Government's actions, and a group of his Congressional supporters have already acquired a bedspread of traditional American design.

## LETTER

The bedspread will be displayed for public signing by members of Congress on Thursday, February 3 — and it is expected that scores of senators and members of the House of Representatives will put their names on the bedspread, using indelible black ink.

In his letter to his colleagues this week, Senator Tsongas said bannings, detentions and police harassment were standard fare for black political opponents of the South African Government.

## CRUEL

"But Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed black nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, endured an exceptionally cruel and arbitrary act of ha-

arrassment earlier this month."

## POLICE

Senator Tsongas included with his letter a copy of the article written by Mrs Helen Suzman which appeared in the Washington Post on January 14 describing her visit to Mrs Mandela and the police raid during which the bedspread was seized.

He wrote to his colleagues: "What we intend to do is to send a new bedspread to Winnie Mandela as a replacement for her abducted bedspread. It will be made available for signature by members of Congress who wish to express their sympathy and support for Mrs Mandela.

## SYMBOL

"The bedspread is a symbol, of course, and hopefully a telling one of Congress' continuing concern over the systematic denial of basic human rights to people of colour in South Africa."

The bedspread was handmade in West Virginia and it is adorned with the traditional American "Lone Star" emblem. Its colours are white, red, blue, green and yellow. — Own Correspondent.

# US calls on SA to act ANC murder case



MURDER: Mr Hlapane (centre front) in Washington with other Denton Committee witnesses.

THE UNITED States Senate sub-committee on security and terrorism has appealed to the South African Government to charge "terrorists" responsible for the murder of a former ANC member killed at his Soweto home last month, according to SABC radio news reports.

Mr Bartholomew Hlapane (64) and his wife Matilda (53) were gunned down by a Soviet-made Ak-47 rifle on the evening of December 16 last year. Mr Hlapane died on the spot and his wife died the next day at Baragwanath hospital.

The radio reported Senator Denton, who chaired the committee before which Mr Hlapane testified in Washington early last year, as saying that because an

AK-47 rifle was used in the murders, it left little doubt that ANC "terrorists" were behind Mr Hlapane's death.

The Hlapane attack, coming shortly after the SADF's raid in Maseru, was said by the police to have been executed by a lone survivor of the Maseru raid.

Mr Hlapane defected from the ANC in the early 60's and had on many occasions testified for the State as Mr X in terrorism trials through-

out the country.

According to police reports released after his assassination, Mr Hlapane has always known that the ANC wanted to kill him but refused police protection. Other former ANC members who had collaborated with the State had agreed to change their residential addresses and names.

Police also said that Mr Hlapane was regarded as a "father figure" in Rockville where he lived. His funeral was attended by only 300 mourners.

Miss Nokenono

Kave, a former ANC member who defected from the organisation in 1981, also testified before the Denton Commission and made startling allegations about the treatment she received in the hands of the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

The allegations were rejected by many blacks in South Africa. Others who testified before the Denton Commission were earlier reported to be living in fear of their lives following Mr Hlapane's assassination.

By SAM MABE

IIA  
Soweto  
31/1/83

# 150 have no confidence in Labour Party

31/1/83 Mercury (11A)

## Mercury Reporter

ABOUT 150 residents of Wentworth — a Labour Party stronghold — passed a vote of no confidence in the party for supporting the Government's three-chamber parliament at a meeting at the weekend.

The first public rebuke of the party's Eshowe decision came at the meeting convened by the Congress of the People (Cope), a non-racial body formed by coloureds.

The meeting rejected the constitutional proposals, saying they were an entrenchment of apartheid and white domination.

It called on the Government to give a declaration of intent to move away from racial discrimination and requested the immediate scrapping of the Political Interference Act, which, it said, prohibited mixed political groupings.

Cope's leader, Mr Peter Marais, told the meeting that South Africa's racial problems would be solved only with the scrapping of the Act as political par-



MR PETER Marais, leader of Cope.

ties in South Africa could become non-racial.

Amid loud cheers from the audience, he said the Labour Party's decision to accept the proposals for constitutional reform was 'a joke'.

Mr Marais, a member of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Committee, said many members of the now disbanded Coloured Representative Council had joined the Labour Party and were still receiving payment from the Government by way of pension for serving on the CRC.

Mr Morris Fynn, Natal leader of Cope, criticised the South African Indian Council for accepting the constitutional proposals.

'These people have gone behind our back and negotiated with the Government for a separate Indian chamber.'

He said there was no room for separation in South Africa. All race groups should get together as one nation and act in the interest of the country.

He said blacks had 'stabbed the coloured people in the back' by opting for the homelands.

BLACK POLITICS  
1982

OCT. — DEC.

# ANC case: <sup>Staw</sup> major trial <sup>110/82</sup> looks likely <sup>11A</sup>

By Jean Jacques Cornish

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The case involving break-ins earlier this year at the London offices of the ANC and Swapo looks destined to become a major Old Bailey trial.

Hours after serious charges were made against the two men who allegedly handled documents stolen in the burglaries, Swapo's president, Mr. Sam Nujoma, yesterday expressed concern at the case to Foreign Office

Minister, Mr. Crampton.

Mr. Nujoma — passing through London after an official visit to the EEC Commission and the European Parliament — saw Mr. Onslow for 80 minutes.

No details of their discussions were released, but a Foreign Office spokesman said the break-in was mentioned during the meeting, which was devoted mainly to discussing Namibia.

Swapo and the ANC have charged that the

South African Government is behind break-ins at their offices in July and September this year.

Swedish freelance journalist Mr. Bertil Wedin (42), and former Zimbabwe pilot Mr. Peter Caselton (38), appeared again yesterday at Horseferry Road Magistrate's Court, charged with handling documents stolen from the two organisations.

Mr. Gerald Adams, representing the Director of Public Prosecutions, said the men had also been charged with "conspiracy to burgle the offices of certain organisations in London."

He objected to bail being extended for Mr. Wedin.

The magistrate, Mr. Kenneth Harrington, ruled that Wedin could stay free, but must report daily to his local police station.

The court heard that a further, serious charge was being considered against Mr. Caselton, who is being held in custody, but no details were available.

Police are still looking for Londoner Edward Aspinall (23) who is charged with committing the burglaries. He jumped bail before the first hearing last week.

Mr. Caselton and Mr. Wedin are to appear again next Thursday, but the prosecution case is not expected to be ready before the end of October, when the trial is expected to move to the Old Bailey.

There was no sign of Pretoria advocate, Mr. Hennie Goosen, who was at the court last week with a brief from Pretoria lawyers representing Mr. Caselton's employer, who was not named.

October 1, 1982

# Top US visitors to meet chief

Re: 11/1/82  
11/1/82  
11/1/82

Mail Correspondent

DURBAN. — A delegation of high-ranking United States politicians will visit Durban in October to meet the KwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, before going on to Pretoria to see the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

It is seen an extraordinary move for such an influential team — who will be travelling aboard a US Air Force presidential jet — to call at a city other than a country's capital.

The party, led by the Senate appropriations committee chairman, Senator Mark Hatfield, will include President Ronald Reagan's "best friend", the Republican conservative Senator Paul Laxton, an informed source said yesterday.

Also in the delegation will be the Democratic liberal, Senator Tom Eagleton, who was Mr George McGovern's presidential running mate in 1972.

"It is surprising — and therefore significant — that these very senior men will be coming to Natal at all," the source said.

"It would seem they want to look round the province, which is regarded as being the most independent. What their exact mission is I am not sure about — but they will be reporting back on their return."

The US Consul General in Durban, Mr Harold Geisel, confirmed yesterday that a top-ranking official delegation of Senate representatives was expected in Durban for three days from October 23.

He would be welcoming the men to the country.

"It is a political and not a diplomatic tour — and that is all I know," said Mr Geisel.

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# Swapo/ANC office thefts: Conspiracy charge added

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The Scotland Yard anti-terrorist squad investigation of the break-ins at Swapo and ANC offices in London has taken a serious new turn.

When they appeared in the Horseferry Road Magistrate's Court here yesterday, two men already charged with the burglaries faced additional charges of criminal conspiracy to burgle "various" premises in London.

Mr Gerald Adams, prosecuting, told the magistrate, Mr Kenneth Harrington, that England's Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), Sir Peter Hetherington, had personally asked for both the accused to be detained in police custody.

Mr Adams said that if the magistrate examined the nature of the premises allegedly robbed he

would see it was "not just a case of petty pilfering".

He said the conspiracy charges added a new dimension to the case.

Detective Chief Inspector Hilton Coles of the anti-terrorist squad said a further serious charge was being investigated in the case of one of the men, English-born Peter Caselton 38, of Dorking, Surrey who is believed to have spent periods in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Mr Caselton was in the dock with a Swedish freelance journalist and former United Nations soldier, Bertil Wedin, 41, who lives in Kent.

Mr Caselton had been

remanded in custody when both men first appeared in court last week and this was renewed in spite of objections from his counsel, Mr Roland Watt.

But Mr Wedin, who like Caselton, had faced only the lesser charge of dishonestly handling documents stolen from the African National Congress and Swapo offices this year, was granted bail last week.

The magistrate said that in spite of the serious turn in the case with the introduction of the conspiracy charge, Mr Wedin had appeared in court and it would not be right

to now place him in custody.

Mr Adams had told the court that the investigation into the case would take at least another four weeks.

Chief-Inspector Coles protested against Mr Wedin getting bail. "One person has already disappeared," he said.

The magistrate then ordered Mr Wedin, who has already surrendered his passport, to report daily to the police.

Neither Mr Wedin nor Mr Caselton uttered a word in court.

The gallery was crowded with observers from the South African

guerilla groups.

The anti-terrorist squad is still hunting for the third man in the case, Mr Edward Aspinall, 23, who disappeared last week after being charged with twice burgling the Swapo and ANC offices in August and June this year.

He is in breach of bail conditions and a warrant for his arrest was issued last week.

After the hearing, Mr Adams said it was probable that Mr Aspinall would face further charges when he was arrested.

The police charges so far specify that documents stolen from

"various premises", including the ANC and Swapo offices, include United Nations passports, military maps, photographs, files and indexes.

A Scotland Yard spokesman said they could not comment on rumours that Mr Aspinall may have fled Britain and could even be in South Africa.

The police continued to maintain a veil of secrecy over the case.

# Women in Apartheid South Africa

1117

**PHOTOGRAPHS** of Winnie Mandela addressing a women's meeting in 1975 and a female demonstrator in Soweto (1976) are just two used in a set of eight postcards sold in London and depicting Women in Apartheid South Africa.

Aid fund for Southern Africa.

IDAF explains on the back cover of the set that African women under apartheid are oppressed as black people, as workers and as women...

### RIGHTS

The photographs are selected from two photo-books — Women Under Apartheid (£3) and Portrait of a People (£4) — published by the International Defence and

"Through the apartheid system," it says, "the wealth and resources of South Africa are controlled by the ruling white minority."

## Postcards depict black women's double oppression

"Eighty percent of the population who are black are denied all political rights. "The whites have taken 87 percent of the land. Most Africans must find work in the 'white' areas, since that is where the economic activity of South Africa takes place.

"African workers are paid very low wages. The lowest wages of all are paid to African women, of whom only 25 percent have employment."

### BANTUSTANS

If Africans, it continues, cannot find a job in the "white" areas, they must remain in the bantustans, the 13 percent of the country that is allocated to them, where there is little work and great poverty.

"like her husband, an international symbol of resistance"

On card number seven (photographer unknown), headlined Demonstrator, Soweto, 1976, is this brief note:

"In June 1976 hundreds of schoolchildren and students were killed by the South African Police while demonstrating against apartheid. Many were imprisoned."

### HIPPO

A third card, showing a white policeman closely observing black women in single file from a hippo whose registration plate is partially visible, appears on the cover of the set.

Finally, there are two with each showing a woman addressing meetings.

### PLACARDS

Others in the set include a solemn-looking woman, women with clenched fists and women carrying placards ("We Stand By Our Leaders").

According to an order form on the inside back cover, IDAF also has in circulation Children in Apartheid South Africa, another set of eight postcards.

A set of Women in Apartheid South Africa costs 99p — which is just under R2.

"This is part of what women are seeking to change," it says, "by participating in the liberation struggle, and it is this liberation struggle that is depicted in these postcards."

### MANDELA

Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, photographed by Soweto photo-journalist Peter Magubane, is described on card number five as a woman who "endures continuing persecution".

She has become, the description concludes,



# WOMEN'S YEAR 1976





11A 2-14-3 ~~1/14/82~~ C-Herald 2/10/82

# Bread petition launched

By Ryland Fisher

ANGRY consumers at an Athlone meeting on Sunday decided to launch a petition against the pending bread price increase — and this could see the start of a national campaign against high food prices.

The meeting, called by the United Women's Organisation (UWO), was marked by spontaneous participation and calls

for action from the 600-strong audience.

After much discussion, it was decided that any decision on a bread boycott, symbolic or prolonged, would have to be taken back to community organisations, trade unions and other bodies all over the Western Cape.

A bread co-ordinating committee consisting of various organisations was set up to fight the high price of bread. This

committee would call on organisations all over the country to join the campaign.

A UWO member said it was difficult to stop the bread price increases on October 1, but they hoped to gain enough support for their demands before the next sitting of Parliament.

Speakers said it was necessary to have some form of protest on October 1 to show disgust at the price hike.

The petition to be distributed this week will include the demands made at the meeting.

They are:

- the bread price should not go up;
- the bread subsidy should be increased;
- basic foods should be exempted from GST;
- FREE
- free bread should be given to primary school pupils, pensioners and the disabled;

● all shops and supermarkets should make less profit on basics;

● Supermarket tycoon Raymond Ackerman should keep his promise to sell bread at a low price.

Opening the meeting, UWO member Ms Cheryl Carolus said: "Over the past few months, everything has gone up. Somewhere there is a limit. The UWO believes this bread price increase is the limit".

UWO secretary Ms Zo Kota said the Nationalist Government increased the bread price to retain the votes of farmers who were moving towards Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The UWO chairperson, Mrs Dorothy Zihlangu, of Guguletu, said food price increases would result in children stealing food.

"Our people will die of hunger," she said.

# Ex-cop envoy flies home from London

By NEIL HOOPER  
in Johannesburg  
and DAVID JACKSON  
in London

THE First Secretary at the South African Embassy in London — security policeman turned diplomat Mr Ben van der Klashorst — has returned to South Africa. His return coincided with the second appearance in court of two men — Peter Caselton and Bertil Wedin — accused of conspiring to break into the Swapo and ANC offices in London.

An embassy spokesman yesterday confirmed that Mr van der Klashorst had left Britain for South Africa on Thursday, but he said that it was purely coincidental that this was the day of the court case.

The spokesman, Mr Casper Venter, said that Mr van der Klashorst had made arrangements for his return several months ago and that his replacement had been in London for some time learning his duties.

Mr van der Klashorst, who is in his mid-fifties, joined the staff of the London embassy about two years ago.

He was formerly a member of the Security Branch of the South African Police and, as far as could be ascertained, this was his first diplomatic posting.

## Protests

By August, 1980, there had already been protests about his presence at the embassy in London.

On August 14, the leftwing British journal New Statesman claimed that Mr van der Klashorst had connections with intelligence services.

The allegations were denied at the time by the South African Embassy.

"Mr van der Klashorst is employed by the Department of Foreign Affairs. He is a First Secretary at the embassy. Beyond that we are not prepared to comment."

Win  
R25 000!

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Charity Crossword  
See page 5 of  
LifeStyle



# Sun

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

## How WP gored

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"Mr van der Klashorst is employed by the Department of Foreign Affairs. He is a First Secretary at the embassy. Beyond that we are not prepared to comment," a spokesman said then.

Last week, the Sunday Times quoted authoritative sources, who said that there was a link between the sudden flight from South Africa of President's Councillor, Dr Anthony de Crespigny, and the Watergate-style burglary at the London offices of the banned ANC and Swapo.

One of documents taken was allegedly a membership list containing the name "De Crespigny".

### Accused fled

Three men were held for the break-in.

Casleton and Wedin, who have already appeared twice in court, and a third man, Edward Aspinall, who was later released and subsequently fled.

When Casleton and Wedin appeared in court for the second time on Thursday, the charges against them was that they had conspired to burgle.

During their first appearance, a South African advocate — Mr Hennie Goosen — was present as an "observer".

He is the son of Brigadier Piet Goosen, a Deputy Commissioner of Police at Security Branch headquarters in Pretoria.

He was head of the Security Branch in Port Elizabeth at the time of the death in detention of black consciousness leader, Steve Biko.

Mr van der Klashorst is close to retirement age — the reason given for his return to South Africa.

# A I I I I



WHO'S a lucky lad, then? Actor Gordon Mulholland, that's who. He'll produce and compere this year's Sunday Times Miss South Africa 1982. Here he's up to his neck in semi-finalist tal-

ent. The girls putting the grin on his happy face are Gady-Jay de Long, Clothilda Michaels, Tania Clare, Ilse Alberts and Colleen Vlok.

Picture: JUHAN KUUS  
● Top 20 — See Page 25

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By SA  
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# Fired Azapo leader back at bank



Bradley Potgieter

## BARCLAYS REINSTATE POTGIETER

By  
Barney Mthomboti

**BRADLEY** Potgieter will be back updating books at Barclays Bank tomorrow.

The 20-year-old Durban black consciousness leader — a savings clerk — was fired by Barclays three weeks ago after his conviction for wearing a banned T-shirt and putting up posters advertising the Sharpeville commemoration service.

The bank management said his conviction had caused it "adverse publicity" and asked him to resign. He refused and was summarily dismissed.

It was later disclosed that Barclays had banned its 22 000 employees in South Africa from taking part in political activities.

The bank withdrew the ban within a week and this week Mr J. H. McKenzie, general manager of Barclays (Natal), told Mr Potgieter in a letter that the bank would be "pleased" to have him back in its employ.

Mr McKenzie's letter came a day before the deadline set by Mr Potgieter's attorney for his reinstatement.

"I'm pleased that justice and common sense has prevailed," Mr Potgieter, who is chairman of the Durban branch of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, said this week.

"I need to live and I need my job. But I see the withdrawal of the ban on political activities as the more significant of the two because the ban affected thousands of people."

The outcry, particularly from black people and organisations, was decisive in the bank's backing down on its stand, he said.

Barclays were trying something here, and had they been successful, it could have set a precedent for other firms to follow. "We're oppressed enough as it is," he added.

He was not a trouble-maker, he said.

"A black person who keeps quiet about injustices is doing the rest of the black people the whole of humanity, a disservice."

Mr Potgieter said it was never mentioned during the trial or after he was convicted that he was an employee of Barclays Bank, so he could not have caused it any adverse publicity as it alleged. The bank had come out of the episode worse off than they would have if action was not taken against him.

"The action has not intimidated me in any way," he said.

Mr McKenzie said Mr Potgieter would be paid for the days he had been away.

"We're prepared to have the young man back and if he wants to make a career with the bank we'll help him make it."

# NO

# from coloureds to constitution changes

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ } - Times  
2/10/88

THE Government's constitutional package this week suffered a serious setback.

The proposals were rejected out of hand by one of the most representative coloured bodies in the country, the Association of Management Committees (Assomac), at a conference in Kimberley.

The attempt by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, to "sell" his package to the 300-odd delegates failed when he arrived at the meeting the day after his proposals had already been dismissed.

Mr Heunis was to have opened the conference, but was delayed "because of business pressure".

This meant he lost a valuable opportunity to present his case before the debate.

Assomac, which represents 159 coloured and Indian management committees in the Cape serving two million people, voted unanimously against the package because, said delegates, it entrenched apartheid.

The congress's resolution also demanded meaningful involvement in any plan for

By NORMAN WEST

reform in South Africa and instructed Assomac's executive to negotiate with the Government "for meaningful direct representation with bargaining power on a non-racial basis".

## Rejected

The national president of Assomac, Mr David Curry, is also national chairman of the Labour Party, which could indicate that the proposals may be rejected by the Labour Party's annual congress at Eshowe on January 3.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, chairman of the Uitenhage management committee, did not attend the Assomac conference.

The rejection of the proposals was clearly engineered by top Labour Party men who control the influential Peninsula region of Assomac.

Mr Curry, speaking as chairman of the Stellenbosch Management Committee, told the congress that the Government must be told that Assomac was in favour of "real reform".

In the first public denunciation of the Prime Minister's plans by the Labour hierarchy, Mr Curry said:

"The Government proposes metropolitan systems of local government because they want to retain separate development.

"If he (the Prime Minister) wants my support, he must remove the Group Areas Act.

"If I reject the Government proposals, it is not because I am not in favour of reform, but because the Government has not given me sufficient reason why I must accept the proposals."

In his address, Mr Heunis made an impassioned plea to

the delegates for co-operation with the Government's plans, exhorting them to "help" him make the plan work.

Mr Heunis said there were "satanic and diabolical" forces which did not wish the plan to succeed because it did not serve their own selfish ends of destruction and rejection.

"Attempts by the African National Congress to get the proposals rejected must not be underestimated," he warned.

## No right

He said certain blacks, who advocated rejection of the proposals, themselves "worked the system".

He said Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had become Chief Minister because of his acceptance of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

He therefore had no right to question others who wanted to accept the dispensation offered them by the Government.

# 'Bank's actions show I was dismissed for political reasons' claims Durban man

THE man at the centre of the Barclays Bank 'no politics' storm, said yesterday he had been dismissed three weeks ago for "political reasons".

This week the bank told 20-year-old black consciousness leader Bradley Potgieter they would be pleased to have him back.

Mr Potgieter, dismissed because of 'adverse publicity' for the bank after he was convicted of wearing a banned 'black power' T-shirt, threatened to take legal action if he were not reinstated.

"When I was fired the bank told me it was not because of politics but because of my conviction. But

By DARYL BALFOUR

then they sent out a circular which showed they did not want politically active people in the bank.

"After the fuss that caused they withdrew the circular — so the next logical step was for them to reinstate me, which they did.

"As far as I'm concerned it all shows that my dismissal was for political reasons," Mr Potgieter said.

"But I'll be pleased to go back. There are no ill feelings and I'm glad Barclays has decided to let justice prevail."

He starts work again tomorrow.

"I've been moved to the main branch in Durban and to a new department. The bank told me they wanted me to be able to make a fresh start and I have no complaint about that," he said.

Mr Potgieter was convicted on August 24 in the Durban Regional Court of wearing a banned T-shirt and of putting up a poster advertising a Sharpeville commemoration service without the permission of the building owners.

He has appealed against the convictions, for which he was cautioned and discharged.

After the court case Mr Potgieter was told the bank would wait

for the outcome of his appeal before taking any action.

But he was later called to the regional head office where he was told that his services had been terminated with immediate effect "because of the adverse publicity".

Mr Potgieter, chairman of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation branch in Durban, asked his attorneys to write to the bank asking for his unconditional reinstatement, failing which he threatened to take the matter to the Industrial Court for arbitration.

Spokesmen for Barclays Bank in Durban and Johannesburg refused to comment on the matter this week.



● Bradley Potgieter — will have a fresh start in his banking career tomorrow.

17A

S. Express 3/10/82

# Chinese want curbs ditched

SOUTH Africa's 9 000 Chinese — long the Republic's Cinderella community — are coming out into the political sunlight at last.

Having kept a low profile over the years, in part for political reasons, the community has decided to make its existence known. The culmination of this will be the Chinese Week Festival at Milner Park, starting on Tuesday. The chairman of the newly formed South African Chinese Association, Mr Rodney Man, said Chinese felt it was time they were officially accepted.

Mr Man is also chairman of the Transvaal Chinese Association, which for more than 40 years has articulated the wishes of the Chinese community and has involved itself fully in efforts to secure improvements in its legal position. "We have free access to amenities on an unofficial basis, but officially we are still bound by many strictures," he said.

"This is because we are officially not white. We don't have the fear of being thrown out of places, but when it comes to acquiring houses and sending our children to university we require permits. We would like official legislation restricting us to be removed."

"We have agreed that we are opposed to Chinese participation in the President's Council, not to the council itself, and that we see the Chinese member as simply an individual on the Council."

"We don't want to be caught napping, and if we are asked our opinion on matters we want to have a unified response. That is why we have formed the Chinese Association of South Africa, to which the provincial associations are linked."

The Chinese Week Festival, Mr Man said, was to show the public "what we are" and to act as a focus for the Chinese community.

# HOW WILL

## Assomac head takes firm stand at talks

# CURRY JUMP?

11A  
S-Times  
3/10/82



**MR DAVID CURRY**, national chairman of the Labour Party and president of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac), this week gave a strong indication that the party may reject the Prime Minister's constitutional guidelines.

Hitherto, Mr Curry appeared to observers to have adopted a deliberately equivocal attitude to Mr P W Botha's plans for a three-chamber parliament.

His statements this week suggest he may now be tilting against them.

Assomac rejected the constitutional proposals at their annual congress in Kimberley, this week.

After the congress, when asked what he thought of the association's stand, Mr Curry said he had expected it.

Mr Curry said: "If he (the Prime Minister) wants my support, he must remove the Group Areas Act, spell out the financial implications of the plans, and remove apartheid from the statute book."

### Reform

"If I say, as I do, that I reject the Government's proposals, it is not because I am not in favour of reform, but because the Government has not given me sufficient reason why I must accept the proposals."

### By NORMAN WEST

"I am not going to sacrifice the sub-economic people on the altar of the government's proposed guidelines, while the financial implications of the exercise are as dark as a cloud. My conscience cannot allow that."

"I'm not prepared to stand on a platform and sell the guidelines as they stand now to the sub-economic, roofless and disadvantaged people," he said.

### Unanimous

Assomac, which represents 159 coloured and Indian management committees in the Cape Province, voted unanimously for the rejection of Mr P W Botha's proposals, because they entrenched apartheid.

The Assomac resolution also demanded meaningful involvement in any plan for reform in South Africa and instructed its executive to negotiate with the Government "for meaningful direct representation with bargaining power on a non-racial basis".

Since Mr Curry holds top positions in both the Labour Party and Assomac, observers feel it is likely the Prime Minister's guidelines will subsequently be rejected by the party's annual congress in Eshowe on January 3.

Mr Curry, who appeared visibly rattled after a heated debate lasting the whole of Tuesday and Wednesday, took the rostrum at the end of the debate on Wednesday and denied he was leading the association "on the road of betrayal".

### Accused

He had been accused of this by the chairman of the Athlone and District Management Committee, Mr Arthur Stanley, who is also an executive member of the Labour Party.

This was because he is chairman of Assomac's ad hoc committee which is negotiating with Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis on the implementation of a National Working Committee (NWC) and Regional Liaison Committees (RLC).

At the start of the congress, Mr Dody Nash, chairman of Assomac's Peninsula region, demanded that Mr Curry recuse himself from the chair "because you are going to be heavily criticised".

### Impotent

Mr Nash said the ad hoc committee had acted unilaterally by accepting the NWC and RLC concept, which took away "the thrust" of Assomac because the NWC and RLC system would be impotent without legislative backing.

"In any case, whereas Assomac comprised elected leaders, Mr Chris Heunis will now nominate his own men to serve his own purposes on the NWC and RLC."

"We must get rid of glorified advisory committee concepts and speak directly to the Government," said Mr Nash.

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

N  
B

Mr Dody Nash, new deputy president of Assomac, who led the attack on the Prime Minister's guidelines at the association's Kimberley congress.

Mr Arthur Stanley, of the Athlone and District Management Committee, who accused Mr David Curry of leading the association "down the road of betrayal".





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LS 4/10/82

# Clemency appeal for 'Wonderboom Three'

From RICHARD WALKER  
NEW YORK — A stunning coup by the African National Congress is rallying 126 nations — including all of the West except the United States — behind a clemency appeal for the "Wonderboom Three" is to be followed up in the United Nations Security Council today.

Sponsored by Cuba and set before the General Assembly as a total surprise on Friday, the appeal named the three — Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung — as "freedom fighters", and called on the South African authorities to commute their death sentences "as soon as possible".

The "Wonderboom Three" were found guilty on four murder and 12 attempted murder counts — a fact the US had emphasized in private negotiations.

The shock tactics — the appeal was inserted in the midst of the assem-

bly's annual global debate of Foreign Ministers — caused grumbles by the British and some others of the West.

But only the US abstained in the vote, after the US Ambassador Mrs Jeanne Kirkpatrick had accused the appeal of violating "the spirit and practice of judicious debate" and had claimed that the facts of the case were "scarcely known".

Now the appeal is to be lodged with the Security Council, with the aim of winning a parallel plea there.

In earlier manoeuvring, the US had managed to block this.

The move is the climax of a step-by-step campaign over several years to gain prisoner-of-war status for all captured ANC combatants.

In 1980, the ANC in Geneva formally declared its intent to abide by the Geneva Conventions in operations in the Republic.

On the basis of this, it could lobby for prisoner-

of-war status through a 1977 amendment to the 1949 convention that extended the provision to peoples fighting against "racist regimes" or "colonial domination and alien occupation".

Several times, the Security Council has spoken up for condemned ANC prisoners, but none had been convicted for causing loss of life.

The fact all agree, makes the issue a critical challenge.

The Security Council will take it up in private consultations today, with the issue to come back to the General Assembly on October 15 if the council is deadlocked.

For the Cubans, isolating the US in the vote was considered to be as gratifying as the success of the appeal.

On the other hand, there were some complaints about the tactics used.

Not even the African group had been consulted, officials said.

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*APL Times 12/10/82*

# UK call to expel SA 'subversives'

LONDON. — The British Government was urged yesterday to expel from Britain any South African diplomats found engaging in "subversive and clandestine" activities

"The tentacles of South African economic, military and subversive activities extend thousands of miles from South Africa," said Mr Stanley Clinton Davis, a Labour Party front-bench spokesman on foreign affairs.

The Sunday Observer reported that a senior diplomat at the South African Embassy in London, the First Secretary, Mr B M van der Klashorst, left Britain on Thursday.

The diplomat had left within hours of an announcement in a London Magistrate's Court that the Director of Public Prosecutions was considering prosecutions arising from attacks on anti-apartheid offices in London, the Observer said.

● The South African Embassy in London has flatly denied newspaper reports linking the departure of Mr Van der Klashorst with the court case over break-ins at the London offices of the ANC and Swapo.

An embassy spokesman said yesterday that Mr Van der Klashorst had returned to the Republic only because he was retiring. — Sapa-AP

*Handwritten notes:*  
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**Boksburg grenade blast victim named**

# BOMB DEATH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
(11A)  
Sowetan  
7/10/82



DEAD: Mr Mabote "Ngada" Salemane.

According to sources close to the family, police have advised the family to furnish them with details of funeral procedures to be followed with regard to the holding of a night vigil, funeral services and the route to be followed by the cortege to the cemetery.

This has raised fears that restrictions may be imposed in terms of the Internal Security Act, which empowers the chief magistrate in any area to prescribe details of what may or may not be said, done, during any public gathering, which includes funerals.

Mr Salemane and his companion died on Monday last week after a car in which they were driving hit a tree and was blown to pieces by handgrenades that exploded beside the car.

According to the police, the two men

**THE SOWETAN** has established the identity of one of the two alleged ANC members who died during a police shooting and handgrenade blast in Boksburg last week.

His name is Mr Mabote "Ngada" Salemane, formerly of Dube, Soweto, whose family now lives in Small Farms, Evaton.

His body has been released to the family by the police and he is to be buried in Evaton on Saturday afternoon, although, at the time of going to Press, details of the exact time of the funeral had not been finalised.

According to sources close to the family, police have asked the family to furnish them with details of funeral procedures to be followed with regard to the

to stop the car to investigate, the two occupants, who had handgrenades, threatened him and sped off at high speed.

After he fired several shots at them, the speeding car left the road and hit a tree before it exploded. Both men died instantly after they were blown to pieces.

The two men have been linked with an attack on the Voortrekkerhoogte Military Base in Pretoria and an attempted sabotage at a river bridge at Uppington in northern Cape.

Also, the car in which they were driving had allegedly been stolen in Brixton. It belonged to a Rand Afrikaans University student in Johannesburg.

Mr Salemane, who is the fourth in a family of seven children, is

believed to have skipped the country in 1977, during the Soweto disturbances. His younger brother, Nthako, had gone into exile earlier.

At the time of going to Press last night, police had not replied to The SOWETAN's request to be supplied with the identities of both men and to confirm if their families had been informed of their identities.

By SAM MABE

was seen in a suspected stolen car by a policeman patrolling the streets of Boksburg at night. When he tried

## Pay rent as you earn . . .

By SETLO RABOIHATA

RENTS for the new sub-economic houses in Alexandra Township will be determined by the in-

ter had Mr Mkhahpe said. This means that for a four room house a family pays about R38, and for a six room house the amount would obviously

is determined by the Alexandra Liaison Committee and the West Rand Administration Board. A dual meeting was held between the two parties and an agreement was

what is called a "differentiated" rental scheme.

There are two housing schemes in the township. The luxurious homes, with three bedrooms, bathroom and

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# ANC trial: Kati gets 13 years

*P. Dispatch 7/10/82*

UMTATA — A former Robben Island prisoner, Mr James Kati, was sentenced to a total of 13 years here yesterday for ANC activities.

The 58-year-old Engcobo widower was sentenced to an effective seven years' imprisonment because Mr Justice A. P. van Collier ruled that his seven-year sentence on the first count run concurrently with a six-year sentence for possession of explosives.

His co-accused, Mr Peter Bawose King, was sentenced to seven years for possession of explosives.

The men were granted leave to appeal.

Three state witnesses warned as accomplices at the beginning of the trial have been discharged because the judge said they answered questions satisfactorily. They are Mr Mlungisi Mshotana, Mr Vuyani Macaosa and Mr William Ndude.

Mr Kati and Mr King were charged with three counts under the Public Security Act.

The first count alleged

that they were members of the banned African National Congress and that they furthered the aims of the ANC in that they received subversive literature and money from the ANC, that they harboured or aided people whom they had reason to believe were terrorist members of the ANC or potential ANC recruits and that they entered or left Lesotho at Tele Bridge and avoided border posts. Mr King was found not guilty on this count.

The second count alleged that they had encouraged people to undergo military training which could be used to endanger maintenance of law and order in Transkei. Both were found not guilty on this count.

On the third count they were alleged to have been in possession of explosives, firearms and ammunition. Both were convicted.

The alternative count was that they continued to be members of the ANC or furthered the aims of the outlawed organisation.

Passing sentence on Mr Kati, Mr Van Collier said the crime was serious but not extreme which could warrant the death sentence.

"The guiding principle which should be taken into account in passing sentence is the nature of the offence, the interests of the community and the personal circumstances of the accused.

"The accused rendered assistance to a member of the ANC whose aim is to endanger law and order and the overthrow of the state. The ANC makes use of violent means to achieve its aims.

"The fact that it is directed at the very nature of the state makes it treason. Treason has been described as stabbing your own country in the back.

"In crimes of this nature more emphasis should be placed on the interests of the community and the sentence should be a deterrent to others."

Mr Van Collier said there was no doubt Mr

Kati committed a serious offence by introducing the organiser of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party Youth League, Mr Mlungisi Mtshotana, to a member of the ANC to be recruited as well as his hand-over of the firearms.

The judge said he had taken into account Mr Kati was no longer a young man and that he had been in detention for 14 months. He had not taken into account his previous conviction because it had occurred more than 10 years ago.

Passing sentence on Mr King, Mr Van Collier said one could imagine what could have happened had the police not found the explosives.

He also took into account Mr King was not young but although he was only convicted on one count, there was no real difference in his moral blame worthiness and that of Mr Kati.

Mr Kati and Mr King gave black power salutes as they were led out of court.

The attorney-general,

Mr George Muller, opposed the application for leave to appeal by advocate Andrew Wilson.

Outlining the grounds for appeal, advocate Wilson submitted that the trial court had erred in holding that Mr Kati had assisted one Tolo of the ANC in that their meeting was not pre-arranged and was a casual one.

On the second ground he queried whether Mr Kati's action would have had the results set out in the Act while the third ground was that the trial judge erred in rejecting Mr Kati's evidence. There was also no evidence on the commission of an offence with reference to recruiting ANC members.

On the count of possession of explosives and firearms, Advocate Wilson questioned the definition of the word "possession".

He said the court erred in holding that Mr Kati had not proved that he did not possess the firearms for any of the purposes set out in the act.

Referring to the judge's reference to the carelessness and negligence as to what would happen to the explosives and firearms, Advocate Wilson held that this was not sufficient proof.

Referring to Mr King, advocate Wilson said the evidence before the court did not point to possession of explosives by Mr King, but rather by his wife, Angelina.

He argued that if Mr King had known about the explosives at his house, he would not have offered to take the police there to fetch an envelope which they wanted.

"The court erred in failing to conclude that there was a reasonable doubt whether she in fact was not the possessor."

Advocate Wilson said the judge argued by inference that she knew of the explosives and would have told her husband. She did not tell him because he had been in trouble before and she wanted to protect him.

He said defects in the wife's evidence had been used to detract from evidence of Mr King who the judge had said had been a satisfactory witness.

He said Mr King's invitation to the police to fetch the envelope was inconsistent with a man who had knowledge explosives were hidden at his home.

Mr Van Collier said the test whether there was reasonable prospect of appeal was a difficult one but that the court must apply it.

The judge said he had no doubt about his findings but could not exclude that another court may draw different inferences from those which he had drawn.

"Possibly another court may come to a different conclusion and in the circumstances I am granting leave to appeal against the convictions," Mr Van Collier said. — DDR.



# Scotland Yard tells of espionage

# SA linked to English spy group

By IAN HOBBS  
London Bureau

COM  
8/10/82  
11A

LONDON.

SCOTLAND Yard's anti-terrorist squad claims it has broken into an international spying operation involving South Africa.

This was dramatically revealed in court in London yesterday when a simple remand hearing led to the first public confirmation of an alleged espionage drama.

And authoritative sources claimed outside court the British Government was "not at all pleased".

At London's Horseferry Road Magistrate's Court two men appeared, for the third time, on remand. They are charged with

conspiracy to burgie black South African guerrilla group offices and with dishonestly handling stolen documents.

They are: Mr Peter Caselton, 38, a British-born crop sprayer pilot who has spent all but the first three years of his life in Southern Africa; and Mr Bertil Wedin, 41, a Swedish "freelance journalist" with acknowledged Rightwing connections who lives in Tonbridge, Kent.

Both were arrested last month following burglaries at the London offices of the African National Congress (ANC), South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and other unnamed premises.

A third man, Liverpool born Mr Edward Aspinall, 23, was charged with burglary at the Swapo and ANC offices but disappeared immediately after being granted bail last month.

Police sources outside court said the: feare: Mr Aspinall may have been murdered to silence him.

In the modern Horseferry Road court yesterday Detective Chief Inspector Hillton Cole of the anti-terrorist squad argued that if Mr Caselton, who is in police custody, were granted bail, he too might "disappear".

Inspector Cole told the magistrate Mr Kenneth Harrington:

"I feel if Caselton is given bail he will abscond. One person (Mr Aspinall) has already disappeared without trace

"...I don't feel he (Mr Aspinall) could disappear as he did without assistance I feel the same people could assist Caselton

# Cancer breakthrough report raised false hopes

Mail Reporters

MEDICAL scientists have been inundated by thousands of letters and telephone calls from desperate cancer patients offering themselves as guinea pigs, following a Sunday newspaper report that scientists had called on sufferers to come forward to test a new cure.

But, at a Press conference yesterday Professor J Booyens, leader of the cancer research team at the Medical University of Southern Africa (Medunsa), said the story had aroused false hopes among cancer patients. He said there had never been any call for patients to offer themselves as guinea pigs.

He said a world breakthrough in the fight against cancer had been made in the laboratories of Medunsa, outside Pretoria, but research

was in an early stage and the treatment was not yet available to cancer sufferers.

"Since the article appeared in the Press, the SA Cancer Association and the university have been driven crazy with poor people who believe they will now be cured of cancer," Prof Booyens said

He said the discovery would generate tremendous excitement throughout the cancer research world. However, it would be a number of years yet before the research programme was completed.

The substance of fatty acid attacks the abnormal cancer cells and normalises them, without damaging the non-malignant cells.

The first of three phases in the research programme had nearly been completed — on tissue cultures — and the second stage, experiments on tu-

mours induced in animals, had just begun.

The third phase would be the use of the treatment on terminally ill cancer victims.

Preliminary findings of the research were published in the latest issue of the SA Medical Journal. However, the journal has just been issued and thus the news of the breakthrough has not spread abroad.

"When it does, it will be seen for what it is — a huge advance in the possible successful treatment of cancer, which kills millions of people every year."

However, Prof Booyens cautioned that it would be three or more years yet before the experimentation stage was completed.

The universities of Natal and Stellenbosh are collaborating in the research on the substance, he said.

# Warning on aspirins for mothers-to-be

Mail Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Aspirin, a drug used by nearly 70% of pregnant women, has been named as a cause of excessive bleeding in new-born infants and their mothers.

In an article in yesterday's issue of the New England Journal of Medicine, researchers from the Medical Centre in Syracuse report that in cases where the mother took aspirin within five days before giving birth, almost

all the babies had excessive bleeding.

It took the form of skin haemorrhages, bleeding under the whites of the eyes, blood in the urine and bleeding after circumcision, and might endanger frail, premature babies.

Though the researchers found bleeding in the mother only when she took aspirin in the last five days of the pregnancy or immediately after the delivery, they said "we conclude that aspirin should be avoided during pregnancy".

Minnelli bursts in

EN with her hair and ST ing ill-fitting and men in rousers. Ban s her hips and most hardened drum: their feet to Liz: should: ning night at al charge. "OF

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magistrate, Mr T Kl said the amount stole large and only b R20 000 and R30 000 the goods had recovered.

Mr Henry Clark, Frieda Mandsday, Park, yesterday ple: guilty to, and was d on, counts one and 1

He pleaded guilty remaining burglerie that of the numerou

thin lieve



Posters star on a wall in the Maseru house where eight ANC members died during yesterday morning's raid.

# ANC may strike at civilians now despite the declared policy

By Howard Barrell, The Star's Africa News Service

RE — The ANC's declared policy of trying to minimise civilian casualties under severe pressure after yesterday's South African Defence Force raid on exiles in Lesotho.

The feeling among sources close to the ANC's external mission is that yesterday's raid could usher in an unprecedented era of bloodletting by members of the military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The initial response from an ANC spokesman to the raid was: "Don't they think they are driving Umkhonto we Sizwe to do the same thing inside South Africa against white civilians in retaliation?"

at particularly incensed exiles was that at least seven women and children among those killed and reported by the Frontline states that the raid and family of former ANC representative Thembi Hani had again come under attack.

er the Matola raid into Mozambique in January last year, there were

calls within the ANC for the movement to embark on what, strictly speaking, amounts to terrorism, indiscriminate attacks on civilians for political purposes.

ANC sources said the question asked by all ranks was: "If any house containing black South African refugees and a gun constitutes an ANC military base, then by the same logic does every white South African household with a gun not constitute an apartheid military base?"

That question is being asked again now.

So far, the ANC claims, it has held back from indiscriminate attacks on civilians.

But it is a sobering thought to consider the effect on South Africa, its society and economy if the more than 50 Umkhonto we Sizwe attacks last year and the more than 40 this year (according to a leaked American CIA document) had been directed towards civilians rather than installations and security forces.

"If the ANC had done that," in the words of one exile, "people would be saying South Africa had clearly moved into a revolutionary situation."

Sources close to the ANC continue to make clear that the movement regards indiscriminate attacks on civilians as poor, ultimately counter-productive politics.

Nonetheless, sources close to the ANC have said repeatedly over the past year that the ranks of those it regards as its "enemy" and legitimate targets are being swelled.

The reason for this is the increased militarisation of South African society, particularly among whites, and security systems being set up in factories, businesses and on farms, these sources add.

How badly Umkhonto we Sizwe's capability has been hit is not clear.

But one possible political effect of the raid is worth considering in the context of Zimbabwe.

A former leader in exile of Zimbabwe's Zanu party remarked recently: "When the Rhodesians extended the call-up to all whites, it was a major political victory for us. We knew we were winning. When they attacked the Chimoino refugee camp in Mozambique, it was a further political gain for us among our people."

ANC man <sup>8/10/82</sup>  
identified

PRETORIA — One of the two alleged members of the African National Congress who died in a handgrenade blast in Pekasburg last week has been identified as Mr Maboete "Ngaca" Salemane of Soweto, police confirmed today.

Mr Salemane and his unidentified companion died last Monday in a police chase when a handgrenade in the car in which they were travelling exploded after the car hit a tree.

— Sapa.

By ANTON HARBER

# Aggett 'an ANC sympathiser'

THE Security Police consider an ANC sympathiser to be the same as an ANC member. the Johannesburg Regional Court heard yesterday.

Giving evidence at the inquest into the death in detention of trade union leader Dr Neil Aggett. Lieutenant Steven Peter Whitehead told the court there were three kinds of ANC members -- full-

card-carrying members, active supporters and sympathisers

Dr Aggett repeatedly denied being a full member, but he was something between a sympathiser and an active supporter. Lt Whitehead said

"Do you consider an ANC

sympathiser as a person who requires Security Police attention because his sympathy is prima facie evidence of an offence?" Mr George Bizos, SC, for the Aggett family asked.

Lt Whitehead answered in the affirmative, but added he

had had further information on Dr Aggett that led to his detention.

When Mr Bizos asked where in the Internal Security Act it says that a sympathiser is guilty of an offence. Lt Whitehead said it was not in the law but should be seen in

a wider context.

Lt Whitehead told of a meeting Dr Aggett had attended to discuss fighting for the South African Defence Force. The meeting had been chaired by Mr Gavin Anderson, whom Dr Aggett knew to be an ANC member. Lt

Whitehead said, and this showed where his sympathies lay. He added that Dr Aggett had avoided doing his military service.

"Do you believe that someone does something which the ANC also wants done, it is an offence?" Mr Bizos said.

"Yes, if they are working with an ANC member," the policeman answered.

During his five-hour spell in the witness box, Lt Whitehead continually faced the magistrate, conspicuously attempting not to look at Mr Bizos. Mr Bizos was repeatedly warned by the magistrate, Mr Petrus Kotze, for his manner of cross-examination.

His sternest warning came when Mr Bizos told Lt Whitehead: "You have been in the witness box for three-and-a-half hours. Dr Aggett was questioned for 62 hours. You have a long way to go."

Mr Bizos asked Lt Whitehead why his affidavit had made no mention of other policemen had testified, as a number of Dr Aggett's cell mates, as a number of other policemen had testified.

Lt Whitehead said he had gone to Dr Aggett's cell on January 28 and told him "the game was now up and he must tell the full truth". Dr Aggett had agreed "more immediately, he told the court. This Aggett had spent more intensive questioning on the weekend in an interrogation room.

Lt Whitehead explained that "more intensive" questioning meant he was asking more pertinent questions. Dr Aggett had made it clear in his statements that he was committed to democracy and trade unionism and was opposed to infiltration of the unions since this was contradictory to democracy in the union. Mr Bizos said Lt Whitehead replied that he had watched Dr Aggett for over three years and had imputed information that had furthered the aims of banned organisations, he added.

Mr Bizos will continue the cross-examination of Lt Whitehead at 9am this morning.

(Mr George Bizos, SC, assisted by Mr Dennis Kony and instructed by Mr William Lane of Bell, Derar and Hall, appears for the Aggett family. Appearing for the Minister of Law and Order is Mr Pieter Schabert, SC, assisted by Mr Schaik Burger and instructed by State attorneys. Mr Piet Haasbroek, assisted by Mr Andre De Vries, leads the evidence.)



A MITCHELL'S PLAIN father of four was fined R500 (or 6 months) in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday for failing to print a name and address on pamphlets of the Azanian Youth Revolutionary Movement.

R200 (or 2 months) was suspended for five years.

Stanley Macaulam, 35, of Rocklands, a foreman at a printing company, pleaded guilty to a charge of failing to print the name and address on the 2 000 pamphlets he printed at Metro Printing Company in Castle Street, Cape Town, on September 14 this year.

He told the court his employer was not aware

he printed the pamphlets.

He knew it was an offence to leave out the name and address and did not receive permission from the Minister of Internal affairs to omit it. He told the court he did not know the contents of the pamphlet, but merely printed it.

Asking for a heavy sentence, the prosecutor, Mr T Lerm, said that in the pamphlet the movement advocated revolu-

tion as "the only solution".

He said it was this type of literature that sowed unrest among the people.

He quoted extracts from the pamphlet which read "We learnt that we have to fight guns with guns. We also learnt we fight our own battles because we cannot expect the oppressor to have pity on us and give us our freedom. We know

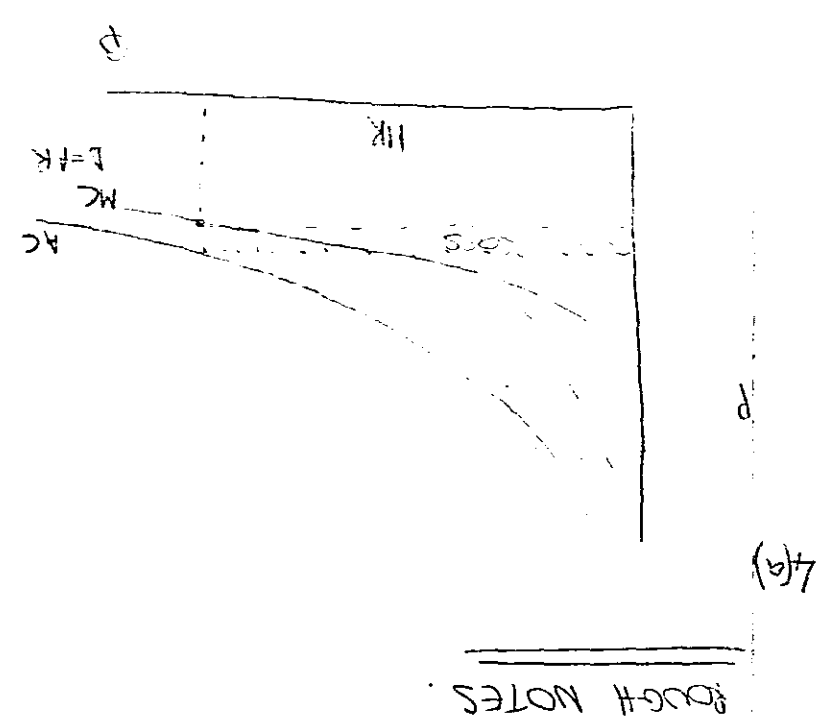
the ruling class will not give up their privileges without a bitter fight."

The pamphlet also launched an attack on the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

Passing sentence-Mr B Carroll said he rejected Macaulam's story that he did not know what the contents of the pamphlet were.

Macaulam conducted his own defence.

Handwritten notes and scribbles, including "11A", "8/10/87", and various illegible markings.



CAPE Times 8/10/82

# Printer fined for illegal pamphlets

Staff Reporter

A FATHER of five was yesterday fined R500 (or 6 months) by a Cape Town magistrate for failing to print his name and address on pamphlets he had printed for the Azanian Youth Revolutionary Movement.

The magistrate, Mr B Carrol, suspended R200 or (two months) of the sentence for five years.

Stanley Macaulen, 35, of Tigermoth Road, Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, admitted that on September 14, at Castle Street, Cape Town, he had, without obtaining exemption from the Minister of Internal Affairs, printed 2000 pamphlets without putting his full name and address on the pamphlets.

Macaulen, a foreman at a City printing concern, told the court he was not aware of the contents of the pamphlet. He had printed it without the knowledge of his employer.

He knew it was illegal not to print his name and

address on the pamphlet. Constable Pieter Stefanus Goosen, said he had found 2000 pamphlets in a stolen car and further investigation led to Macaulen's house.

The prosecutor, Mr T Lerm read the pamphlet to the court. He said the contents should be seen as an aggravating factor.

"The pamphlet propagates revolution on the front cover. Everything points to revolution being the only solution for this organization."

"It is this type of pamphlet which creates unrest and damages race relations. Distribution of these would have caused internal and external harm to the country."

He asked that the court impose the maximum penalty.

Passing sentence, Mr Carrol said the offence was serious as the pamphlet could have "caused friction" between the races.

"It is in the interest of the community that this type of propaganda is not distributed."



Charlie's chat

# Multiple roles of the ANC: from black belt tattoo artists to SA book store

11A

Sowetan

8/10/82

EVER Heard of the ANC? Or Nelson Mandela?

Meet two people who have. The first we will call Mr X because we don't want to be thought to be "influencing" the verdict of a trial still under-way.

Mr X was called in as a defence witness in this trial. He was asked about the tattoos all over his body and particularly the letters "ANC".

His explanation was: "I used to see it (ANC) written under pictures of a clenched fist and a broken brick. I thought it was a karate word." (No comment).

A lawyer pointed out during an adjournment: "With all those tattoos all over his body, he might run into trouble with the censors . . . they'll have to cut his skin."

Now for the lady who has heard about Nelson Mandela.

I met her on a Vereeniging-bound train — unwashed and on the wrong side of sobriety. To sum her looks and manners, she lacked all the qualities that make men look twice at a woman. The type you wouldn't take home to Ma.

I missed all she was saying to her woman companion, until the Gods of this column pricked my ears just at the right moment.

"They are scared of Nelson Mandela (apparently non-blacks). That is why they don't want the CNA (sic) . . . blah blah blah CNA."

bel Prize because he is a mere "egotistic and conceited little man spending his time furthering his own aims under the cover of the church." (Hao my baas!)

Hurwitz said a thousand and one things about how blacks themselves justified apartheid. Well, that's his business.

But he conveniently omitted mentioning another nominee for the Prize. Mrs Helen Suzman. Being an un-biased Af (they called me that in Hillbrow last week), I'll congratulate both.

Lest I forget, may I appoint myself the spokesman of my fellow blacks and return a courtesy given one of our community councillors recently.

Here goes: Congratulations to you Mrs

Helen Suzman. You are the Martha Taylor of Lower Houghton.

•••

So you think there's nothing in a name. Thought so too until a walk down the shoddy sides of Jozzie. The Asiatics are doing roaring business selling edibles (?) my fussy cat would have the pride not to eat. The stuff is sold under wonderful names which have got something to do with the massive patronage.

Before someone tries to sue the jacket off my back, may I explain that not all the shops I'm about to name are involved in "junk food."

"International African." "Africa Eats". "American Foods." "American Snacks." Ja.

# Restrictions on Sobantu funeral

Pietermaritzburg Bureau  
THE Chief Magistrate here has clamped down on plans for the funeral of S'busiso Graham Radebe in Sobantu village today.

The 17-year-old youth died after being shot outside the home of a Sobantu policeman during unrest in the village on September 28, two days before rent increases of R3.90 a household were due.

Community leaders had already announced a lengthy funeral programme, scheduled to start at 11 a m at the Sobantu village stadium, when the order was issued restricting the nature and venue of the ceremony, as well as the route mourners may follow.

The original programme listed speeches by clergymen as well as ecumenical workers and political, women's and students' organisations.

However, in terms of the order granted by Mr R J Liebenberg, the service must be held in the Sobantu village community

hall and the burial at Mountain Rise Cemetery.

Neither ceremony may take the form of a political gathering, nor may any placards or pamphlets be carried or distributed.

The conveyance of both mourners and the coffin, as well as the route they are to follow, are tightly

prescribed.

The measures were imposed because he had 'reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered,' Mr Liebenberg said.

A police spokesman said the police intended to keep a low profile, but would be in the vicinity

# AAM claims it has new 'evidence' of SA spying

11A

**LONDON** — New claims that the South African Embassy and diplomats were at the heart of a major spying operation in Britain emerged this week as the 'Swapgate' affair flared up again.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) claimed it could establish South African involvement in spying "beyond doubt". On Wednesday it will hand a comprehensive report — naming diplomats, and alleging they are spies — to the British deputy Prime Minister and Home Secretary. Mr William Whitelaw.

**Sunday Express Correspondents**

And MPs led by shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Stanley Clinton Davies, have demanded an in-depth investigation into the activities of diplomats at the embassy.

The demand follows the return to South Africa of Mr Ben van der Klashorst, the embassy's first secretary, who was named two years ago by a South African agent as the London representative of the then Bureau for State Security (Boss) — now renamed the National Intelligence Service.

The embassy said Mr Klashorst's return had been planned beforehand and was routine.

Britain's Director of Public Prosecutions, Sir Peter Hetherington, was investigating Mr van der Klashorst's alleged role, it was learnt.

Mr Whitelaw has agreed to meet an AAM delegation after burglaries this year at the premises of black guerrilla groups in London, the blast at the African National Congress offices in March, and the intimidation of black exiles.

Labour Party MP Mr Bob Hughes, who is chairman of the AAM, will lead the delegation, which could include ANC and Swapo representatives.

The AAM is unwilling to release its large file of 'evi-

## Randy Andy's stark mad

By CHRIS BYE

**LONDON** — Prince Andrew is reported to be furious that journalists who have been hounding him at his island hideaway may force him to cut short his Caribbean holiday with sexy actress Koo Stark.

According to his private detective, Prince Andrew is weary of being hounded by photographers and reporters hoping to catch a glimpse of him with Miss Stark, 25, who has been seen wearing sexy bikinis.

"This is the first real break Prince Andrew has had since the Falklands. He just wanted some peace and quiet."

The detective denied reports that the Queen had asked Prince Andrew to return home amid mounting Buckingham Palace disquiet about Miss Stark's background and description as a soft-porn actress.

Koo appears naked with men in pictures to be published in the British magazine 'Club International' later this month. The pictures were taken four years ago.



Meanwhile, in an interview with the Los Angeles Herald Examiner, her father, Mr Wilbur Stark, said: "The Queen knows her, and her dramatic background. She knows Andrew is in love with her."

Mr Stark added that British Press treatment of the couple's holiday with

friends on the island of Mustique was "trash".

Mr Stark said he learned of his daughter's friendship with the Prince only this week and said he would not mind having royal in-laws.

"The Queen has done a fantastic job," he said. — Sapa-Renter.

dence', but chairman Mr Mike Terry said: "We have been able to establish beyond any doubt that the South African Embassy is at the heart of a major and menacing operation. Our evidence is so solid that the government and Mr Whitelaw can no longer ignore us."

The Home Office confirmed the meeting would take place, but would make

no other comment.

Official sources this week said the government was "angry and concerned" about the activities in the UK of "certain people from Southern Africa".

A police source said: "There is a very, very sensitive situation at the moment. It is so sensitive that nobody wants to say too much for the record."

# Ex-SA diplomat named in a new mystery

By NEIL HOOPER  
and NORMAN WEST

SOUTH African diplomat Mr Ben van der Klashorst — who returned to South Africa last week — allegedly posed for several years in coloured political circles as a mysterious "Mr Roy Havinga" before being posted to Britain.

A leading coloured politician claimed this week that "Mr Havinga" had actively tried to influence coloured politics in South Africa.

He also claimed that, in 1979, "Mr Havinga" had attempted to "exert pressure" on Mr Les du Preez, chairman of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and a member of the Labour Party.

## Resigned

Mr du Preez, who subsequently resigned from the party and is now a member of the President's Council, has refused to discuss the matter.

Mr van der Klashorst's return to South Africa last Thursday coincided with the second court appearance of two men charged in connection with the burglary at the London offices of Swapo and the ANC.



BEN VAN DER KLASHORST  
Mysterious "Mr Havinga"?

A South African advocate, Mr Hennie Goosen, son of a senior Security Branch officer, attended the hearing as an "observer".

And when the hearing resumed this week, a member of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist squad claimed it had broken an international spying operation involving South Africa. He did not elaborate.

Mr van der Klashorst this

week refused to comment on allegations that he had posed as "Roy Havinga" among coloured politicians before being posted to the embassy in London. He said he was not allowed to speak to the Press.

Although Mr du Preez refused to discuss "Mr Havinga" this week when he resigned in November 1979, the leader of the Labour Party — the Rev Alan Hendrickse — claimed that Mr du Preez had told a gathering of senior members of the party that he had been questioned by agents.

The Sunday Times has obtained a transcript of a tape-recording of a meeting addressed by Mr du Preez at the time.

The meeting took place after the party's deputy leader, Mr Norman Middleton, had claimed to the Press that Mr du Preez had been questioned about the attitude of party leaders prior to their meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

An excerpt from the transcript reads:

Mr du Preez "Yes, but Alan (Hendrickse), I believe I gave it (the information about being questioned) to you in confidence.

"We all know about the pressure which is being exerted. The people asked me to come in and I went. I could not refuse."

Another coloured politician — who asked not to be identified — said this week that he first met "Roy Havinga" at the Johannesburg home of a well-known woman journalist.

"She was to interview me about my plans for autonomous coloured municipalities, and asked whether I minded if her boyfriend was present at the interview? I said I had no objection.

"But during the interview the boyfriend — introduced to me as 'Roy Havinga' — kept interrupting, trying to persuade me that my views were wrong and that the government policy was right," the politician said.

"By the end of the interview I was very upset, and

made it clear that I did not want to have anything to do with either the reporter or 'Mr Havinga' again.

"Shortly after that I received a telephone call from a man who introduced himself as a Mr Snyman, and said he was a friend of Mr Ben van der Klashorst.

"I told him that I did not know any Mr van der Klashorst, and he replied 'Oh, you know him under the alias of Roy Havinga.'

"He then tried to arrange to meet me, but I refused."

## Altered

The politician said that he next came across "Mr Havinga" during an election campaign in 1975, when he found that newspaper advertisements for his party had been subtly altered to make it appear that the party supported the Government policy of separate development.

He said that he had contacted the official responsible for placing the advertisement, and had been told that the alterations had been made by 'Mr Havinga'.

The official, a former prominent member of the CRC — who also asked not to be identified — this week confirmed the incident.

~~11A~~ S. Ex. Jones  
12/11/82

# Pretoria alleged to be at heart of conspiracy in London

11A  
Times  
10/10/82

By DAVID JACKSON  
London

BRITAIN'S Home Secretary, Mr William Whitelaw, will this week be handed a confidential report alleging that South Africa is at the heart of an organised conspiracy in London.

The simmering row over Pretoria's alleged activities in Britain reaches official Whitehall level only days after a London court was told of "intelligence gathering which could have wide international implications".

The British Home Office confirmed this weekend that Mr Whitelaw will meet a delegation on Wednesday led by Labour Party MP, Mr Bob Hughes.

It will include representatives of the black exile guerilla groups Swapo and ANC, who have drawn up a dossier claiming to "lift the lid" off an alleged dirty tricks campaign which is said to include former members of the South African diplomatic corps.

The South African Embassy in London has strenuously denied any involvement.

The issue will reach the desk of the Home Secretary only a few days after the First Secretary at the South African Embassy, Mr B van der Klashorst, left his London post to return to Pretoria. The embassy says the timing of his departure was purely co-incidental and that the arrangements for his transfer were made several months ago.

## Cover-up

This is the first time any Home Secretary, Conservative or Labour, has agreed to meet a delegation to discuss the specific allegations of spying by "agents" of the Republic.

Anti-Apartheid Movement chairman Mike Terry told the Sunday Times yesterday: "We are very angry at what we believe has been a cover-up in the past. At best, the British Government has been turning a blind eye to what has been going on."

The government is understood to be deliberately treating the controversy in a "low-key" manner not to provoke a diplomatic incident until substantial proof of the allegations is coming.

The previous Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs at the Foreign Office, Mr Richard Luce, declined to order an investigation into the spying claims.

This was shortly after the radical magazine, New Statesman, published an "expose" two years ago naming Mr van der Klashorst in an article which claimed to throw new light on the activities of South Africans in Britain. Mr van der Klashorst later denied the link.

The government also considers that the matter is in a sense sub judice with the court appearances of two men accused in connection with the recent burglaries of Swapo and ANC offices in London.

In the current court proceedings, charges of "criminal conspiracy" to burgle have been introduced following representations by lawyers acting for Swapo and the ANC.

But in a dramatic development on Thursday, Britain's anti-terrorist squad chief, Detective-Inspector Hilton Cole, told magistrates there were "far wider and more serious issues" involved than was revealed by the charges — which at this stage relate to burglary and handling stolen documents.

Ex-Rhodesian Peter Caselton, 38, was again remanded in custody. Freelance Swedish journalist, Bertil Wedin, 41, is out on bail.

# 'Spies' report blames

# SA

\* SUNDAY TIMES

ARGUS 11/10/82

# 11A 2 die

(Contd from Page 1)

right thigh during an argument with two men.

It was later established that Mr Nkozi had been wounded with a Russian-made 9 mm pistol

## HUT

Follow-up investigations led Detective Sergeant Makhaye and a colleague to a hut in the Mhngweni district near Nkandla early on Saturday.

Their knock was answered by a woman who stood back to let them inside.

As Sergeant Makhaye entered, bursts of automatic gunfire erupted from the hut.

He was fatally wounded in the chest but fired back two shots which both struck the head of one of the two gunmen, killing him instantly.

## ESCAPED

The second suspect escaped.

It is understood that the woman in the hut was wounded in the exchange of fire.

A manhunt involving the South African and Kwazulu police was launched.

Last night the police team tracked down a man about 7 km from Nkandla.

In a short gun battle the man was wounded in the shoulder and arrested.

He was in possession of a Makarov pistol.

Sergeant Makhaye, who had 30 years of service with the police, was married with five children.

# 2 die in terrorist shoot-out

ARGUS 11/10/82

11A

824

Argus Correspondent  
MIRBAN - A policeman and a suspected terrorist were killed and a second alleged African National Congress infiltrator wounded, in shootings in northern Natal at the weekend.

Police headquarters in Pretoria today announced that the dead policeman, 53-year-old Detective Sergeant Bhekayise Makhaye of Melmoth, had shot dead one of the alleged terrorists after he had been fatally wounded in the chest

It is not clear at this stage whether any arms or ammunition were taken possession of. Police said indications at this stage were that the dead and captured infiltrators were trained terrorists acting on instructions from ANC

strategist Joe Slovo who is based in London. The police announcement said the drama started on October 1 when Mr Clement Nkazi of the Mbilane Reserve at Mahlabathini, north of Eshowe, was shot in the (Turn to Page 3)



# Police use teargas, arrest 39 at funeral

CAPL Times

11/10/82

114

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Riot police arrested 39 people and used tear-gas on a crowd attending the funeral in Sobantu near here on Saturday of 17-year-old Graham Radebe, who died after being shot during unrest over rent increases.

The crowd, estimated at more than 3 000, packed the Sobantu village community hall and stood outside listening to a number of speeches from religious, trade union, student and political leaders.

Police did not interrupt proceedings, in spite of a court order granted on Friday by Maritzburg's Chief Magistrate prohibiting political speeches because he believed the public's peace could be "seriously endangered".

However, after the coffin had been carried from



Young people in the crowd give the clenched fist salute at the Radebe funeral in Maritzburg on Saturday.

the hall to start on its way to the cemetery, hundreds accompanied it on foot in contravention of the court order, which said they had to travel by car, and the police moved in.

Bystanders described scenes of confusion and panic as thousands fled the teargas and police in camouflage outfits put

captives into waiting vans.

A police spokesman has since confirmed that 26 men and 13 women are to be charged under the Internal Security Act.

He confirmed reports that five police vehicles were stoned during the funeral.

# Confusion at <sup>Soweto 11/10/82</sup> guerilla's burial



MR WALTER SALOMANE: Asked no questions.

NOTICES RESTRICTING procedures at the funeral of the suspected ANC guerilla who died in a bomb blast in Boksburg were displayed by Security Police at the gate and door of his Evaton home — and at the entrance to the cemetery where he was buried at the weekend.

Several mourners from Soweto and other parts of the Reef who went to the funeral in Evaton on Saturday afternoon were disappointed when they found that Mr Mabote "Ngada" Salomane (27), had already been buried.

In a move that baffled the family of the dead guerilla, and other mourners, a local funeral undertaker with whom funeral arrangements had been made, suddenly changed the arrangements without giving reasons for the change of time.

The father of the dead man, Mr Walter Salo-

mane, said he was too shocked to understand what was happening, but added that he chose to comply with the undertaker "to avoid troubles that could follow."

The dead man's father, Mr Walter Salomane said he suspected the change in schedule to 10 am was part of the restrictions imposed by the Chief Magistrate of Vereeniging on how the funeral was to be conducted.

The effect of the restrictions were that the funeral could not be conducted in the traditional fashion of political activists' funerals.

A large contingent of

policemen in camouflaged uniform kept a distance from the mourners on their way and back from the cemetery while those in civilian clothes came closer to the mourners to take photographs.

The identity of the second man who died with Mr Salomane when their car exploded in Boksburg after hitting a tree while being chased by the police, is still a mystery.

The late Mabote, who is the fourth in a family of seven children, went into exile in 1977 during the Soweto disturbances. Also in exile is his younger brother Mosebetsi (25), and not Nthako as was reported in the Press earlier.

The Salomane's lived in Dube, Soweto before moving to Small Farms in Evaton.

Examiners' Initials		

## NOTE CAREFULLY

1. The answers only on the right hand pages will be marked. The left hand pages may be used for rough work, but no credit will be given for such work.
2. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
3. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
4. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

## WARNING

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

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

*D-Propagator*  
**Accused in** *12/10/82*  
**ANC trial** *11A*  
**sees doctors** *12/10/82*

ZWELITSHA — One of the accused in an ANC trial in the regional court here was sent to two doctors yesterday for observation after the court heard that she had displaced abnormal behaviour in the King William's Town prison.

Defence counsel, Advocate M. T. K. Moerane, said he had been informed by the prison officials that Miss Nomakhepu Jane Ntsatha had hallucinations during the past four weeks up to Saturday. She would sometimes scream in the dead of night and would sometimes walk naked in her cell.

Mr Moerane said this while cross-examining the Ciskei Government's acting district surgeon, Dr Shabeer Meer, of King William's Town who testified that she was fit to stand trial.

Miss Ntsatha and Mr Mncekeleli Peter, have pleaded not guilty to charges connected with ANC activities.

The first count alleges that during October and November they took part in ANC activities by recruiting members or supporters for the ANC.

The second count alleges that at or near Zwelitsha they became or continued to be office-bearers or members of the ANC.

On the third count they are alleged to have distributed banned publications, copies of Sechaba and the Freedom Charter.

Count four alleges possession of banned literature.

The fifth count alleges that they incited others to undergo training likely to endanger the maintenance of law and order.

Count six alleges that Mr Peter took steps to undergo training.

Before the resumption of yesterday's hearing Miss Ntsatha was taken to Dr Meer for observation. Dr Meer told the court that she was fit to stand trial. He said she was tense, nervous and seemed to be afraid of what would happen to her.

Under cross-examination by Mr Moerane he conceded that he did not do a physical examination and did not carry out any tests to find out if her central nervous system was functioning.

Dr Meer told the court

that he saw her for about seven to eight minutes. Asked by Mr Moerane if he had examined the history of her mental behaviour in the past four weeks, he said he asked her how she was and she said she was fit except for abdominal pains. She spoke normally but was excited and tense.

Mr Moerane said that this appeared to be a contradiction in terms. Dr Meer said he meant she did speak sense but was tense. He said he had seen her three to four times in prison since August and knew she spoke quickly.

During his visits to her he did not observe any erratic or abnormal behaviour during the past four weeks. She had said she did not get the prescribed medicine in prison.

Dr Meer said the prison authorities did not tell him about her behaviour. He had not been told of her screaming or her walking naked.

Asked by Mr Moerane if he had been told of her hallucinations of a person trying to take a picture of her, he said he had not been told.

Dr Meer told the court he obtained his degree in Ireland in 1980 and completed his housemanship in December last year. From January this year he worked in the paediatric department in a Natal hospital until his appointment on August 1 as acting district surgeon for the Ciskei Government.

He said it was the first time as a district surgeon he had had to inquire into the mental capacity of an accused person.

Asked by the magistrate, Mr J. A. Dracatos, what he would have done had he been told of her screams, he said he would have examined her thoroughly and decided whether she needed psychiatric treatment or not.

Mr Moerane said the defence was not bound by Dr Meer's evidence and asked that Miss Ntsatha be taken to a local practitioner, Dr Vukile Peteni.

Dr Peteni will give evidence on his observation this morning.

Mr Dracatos said evidence by Dr Meer did not give the court a clear picture.

The trial continues today. — DDR.

2011 12/18/82  
**Campaign to  
free Mandela**

LONDON. — A campaign was launched in London yesterday for the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners held in South Africa.

The British campaign, organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, will include a series of meetings, a nationwide petition and a torchlight vigil outside the South African Embassy.

The head of Britain's 11-million-strong Trades Union Congress, Mr Len Murray, gave full support to the action in a letter to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Mandela was arrested in 1962 and sentenced to life imprisonment for plotting the overthrow the South African Government. — Sapa-  
Reuter.

# Constitution plan: Labour 'divided'

Argus 13/10/82

11A ~~21A~~

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Government could come under strong pressure from coloured political leaders to make changes to its constitutional plan to make it more acceptable to them.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, claimed today his party was "fairly evenly" divided on whether to accept the plan or not.

The more radical left-wing insisted the plan should be rejected outright while the more moderate section wanted the party to at least consider the proposals.



Rev Hendrickse

## OPEN-MINDED

But the party leadership, which met in Upington at the weekend, on the whole remained fairly open-minded about the proposals.

Mr Hendrickse said the Labour executive wanted to have talks with the Government before their party's congress in Eshowe early in January.

Indications are that it will be at this meeting that the Government will be asked to amend its plan to make it more acceptable to the coloured community.

At its meeting in Upington, the Labour executive appointed regional committees to study the

Government's proposals and to make suggestions on how they could be improved.

## MAIN REASON

Mr Hendrickse said the main reason for this was because the party's leaders were unable to visit all the regions to discuss the proposals with the various party formations.

"We appointed the committees also to inform people about the proposals so that they wouldn't come to the congress in Eshowe not knowing what the proposals are about," he said.

(Report by L H Marshall, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

● See Page 5 ●

# PC proposals 'could heal past'

17 AUG 13/10/82 (11) 2004

Boland Bureau

STELLENBOSCH. — The President's Council's proposals had the possibility of healing the wounds of the past, former Labour Party leader Mr Sonny Leon said last night.

Addressing the Historical Society of the University of Stellenbosch on the political position of the coloured people since World War 2, Mr Leon, a member of the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council, said South Africans were looking at the Afrikaners for meaningful political movement.

He said his attitude had changed from confrontation to negotiation because "fools did not change but wise men did".

## RESIGN

He had been compelled to resign from the Labour Party because he advocated negotiation and had attended the funeral of former State President, Dr Nico Diederichs.

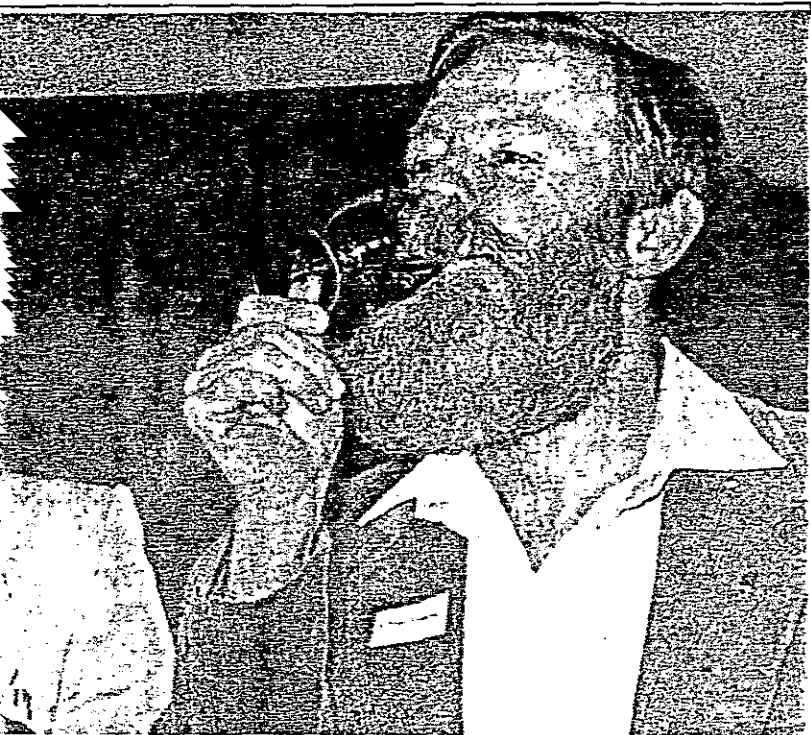
When he had received an invitation to join the President's Council, he had accepted it without hesitation, because it gave him a chance to participate in the law-making machinery.

Replying to a question on the position of urban blacks, Mr Leon said blacks could not be given a share in the political system until they had acquired the necessary skills.

He said the majority of the coloured people accepted the recommendations of the President's Council and blamed "the professors and agitators" at universities for inciting students to protest against the proposals.



Mr Sonny Leon



for Christmas are the auction manageress of Stellenbosch Farmers' the SFW marketing manager of consumer relations Mr Dave Hughes.

RDM 13/10/82  
**Mabuza:  
 Territory  
 is fertile  
 for ANC**

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK - KaNgwane is now a fertile recruiting ground for the African National Congress former Chief Minister Enos Mabuza told 'Africa News', a weekly review, this week.

"The people are desperate and appear ready to take the risk," he said.

"By this single action (ceding the territory to Swaziland) South Africa is alienating about 1 000 000 South Africans. The majority of these alienated people will, as a matter of fact, become enemies of South Africa."

Mr Mabuza said that Pretoria's desire to clamp down on ANC activity in Swaziland was "a factor" in the deal "and Swaziland has proved so by its recent clamp-down on the ANC, especially since the negotiations became intense and more frequent."

Yet there was "no doubt" that the ANC would gather strength "and the SA Government does not want to accept this reality", he maintained.

He also warned that the "young militant generation" differed from his own in regarding ANC bombers as heroes.

He noted that his own six children "are more militant than I am."

11/19  
 1/19


## Christmas for wine lovers

on the shelves on Monday, but a SFW  
 ted supplies.  
 r will be the  
 de Noir - a  
 grapes. It is  
 : production.  
 re a superior


Dave Hughes. "It's a winner".  
 It has a fascinating colour, is delicate  
 and Mr Hughes suggested the wine  
 should not be served too cold.  
 Further, there is a dry white, Sauvign-  
 non Blanc 1982.

Mr Hughes, however, feels the wine is  
 a little too young for the bottle.

A new sparkling wine, Kapt Sect will  
 join the Cuvee Brut on the market. It is  
 also a dry wine, yet is soft and meliow.



# INVITATION



to a meeting addressed by

## MR. YITZHAK RABIN

ON

## WEDNESDAY, 13 OCTOBER 1982

11A  
Honour for  
SAS 11/10/82  
Mandela

The Star Bureau

LONDON—The Leeds City Council announced yesterday it was naming the gardens in front of the civic hall after the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

Mr George Mudie, leader of the Labour-controlled council, also announced a competition for the design of a sculpture depicting the struggle against oppression. Mrs Winnie Mandela will be invited to unveil it.

The council would call for Mandela's release, Mr Mudie said at a ceremony attended by ANC chief representative in Britain, Mrs Ruth Mompoti.



# Attorney's death 'not properly investi- gated'

CAPL. Tom's 14/10/82 (119 ~~14-801-327~~)

**Own Correspondent**  
DURBAN. — The death of Durban attorney, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, whose mutilated body was found with 45 stab wounds near the Umlazi Cycle Stadium last year, was not thoroughly investigated by the police, an Umlazi inquest magistrate heard yesterday.

Mr Louis Skweyiya, advocate for the Mxenge family, told Mr Victor Patterson in the Umlazi Magistrate's Court there

had been a complete lack of investigation by the police.

The magistrate yesterday objected to Mr Skweyiya's line of questioning of a police witness, Detective-Sergeant Christopher Shange.

He told Mr Skweyiya: "I am just as interested as you are in arriving at the truth of the whole matter. But you seem to be embarking on something much wider. You seem to be criticizing this policeman.

"This is certainly not the purpose of this inquiry. Perhaps you should lodge your complaint against the police with a higher authority or even take the matter up in Parliament if you wish," he said.

Earlier, when questioned by Mr Skweyiya, Detective-Sergeant Shange had told the court he had been shocked at the extent of the injuries on Mr Mxenge's body and had therefore not examined his clothes.

Asked why he had not arranged for the body to be photographed before it was removed from the scene, Detective-Sergeant Shange said the police were guided by "certain rules" and he had done what he was supposed to.

Detective-Sergeant Shange said that when he had arrived at the scene where the body was lying he had found the trouser pockets "turned inside out" and had thought the man had been the victim of a robbery.

Detective-Sergeant Shange also said a pocketbook he was using on November 20 last year when he found the body, had since been lost.

Questioned by Mr Skweyiya, the policeman said he had looked for it in the filing room of the police station before coming to court, but it had "disappeared into thin air".

Mr Skweyiya said: "This is the difficulty we have in this whole saga. This is an important piece of in-

formation which we could have used to help us determine the truth of this matter and now it is missing."

Another police witness, Lieutenant Willem le Grange of the Durban Murder and Robbery Squad, told the Court he had received a report at 12.30am on November 20 in connection with the death of the attorney.

On arrival at the scene in Umlazi he had found it was wet and muddy on the left hand side of the

road. It had appeared as if two people had wrestled there. There were also wheel marks on the ground.

Asked by, Mr Andre Oberholzer, who is leading the evidence, whether the race or colour of the person involved was considered by the Murder and Robbery Squad when dealing with complaints, Lieutenant Le Grange said it was not. The nature of the complaint was all that mattered.

He said the attorney's

car had been found completely burned out near the Swaziland border three days after the discovery of the body. The car had been identified by its engine number.

Mr Skweyiya requested an adjournment "in the light of new evidence by Lieutenant Le Grange."

The hearing will resume "at a date to be finalized jointly by Mr Oberholzer and Mr Skweyiya", the magistrate said.



# MYSTERY COMMITTEE

*Sowetan 14/10/78*

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

All answer b

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THERE is a mystery surrounding the October 19 Ad-Hoc Committee formed this week, who are charged with the responsibilities to organise services in the PWV area to commemorate the clampdown on black organisation, individuals and the banning of two black newspapers.

According to reports, the committee was formed by 15 leaders from a number of black organisations which included student groups, civic bodies, women's organisations, trade unions, cultural groups and religious organisations at a meeting in Soweto.

Bible, as well as a performing poet group, Uhuru.

But yesterday The SOWETAN learnt that organisations mentioned as represented at the meeting were in the dark about the whole thing.

Mr Ishamael Mkhabela, publicity secretary of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo), said no sooner had they heard about the committee, when they contacted organisations said to have attended but none knew a thing about the "mystery" committee.

Azapo has arranged a service next Tuesday at the Dube Y at 7pm, and another for Sunday at 2pm at Lebowakgomo Roman Catholic Church, while other branches throughout the country are arranging their own venues.

And in the Vaal Triangle, a number of organisations have organised a service for tomorrow. It will be held at the Catholic Church in Small Farms, Evaton. It starts at 8pm and will last until the following day with the theme being The Plight of Detainees and Those Banned.

There will also be a local drama group performing a play on detention called Why The

	Internal	External
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Examiners' Initials		

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Degree/Diploma you are registered.....

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**NOTE CAREFULLY**

1. Enter at the top of the left margin of the question paper.
2. Blue or black ink only for answers. Blue ink for questions.
3. Names of candidates (e.g. grade, examination number).
4. Do not write on the back of the paper.

Any dishonesty will be dealt with severely.

**WARNING**

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

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liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Leeds City Council yesterday  
naming the gardens in front of  
it after the jailed ANC leader.

Mudie, leader of the Labour-con-  
so announced a competition for  
ulpture depicting the struggle  
n. Mrs Winnie Mandela will  
il the piece.  
will also be put through the

council calling on the South African Government  
to release Nelson Mandela," Mr Mudie said at a  
ceremony attended by ANC chief representative  
in Britain, Mrs Ruth Mompati.

"We are a city of many races and many  
religions and we must never forget our interna-  
tional inheritance," Mr Mudie said.

"Nelson Mandela epitomises for our genera-  
tion a people's struggle against oppression.

"This is Leeds' tribute to a man who is paying  
the price for struggling for freedom."

# Black Alliance meeting

117  
14/10/82

THOUSANDS of people  
are expected to cram the  
Jabulani Amphitheatre  
on Sunday, when the  
South African Black Al-  
liance (Saba) will be  
holding its annual  
prayer meeting in So-  
weto.

Kwa Zulu's Chief  
Gatsha Buthelezi, chair-  
man of Saba and presi-  
dent of Inkatha, will be  
the main speaker and is  
expected to focus his ad-  
dress on Ingwavuma,  
following the KwaZulu  
Government's recent  
successful court appeal  
restraining the South  
African Government  
from handing over Ing-  
wavuma to Swaziland.

Other speakers will  
include Mr Enos Ma-  
buza, former chief coun-  
cillor of KaNgwane Leg-  
islative Assembly and  
leader of Inyandza  
Movement, Mr Y S  
Chinsamy, leader of the  
Reform Party, and the  
Reverend Allan Hen-  
drickse of the Labour  
Party.

According to Mr Gib-  
son Thula, Urban Rep-  
resentative of KwaZu-  
lu's Government, the  
Sunday prayer meeting  
will be a culmination of  
the Alliance's confer-  
ence which will start on  
Friday evening in Johan-  
nesburg.

He also said that at 5  
pm on Saturday there  
will be a Press Confer-  
ence -at the hotel at  
which resolutions of the  
Alliance will be made  
public.

## Saved from pauper's burial

MR JEFFREY MO-  
GALE (48), who was to  
have been given a paup-  
er's funeral because his  
ageing mother had no  
money to bury him, will  
now be buried decently  
on Saturday — thanks to  
two Soweto undertakers.

The two undertakers.

# WEN DA DER ORLD



# Death of attorney 'not investigated'

Mercury  
14/10/82  
iIA

Mercury Reporter

THE death of Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge, whose mutilated body was found with 45 stab wounds near the Umlazi cycle stadium last year, had not been thoroughly investigated by the police, an Umlazi inquest magistrate was told yesterday.

Mr Louis Skweyiya, the advocate appearing for the family, told Mr Victor Patterson in the Umlazi Magistrate's Court that there had been a complete lack of investigation by the police. 'The case was never investigated.'

In the course of the second day of cross-examination of a police witness, Det-Sgt Christopher Shange, the Magistrate objected to Mr Skweyiya's line of questioning the police officer.

He told Mr Skweyiya: 'I am just as interested as you are in arriving at the truth of the whole matter. But you seem to be embarking on something much wider. You seem to be criticising this policeman.'

'This is certainly not the purpose of this inquiry. Perhaps you should lodge your complaint against the police with higher authority or even take the matter up in Parliament if you wish,' he said.

## Afraid

Earlier, when questioned by Mr Skweyiya, Sgt Shange had told the Court that he had been shocked at the extent of the injuries on the body of Mr Mxenge and had therefore not examined the clothes.

Mr Skweyiya then remarked: 'You ought not be a policeman if you are afraid.'

When asked why he had not arranged for the body to be photographed before it was removed from the scene, Sgt Shange said the police were guided by 'certain rules' and he had done what he was supposed to do.

Asked if the police used a mortuary van to remove the body of the slain attorney, Sgt Shange said: 'In the Umlazi area we do not use a mortuary van to remove the bodies of dead people.'

## Robbery

When asked why a mortuary van had not been used to remove the body, the police officer said he 'never' used such a vehicle 'because it is a rule at our police station at Umlazi'.

Sgt Shange said when he arrived at the scene where the body was lying he found the trouser pockets 'turned inside out' and he thought that the man had been the victim of a robbery.

Sgt Shange told the Court that a pocket book he was using when he

picked up the body on November 20 last year had since been lost

Questioned by Mr Skweyiya, the policeman said he had looked for the book in the filing room of the police station before going to court, but that it had 'disappeared into thin air'.

## Witness

Mr Skweyiya said: 'This is the difficulty which we have in this whole saga. This is an important piece of information which we could have used to help us determine the truth of this matter and now it is missing.'

Another police witness, Lt Willem le Grange, of the Durban Murder and Robbery Squad, told the Court that he had received a report on November 20 to proceed to Umlazi in connection with the death of the attorney.

He said on arrival at the scene he found on the left hand side of the road the place was wet and muddy. It appeared as if two people had wrestled there. There were also wheel marks on the ground.

When asked by the counsel for the State, Mr Andre Oberholzer, whether the race or colour of the person involved was taken into consideration by the Murder and Robbery Squad when dealing with complaints, Lt le Grange said it was not.

## Swaziland

Only the nature of the complaint, whether it was an armed robbery or whether any weapons had been used, mattered.

He said the attorney's car had been found burned out near the Swaziland border three days after the discovery of the body.

The car was identified by its engine number.

He said an Indian shop owner near the Swaziland border, a Mr Mansoor, had told the police that when he returned from fishing on the Sunday evening the car had not been on the road.

The next day an unidentified black Swazi had informed Mr Mansoor about the car.

Mr Skweyiya requested an adjournment 'in the light of new evidence by Lt le Grange'.

The adjournment was granted and the hearing will resume 'at a date to be finalised jointly by Mr Oberholzer and Mr Skweyiya'.

# R30 fine for ripping speed trap lines

West Rand Bureau

A man who skidded more than 25 m and ripped up speed checking lines while driving his employer's expensive German car was found guilty in the Middelburg Magistrate's Court yesterday of inconsiderate driving on August 12 and fined R30 for 30 days.

Ben Morwagomo, 36, of Kagiso, pleaded not guilty.

Traffic Inspector Samson said he was marking a speed trap on Golf Club Terrace, Florida.

"The next moment I saw a cloud of smoke. The car tore up the atomometer lines."

Morwagomo said that when he saw the lines across the road, he had got such a fright he automatically jammed on the brakes.

# ANC case: pilot on arms charge

SW 15/10/82

11A

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A charge under the Firearms Act was brought yesterday against one of the accused in the ANC and Swapo break-ins case.

Zimbabwe pilot Mr Peter Caselton (38) was charged with possession of a canister of teargas — a prohibited weapon in terms of the Firearms Act.

Mr Caselton appeared at the Horseferry Road Magistrate's Court in London with Swedish freelance journalist Mr Bertil Wedin (42).

They are charged with dishonestly handling documents stolen from the ANC offices here on July 21 and from Swapo's London office on September 1.

They are also charged with conspiracy to burgle.

Londoner Mr Edward Aspinall (23), who is charged with the burglaries, has not answered bail and is still being sought by police.

No evidence was heard yesterday and the case was adjourned until next Thursday.

Mr Caselton was remanded and Mr Wedin is out on bail, on condition that he reports daily to his local police station in Kent.

Police said committal proceedings were likely to begin early next month.

# Murder case: man fit to stand trial

A 20-year-old man who allegedly raped and murdered a woman in a Hillbrow parking lot was yesterday declared fit to stand trial.

Mr Hendrik de Klerk, no address given, appeared before a Johannesburg magistrate after undergoing psychiatric observation at Sterkfontein Hospital.

A report said there was no evidence of any mental illness, and he was declared fit to understand court proceedings.

At a previous hearing, Mr de Klerk pleaded not guilty to the rape and murder of Antonette Steinschauer on June 29.

He was remanded to November 4, pending a decision by the Attorney-General.

# Doctors held responsible for Sowetan's death

Dr Patricia Joan Kepp said that the man, Mr John Jeremiah Ndhlovu (30) had suffered multiple injuries and his death had been caused by head injuries.

The mother of the dead man, Mrs Susan Ndhlovu, said she had taken him home for the night from a good health.

The supervisor of the bottle store, Mr Albert Mofubatshe, said that on June 16 he had heard a noise in the shop and had seen Mr Ndhlovu threaten a colleague with a knife and demand money.

There had been a struggle for the knife and Mr Ndhlovu had

fallen and hit his head against a safe door.

Police men had arrived and he had seen black policemen hitting Mr Ndhlovu on the head with batons.

Mr Arthur Goodman, who appeared for Mr Ndhlovu's family told the magistrate, Mr J A Joubert, Mr Ndhlovu had been brutally and

mercilessly assaulted.

He asked Mr Joubert to find that the police or Wab employees had been responsible for Mr Ndhlovu's death.

Mr Joubert referred the matter to the Attorney-General with a finding that Wab employees were responsible for Mr Ndhlovu's death.

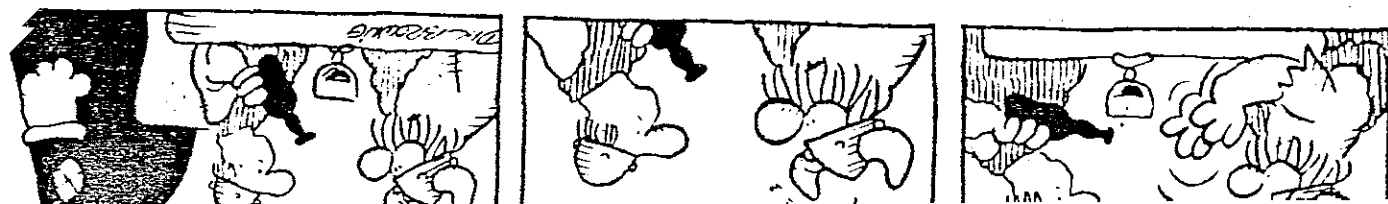
It calculated that the time it ended services to after clients, 34 percent w letters, views, home visits facts by means of in 69 000 casework ducted more t

SW 15/10/82

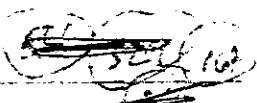
# Judge slates attitudes on rehabilitation

Reports by Trevor Jones  
Far too many people have no sympathy for the plight of offenders or their families, says Mr Justice R J Goldstone, a Rand Supreme Court judge.  
In the latest news

# Hostility to offender



Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including names like 'TREVOR JONES', 'R. J. GOLDSTONE', and other names, likely a list of contributors or a sidebar.



# Students give peace terms

Argus Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG** — The Minister of Justice Mr. Kooze's speech was greeted today at a meeting of lecturers and students at the University of the Witwatersrand as a peace could be reached.

The meeting was held in the main hall of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and was attended by about 200 students and lecturers.

The meeting was held in the main hall of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and was attended by about 200 students and lecturers.

The boycott of lectures

by the students came after the detention of two women students, Miss Manning, Miss Lina Monama and Miss Page. Miss Manning and Miss Page were released.

Miss Monama was detained in a pre-arranged room at the University of the Witwatersrand.

But when she was taken to the room, she was found by Miss Manning and Miss Page.

The boycott of lectures for the 1982-83 year

ended at President Vorster's order that the two women were released. The case being heard in court on October 20.

The President of the S.F.C. Mr. George Prinsloo, said the students had been uncooperative in the result authorities in the campus of the government and said a resolution was a victory for the students that there would be no return to classes until the two women were either charged or released.

# Is Reagan keen to run again?

Argus Correspondent

When Ronald Reagan celebrated 101<sup>st</sup> birthday as a 68-year-old man, he was confident that he would not be able to cope with the central pressures of the office in 1984.

Mr. Reagan proved however he was capable of withstanding the considerable stresses and strains of a presidential campaign — and that he is physically fit enough to cope with the office.

Now the President Reagan is a picture of good health and vigour and his mind was as sharp as any more.

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Mr. Reagan proved however he was capable of withstanding the considerable stresses and strains of a presidential campaign — and that he is physically fit enough to cope with the office.

Now the President Reagan is a picture of good health and vigour and his mind was as sharp as any more.

In fact, it is now clear that the President's health and vigour are as sharp as any more.

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It is now clear that the President's health and vigour are as sharp as any more.

# Baus bond forgery trial

Minister of Water Affairs Bryanston will answer charges of issuing forged documents and other matters.

He was charged by the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today for forgery and was not as yet in court.

Mr. Walker tried to deny the charges of the day before his court appearance in April.

Mr. Walker tried to deny the charges of the day before his court appearance in April.

# FRIDGE SAVINGS!

**24 litre REFRIGERATOR**

- Full width freezer compartment
- Planned door storage
- Large vegetable crisper
- Attractive slim design

**MONTHLY R25,20**

DEPOSIT R49,90

**CASH PRICE R499,00**

One year from Visa

### Sky mirrors to light cities

# Furore over sacked worker

SEVERAL community leaders and groups are to pressurise the founder of a candle factory in Soweto, the Reverend David Nkwe, to reinstate a worker sacked after a controversial sex scandal at the plant.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said a meeting of leaders including Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Nthatho Motlana, has been arranged for next Wednesday.

The worker, Ms Lizzy Mabaso, was allegedly fired after claims that she had turned down a senior's advances. The official, she claims, had once attempted to have sexual intercourse with her against her will and she managed to escape

during the ordeal. After the alleged attempt she was demoted and then sacked. After her expulsion workers went on strike and police had to be called to the plant.

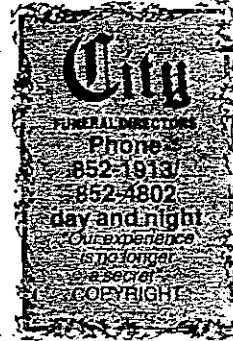
News of her sacking spread like wildfire in the area and community leaders felt they should resolve the matter by meeting the founder of the candle factory. Mr Mkhabela said Azapo had intervened in the matter because "she had asked for our help." The organisation also invited other groups and leaders.

The Reverend Nkwe denied the story. He said he could not see how such a thing could

15/10/82  
have happened without him knowing about it.

"Obviously the woman is lying," he said.

The official in question also denied the story saying they only had tea together. He said she lost her job due to poor performance.



Star 16/10/72

# Reform plan 'final plank' of apartheid'

By Eugene Saldanha

In a strongly worded attack on the Government last night, the kwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said acceptance of the new Constitutional plan would be "the final consumption of the Government's apartheid plan."

Opening the conference of the South African Black Alliance (SABA) of which he is chairman, Chief Buthelezi said acceptance of the proposals would mean agreeing to "the implementation of classical apartheid."

"The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has kept the portals of power for whites only by not actually inviting Indian and coloured people into the proposed Parliament for whites. He has, instead, created three separate chambers.

"In separating coloured people from their Indian brothers and sisters Mr P W Botha is in fact implementing apartheid ideology as prescribed by its founders."

Chief Buthelezi urged the Coloured Labour Party and the Indian Reformed Party — both members of the alliance — to consider the "dangers entailed" in accepting the proposals, "because it is not in our common interests that any of us should travel along that dangerous road."

He added that "it is not for this alliance to prescribe for our brothers in the Labour Party or in the Reform Party how they should react to Mr P W Botha's political dispensation."

But, he said, he was "duty bound to say this and leave the decision to the Labour Party and the Reform Party at its congresses, and also to the decision of other Indian and coloured organisations as people the Government is trying to induce to abandon us."

Chief Buthelezi said the alliance was committed to a negotiated future.

"We are prepared to negotiate with the Government if and when they want us to contribute concretely at such negotiations. But we have never said that we will negotiate with the Government on any terms."

He criticised The Star for "confusing issues with meaningless cliches."

Referring to an editorial where he was described as "working within the system," he said meaningless cliches of this kind spoil what could otherwise be good editorials.

"This kind of journalism clouds issues of life and death so unnecessarily by pretending that problems in South African society will be resolved by using such cliches," Chief Buthelezi said.



When  
Black  
Alliance  
will be  
ready  
to talk

*Pravda*  
16/12/82  
117

Mercury Reporter

THE SOUTH African Black Alliance was committed to meaningful negotiation and was prepared to negotiate with the South African Government 'if and when they want us to contribute concretely' Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said in Johannesburg last night.

Speaking at their conference the Chief said the reason the Alliance rejected the Black Advisory Council was because it had committed itself to a negotiated future. But it had never said it would negotiate with the Government just on any terms.

'We are not the political prostitutes which Mr P W Botha, Mr Chris Heunis and their colleagues imagine that we are. We will adhere to what our constituents want us to do', he said.

He attacked Minister Heunis for saying that 'certain blacks' who rejected the Government's constitutional proposals themselves 'worked the system'.

'Mr Heunis ought to know that I am opposed to independence for KwaZulu and will oppose it even if it costs me my life. He ought to know that my participation in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has nothing to do with any acceptance as such of separate development'.

### No influencing

By being in the Legislative Assembly he had blocked the stripping of six million black people of their South African citizenship. He did not and would never accept the Assembly as a substitute for the Government's denial to him and his people of political participation in the Legislature in Cape Town.

The Chief said he had never attempted to influence the coloureds or Indians on the constitutional proposals.

'As I see it, if these constitutional proposals are accepted we will all have reached a point of no return in the implementation of classical apartheid. It would be the same as if we decided to go the whole hog in KwaZulu and followed Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei in accepting independence so-called.

'That is the final consummation of the Nationalist Party's ideological apartheid plan. This would be the final amputation which would be irreversible if it was allowed', he said.

5/10/82  
S. Times

# America assesses impact of ANC on S Africa

117  
S/T

Sunday Times Reporter  
Washington

IN THE wake of CIA Director William Casey's unpublicised visit to South Africa last month a document has been leaked in Washington in which the CIA assesses the impact of the banned African National Congress.

The CIA assessment points to increasing polarisation within the white South African community between those who equate reform with suicide and those who consider it essential.

Military operations increased, and the ANC's appeal overcame tribal animosities even in Natal, where radical Zulu youth are abandoning Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in favour of the ANC.

## Strength

Its long-term goal is to compel Pretoria to negotiate the sharing of political power, the report says.

But the strength and determination of white South African society makes that unlikely.

Pretoria will probably respond with more repression and more military operations against ANC facilities, but the CIA warns that "US businessmen could be personally threatened, particularly if blacks believe — as many do already — that the United States tacitly supports the policies of the South African Government".

V



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E



CHIEF BUTHELEZI  
Exploitation won't pay

# Blacks boycott white bread

By TICKS CHETTY

THE black nationalist movement, Inkatha, called on its 360 000 members this week to boycott white bread in protest at price rises.

The boycott has the backing of the KwaZulu Government, which has ordered schools, hospitals and agencies under its control to abide by it.

Delegates at the Inkatha women's brigade conference in Ulundi, the government seat, unanimously approved the boycott call.

Its two main aims are to win respect for black consumers and to act as a test of black buying power.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, told the conference that commerce had to realise that exploiting black consumers would not pay in the long term.

He urged delegates to mobilise black consumer power to lighten the burden on black people.

Any action must have "a salutary effect on commerce in general," he said.

"They must have more sympathy for and learn to look after their black customers at the end of it all."

## Economic

### noose

The boycott is the first called by Inkatha.

It comes as other organisations throughout the country are planning ways to force the South African Government to reduce bread prices.

A loaf of white bread now costs 53 cents and brown bread 35 cents.

## CAPE TOWN ANSWER BOOK

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

All answer books

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Surname.....

First Name(s).....

Date.....

Degree/Diploma you are registered.....

Subject.....  
(to be copied)

Paper No.....  
(to be copied)

### NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of the block the number of the question you have answered. Blue or black ink only. Red ink is not acceptable. Red underlining is not acceptable.
2. Names must be written in full (e.g. group name, examination centre).
3. Do not write anything on the reverse of the paper.

Any dishonest answers will result in possible exclusion from the examination.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha's secretary general, said it was intended to make the campaign national by winning the support of other communities and groups, such as trade unions.

The boycott was an "educational exercise" to discipline people to buy cheaper food with the same nutritional value.

"We just cannot sit back and watch while the economic noose tightens around our people," said Dr Dhlomo.

"We have to register our protest to show those in authority just how much the spiralling food prices are affecting our people."

Chief Buthelezi, who is also KwaZulu's Chief Minister, has hinted in the past that blacks might be forced to use their economic power to gain political rights.

### 'Lead to friction'

Mrs Joy Hurwitz, president of the Housewives League of South Africa, said it was extremely difficult to get total support for a boycott of a basic food item.

"If the white bread boycott is successful, the demand for brown bread is bound to increase significantly," she said.

"And the Government subsidy for brown bread, which is much bigger now than for white bread, will have to be substantially increased."

The boycott is opposed by Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman and managing director of Pick 'n Pay, which has started its own bread subsidy scheme.

"While I respect Chief Buthelezi's right to initiate a boycott, I feel that boycotts only lead to friction and disharmony," he said.

He said he was still negotiating with the Government to reduce bread prices.

The Bread Ad hoc Committee, formed in Durban to protest against the high prices, held a conference yesterday to mark the United Nations World Food Day.

The committee's application to a Durban magistrate for permission to hold a march for cheaper bread through the streets of the city was refused this week.

No reasons were given. The committee is made up of groups including Diakonia, the Black Sash, the South African Allied Workers' Union and the African Workers' Union.

	Internal	External
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Pieces of paper or other material must be handed to the invigilator before leaving the examination room.

It is not to communicate with other candidates or any person except the invigilator.

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

Any possible exclusion from the examination will be the responsibility of the candidate.

ned Miss South Africa 1982 — her 14th and most treasured beauty title. After kissing all the judges who  
 f her the country's most beautiful girl, Sandra posed for pictures with her two princesses, Jennifer Smith,  
 left, and Kathy Goodwin. Report, page 3

# arms: eek official es action

The Greek was to take st one offi sibly others, ed the entry can military or the inter is exhibition st week, the vs reported

ument, which s unaware of sence at the xhibition till ast day, has general to in- e controver-

list admini- Mr Andreas s expelled ore the South npany could he final day, ess of its ac- barrassing to at cultivating with the Third

as News, an guage daily. ort dealer act- lf of Armscor are that the — including ery such as non — came Africa. r was identi-

fied by the newspaper as Mr Ioannis Vores.

The Athens News said the official responsible for authorizing the import of materials for the exhibition did not investigate the country of origin of Armscor.

"The employee is held responsible for this serious mistake and action against this person and others who also may be regarded as careless in the matter, is to be taken," said the newspaper.

Many observers were surprised by the Greek Government's claim that it did not know about the Armscor exhibit till last Thursday.

During the first four days of the exhibition, the Armscor men made no effort to conceal their identities — they even flew the South African flag above their stands.

Whenever the South Africans were called over the public address system, they were referred to as "Armscor of South Africa".

The Greek Ministry of Defence staged the Defendory (Defence) Expo '82. — Sapa-AP

# Row over Anne's SA 'visit'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Buckingham Palace last night said Princess Anne would go ahead with a stop-over meeting at Jan Smuts Airport next Sunday at the start of a tour of seven African countries.

The princess will spend 90 minutes at the airport next Sunday, when she will be met by representatives of the Pretoria and Johannesburg branches of the Save the Children Fund.

But a row is brewing over the visit following protests by Mr Bob Hughes, a Labour MP and chairman of the Anti-apartheid Movement.

"Children are suffering in South Africa because of the actions of the government," said Mr Hughes.



# Saba rejects constitutional proposals

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's constitutional proposals suffered another severe blow at the weekend when they were rejected by the South African Black Alliance (Saba) at a conference in Johannesburg.

Saba includes representatives of the coloured Labour Party (LP) and the Indian Reform Party (RP), both of which were being relied on heavily by the government to support the "reform" plan.

**Not binding**

Although the Saba resolution is not binding on either the LP or the RP, it is likely to strongly influence their attitudes to the proposals.

The Saba resolution said: "Saba fully reaffirms its commitment to a constitution of South Africa which allows all its citizens, irrespective of race or colour or culture or creed, to participate directly in the government of the country."

"In view of this stand, Saba is of the firm opinion that the government's

proposals as enunciated at Bicemfontein by the Prime Minister. Mr PW Botha, do not meet this commitment"

The other members of Saba are Inkatha and the Inyandza national movement of Kangwane. The body is headed by the leader of Inkatha and Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The conference also adopted a resolution rejecting "with contempt" the notion that the African National Congress and/or the Pan Africanist Congress were the sole representatives of black South Africans.

The resolution said Saba wished to inform the United Nations and the international community at large that external forces hoping to bring about change in South Africa would remain "utterly ineffective" unless supported by "well organized and disciplined internal forces".

● Support for white bread boycott, page 2

● Buthelezi warns on Nat plan, page 9

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# Spotlight on Liberace'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Liberace, undoubtedly the world's most flamboyant pianist, now faces the greatest challenge to his career over the R130-million palimony suit since he sued the Daily Mirror of Fleet Street in 1959.

For Liberace has always fiercely resisted allegations that he is homosexual, arguing that such an imputation would

seriously damage his appeal to his audiences.

Liberace, now 63, was born Wladziu Valentino Liberace, and his act has always been noted for its outrageous showmanship, the candles on the piano, the jewellery, furs and glittering costumes.

During his libel case against the Daily Mirror's famous Cassandra (William Connor), Liberace denied using his sex appeal on stage. Cassandra

had referred to Liberace as "he, she and it" and referred to him as fruit-flavoured, an Americanism meaning homosexual.

The jury agreed that Liberace had been libelled and awarded him R16 000 damages — in those days a large award.

In the new huge palimony case, claims made by the pianist's alleged former homosexual lover — fiercely denied by Liberace — go again to

the heart of that old story.

A "litigation settlement agreement and mutual release" has been signed by Mr Scott Thorson, 23, the tall blond plaintiff in the case, and by Liberace.

This followed Mr Thorson's allegation that he was forcibly evicted from the Los Angeles penthouse he shared with Liberace, with whom he claims to have had an "intimate sexual, emotional and business relation-

ship" as and cha six year

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Libera

**INSIDE**  
 The edition on the left marks the centenary year of the Newspaper Press Union

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# Shelezi warns of to way of peace

# Bread boycott support spreads

Prime Minister of Africa had... blacks formed the South African... that point of... had consult... tivity and he... his pocket their... implement the... al proposals... now expect him to... t steps during the... mentary session... t these so-called... al proposals... overnment is able... ts constitutional... gh, that will be... the strategy of... ange... cannot resist these... eid plans, we will

have been successfully flushed out of the arena of democratic opposition and the only alternative left will be violence," he said.  
The KwaZulu Chief Minister stressed that unity was the only key to a successful liberation struggle.  
Earlier the Rev Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party, an executive member of Saba, told the crowd the alliance was working towards the attainment of a non-racial society.  
The Government's constitutional proposals had suffered a severe blow earlier when they were in effect rejected by Saba at a conference in Johannesburg.  
Saba includes representa-

tives of the coloured Labour Party (LP) and the Indian Reform Party (RP) both of which were being relied on heavily by the Government to support the "reform" plan.  
Although the Saba resolution is not binding on either the LP or the RP it is likely to strongly influence their attitudes to the proposals at their respective congresses early next year.  
The Saba conference also adopted a resolution rejecting "with contempt" the notion that the African National Congress and/or the Pan Africanist Congress were the sole and authentic representatives of black South Africans.

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter  
SUPPORT for an Inkatha-initiated white bread boycott spread at the weekend, when the South African Black Alliance (SABA) conference in Johannesburg called on all blacks as well as "men and women of goodwill in the white community" to stop buying white bread.  
The call will be the first test in recent years of the ability of black consumer power on a country-wide scale to influence white political decisions. If it is successful, it could mean the start of similar campaigns to squeeze concessions from the Government.  
Inkatha resolved last week to urge its 360 000 members to boycott white bread in protest against the recent price hike.

● Picture — Page 3

## Rains relieve drought areas

Mail Reporter  
LARGE parts of the country, including several drought-stricken regions, received much-needed rain over the weekend and will continue to do so today, according to a Weather Bureau spokesman in Pretoria.  
Rain fell over the central parts of the country, mainly in the Transvaal, on Saturday. The southern Transvaal and northern Free State regions experienced the most significant falls.  
The spokesman said the highest rainfall on Saturday

— 40mm — was at Bospoort, near Potchefstroom. Potchefstroom had 22mm.  
He said heavy rains also fell over the Free State, Transvaal and northern parts of the Cape yesterday, although these falls had not yet been measured.  
It was predicted that most of the Transvaal and north-eastern parts of the country would continue to experience cloudy conditions today. These conditions may extend to the Karoo.  
Occasional rain and isolated showers are expected over Johannesburg today.

The boycott call is the first made by Inkatha and has been backed by the KwaZulu government, which has instructed schools, hospitals and other institutions under its control not to buy white bread.  
At the SABA conference on Saturday a resolution was adopted condemning the Government for not increasing the bread subsidy and calling for a boycott of white bread in favour of cheaper brown.  
SABA comprises Inkatha, the coloured Labour Party, the Indian Reform Party and the Inyandza national movement of KaNgwane.  
The latest price increase pushed the cost of a white loaf to 53 cents and that of brown to 35 cents.

## Police probe baby battering

By EMIELIA JAROSCHEK  
Crime Reporter  
A POLICE investigation has been launched into the possible battering of a two-year-old Johannesburg boy, after he underwent an emergency operation in the Johannesburg Hospital for a burst bowel.  
The boy, who may not be identified, was rushed to hospital last week after he suddenly started vomiting at his grandparents' home in Doornfontein.  
Yesterday his condition was described as stable by a hospital spokesman.  
The boy's grandmother said yesterday that

the boy was seen in perfect health last Wednesday, when she went to work and her husband went out.  
"When my husband returned, he found the boy lying on the bed vomiting."  
She said the boy had been living with them since her daughter had divorced her husband a year ago.  
She said her daughter's boyfriend and the maid were with the child after her husband went out.  
The boy allegedly suffered a burst ilium, bruises to the forehead, the right eye, right chin, buttocks and lumbar vertebrae.

was crowned Miss Goodwin.

e Pink  
nther

London's most famous landmark — Tower Bridge.



By HARRY MASHABELA and CHRIS FREIMOND

THE strategy of working for change through peaceful means would end if the Government implemented its constitutional plans, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, said yesterday.

His statement follows a rejection of the Nationalist Party's plans by the South African Black Alliance on Saturday and by the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, on Friday.

Chief Buthelezi, the chairman of Saba, told the 10 000 crowd at Jabulani Amphitheatre yesterday they had gathered at a crucial time when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, was about to implement his constitutional plans.

Those constitutional guidelines, he added, had been endorsed not only by the federal congress of the National Party but also by the four provincial congresses.

# Buthelezi warns of end to way of peace

RDM 78/10/82

None of the Prime Ministers of South Africa had, from the time of Union, ever thought that blacks formed any part of the South African nation. So from that point of view, Mr Botha had consulted his constituency and he now had in his pocket their mandate to implement the constitutional proposals.

"We can now expect him to take the first steps during the next parliamentary session to implement these so-called constitutional proposals . . .

"If the Government is able to push its constitutional plans through, that will be the end of the strategy of peaceful change.

"If we cannot resist these final apartheid plans, we will

have been successfully flushed out of the arena of democratic opposition and the only alternative left will be violence," he said.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister stressed that unity was the only key to a successful liberation struggle.

Earlier the Rev Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party, an executive member of Saba, told the crowd the alliance was working towards the attainment of a non-racial society.

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RDM 78/10/82  
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The call will be the first test in recent years of the ability of black consumer power on a country-wide scale to influence white political decisions. If it is successful, it could mean the start of similar campaigns to squeeze concessions from the Government.

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dream came true on Saturday when she was crowned Miss  
esses, Jennifer Smith, left, and Kathy Goodwin.

ra up  
ad toast

The Pink Panther

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Mail Reporter

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# Police probe baby battering

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Crime Reporter

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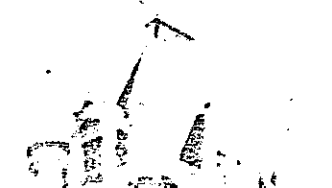
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London's most famous landmark — Tower Bridge



# Land deal aim is to 'flush out' opponents

Reports by Eugene Saldanha

The Ingwavuma - KaNgwane land deal and the Government's Constitutional proposals are an attempt to flush blacks who are opposed to the homelands policy out of South Africa, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing about 10,000 people at the Jabulani amphitheatre in Soweto at a meeting called by the South African Black Alliance (SABA), of which he is chairman, Chief Buthelezi said the Government was becoming impatient with people opposed to its apartheid plans.

"If we cannot resist these final apartheid plans of the Government, we will have been successfully 'flushed out' of the arena of democratic opposition and the only alternative left will be violence — in whatever form.

## DESPERATION

"I wish to warn today that if the South African Government persists along the road it is following via the current constitutional proposals, it will succeed only in driving black people towards desperation. If that point is reached, none of us will debate whether the armed struggle is feasible at this point in time or not," Chief Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi's speech was marked by a repeated call for unity among black organisations who are opposed to the Government.

"SABA was formed because the Labour Party, the Indian Reformed Party, Inyandza and Inkatha realised that disunity is the weakest spot in the black community of South Africa.

"Unless we realise that our problem of disunity is a result of a well-calculated strategy

## Alliance joins bread protest

The South African Black Alliance (Saba) has endorsed the call by the Inkatha Women's Brigade for a consumer boycott of white bread.

Addressing the Press at Saba's conference in Johannesburg at the weekend, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the alliance chairman, said the boycott aimed to remove white bread from the nation's tables and encourage people to use brown bread.

"The alliance calls on all men and women of goodwill from the white community to stop buying white bread to register their protest at the price increase," Chief Buthelezi said.

In a strong attack on the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, the alliance said the Bill would worsen conflict in the country.

The alliance condemned the "uprooting and forced removal of established black communities and their relocation in new areas, which can only be seen as dumping grounds where genocide is encouraged."

on the part of the oppressor, there is not much we can do to undo it," he said.

"It is not easy to withstand inculcated prejudices which we have against each other the more so because whites have managed to make us live in different worlds. We must face these facts and not pretend that we do not face a formidable task when we attempt to promote unity amongst us as blacks," Chief Buthelezi said.

He added that he had no quarrel with people who have "opted for the armed struggle."

## DISCOURAGE

"I have never seen it as my task to discourage any black South African who wishes to join our brothers in the armed struggle. My commitment to the peaceful strategy does not affect my conceding that other blacks have a right to decide for themselves which way they wish to go in fighting apartheid," he said.

Labour Party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, co-chairman of the SABA, said accusations that the alliance is "working within the system," and is therefore irrelevant, were misguided.

"SABA is moving in a direction where the black man's dreams will become a reality," Mr Hendrickse said.

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More join  
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2022 19/10/22  
boycott call

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

THE 60 000-member Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) and the 20 000 strong Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union (CCAWU) came out yesterday in support of the white bread boycott.

But a number of other unions said the issue had not yet been discussed.

The boycott call in protest against the latest price increase came last week from the 360 000-member Inkatha movement.

The call was endorsed at the weekend by the South African Black Alliance (SABA) which comprises Inkatha, the Inyandza national movement of KaNgwane, the coloured Labour Party, and the Indian Reform Party.

In a statement yesterday Cusa asked "like-minded trade unions and community organisations to support the call".

The president of CCAWU, Mr Isaac Padi, said yesterday that while the matter had not yet been discussed by the union, CCAWU would fully support the boycott call.



# Ideological links still strong

# Black unity is far from dead

It was in the hope of smothering the "Black Power" movement, as he called it, that Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger brought the iron fist of security legislation down on black organisations on October 19 1977.

For Black Consciousness it was the second severe blow in just over a month. A leading proponent of BC, Steve Bantu Biko, had died while in police detention on September 12 and the organisations were still reeling from the impact of this major loss.

However, in his "clean sweep" to quell "this lingering sort of unrest," Mr Kruger did not deal solely with BC organisations.

Among those banned were the Christian Institute headed by the Rev Beyers Naude and its publication Pro Veritate, and what was for the majority of black people the harshest blow of all — The World and Weekend World newspapers.

As South Africa's second largest daily newspaper, The World, under the editorship of Percy Qoboza had a circulation of 146 000, and was described as the safety valve for the pressure cooker of black feeling.

No other "black newspaper" before, or after, articulated the aspirations of the black community as eloquently as The World and many prominent newspapermen saw its closure as the beginning of the end for Press freedom in South Africa.

But as Joe Latakomo, news editor of The World, warned: "The newspaper has been silenced but the black

For thousands of black South Africans, October 19 signifies Black Wednesday on the calendar of Black Consciousness. It was the day, five years ago, when the State muzzled The World newspaper, swept 18 black political organisations under the carpet of banned silence, and detained 47 black leaders. But was the harsh clampdown the kiss of death for BC and black unity? Carolyn Dempster reports.



Jimmy Kruger . . . iron fist against "Black Power" movement.



Joe Latakomo . . . "black voice will still come through."

African Students' Organisation's role was assumed by Cosas, the Congress of South African Students, that of the Federation of Black Women by the Federation of South African Women.

But although the new organisations might have initially been moulded on the old, the predominantly new young leadership brought with it a vital re-examination of the political stance.

In the same way that Black Consciousness emerged to fill the

this, there was a marked divergence in the subsequent development of black political organisations.

Azapo, one of the strongest BC proponents, resolutely closes its ranks to whites — be they progressive, radical or liberal. President of Azapo, Khehla Mthembu rejects racism but says the struggle by blacks will only be won when black people identify themselves as one solid unit. "Black man you are on your own" very definitely remains the man-

with in the arena of black political activity and aspirations are the independent black trade unions, such as the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) who have also adopted a non-racial stance.

While some critics would say that this is clear evidence of a weakening of BC, it does not mean BC is a spent force. Thom Manthata, a member of the National executive of the BPC at the time of its banning and presently with the South African

vey revealed grassroots support for the ANC, which demonstrated a swing away from the pervasive dominance of BC.

The net result then of Mr Kruger's actions in 1977 could be said to be exactly the reverse of what he intended. On a primary level the leaders who were detained continued their outspoken role with renewed vigour upon release.

And second, the crackdown precipitated a solid move towards

# far from dead

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But as Joe Latakomo news editor of *The World*, warned: "The newspaper has been silenced but the black voice will still come through, first as a whisper, finally as a rumble."

In many respects it was the same with the BC organisations. Instead of creating a vacuum in black politics, as Mr Kruger had designed, the crackdown served as a catalyst for the emergence of several new dynamic organisations.

The Black People's Convention gave way to the Azanian People's Organisation, the South

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In the same way that Black Consciousness emerged to fill the black political void after the banning of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress in 1960, the 1977 crackdown stimulated a new political awareness and appraisal.

Once defined as the "cultural and political revival of an oppressed people," BC does not have the strict tenets of a narrow political discipline but remains open to interpretation.

Largely because of

this, there was a marked divergence in the subsequent development of black political organisations.

Azapo, one of the strongest BC proponents, resolutely closes its ranks to whites — be they progressive, radical or liberal. President of Azapo, Khehla Mthembu rejects racism but says the struggle by blacks will only be won when black people identify themselves as one solid unit. "Black man you are on your own" very definitely remains the maxim of Azapo in 1982 as it was in BPC in 1977.

On the other hand, organisations such as Cosas and Azaso — the Azanian Students Organisation — have adopted the Freedom Charter of 1955 as their point of departure. Both organisations espouse a more positive approach to white progressives and have been increasingly dubbed "non-racial."

The third emergent force to be contended

with in the arena of black political activity and aspirations are the independent black trade unions, such as the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) who have also adopted a non-racial stance.

While some critics would say that this is clear evidence of a weakening of BC, it does not mean BC is a spent force. Thom Mankata, a member of the National executive of the BPC at the time of its banning and presently with the South African Council of Churches, reflects that what 1977 produced was a more mature, integrated person, imbued with a political determination to strive for effective unity.

October 19 1977 also led to a resurgence in popularity of the ANC. It is no secret that organisations such as Cosas, Azaso, the Natal Indian Congress have much, ideologically, in common with the ANC, also a non-racial movement.

Last year, a Star-sur-

vey revealed grassroots support for the ANC, which demonstrated a swing away from the pervasive dominance of BC.

The net result then of Mr Kruger's actions in 1977 could be said to be exactly the reverse of what he intended. On a primary level the leaders who were detained continued their outspoken role with renewed vigour, upon release.

And second, the crackdown precipitated a solid move towards support for the banned African National Congress — regarded by the State as more dangerous than BC possibly ever was.

But it would be naive to surmise that BC is on the wane, or that the "non-racial" organisations have abandoned black consciousness. Although there may be a divergence the ideological links are still strong and the unity that BC helped to build is still there.

11A



KAMBULE: Angry with boss of Inkatha.

# WAR OF WORDS

## Chief Buthelezi may face legal action

PROMINENT educationist Mr T W Kambule is considering taking legal action against KwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The move follows remarks made by Chief Buthelezi when he addressed a public meeting in Soweto at the weekend in which he lambasted Mr Kambule for adopting a "purer than pure" attitude.

Chief Buthelezi hit out at Mr Kambule for "persistently criticising me in the Press as if I owed him something." He said Mr Kambule acted as a "tool for whites" by doing their "dirty" work.

He also attacked Mr Kambule for leaving the country for Swaziland in the 1960s because he would not teach Bantu Education. Mr Kambule, he said, had returned to teach the same education until he left after the 1976 riots for a post at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"The remarks came as a shock to me. I do not

remember any time in my life criticising him (Chief Buthelezi). At the moment I am trying to get in touch with his office to get clarification on the matter. If it does not come, and instances are not cited, I will definitely take legal steps," Mr Kambule said.

He added: "Some people are trying to get attention, and they are doing it the wrong way. Maybe he meant another Kambule and not me."

In his address, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Kambule had refused to share a platform "with homeland leaders" at a Polstu conference in Pretoria last month.

"I cannot run away from the struggle being waged by blacks in South Africa by having a short spell in Swaziland as Mr Kambule did, and then return here to do exactly what he said he was running away from," he said.



ATTACK: Chief Buthelezi lashed Kambule.

## Evaton rumbles

MORE than 500 Evaton residents have strongly condemned the Evaton Community Council for increasing water tariffs by R3,50.

At a meeting called by the Evaton Ratepayers' Association (Era) at the Roman Catholic church in Evaton at the weekend, speaker after speaker attacked the increases which come into effect on November 1.

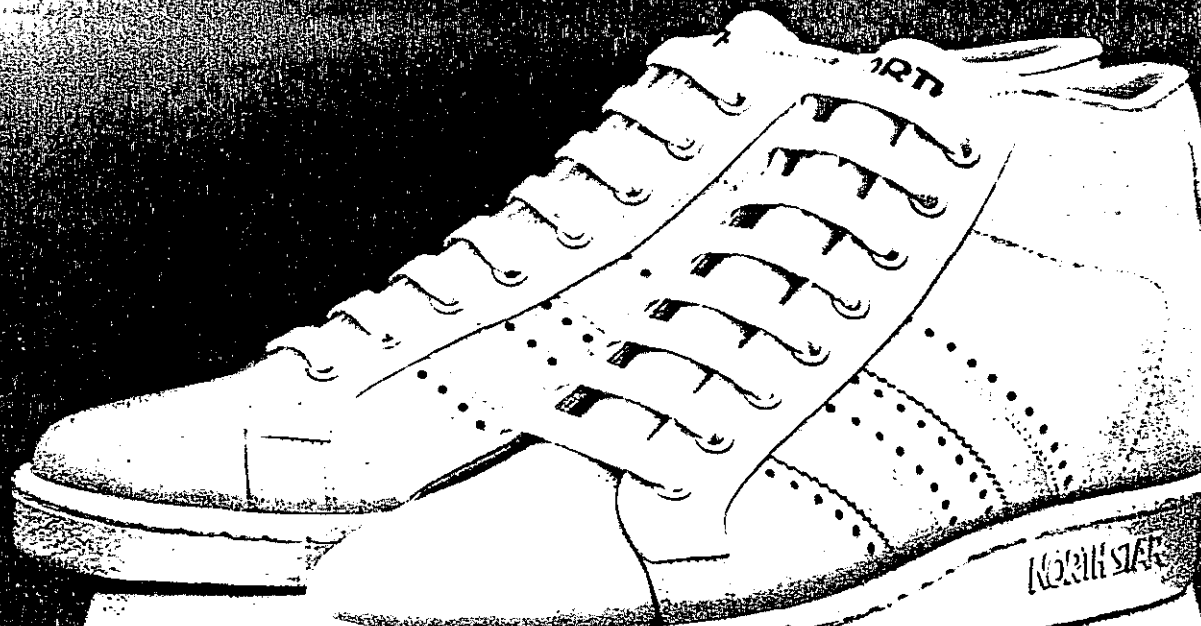
The chairman of Era, Mr Caswell Kabi, said sub-tenants will have to fend for themselves and pay for their own water.

## Steyn admits problem

By STANLEY MHLONGO

SCHOOL facilities are inadequate and the platoon system is still operating at certain primary schools to provide the necessary accommodation for the large number of pupils enrolled in the Vaal Triangle, says the new Minister of Education and Training, Mr Danie Steyn.

Officially opening 27 schools in the Sebokeng-Evaton area at the



CAPL Times 21/10/82

# SA-linked spy case: 3rd man re-arrested

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Edward Aspinall, the third man in an alleged South African-linked spying case in London, has been arrested.

Mr Aspinall, 23, who jumped bail a month ago after being charged with burglary at black "liberation group offices in London, is now in the custody of Scotland Yard's anti-terrorist branch

Liverpool-born Mr Aspinall, a short, blond man, was "picked up in the street" according to police sources and made two brief appearances yesterday in London's Marylebone Road Court.

The Marylebone Court magistrate initially jailed him for one week for estreating bail.

## 'No jurisdiction'

But he was brought back into court when it was learned the Marylebone magistrate had no jurisdiction in the case.

He was then placed in the custody of Detective Chief Inspector Hilton Cole of the anti-terrorist branch to appear today at the nearby Horseferry Road Court together with two other men charged in connection with the case.

Mr Aspinall, wearing rough clothes, refused to give any explanation when the magistrate asked why he had jumped bail last month.

He will now appear on remand today with Swedish "freelance journalist" Bertil Wedin, 41, and British-born Peter Caselton, 38, a former Rhodesian commercial pilot. Mr Wedin and Mr Caselton are charged with dishonestly handling documents stolen from the ANC and Swapo offices.

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Star 21/10/82

# Court told of Aspinal's flight to Holland

The Star Bureau

LONDON — London magistrates heard today about life on the run for Mr Edward Aspinal (23), the man charged with breaking into the offices here of the ANC and Swapo earlier this year.

Mr Aspinal, who appeared in the Horseferry Road Magistrate's Court was recaptured in Paddington last

Tuesday after jumping bail more than a month ago.

The court heard that:

- He had gone to Holland on a false passport.
- He was arrested in Holland for trying to steal a car.
- Dutch police deported him under his false name.
- He remained at

large for some time after returning to Britain.

The investigating officer, Detective Chief Inspector Hilton Cole, told the court Mr Aspinal "was given assistance to leave the country on false documents."

Mr Aspinal, a short man with thinning, light brown hair, appeared in the dock

wearing blue denim jeans and a blue bomber jacket.

He did not acknowledge the two men in the dock with him — former Zimbabwe pilot Mr Peter Caselton (38) and Swedish freelance journalist Mr Bertil Wedin (42) — who are charged with dishonestly handling documents stolen from the ANC and Swapo and with

conspiracy to burglarise. Mr Aspinal, who was remanded, was granted legal aid. The case was adjourned until next Thursday.

Police sources said Mr Aspinal had been given a bogus British passport to make his escape to Holland. His recapture was something of a fluke. He was recognised and arrested by police at a roadblock for a different case.

120m 21/10/78 2

# Missing man in spy case arrested

London Bureau

LONDON. — Mr Edward Aspinall, the third man in an alleged South African-linked spying case, has been arrested.

Mr Aspinall, 23, who jumped bail a month ago after being charged with burglary at black political group offices in London, is now in the custody of the police anti-terrorist branch.

A fortnight ago the anti-terrorist branch said in court they feared that unnamed "friends" of Mr Aspinall may have helped him escape from the country.

Police sources had also laid red herrings, suggesting Mr Aspinall could have been killed to silence him or that he had been deliberately allowed to jump bail so he could be put under surveillance.

Liverpool-born Mr Aspinall was "picked up in the street", according to police, and made two brief appearances yesterday in London's Marlylebone Road Court.

He will appear on remand today with Swedish "freelance journalist" Mr Bertil Wedin, 41, and British-born former Rhodesian commercial pilot Mr Peter Caselton, 38.

Mr Wedin and Mr Caselton are charged with dishonestly handling documents stolen from the ANC and Swapo offices.

They are also faced with far more serious charges of conspiracy to burgle the ANC, Swapo and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) offices in London, among other premises.

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**O**N our political calendar October 19 is a particularly grim anniversary, and this year it was even more bleak than usual. For in the wake of the Rabie report, and with the revised security legislation already on the book, it must now be clear that a major opportunity has been lost to introduce at least some effective control mechanisms to the heart of our security system: the practice of detention without trial.

Lest we forget, the reports on the Aggett inquest keep on reminding us of the continuing and aggravating presence of this running sore in our polity. In 1977 the overwhelming outrage at what was revealed by the Biko inquest at least held out the hope of reform, if only to prevent another Biko scandal. Today, if truth be told, we no longer have even that comfort. How has this come about?

In many ways the bannings of October 19, 1977, following on the death of Steve Biko, brought about the end of an era. Looking back today we can see something of the force as well as the limitations and unintended consequences of such drastic security actions.

The bannings were primarily intended to bring to an end the protracted period of civil turmoil which had swept the country since the Soweto schoolchildren first started marching in June 1976. Whether it succeeded in this objective is very much a moot point: by early 1978 the situation in black townships and schools had indeed been more or less "normalised", but this might well have happened in any case.

What is clear is that by playing this coercive trump card the Government also effected other changes in the orientation of black politics which it could hardly have had in mind.

The early 1970s had been marked by a significant resurgence of internal and public political activity among blacks. Chief Gatsha Buthezi skilfully managed to turn the Government's homelands policy to different purposes and pioneered a controversial policy of collaborative opposition. In the urban communities the black consciousness movement took the lead in propagating a new mode of militant political awareness, and spawned organised involvement in a variety of fields: there was talk of a "black renaissance".

What is more, it seemed that the South African polity could to some extent accommodate such developments as legitimate politics. No doubt blacks still had to operate under severely restrictive conditions: BC activities were constant objects of security actions, many leaders were banned or, like the SASO leadership in 1974, brought to trial. Neverthe-

# Biko's spectre still looms large

12/10/77



Professor **ANDRE DU TOIT**, associate professor of political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, says that Biko, Aggett and all the others will continue to haunt us for a long time.



STEVE BIKO

appear that the ANC, which had been banned, crushed and driven into exile by the security clampdown following Sharpeville, had been the major beneficiary of the renewed security clampdown of October 1977.

Certainly the ANC has made a considerable comeback internally in the years since 1978. The drastic security actions may thus have served mainly to divert the more militant forms of opposition and resistance from internal organisations in the

and charged with a comprehensive investigation of security legislation. It was widely expected that the commission would deal with the system of detention without trial as a first priority.

Such expectations have been gravely disappointed. The Rabie Commission reported at the beginning of the year when Biko was already a fading memory, and it did not primarily concern itself with the ways and means of preventing abuses of the security system. Like the Steyn Commission it saw its task rather in the context of the "total onslaught".

Compared to the loose rhetoric and embarrassing gaffes of the Steyn report, the Rabie report appeared a model of competent workmanship and, unlike the recommendations of the Steyn report, its proposals, which involved a general consolidation of security legislation with a number of technical improvements, soon found their way onto the statute book. But it entirely avoided grappling with the central issue of detention without trial, a fact brought home by the news of the death in detention of Dr Neil Aggett within days of the report's release.

We have come a considerable way since October 1977. Opposition to detention without trial is today organised in bodies like the Lawyers for Human Rights or the Detainees Parents Support Committee. At least in these circles the issues are better understood, and there are quite specific proposals about what need to be done. But these pressure groups do not seem to have much impact at all.

The Aggett inquest seems to excite very little concern among the public at large: Its impact certainly cannot be compared with that of the Biko inquest. No less a body than TUCSA publicly qualified its concern with the fate of detainees without trial. In spite of considerable pres-

of October 19, 1977, following the death of Steve Biko, brought about the end of an era. Looking back today we can see something of the force as well as the limitations and unintended consequences of such drastic security actions.

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The early 1970s had been marked by a significant resurgence of internal and public political activity among blacks. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi skilfully managed to turn the Government's homelands policy to different purposes and pioneered a controversial policy of collaborative opposition. In the urban communities the black consciousness movement took the lead in propagating a new mode of militant political awareness, and spawned organised involvement in a variety of fields: there was talk of a "black renaissance".

What is more, it seemed that the South African polity could to some extent accommodate such developments as legitimate politics. No doubt blacks still had to operate under severely restrictive conditions: BC activities were constant objects of security actions, many leaders were banned or, like the SASO leadership in 1974, brought to trial. Nevertheless, the black consciousness movement succeeded in maintaining a public and legitimate presence in the political arena.

With The World, urban blacks also found an articulate and increasingly effective public voice. Moreover at least some whites like Beyers Naudé and Donald Woods found sufficient common ground to give active and public support to these new black aspirations and claims. All this was shattered by the bannings on October 19, 1977, of SASO, the BPC and other major black consciousness organisations, as well as The World and the Christian Institute.

Black consciousness as a general orientation could not be banned by Government decree, of course, and soon new organisations such as Azapo was formed — but black consciousness no longer was the vital and public political force it had once been on the internal scene.

Nor could all forms of black political militancy simply be stamped out. They were forced into different channels. In a neat twist of historical irony it would ap-

Professor ANDRE DU TOIT, associate professor of political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, says that Biko, Aggett and all the others will continue to haunt us for a long time.



STEVE BIKO

pear that the ANC, which had been banned, crushed and driven into exile by the security clampdown following Sharpeville, had been the major beneficiary of the renewed security clampdown of October 1977.

Certainly the ANC has made a considerable comeback internally in the years since 1978. The drastic security actions may thus have served mainly to divert the more militant forms of opposition and resistance from internal organisations in the public arena to underground exile movements. As Israel has been discovering recently in Lebanon, the ability to impose coercive might effectively on a chosen target may yet unleash all sorts of new and more potent forces elsewhere.

A far-sighted observer might have predicted as much at the time. But in October 1977 he would have some reason to think that our security system, or at least the practice of detention without trial, was itself due to be revised. Surely the trauma of the Biko inquest, and its international repercussions, had to have some effect. At the very least the Government had a clear interest in taking the steps needed to ensure that this sort of thing did not happen again.

For a while it seemed that these expectations would be borne out. From mid 1978, for a period of more than three years, there were no further deaths in detention. In June 1978 the Minister appointed special inspectors who were to visit detainees under the crucial Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. In 1979 the Rabie Commission was appointed

charged with a comprehensive investigation of security legislation. It was widely expected that the commission would deal with the system of detention without trial as a first priority.

Such expectations have been gravely disappointed. The Rabie Commission reported at the beginning of the year when Biko was already a fading memory, and it did not primarily concern itself with the ways and means of preventing abuses of the security system. Like the Steyn Commission it saw its task rather in the context of the "total onslaught".

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We have come a considerable way since October 1977. Opposition to detention without trial is today organised in bodies like the Lawyers for Human Rights or the Detainees Parents Support Committee. At least in these circles the issues are better understood, and there are quite specific proposals about what need to be done. But these pressure groups do not seem to have much impact at all.

The Aggett inquest seems to excite very little concern among the public at large. Its impact certainly cannot be compared with that of the Biko inquest. No less a body than TUCSA publicly qualified its concern with the fate of detainees without trial. In spite of considerable pressure Breyten Breytenbach was not released, presumably with a view to the political climate, and we shall soon know whether the ban on Beyers Naudé will be renewed.

Meanwhile the Government is steadily imposing more restrictions on information regarding security matters, and preparing the way to cut off the financial support for extended defence at political trials at source, while disquietening reports circulate that we may be involved in all sorts of "destabilising" projects throughout the sub-continent.

In October 1982 we must face up to the implications of the fact that the Rabie Commission did not grasp the nettle of detention without trial. Whether this failure was due to a defect of will or vision on the part of the Commission or more generally of Mr P W Botha's government, or simply to the political clout of the security forces does not really matter. The point quite simply is that Biko, Aggett and all the others will continue to haunt us for a long time.



# 3 in court over ANC and Swapo burglaries

28/10/22  
1/17

By BRUCE STEPHENSON  
London Bureau

LONDON. — The three men charged with conspiracy and breaking into the London offices of exile black nationalist groups are expected to be committed next week for trial at the Old Bailey.

Swedish "freelance journalist" Mr Bertil Wedin, 41, British-born former Rhodesian pilot Mr Peter Caselton, 38, both charged with conspiring to break into the Swapo, ANC and PAC offices and dishonestly handling stolen documents, and small-time burglar Mr Edward Aspinall, 23, charged with burglary, appeared in Horseferry Road Magistrate's Court yesterday for formal remand.

The head of the anti-terrorist squad, Detective-Inspector Hilton Coles, told the court Mr Aspinall had travelled to Holland on a false passport after jumping bail.

He had been caught there by the Dutch police in the act of stealing a car and sent back to Britain.

British police had alerted exit and entry points in this country after he disappeared last month, but they did not know he had been

sent back because he was using a false identity.

He was arrested in Paddington, London, on Tuesday night when he was a passenger in a car which was stopped at a road block set up for other purposes.

Scotland Yard issued a warrant for his arrest after he jumped bail, and he was apparently recognised by police manning the road block.

Mr Aspinall, a small, unkempt figure in blue jeans and a blue lumberjacket, did not speak in court yesterday. There was no application for bail by his counsel, Mr Michael Romain.

Both Mr Aspinall and Mr Caselton are being held in custody for fear they would try to leave the country. Mr Wedin is on strict bail.

The crown will ask for committal to trial next week.

Three weeks ago, a representative of the Director of Public Prosecutions told the court the robberies were "more than petty pilfering" and involved "intelligence gathering operations which could have wide international implications."

dent homelands next month) Saba condemned government's attempt to establish a confederation of states in SA "which is seen as furthering the entrenchment of the policy of apartheid."

Made up of KwaZulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, the coloured Labour Party (LP) under the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, Yelman Chinsamy's Indian Reform Party (RP), and the KaNgwane-based Inyandza Movement, Saba is a moderate grouping committed to peaceful change. It is, however, "greatly disturbed by the fact that violence is being more and more seen as a solution to the problems of SA and that violence is also seen as a means of entrenching the *status quo*."

So while Saba commended the ANC for "sterling" work in the international diplomatic arena in highlighting the plight of black people in SA, it "rejects with contempt the notion that the external mission of the ANC or PAC in exile are the sole and authentic representatives of millions of oppressed black South Africans who are fighting inside the country for the liberation of the masses."

Saba's stand on the mooted constitutional changes would appear to have forced the hands of its coloured and Indian members despite falling short of outright rejection. Chinsamy tells the *FM* it puts the LP and RP in a difficult position, although he feels

the proposals are "morally and in principle not in the best interests of Indians."

Exclusion of the black majority and government's "bold statement that it is not prepared to repeal all discriminatory laws," add to Chinsamy's difficulties. However, Buthelezi, senior partner in Saba, has not prescribed to either party whether or not to reject the tricameral system for whites, coloureds and Indians. The RP is due to give "serious consideration" to these matters at a conference at the end of November. Labour, likewise, early in the new year, by which time unequivocal positions should have emerged.

## SA BLACK ALLIANCE

### Drawing the lines

FM 22/10/82

Resolutions of the SA Black Alliance (Saba) summit meeting in Johannesburg last weekend hit at Pretoria's planned new constitutional deal.

Saba reaffirmed its commitment to a SA constitution "which allows all its citizens irrespective of race, colour, culture or creed to participate directly in the government of the country."

Further (with an eye on PM P W Botha's "confederation" summit with the indepen-

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11A 10/12/82

# World condemns Maseru

WASHINGTON — With the White House and the United States State Department deploring South Africa's raid into Lesotho, critics of the Reagan Administration have seen the attack as yet another failure of the policy of constructive engagement with South Africa.

Congressman Howard Wolpe, chief critic of the South Africa policy in the House of Representatives, and chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa,

was scathing in his denunciation of the action.

He described it as "yet another example of the extraordinary arrogance of the South African regime."

Mr Wolpe, a Democrat from Michigan who this week presided over a congressional hearing on South Africa's alleged campaign of destabilisation in Southern Africa, said the raid showed South Africa was the principal destabiliser.

Both the State De-

partment and the White House made statements on the raid.

A State Department spokesman said: "The United States deplors the South African attack into a neighbouring country, and especially the tragic loss of innocent life that occurred."

A statement by President Reagan's Deputy Press Secretary, Mr Larry Speakes, was couched in similar terms.

The State Department spokesman and

Mr Speakes said the Administration's attitude would be raised with the South African Government, but it was not clear in what form this would be done.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, also condemned the raid.

He said he was appalled by the loss of innocent lives and viewed the attack as a grave violation of the UN Charter.

News of the raid came as the General

Assembly was voting on draft resolutions aimed at imposing comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

Many nations took the opportunity to condemn the raid when explaining how they would vote. The European Economic Community said the 10 member nations "strongly condemn this flagrant violation" of Lesotho's territorial integrity.

In Paris a French Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed

## We'd do it again, Steyn tells UK

By Jean-Jacques Cornish of The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain's condemnation of the South African strike into Lesotho was as strong as its attack on the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.

South Africa's ambassador in London, Mr

Marais Steyn, was summoned to the Foreign Office yesterday to be told of Britain's "strong disapproval of the unjustified violation of the territorial integrity of a fellow member of the Commonwealth."

The Foreign Office Minister, Mr Cranley

Onslow, who delivered the dressing down, made it clear to Mr Steyn that the raid was seen in such a serious light in Whitehall because it was carried out against one of Britain's Commonwealth partners.

Mr Onslow called on the South African

Government to desist from such attacks and urged restraint "in the interests of peace in southern Africa."

Mr Steyn put on a brave face to reporters after his encounter. "I was not uncomfortable," he said. "There was straight talk, but I didn't break out in

tears." The ambassador rocked British correspondents with his assertion that if the "survival of lives depends upon it we will probably do it again."

While the raid itself had been successful, he insisted, it had not rooted out the "terrorists" the South African forces were aimed at.

Mr Steyn would not comment on his meeting with Mr Onslow. But he attacked what he termed the one-sided condemnation of violence in southern Africa by the Western world generally.

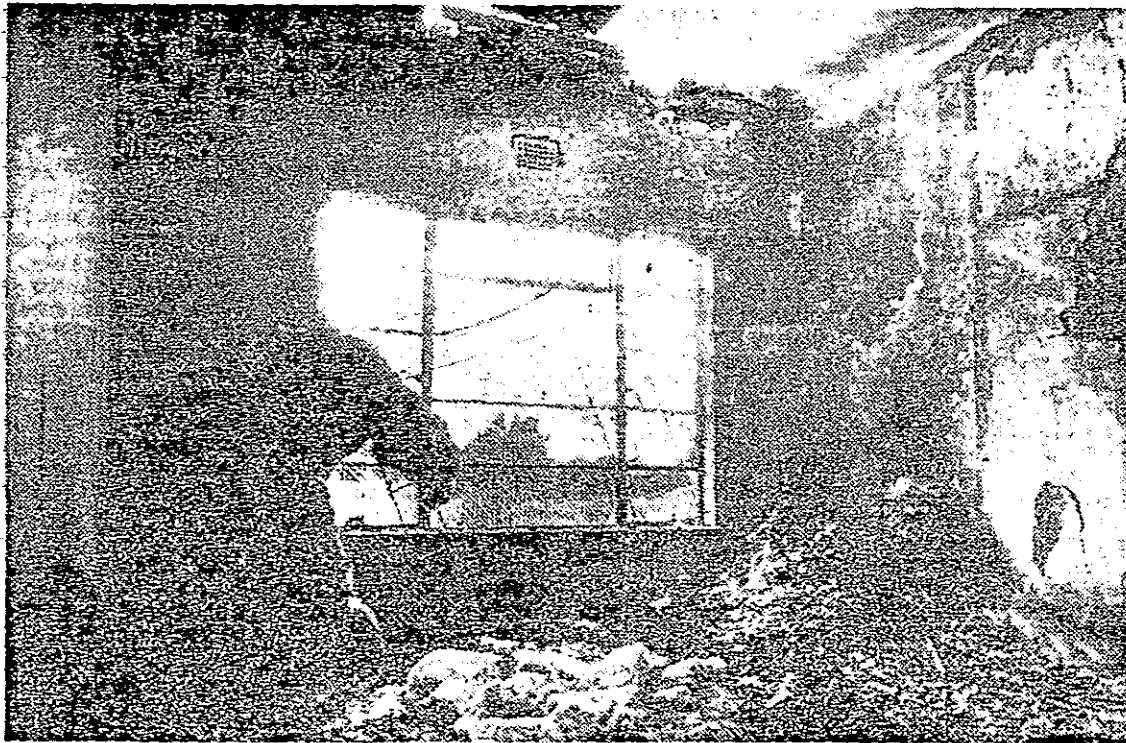
"Violence takes place all the time against us. But there is not a murmur," he said.

"The violence committed against us is hardly reported and never criticised."

His interview with Mr Onslow came after an earlier call at the Foreign Office by the Lesotho High Commissioner here, Mr Joseph Mollo.

Mr Mollo gave a full account of the raid and, according to a Foreign Office spokesman, denied the existence of any ANC bases in Lesotho.

Mr Mollo asked for Britain's understanding and support.



The wrecked bedroom of top ANC man Mr. Temi Hani's house in Maseru after the SADF attack early yesterday. Mr Hani was not at home at the time of the raid. Pictures by Clive Lloyd.

their grand designs, buses thrive on oil. How much of the fuel the rest of us will be forced to conserve is then simply going to be burnt on the altar of grand apartheid?



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# Azapo 'no' to Ellis Park as black venue

By Maud Motanyane  
Some black community leaders have ruled out Ellis Park Stadium in Johannesburg as a venue for soccer matches and other black events.

This follows a call by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) this week that the stadium, and other white-area venues, be boycotted by the black community.

The boycott call also comes on the eve of the major soccer match tomorrow at Ellis Park between Pirates and Chiefs. The game, however, is unlikely to be affected at this late stage.

The "Superstar Music Celebration," a festival planned for Ellis Park on November 20 is in jeopardy as a result of the boycott, and the promoters have held closed-door meetings with Azapo in a bid to reach a compromise.

Azapo announced today that they had approached several sports clubs "who understand our point of view."

The publicity secretary for Azapo, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said

club officials had shown an understanding and positive attitude towards Azapo's stance.

"They accept our stand and the full implication of playing at Ellis Park for the millions of black soccer fans in light of the current situation in this country," Mr Mkhabela said.

An executive member of the Soweto Committee of 10, Mr Leonard Mosala, said Azapo's stand represented both the black national stand and the reality of the sports situation in South Africa.

"It is about time that our clubs realised they should make use of the power they wield to bring about changes," Mr Mosala said.

Former president of the Transvaal Cricket Board, Dr A B Asvat, said the stadium is becoming a white elephant because of financial problems "and now whites are calling on blacks to rescue them."

"Until such times as the permit system is done away with we should not use venues like Ellis Park or the Rand Stadium."

General van Niekerk said the SADF realised it would be more satisfactory to have a large permanent force than rely on conscripts, but South Africa could not afford this at this stage.

If the country were to spend so much money on a permanent force, there would be nothing for other national needs.

The SADF had appointed a Director of Women's Affairs, whose job was to find ways and areas in which to employ women.

Sapa reports that Mr J A Whysall of the Durban Chamber of Commerce reported a Durban parabat unit was called up for five days recently to help officers organise a target shoot — and when rain kept away some participants, they were ordered to take part themselves at a cost of R10 each.

Mr Whysall said one of the men told him they received only three meals in the five days. For the rest they had to provide their own food.

General van Niekerk said the SADF realised it would be more satisfactory to have a large permanent force than rely on conscripts, but South Africa could not afford this at this stage.

## TELEVISION

Today, the SABC would not reveal whether the match, which is expected to draw an estimated 60 000 fans, will be televised live.

Public relations officer Mr Hans Greyling said: "I cannot say whether the match will be shown because we have a special agreement with the NPSL embargo on all arrangements regarding live televising matches."

Whether the cameras are there is immaterial to the township fan. To him, personal support of the club, dressed in his club colours, is the important thing. And so a crowd that even a rugger Currie Cup fan cannot draw, will make their way to the ground.

● See Back Page

## Freak shot kills girl

East Rand Bureau

A Benoni teenager died last night after being accidentally shot in the stomach.

Police said Hailey Davidow (14) of Cypress Street, Northmead, arrived home with her parent about 11.45 pm.

Her father, Mr David Davidow, apparently dropped his revolver as he opened the front door.

A shot went off and Hailey was wounded in the stomach. She died in Boksburg / Benoni Hospital.

## New move in church unity bid

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Unity between most of the major Protestant churches took another step forward yesterday when the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, now meeting here, accepted the latest draft of the planned covenant between the churches.

Crucial to their decision was a motion rescinding a 1975 resolution that bishops would not form part of the structure of the united church.

The decision of the

## Today in The Star



### NGK rejects racialism

The Ned Geref Kerk has rejected racialism as sinful. Dr Pierre Rossouw, church chief executive and information officer, proposed a motion that racialism be rejected by the general synod as "unscriptural and sinful." The motion was quickly accepted without debate. See Page 7 for the Synod's decision on its continued membership of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

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## Blacks unite in sports row

By Tyrone August

A group of community organisations, trade unions and student bodies has strongly condemned the advertisement in a Sunday newspaper which attacked the South African Council of Sport (Sacos).

The advertisement, which was placed by the South African National Olympic Committee (Sanoc), was published on October 17.

Azapo, the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee, Azapo, Cape, the

# Govt plan 'recipe for violence' Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN 23/10/82

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3004  
"watch his tongue"

## Political Staff

THE Kwazulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has attacked the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, and repeated his warning that the government's constitutional plan was a "recipe for violence".

"Anyone who has anything between his two ears would know that this plan is nothing more than a recipe for violence," he said in a statement.

"I have a duty to warn the people of South Africa as to where the present government is leading them with its half-baked plans.

## 'Millions voiceless'

"I speak for millions of black people who are voiceless and I will continue doing so as long as there is life in me," he said.

Chief Buthelezi slapped down the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, for interpreting his remarks to the Black Alliance conference last weekend as a threat, and accused him of a "lack of manners" for telling him (Chief Buthelezi) to

"watch his tongue"

Chief Buthelezi also crossed swords with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, who this week questioned the right of black leaders — who owed their positions to a dispensation created under National Party rule — to "advise and threaten" others against participation in the new constitutional set-up.

## Black Alliance

Mr Heunis's remarks were seen as a clear reference to Chief Buthelezi, who told a conference of the Black Alliance that the last chance of peace would be removed if the government proceeded to implement its present constitutional plan.

Chief Buthelezi was responding to remarks by

Mr Le Grange at an election meeting in Vrededorp and comments by Mr Heunis at a lunch-hour election meeting in Stellenbosch.

Mr Le Grange warned Chief Buthelezi that the government would not be threatened with violence over the country's consti-

tutional development.

He said Chief Buthelezi should be more careful with his utterances and should "guard his tongue".

The government would not allow itself to be blackmailed by threats that the last chance of peace in South Africa would be wrecked if the government's constitutional proposals were implemented.

## 'Buffer'

Chief Buthelezi said last night he would be surprised if coloureds and Indians took it upon themselves to "be a buffer between us as the oppressed, and the oppressors".

Replying to Mr Heunis, Chief Buthelezi said the reason the various agents of the government had been unable to topple him was that his leadership position in Kwazulu had not been created by the National Party or its policies.

"If Mr Heunis was referring to me he must need a psychiatrist to bring him round to reality," Chief Buthelezi said.

# NGK Synod supports Mixed Marriages Act

CAPE TIMES 23/10/82

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CAPE TIMES 23/10/82  
to 48  
Broeders

PIA

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The General Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) yesterday voted overwhelmingly in favour of the retention of the Mixed Marriages and the Immorality Acts.

The decision was taken after a lengthy, heated debate in which a verligte theologian, Professor Johan Heyns, urged the Synod to declare that the Immorality Act could not be justified by scripture and that the two Acts were in fact, "immoral."

Professor Heyns said at the outset of the debate that if the Synod was at all serious in providing concrete evidence of their stated declaration that "all racism" was sinful, "it now has to take a prophetic stand and tell the State the Immorality Act is unscriptural".

The vote — in which

only a handful of delegates supported Professor Heyns — was described later as a "crushing blow for the verligtes".

That proposal formed a minority report by one of the church's commissions. The majority report said, "In the light of the complex South African society, the Mixed Marriages Act is justified."

Stellenbosch academic Professor Willie Jonker who was party to the minority report, said: "The essence of marriage is that people should be free to choose a partner. Such choice is made according to God's plan and the authorities have no right to interfere."

Professor Heyns made a stirring appeal to the meeting to accept the minority report because, he said, the Immorality Act contained a "discriminatory element which we have already declared sinful".

Right-wing Dr Hennie Senekal from Bronkhorstspuit said he had studied the Bible and had come under the impression that God was also "The Big Divider."

"It is not his plan to let the different peoples of the world be forged into a physical unity," Dr Senekal said. He later said he was "jubilant" at the outcome of the debate.

"It was a definite crush for the verligte element in the NGK," he said.

Professor Heyns said afterwards that he was deeply distressed by the Synod decision. The NGK was becoming "totally irrelevant with regard social questions in South Africa", he said.

A former cabinet minister, Mr Theo Gerdener, asked that it be noted in the minutes that he supported the minority proposal.

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The General Synod of the Ned Geref Kerk yesterday called on the Broederbond to reconsider the veil of secrecy surrounding membership of the elite Afrikaner society.

The resolution was passed after a heated debate which saw Broeder and non-Broeder dominees angrily admonishing each other.

Pro-Broeders urged against calling for "relinquishing the secretive nature of the organization", but others said much distrust had been caused in the NGK ranks by the Broederbond.

The Rev Mieder Olivier said the "cream of our nation" were Broeders. The synod had to be thankful for the role the society had played in Afrikaner cultural life through the years.

Professor Dawid de Villiers from Stellenbosch said the society had been the reason for much tension in the NGK.

The synod decided that NGK members who were not Broeders should not doubt the integrity of Broeder NGK members. But, "in the light of the difficult epoch we are in", the society was asked to pay serious attention to whether it should not relinquish its secrecy.

# Treason: ANC member guilty

CAPE TIMES 23/10/82

114

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Suzman Nkopane Mokoena, 22, was found guilty in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday of high treason.

No relatives or friends were in the court as Mr Justice Van der Walt gave judgment. Mokoena, a lone figure in the witness box, listened attentively.

Sentence was postponed to Monday, when the defence will call a witness to give evidence in mitigation. Mokoena, of Soweto, pleaded not guilty to high treason and to charges under the Terrorism Act.

The court found he had conspired with other people to overthrow or endanger the security of the State and that he had failed to report the conspiracy.

## Established an arsenal

Other findings were that he had furthered the aims of the African National Congress, had undergone military training abroad, had established an arsenal at Garankuwa, sabotaged the Rosslyn electric sub-station, and had planned to sabotage the Waltloo petrol depot and the Eerstefabriek railway line near Mamelodi.

In his summing up, the judge said Mokoena had admitted before a magistrate to being a member of the ANC and to undergoing military training outside the country to return and sabotage various installations.

He had also been seen in training camps in Maputo and Swaziland. "It is apparent that the accused left the country towards the end of November, 1976. On his own admission he received military training in Botswana, Swaziland and in Mozambique," the judge said.

The accused had been a member of the Gebuza Machinery whose members had infiltrated into the country from Mozambique.

Although Mokoena had not taken part in the actual attack on the Rosslyn sub-station because he had been ill, he was the member of the group of five assigned to carry out the mission.

Star 26/10/82

# US honour for Aggett, Buthelezi

The Star Bureau  
WASHINGTON — Dr Neil Aggett, who died in detention in South Africa in February, and the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Gatscha Buthelezi, will be honoured here tonight by the biggest trade union organisation in the United States.

They share the George Meany Human Rights Award presented annually by the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations.

An AFLCIO spokesman said today the award was presented to one or more individuals who exemplified the struggle for human rights to which the late labour leader Mr George Meany had devoted his life.

Dr Aggett and Chief Buthelezi were chosen in recognition of their advocacy of black rights in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi has come to Washington to receive his award. Dr Aggett's will be received by his father and his sister, Mrs Jill Burger.

The award consists of a silver medallion and R5 200.

Mr Aggett said today he had been deeply touched by the kindness and the consideration shown to him and his daughter by people he had met here.

Unless otherwise stated, all political reports in The Star by P Sullivan of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg, A H G Wentzel, F 5 Esterhuysen and L Parker of 127 St George's Street, Cape Town, B Cameron of 85 Field Street, Durban, and L H Marshall of 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria. Cartoons by A Berry, D Fedler and K Smith of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg, and J Leyden and G Muller of 85 Field Street, Durban. Headlines and posters by Johan de Villiers, and political comment by H W Tyson of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

# Call for federal black rule backed

AGUS  
26/10/82

11A

LUSIKISIKI. — The State President of Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, today supported a proposal of a federal government for Southern African black states made up of independent and non-independent states and representatives of urban blacks.

Speaking at Transkei's sixth anniversary celebrations at Lusikisiki, Chief Matanzima gave his unqualified support to the Lebowa leader, Dr Cedric Phatudi's proposal of a federal government.

He said this was his reaction to the exclusion of blacks from South Africa's proposed white, coloured and Indian parliament.

## HEADQUARTERS

He said the federal government should have its headquarters at Thaba Nchu in Bophutatswana, which was central to all black states and the major towns.

"This federal parliament will call upon the white, coloured and Indian parliament to divide the land and towns equitably for occupation by blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians in eternal peace.

"The black federal parliament can deal with matters of finance, foreign affairs and defence. Dr Phatudi should summon a conference of black states and towns' accredited leaders ... to meet somewhere in Bophutatswana.

## DIGNITY

"This is the only way in which we can restore our lost dignity as a nation. I leave it to black Southern Africa to study the pros and cons of this proposal and determine it for what it is worth.

"A committee will have to be appointed by the inaugural conference to draft the federal constitution which will be approved by the conference."

Regarding international recognition by the UN, he said this was immaterial to Transkeians and would not affect their determination to forge ahead with development.

"Our destiny rests entirely on the strength of our internal peace and resolution to work hard. No country has ever succeeded in its administration by depending on handouts, we do not want anything for nothing." — Sapa.



# Black parliament

# proposed

*Debuskabel  
27/10/82*

*(Handwritten marks)*

**LUSIKISIKI** — Transkei's State President yesterday called for a black federal parliament as an answer to the exclusion of blacks from the President's Council.

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima said the federal parliament should include all the independent states and the non-independent ones as well as the urban blacks.

Delivering his Independence Day speech at the Lusikisiki village sports fields, President Matanzima said: "I wish to give unqualified support to the principle proposed by the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, for the formation of a federal government.

"But my own concept of this federal parliament, which should have its head offices in Thaba Nchu in the Republic of Bophuthatswana, is that it should consist of all black independent and non-independent states and should also include representatives from the

towns. "This is my reaction to the exclusion of blacks from the white, Indian and coloured parliament in Cape Town.

"The black federal parliament can deal with matters of finance, foreign affairs and defence."

The President said Dr Phatudi should summon a conference of black states and towns' accredited leaders in Southern Africa to meet somewhere in Bophuthatswana which was central to all black states, including the urban blacks.

In Umtata, the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima said yesterday that Transkei had expressed its intention to join what had originally been referred to as the constellation of Southern African states

but there were several problems still to be ironed out.

"Collectively and bilaterally, we are engaged in serious discussion with South Africa to iron out things that

**By MATTHEW MOONIEYA**

might later cause problems," he said.

The regionalism embodied in the Good Hope conference plan promised a bright future for Transkei.

"Regionalism implies that Transkeians have always considered themselves as part of the re-

gion of the Cape Province and have traditionally worked in East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

"If these people suddenly have to be considered as squatters it leaves us without an answer when they are repatriated to a situation where the industries are still being planned and where there are no jobs for them at present.

"We find it difficult to remove their belief that it is the independence of Transkei which has caused them to lose their means of livelihood because they point out the case of the non-

independent homelands which appear to receive a better deal.

Chief George said the incentives offered in the deal were equitable when looked on superficially but Transkei still had other problems with them.

"It is worth considering that Transkei is right on the side and does not have conducive infrastructure even similar to the good roads of the Ciskei and the nearby harbour of East London. the good roads of Ciskei and the nearby harbour of East London." — DDR.

Picture, page 11; Reports, page 27

**TOWN ER BOOK**

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# Man dies in truck

was killed yesterday when he landed under the hood of a truck in the road, Korsten. Pretorius, 35, of the road, Gelvandale, was driving a reversing truck when he was killed when the wheels hit him.

# Up nightly

The price of covered slightly was fixed at \$422.25 on the London market this morning, rising at \$414 yesterday.

the noon price 25.

g Kong, gold rose day to close at \$416.23. — Sapa-

By BRIAN POTTINGER  
Political Correspondent

PROPOSALS for a federation of independent and self-governing homelands in South Africa — excluding "white" South Africa — have received a severe setback with a Kwazulu Government condemnation today of the scheme.

Projected outlines for the federation — which would include urban black communities — were strongly punted yesterday by President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei during the sixth independence celebrations in Umtata.

He was endorsing a proposal made earlier by Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa that such a federation be formed to pool resources and operate parallel to the white-coloured-Indian sovereign authority.

But today Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha secretary and a senior Kwazulu Cabi-

# Kwazulu 'no' to federation plan

net Minister, warned that Kwazulu would not accept a federation that was ethnically linked and would become an "association of beggars".

His Government accepted a federal form of administration for South Africa as long as it was not ethnically based. President Matanzima's proposal was based on ethnic division rather than a regional geographical division.

The proposal that the federation exclude common South Africa was unacceptable because this was where the main industries and economic main-spring of the country lay, said Dr Dhlomo.

A federation such as proposed by President Matanzima and Dr Phatudi

would lead nowhere because of the homelands lack of economic viability.

A senior researcher at the Africa Institute, Mr P Venter, today also questioned whether the protagonists of the scheme were quite clear in their minds as to whether they wanted a federation or confederation.

He said a similar scheme had been suggested in 1973. It had merit in that the homelands could try and pool resources but its practicality would depend on a number of factors.

It is thought likely more difficulties over establishing the federation could arise from the refusal of the Transkei Government to serve on any body on which Ciskei also serves.

# Shes cide

an drew a knife he kicked out of his. As the man turned, he picked up the and stabbed him in the back.

Magistrate, Mr C he, said he had into account that outh was not the agor, and was still at 1.

nche said he would the youth a chance y out of prison.

Pretorius appeared for

# Queen offered roast bat and blackbird

FUNAFUTI (South Seas) — Britain's Queen Elizabeth sat down to a South Seas feast featuring roast bat, boiled banana and stewed blackbird complete with beak and feet when she was guest of honour in Funafuti, Tuvalu, last night.

The Queen, wearing a crown of stephanotis in place of her usual tiara, put on her spectacles and stared hard at the huge green matting plate piled a foot high in front of her with Tuvaluan delicacies.

After careful inspection, she selected a small piece of chicken and a banana, and sipped the milk from an open coconut at her side.

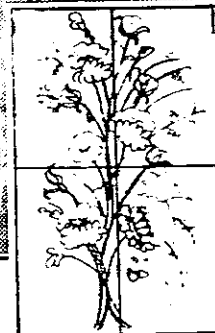
As a special concession, she was allowed to use a knife and fork, while those around her ate with their fingers.

The Queen, accompanied by her husband Prince Philip, is on a South Sea island cruise.

Dancers, bands and choirs from Funafuti and the seven other islands that make up Tuvalu entertained the royal couple with specially composed songs and dances.

# R700 to be won

Win R700 in the Evening Post-Pick 'n Pay Hypermarket Disney Caption Competition, by writing a caption or slogan to suit the Disney picture published in the entry form on Page 21. This competition is for mums, dads and kiddies, and there are three shopping vouchers of R500, R150 and R50. Entries close on Monday.



Surround your with beauty in tradition of ancient Rome. Pass generation by generation, by whose works of art have graced the worlds most beautiful Italian tiles offer you the same splendour. And to turn your back into the envy of the Caesars (and neighbours) just come in and pattern.

It's as easy as that!  
Keep in style with  
**tub'n'tile**

20 Grahamstown Rd. North End, Port Elizabeth



On Wednesday last week the witchdoctor returned, claiming she had brought back Mrs Thompson's son. She alleged he was still sick and needed her mult treatment. She said she could not yet allow people, including his mother, to see him. On Saturday another man of 35 was slaughtered and buried yesterday. Principal Mr P the witchdoctor brought a slim figure covered with a blanket from the hut saying it was the dead man. She demanded and was paid R300. The man's face

# Arrested

# Buthelezi slams PW's reforms in US address

11A  
Mercury  
27/10/82

Mercury Reporter

THE introduction of an entirely different kind of constitution in South Africa, with a move into confederal politics, was the ultimate expression of political apartheid and an attempt at the permanent suppression of blacks, KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said in Washington yesterday.

In his acceptance address of the 1982 George Meany Human Rights Award, awarded jointly

to Chief Buthelezi and Dr Neil Aggett in recognition of their advocacy of black rights in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi said: 'When I face such circumstances, I know only that I have to bend lower, heave harder and endure more to achieve even a little.'

Chief Buthelezi attributed his reason for remaining politically active to the 'enduring tragedy of my people'.

'The mandate I have from my people is to search in every direction for a non-violent elimination of the horrors of apartheid,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said he appealed to his black brothers and sisters in exile to realise that mass support at home was not going to be achieved by 'ideological posturing' abroad.

'The magnitude of suffering in South Africa in black society is such that I would never dare branch out into purely ideological politics,' he said.

'For generations now black South Africans have been subjected to repressive forces.

## Tradition

'Their humanity has been denied and they have been forced to search for nobility and that which is good in the worst of deprived circumstances.

In spite of this there is a strong and central political tradition seeking to establish morality in politics and to grope for a pragmatic response to political deprivation,' Chief Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi said that he felt greatly honoured to accept the award because he shared the tribute to black South Africa with Dr Aggett.

'It is so tragic that leadership in South Africa is so often limited to those who suffer banishment, failings and even death for the cause.

'Dr Aggett was a great son of South Africa.

'He has paid the supreme price for his participation in the struggle for liberation,' he said.

The award, which is presented annually by the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations, was awarded for the first time last year to Lech Walesa, leader of the now-banned Polish trade union Solidarity.

SEATS OF POWER

# Support for federal power

11A

LUSIKISIKI — The State President of Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, this week supported a proposal of a Federal Government for Southern African black states made up of all independent and non-independent states and representatives of the urban blacks.

Speaking at Transkei's sixth anniversary celebrations at Lusikisiki on Tuesday, Chief Matanzima gave his unqualified support to the proposal by the Le-bowa leader, Dr Cedric Phatudi, for a federal government.

He said this was his reaction to the exclusion of blacks from South Africa's proposed white, coloured and In-

While in South Africa there are a growing number of hints that the country's Parliament is to be switched from a dual system split between Pretoria and Cape Town to a unified

dian Parliament.

He said the federal government should have its headquarters at Thaba Nchu in Bophuthatswana, which was central to all black states and the major towns.

"This federal parliament will call upon the white, coloured and Indian parliament to divide the land and towns equitably for occupation by blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians in eternal peace.

"The black federal parliament can deal with matters of finance, foreign affairs and defence. Dr Phatudi should summon a conference of leaders of black states and towns.

"This is the only way in which we can restore our lost dignity as a nation. I leave it to black Southern Africa to study the pros and cons of this proposal and determine it for what it is worth.

"A committee will

building complex in the Transvaal, the President of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, is supporting a federal government for all black states to be sited at Thaba Nchu in Botswana. These reports focus on the seats of power...

have to be appointed by the inaugural conference to draft the federal constitution which will be approved by the conference," Chief Matanzima said.

He said international recognition by the United Nations was immaterial to Transkeians and would not affect their determination to forge ahead with the development of Transkei.

"Our destiny rests entirely on the strength of our inter-

nal peace and resolution to work hard.

"Independence has conferred on us the long-cherished dignity of man propagated by the international community. With the exception of the migratory labourers from Transkei to white towns, independence has given us freedom of movement — enjoyment of rights to enter any public place formally used by whites only.

"For this we thank the Nationalist Government. Our fear is that certain other parties want to put the clock back to where it started in 1910.

"Transkei has remained peaceful in spite of the turbulent behaviour of certain youths elsewhere acting under the instigation of anti-freedom whites who ultimately resorted to abusive, defamatory and insulting Press statements.

"Our traditions, which have been frequently castigated and rebuked by the enemies of our country, have made it a safe place to live in and to enjoy a life freely without any fears," he said. — Sapa.



Chief Kaiser Matanzima . . . call for a conference.



Dr Cedric Phatudi . . . support for his federal system.

# Unity, not protest, our best hope says Buthelezi

Mercury 29/10/82

(17)

Mercury Reporter  
BLACKS in South Africa faced the most disciplined and coherent forces of oppression Africa had ever known and in their protest would have to build and join together those which apartheid had divided and demoralised, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said in

New York yesterday. Addressing American civil rights leaders, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said it was the unity of the Afrikaners which made possible the granite-like façade they presented to the outside world. 'I plead for recognition of the fact that our strug-

gle is far more than protest. I must also go on to plead for the understanding that protest, even when associated with violence, is not the answer to our problems,' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said black South Africans had to be built up in groups waiting for action which could be effective and which had consequences which were accumulative.

'We can only do this by rallying people around their vested interests. I do not believe that you can educate a people politically and encourage them into being political activists unless you base what you do on their vested interests,' he said.

'Much of the struggle we face is a hard long grind. Our leadership has to be cultivated in the down-to-earth programmes we must nurture against terrible odds,' he said.

'The sympathy and empathy I feel among black Americans needs to go beyond accolades for protests and fêting black protest leaders when they visit this country.

'We need a sense of partnership with black Americans as we get on with the back-breaking task of constituency formation programmes and leadership development,' he said.

29/10/82

119  
~~229~~

# Buthelezi receives top US trade union award

From JOHN MATISONN

WASHINGTON. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said here that dissent in the South African trade union movement came from frustrated trade unionists in voluntary exile.

He was addressing the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labour-Confederation of Industrial Organizations) banquet where he was presented the George Meany human rights award.

Chief Buthelezi said there were two poles in the South African trade union movement which would not stand the test of time — the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) and the Confederation of South African Trade Unions, on the one side, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), on the other.

He said the divergence of opinion in the South African union movement led to the branding of the AFL-CIO, the American trade union federation, as a CIA front which was moving into South Africa.

### Exiles

He appealed to his "black brothers and sisters in exile to realize that mass support at home is not going to be achieved by ideological posturing abroad".

Chief Buthelezi, who received the award jointly with the late Dr Neil Aggett, paid tribute to Dr Aggett as a "great son of South Africa and a dedicated trade unionist".

But he said it was tragic that leadership in South Africa was

so often limited to those who suffered banishment, jailings and even death for their cause.

Directing his comments to counter criticism of the AFL-CIO by unnamed exiled South African politicians, Chief Buthelezi said: "We have never condemned Oliver Tambo, leader of the African National Congress mission in exile, because there have been reports that the head of the ANC's military wing, Joe Slovo, was a KGB agent."

### Free enterprise

"Black South Africans are not ideologically oriented, and to drag South Africa into ideological conflicts in the West about the CIA is unwarranted.

"If we espouse the free enterprise system now, our judgment is that it is now more effective. This does not commit us to capitalism forever, and not to fear communism — which we don't — is not to be pro-communist."

"Only those organizations which base their policy decisions on the will of the workers involved will survive."

### Mandate

Chief Buthelezi said the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, was gaining a mandate at the provincial National Party congresses to "embark on a final drive to completely separate black and white political interests in such a way that whites retain a monopoly of control over the wealth of the country and the privileges of the people".



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi receives the George Meany award from the president of the AFL-CIO, Mr Lane Kirkland.

1 PASSES

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# Remand in ANC burglary hearing

LONDON. — Three men charged in connection with the theft of documents from the London offices of Swapo and the ANC have been remanded for another seven days and an application for their committal for trial is due on December 30.

Mr Edward Aspinall, 24, a British national, has been charged with burglary. Mr Peter Caselton, 38, also British, and Mr Bertil Wedin, 41, a Swede, are charged with conspiracy to commit the burglaries.

Mr Aspinall and Mr Caselton were again remanded in custody. Mr Wedin is on bail but reports daily to London police.

An application by Mr Caselton's defence counsel for bail was turned down by three magistrates on the bench at Horseferry Road Court yesterday.

It was argued that he had been in custody since September 13 and would now have to wait several more weeks before committal proceedings were heard.

The bench rejected the application without comment. A previous application to a judge in chambers was unsuccessful.

At a previous remand hearing, a representative of the Director of Public Prosecutions told the court that the case involved "intelligence gathering which could have wide international implications".

Mr Aspinall also faces contempt of court charges. He was arrested in September, released on bail, and fled to Holland.

# City drama teacher and social worker dies

CAPE TOWN drama teacher and community worker, Mrs Jean Naidoo, died at her Rylands home early on Saturday morning after suffering an asthma attack.

Mrs Naidoo, a chronic asthma sufferer, was detained on several occasions. Her first spell in detention came on November 26, 1976, under Section Six of the Terrorism Act. She was released after being held at the Fort in Johannesburg for 12 days.

On July 13, 1977, she was sentenced to three months for refusing to give evidence in the trial of two youths charged with arson and house-breaking with intent to commit arson. The charges related to arson



Mrs Jean Naidoo

attempts at two Cape schools.

Mrs Naidoo told the court she was a mother of six children and could not see herself testifying against children in court. She served the sentence at Pollsmoor. She was detained again in September 1978 for questioning but was later released.

Mrs Naidoo held a diploma in drama from the former Space Theatre in Cape Town, and in community work from the University of Cape Town.

She leaves her husband, Mr Barloo Naidoo, and six children.

Mrs Naidoo will be cremated at the Maitland crematorium at 4pm tomorrow after a commemoration service at the Athlone Civic Centre at 1.30pm.



# Ignore racial bodies'

ARGUS  
1/11/82  
~~11A~~  
11A

By Brian Stuart  
Religion Reporter

LEADERS of Reformed churches in South Africa agreed at a meeting in the Peninsula at the weekend that Christians should not serve on Government-created bodies designed and used to entrench constitutional apartheid

This was defined not as a boycott but as "Christian non-participation in an heretical system".

They declared that "those laws of the country which blatantly uphold and reinforce the system of apartheid are not binding on the Christian conscience".

## DECISION

Reformed church leaders held that disobedience to apartheid laws and non-participation in Government-created bodies to promote apartheid was not "civil disobedience".

These laws and institutions were the product of heresy and enforced on a Christian majority which had no voice in the legislative process.

"It is not civil disobedience, it is divine obedience," they agreed.

## ESSENCE

Rejection of apartheid as a heresy, in which Christians could have no part, was "no longer a matter of opinion, but has to do with the very essence of the Christian faith".

The unanimous stand of Reformed church leaders is expected to be supported by Methodist, Anglican, Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran churches, each of whom has adopted similar positions in recent months at either regional or national level.

The meeting was called by Dr Allan Boesak as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and comprised moderators, general secretaries or other top figures of all eight Reformed churches in South Africa which are full members of the WARC.

## TOTAL

Apart from coloured or black congregations of the Ned Geref Kerk and Gereformeerde Kerk, they together represent the total black, coloured and Indian membership of the Reformed church community in South Africa, as well as thousands of white members.

A united stand by these churches, and a similar approach by other

"open" churches which have held it to be sinful to support and promote apartheid, could have dramatic political repercussions for Mr P W Botha's constitutional plans.

The leaders agreed to go back to their constituent churches with the unanimous decisions they had taken and ask for a full endorsement of the total anti-apartheid package by their churches, including a commitment to "end the divisions which separate us".

## ISOLATION

It was also agreed to set up an active South Africa Area Council of the WARC to continue the process begun at the meeting.

The decisions may also mean eventual total isolation for the white NGK, following its recent synod.

"There was an urge for new dialogue with the NGK. This is no longer possible after their synod," Dr Boesak said.

"The NGK has for many years misled members into believing that apartheid is God's will. What we are dealing with is the integrity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

## "AWESOME"

Dr Boesak said this had to be made as clear to the Government as it was to the NGK.

"We are struggling for a church that is obedient to the Word of God — that is an awesome responsibility.

"God has chosen us to be part of a process in history which at the moment I do not fully comprehend. I only know that it is of great importance.

"We are being moved by the Holy Spirit to be united in our confession that Jesus Christ is Lord. Apartheid is not 'lord'."

## FUNDAMENTAL

The Rev Gerrie Lubbe of the Reformed Church in Africa said: "We are dealing with the fundamental issue of the Church's function in South African society today."

At the meeting was Bishop George Swartz of the Anglican Church, who said the WARC decision of heresy was in line with past Anglican decisions on apartheid. "There can be no doubt that synod (meeting in Port Elizabeth later this month) will take a stand."

Also present as an observer was the Rev D Hendricks of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, whose general assembly meets next month. Its Cape regional synod recently declared apartheid laws "not binding" on Christians.

● See page 2.

(News by B Stuart, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

# Buthelezi tells why he went to see the Soviets

11A  
 21/12/82

**Mercury Reporter**  
 IT WAS important, as a South African leader, to maintain 'open communication lines' with the world's super-powers, KwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said in an interview yesterday.

He was explaining his initiative in visiting the Russian embassy in Washington last week to hold talks with the ambassadorial minister, a Mr Sokolov, and the ambassador's first secretary, a Mr Pavlov.

'Whichever way you look at it, Russia cannot just be ignored,' Chief

Buthelezi said 'There's no telling what might be in store for my people in the future and the meeting was merely an opportunity — a rare one — to engage in dialogue with representatives of this world power.'

The Chief said there should be no suggestion that he had any motives other than constructive political engagement in mind when he had requested the interview — acceptance of which had come at once.

He had been exceptionally well received and the talks lasted almost two hours.

It had immediately become clear to him that the

Reds were wide awake when it came to up-to-date information on South African political developments.

Discussion raised by both Mr Sokolov and Mr Pavlov had centred mainly on reaction to the findings of the Buthelezi commission, and speculation on what would be done with the funds should the International Monetary Fund grant South Africa's application for a R1.2 billion loan.

'I was amazed they even knew of the Buthelezi commission. They knew all the details but wanted my impressions of the various South African political parties' attitudes to its

recommendations.

Regarding the IMF loan, Chief Buthelezi said it had been explained to him that Russia was opposed to it being granted because it had reasoned the money would be spent on defence and armaments.

**Suffering**

'I would also be opposed to it if this was the case, and told them so,' he added.

'But I would be all in favour of it if assurances could be given that the funds will go towards alleviating my people's suffering, such as the provision of essential amenities such as housing to start with, for example.'

## Bridge

North dealer  
Both sides vulnerable

**NORTH**

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 ● A K Q 2

**WEST**      **EAST**

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North    East    South    West

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Pass    Pass    5    All Pass

Opening Lead — ● 8

**THE BEST** thing about going down at an unrepeatable start is that it makes nobody jealous.

Today's declarer ruffed the opening spade lead in dummy, drew two rounds of trumps with the ace-king and then tried to cash the top diamonds. East ruffed the second diamond and led a spade, whereupon West took two spade tricks. Down two.

South couldn't avoid losing a trump trick, but he didn't have to give up the trump at a time when the opponents could win spade tricks. Declarer should lose the trump at the second trick by playing a low heart from each hand. Dummy then still has a trump to prevent the loss of a spade.

If West returns a club as good a defense as any, declarer wins in dummy and draws trumps with the ace-king, discarding dummy's low club. He then takes the top diamonds, ruffs a diamond, returns to dummy with a club and ruffs another diamond.

South then returns to dummy with club to take the last two tricks with good diamonds.

**DAILY QUESTION:** Partner bids one spade, you respond two diamonds, and he then bids two spades. The opponents pass. You hold: ● None ♠ 743 ♣ A J 10 7 4 3 ♠ A K Q 2. What do you say?

**ANSWER:** Bid three clubs. An expert partner will treat this change of suit as a force for one round. Even an inexperienced partner will probably find an other bid. If he has a minimum opening bid with three clubs and only two diamonds, he may pass — but what game have you missed? Don't make a jump bid when you don't know where you're going.

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## Barnard refuses doctorate from U S university

**Mercury Correspondent**  
**CAPE TOWN**—Dr Chris Barnard yesterday refused to accept a doctorate from an American university after receiving a letter from the university explaining that his presence might cause racial conflict and a potential crisis situation.

In a letter to Dr Barnard, the president of Eastern Michigan Univer-

sity, Mr John W Porter, said the black faculty and staff association and black students' association had asked that Dr Barnard not be issued with an honorary degree because of apartheid in South Africa.

They also asked that an invitation to Dr Barnard to speak at the University's winter commencement be withdrawn.

Mr Porter said he regretted informing Dr Barnard of the recent development but it had created a potentially embarrassing situation for both Dr Barnard and the university.


He said a committee had been set up to review the potential problems associated with the developments and made the point that he was not concerned with the continuation of the invitation but with the unforseeable ramifications that could be linked to the controversy.

This could include pickets and abuse during pre-commencement ceremonies and an organised demonstration during the ceremony.

## Volunteer

**Mercury Reporter**  
**A DURBAN** dentist, Dr Derek van Bergen, will be leaving for Hong Kong on Saturday where he will be doing voluntary work in a Vietnamese refugee camp for four weeks.

Dr van Bergen, a member of the Durban Umgeni Rotary Club, said yesterday that he had volunteered his services to Rotary International as part of their Three-H project. (Health, Hunger and Humanity).



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SAS60	T35 Johannesburg
LET71	Newcastle
LET28	Vryheid
SAS94	T25 Cape Town
Port Elizabeth	
SAS62	T35 Cape Town
East London	
SAS71	T35 Johannesburg
LET70	Newcastle
SAS94	AB3 Johannesburg
3M901	Margate
SAS53	C404 Richards Bay
SAS94	T25 Cape Town
Port Elizabeth	
SAS11	AB3 Johannesburg
3M901	Margate
SAS62	T35 Cape Town
East London	
SAS13	AB3 Johannesburg
SAS81	C404 Richards Bay
LET18	Newcastle
SAS62	T35 Cape Town

114  
A SO W E T O woman charged with being an alleged member of the African National Congress pleaded not guilty in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday but admitted that the organisation was unlawful in South Africa.

Miss Lihan Keagile (24), of Molapo, was appearing before Mr I J J Luther on the main charge of promoting the aims and objects of the ANC or alternatively taking part in its activities.

She has also been charged under the Terrorism Act for reconnoitering the Ihlazane Power Station, drawing a sketch of it and sending it to the ANC in Botswana. The offences are alleged to have

sowetan 31/1/82  
**Woman charged with joining ANC**

taken place between September 1980 and November last year.

Before the start of the trial her defence counsel, Mr Cliff Mailer, instructed by Priscilla Jana, raised an objection to certain sections of the charge sheet and said his client was not satisfied with answers given by the State in response to a request for further particulars.

He argued that information on certain matters was insufficient and as a result this embarrassed his client in the preparation of her defence. As a result, she was unable to plead

properly to the charge.

In reply, Mr A R van Wyk, for the State, said the defence's request was vague in that the State had furnished more details than necessary. Again, there was no provision in the Criminal Procedure Act that entitled the accused to have access to exhibits and documents in the hands of the State.

Mr Luther dismissed all objections made by the defence. He ruled that, in his view, there was no substance to the objection in that the accused had been informed about the nature of the allegation.

## ANC pictures

its history <sup>1/18</sup>  
in a book <sup>3/11/82</sup>

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The African National Congress will publish a pictorial history — Unity in Action — on Sunday.

The book consists of more than 150 photographs — many previously unpublished — and documents. Four pages carry photographs of the 156 Congress Alliance leaders who were arrested and charged with high treason in 1956.

The foreword has been written by present ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

The back-cover write-up says the book depicts the story of the struggle for "national liberation waged by the oppressed people of South Africa." The price is R10.

1.  
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# ANC trial in <sup>Soweto</sup> 4/17/82 camera

PROCEEDINGS in the trial of a Soweto woman charged with being a member of the African National Congress (ANC) were yesterday held in camera in the Johannesburg Regional Court after the magistrate ruled that it was in the interests of the State and of a State witness.

The ruling followed a submission by Mr A R van Wyk, for the State, that the Press and public be ordered out to ensure the safety of a former member of the ANC, who has now joined the Security Police, and who was about to give evidence. This decision set the scene at the trial of Miss Lillian Keagile (24) of Molapo.

Miss Keagile has pleaded not guilty to the main count of promoting the aims and objectives of the ANC, or alternatively taking part in its activities.

The investigating officer, Pretoria Security Policeman, Captain J Coetzee, corroborated Mr van Wyk's submission and said that there was information that the witness was earmarked for "elimination".

He supported his evidence by producing before the court an alleged ANC pamphlet which had names, addresses and pictures of former ANC members that had deserted to join the Security Police.

PROCEEDING



# White bread boycott takes effect

## UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN ANSWER BOOK

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

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THE white bread boycott called by Inkatha and the Black Alliance is beginning to take effect in Soweto and the West Rand.

Surna

Traders were stocking 90 percent brown bread in preference to the white bread, whereas in the past brown and white bread used to sell on 50-50

First Na

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**CHIEF BUTHELEZI:** Called for boycott.

basis, a spokesman for a leading bakery said.

In the West Rand the boycott is in full swing with all shops in one township, Mohlakeng, adhering to the call not to stock white bread. Traders told

He added: "People in Soweto still buy white bread, but it's 10 percent white and 90 percent brown."

The South African Black Alliance made the call to boycott white bread in a meeting addressed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in Soweto recently.

In the West Rand, the Mohlakeng Civic Association (Moca), supported the bread boycott call in their meeting held last Sunday.

### NOTE C

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The SOWETAN that local students have been campaigning from shop to shop warning them not to allow bakeries to bring white bread into their shops.

But a spokesman for the main supply bakery in the West Rand, the Albany Bakery, said: "We have a drop of 15 percent. This hasn't really affected our figures. We will see in time."

A spokesman for Protea Bakery said most of their deliveries were concentrated in Soweto.

Any dis'

and in column (1) the number of the used for written point pen is accept- / be used only for diagrams, for d. ach separate sheet neets additional to i. margin.

### WARNING

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

candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

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Exam-ners' Initials		

# IUEF funds laundered, inquiry told

LIA  
22/11/78  
6/11/78

By ANTON HARBER

THE International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) had "laundered" its donations to the South African Council of Churches (SACC) by channelling them through the World Council of Churches (WCC), a top Security Police spy said yesterday.

Major Craig Williamson, a policeman who infiltrated the IUEF and became the organisation's deputy director, was giving evidence at the Eloff Commission of Inquiry into the SACC yesterday.

The security policeman also said the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) had wanted to make Bishop Desmond Tutu its figurehead leader.

The IUEF had attempted to play a part in this by "keeping the bishop sweet" by giving him the funds he needed.

Maj Williamson presented a memorandum which gave a detailed account of the IUEF's relationship with the SACC.

The formal function of the IUEF was to cater for the

educational needs of refugees and to help organisations prepare for the future development of their countries after liberation, he said.

The organisation gave financial assistance to the ANC, PAC and various other organisations known collectively as the Black Consciousness Movement, he said.

The director, Mr Gunner Eriksson, had told Maj Williamson that Bishop Tutu was to be regarded as one of the IUEF's most important contacts in South Africa.

In a meeting with Bishop Tutu in 1978 it was decided to give financial support to teachers in South Africa who were boycotting Bantu Education.

These funds were to have been channelled through the WCC in order to disguise the source and hide any connection with the IUEF, he said in the memorandum.

The IUEF had also redirected certain BCM funds to Bishop Tutu, he added.

The hearings are adjourned until February next year.

# Jailed journalist granted Irish passport

JAILED journalist Tony Hollday has been granted citizenship of the Republic of Ireland.

He will leave South Africa for Britain shortly after he is released next Thursday after serving a six-year sentence for offences under the Terrorism Act.

According to informed sources he is booked to leave South Africa from Jan Smuts aboard a British Airways flight on the Monday after his release.

Although banning or restriction orders are often served on political prisoners who have served their jail sentences, it is unlikely that Hollday will be restricted in view of his decision to leave South Africa permanently.

However, his ultimate destination is not far from the

## Irish passport

By NEIL HOOPER

South African border. The Sunday Times was told this week that he plans to settle in Zimbabwe.

Sources also disclosed that a few months ago he applied to both the Republic of Ireland and Australia for citizenship. Australia turned him down, but his application to Ireland was successful.

The Honorary Irish Consul in Johannesburg, Mr Patrick Ryan, yesterday said that he could not comment on Hollday's application for citizenship, but said that if it had been granted it could only have been because the jailed

journalist had either an Irish parent or grandparent.

"Irish citizenship was not granted for any other reason," he said.

Hollday was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in Pretoria's Old Synagogue in 1976 for producing and distributing subversive pamphlets on behalf of the banned ANC and the South African Communist Party, the trial judge found.

## Painful

But the judge, Mr Justice Davidson, said that Hollday — a former political reporter of the Rand Daily Mail and the Cape Times — had been man enough to admit his actions.

He found that Hollday had secured an office in Johannesburg, obtained equipment to prepare pamphlets, and had prepared and distributed 12 such pamphlets.

He also found that he had recruited two journalists, Mr Paddy Weech, then of the Rand Daily Mail, and Mr Harry Mashabela, of the Star — both of whom had given evidence for the State.

After a moving statement under oath from the dock, in which Hollday said that ethically he had done nothing wrong and that the course he had chosen had been the only one open to him in view of his political convictions, the judge said it was very painful to pass sentence.



SHS 9/11/82

# Terrorism

## Act: Fine

## acquitted

By Alex Ball

A trade unionist, Mr Alan Morris Fine (30), was acquitted of Terrorism Act charges by a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate today.

A packed court burst into a cheer as the magistrate, Mr W Rosch, found the State had failed to prove that Mr Fine, address given as Sharp Street, Bellevue, had taken part in illegal activities.

Mr Fine had pleaded not guilty to furthering the interests of the African National Congress, alternatively taking part in activities which fulfilled ANC aims such as forwarding information to the South African Congress of Trade Unions and taking part in boycott campaigns.

The magistrate said the information Mr Fine had forwarded to Sactu was of the type that any trade union federation collected.

"There is no evidence that information was sent with any ulterior motive, largely because its destination and uses were unknown," Mr Rosch said.

Regarding Mr Fine's participation in boycott campaigns, the magistrate said there had been no evidence of political motives.

# Man called us

## <sup>Merey</sup> <sup>10/11/82</sup> 'animals' say accused policemen

### Court Reporter

THE acting chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Bradley Potgieter, told two Security policemen who detained him that they were going to assault him because 'you are animals', a Durban Magistrate heard yesterday.

This evidence was given by W/O Patrick Jacobs, 35, when he appeared with Det/Sgt Mohlin Gopal, 29, before Mr D M Young charged with assaulting Mr Potgieter.

Both men have pleaded not guilty.

At an earlier hearing Mr Potgieter told the Court that he had been detained by the two Security Branch policemen and assaulted on March 19 this year.

W/O Jacobs told the Court yesterday that he and Sgt Gopal were on observation duty near the Goodwill Lounge. They saw Mr Potgieter putting up a poster advertising a Sharpeville Commemoration Service.

They went to him and asked him if he had permission to put up the poster but Mr Potgieter did not answer them.

Sgt Gopal then searched Mr Potgieter's car and removed certain items including T-shirts, posters and paint.

Mr Potgieter was then taken to C R Swart Square.

Mr Potgieter said they were going to assault him because they 'were animals'.

The hearing continues today.

# Cheers as Fine is freed after year's ordeal

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN  
Labour Correspondent

A PACKED public gallery burst into applause and some spectators shed tears yesterday after trade unionist Mr Allan Fine was acquitted in the Johannesburg Regional Court of Terrorism and Internal Security Act charges.

Mr W Rosch freed Mr Fine, a 30-year-old official of a registered liquor and catering workers' union, after finding that the State had failed to prove that, by secretly sending information to an official of the exiled SA Congress of Trade Unions, he intended to assist the banned African National Congress.

Among his findings were that Mr Fine's participation in consumer boycotts did not mean he was working for the ANC and that he may have sent information to SACTU secretly because he feared banning or detention without trial.

The verdict ends more than a year of imprisonment for Mr Fine, who was detained last September under security legislation. Since then, he has either been detained without trial or held as an awaiting trial prisoner.

Friends, relatives and trade union colleagues cheered and hugged each other after Mr Rosch completed his verdict.

In his judgment, Mr Rosch noted that it was common cause that Mr Fine had sent information on labour developments to a Botswana-based SACTU official Mrs Jeanette Schoon, by means of "dead letter boxes".

Although it was agreed SACTU was not an illegal organisation, it was alleged that there was a conspiracy between SACTU and the ANC to overthrow the State by violent means and that Mr Fine was therefore guilty of terrorism.

A second charge, under the Internal Security Act, alleged that, by sending information to Mrs Schoon, he had furthered the aims of the ANC. Mr Rosch found there was indeed a

conspiracy between SACTU and the ANC to overthrow the State. He added that SACTU engaged in both legal and illegal activities.

But there was no prima facie evidence before the court that Mr Fine's actions were in themselves "terroristic" and it was thus up to the State to prove "beyond reasonable doubt" that Mr Fine was furthering the ANC's aims.

Most of the information sent to SACTU had been publicly available. There was no evidence it had been sent with "ulterior motives" and, because of a lack of knowledge inside the country of SACTU activities, it was not known to what use the information had been put.

The fact that the information had been sent secretly was no evidence of guilt, because it might have been due to the fact that Mr Fine had been detained twice by police before the alleged offence, knew that unionists were watched by police and was therefore afraid of police action.

On the use of a code to communicate with Mrs Schoon, Mr Rosch found this was either because he was "under her discipline" or because he feared police action. It was the court's duty to accept the "more favourable possibility" and acquit Mr Fine, he said.

The court had been "hampered" in determining the use to which the information sent by Mr Fine had been put by a lack of information inside the country about SACTU activities.

Mr Rosch found there was no evidence Mr Fine had taken part in consumer boycotts and other union activities at the request of SACTU. He said that he had been impressed by the evidence of State witnesses, including Major Craig Williamson of the Security Police.

In his own evidence, Mr Fine had sometimes contradicted himself and had also been "childishly naive" about SACTU's aims, but had been "frank and honest" about his political beliefs and other aspects, Mr Rosch found.



Mr Allan Fine, 30, was ready for jail yesterday — but he was acquitted of Terrorism and Internal Security Act charges after 13 months in custody.

## Court's verdict stuns unionist

Mail Reporter

YESTERDAY morning Mr Allan Fine was pessimistically preparing to begin a jail sentence under the Terrorism Act. By the afternoon he was at home, bewildered by his release after 13 months in custody.

Speaking shortly after being freed by a Johannesburg magistrate, the trade unionist said he had never allowed himself to think about the possibility of being acquitted and released.

"I was pessimistic and had prepared myself for the worst. It was impossible to think that I could be at home this afternoon.

"It was only halfway through the magistrate's speech that I began to think things were looking good. When I heard the magistrate acquit me, I could not believe it," he said.

Since his detention on September 24 last year he has had to make few plans for his own future. Suddenly, he is freed and says now he will have to spend a long time thinking — but does not think it likely he will return to his job as an official of the Witwatersrand Liquor and Catering Employees' Union.

"Thirteen months is obviously a big gap.

"What is sad is that there are still others who are in custody, in detention or serving sentences, and one colleague in particular — Neil Aggett — who will not be around anymore," he said.

By Moira Levy

Trade Unionist Mr Allan Fine, elated at his acquittal in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday on Terrorism and Internal Security Act charges, is stunned at the prospect of freedom after more than 13 months' detention.

"When I think back to where I was yesterday at this time I find it hard to grasp," Mr Fine said early today at a friend's flat in Johannesburg.

His only plans at the moment are to take a long holiday.

"I don't know where. I have not yet had a chance to consider what I will do after that," he said.

**SADDENED**

"During all those months in detention I had to try to steel myself in preparation for a possible jail sentence, although there were times when I allowed myself hope.

"What saddens me is that there are others still in detention and serving sentences and that our colleague, Neil Aggett, is no longer around."

Mr Fine (30), an of-

# Freedom stunning, says Fine

MA  
S.T.C.  
10/11/72

ficial of a liquor and catering workers' union, was acquitted when the State failed to prove he had assisted the banned African National Congress by secretly sending information to an exiled official of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Yesterday the public gallery was packed with friends, relatives and supporters, who burst into cheers when the magistrate Mr W Rosch, freed Mr Fine. Some hugged each other and wept tears of relief.

Mrs Estelle Fine, the trade unionist's mother, said today she was "delighted, relieved and grateful that justice has been

done

"And I am also grateful to Allan, who was incredibly brave and strong throughout his ordeal. He was probably depressed at times, but he was always on the bright side when we visited him. He was obviously trying to make it easier for us," she said.

"During the long months of detention — as we hoped and prayed — he never gave us any unnecessary worry."

Mrs Fine said friends and relatives had been phoning her since early this morning. "The response has been terrific and the atmosphere in the court room yesterday was absolutely charged."

# 'Writers must write it black'

By MONK NKOMO

*Sweyer 1/11/82* (11/82)  
A "BLACK Consciousness in our literature" was urgently needed Professor P. C. Mokgokong rector of the University of the North said last week.

In his opening address at the two-day symposium in Pretoria for promoting the publication and use of literature in African languages, Professor Mokgokong said there was no chance of inducing the black public to read unless they were offered books that represented their points of view.

## PROBLEMS

"We must depict themes that enlighten the black man on the problems particular to him, for example pass laws, influx control, seeking employment, and application for accommodation."

According to the University rector, blacks tried to copy what "Western man has and treasures, and have made a mistake of considering his taste rather than a black man's tastes and needs".

"By so doing we have had to be imitators of what existed in Western publications rather than embarking on something original.

## BOOKS

"Many of the books we have portray caricatures of people, as if the writers are afraid to reveal what they really feel.

"What we need today is a black consciousness in our literature. Then the people who can read will read in order to find a kinship of the spirit."

Thursday, November 11, 1982

# Slain SP man 'was on ANC death list'

262 11/11/82 117A

By MIKE LOUW

THE name of the police officer who was gunned down outside his home in Pretoria on Sunday was on the death list of the African National Congress, a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate heard yesterday.

This testimony was given in the Terrorism Act trial of Miss Lillian Keagile, 24, of Molapo, Soweto, who appeared before Mr I J J Luther.

It is alleged she took part in the activities of the ANC, alternatively that she was engaged in the affairs of the organisation or contravened the Terrorism Act.

She has pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The prosecutor, Mr A R van Wyk, made an application that proceedings should be held in camera while a State witness gave evidence yesterday.

Supporting the application, Captain Jan Carel Coetzee, of Security Police

headquarters in Pretoria, told the court the ANC had taken drastic steps by keeping a death list of State witnesses in political trials.

He said the name of Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe, the security policeman who was shot dead outside his home in Mamelodi on Sunday, was the second on the death list kept by the ANC.

Captain Coetzee said W/O Selepe had testified in several political trials, including one in which three people were at present appearing in Pretoria.

The magistrate ruled the name of the witness who was to testify, and his evidence, should not be disclosed by the Press.

A detained trade unionist, Mr Phillip Dlamini, former general secretary of the South African Black Municipal Workers' Union, who refused to give evidence for the State on Tuesday, again refused to testify yesterday.

He told the court on Tuesday, after refusing to give evidence, that he wished

to consult a lawyer.

He told the court yesterday he had consulted a lawyer and had decided not to give evidence, regardless of the consequences.

In court his lawyer, Mr Ratha Mokoatlheng, confirmed that Mr Dlamini had told him he had decided not to give evidence because he believed blacks would regard him as a sell-out, or an outcast, if he testified.

The prosecutor had earlier told the court Mr Dlamini was in detention in connection with another case which did not involve the present trial.

The prosecutor asked the magistrate to make a finding on whether he (the magistrate) was authorised to call Mr Dlamini to give evidence while Mr Dlamini was being detained in connection with another matter.

The magistrate reserved judgment in this matter until Monday.

Miss Keagile was remanded in custody and the trial will continue today.

# Detainee refuses to give evidence

A DETAINEE and ex-trade union leader refused to give evidence against terror trialist, Miss Lilian Keagile, in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday.

Former secretary of the South African Black Municipal Workers' Union, Mr Phillip Dlamini, refused to testify before Mr I J J Luther where Miss Keagile (24), of Orlando West, Soweto, is charged under the Terrorism Act.

She has pleaded not guilty to taking part in activities of the ANC and alternatively taking part in terror activities last year.

Mr Dlamini refused to take the oath and asked for an adjournment so that he could consult his lawyer, Mr Ratha Mokgoathleng.

After the adjournment he persisted in refusing to testify saying that a statement he had made to the police had not been made freely and voluntarily.

The prosecutor, Mr A R van Wyk submitted that in terms of the new Section 29 under which Mr Dlamini is being held, nobody other than the Minister of Police or the Commissioner of Police, had lawful access to a detainee.

Judgment on Mr Dlamini's accessibility was reserved until Monday.  
(Proceeding)



Themba Mthembu, left, and Mandla Sibisi.

*Cape Times 12/11/82*

## 2 win appeal, leave island

By ENRICO KEMP

AFTER completing two years of a five-year sentence on Robben Island, Durban schoolfriends Themba Mthembu and Mandla Sibisi were released yesterday after their successful appeal against a conviction under the Terrorism Act.

Excited and smiling, the two young men, still dressed in prison clothes, were brought to Cape Town on board the Robben Island ferry Susan Kruger shortly after 4.30pm and released. They were due to board a flight to Durban last night to be reunited with their relatives.

Mr Mthembu, 21, and Mr Sibisi, 23, of Kwa Mashu, near Durban, were arrested by security police at Mkuze, near the Swaziland border, in 1980 and were convicted in the Durban Regional Court on charges of undergoing military training. Five other men arrested with them were acquitted.

They were initially held at Leeukop prison near Pretoria and later transferred to Robben Island in November 1980.

Their attorney, Mrs Nonyamezelo Mxenge, said yesterday two judges in the Maritzburg Supreme Court had set

aside both their convictions and sentences on Tuesday.

She said the two men were to have been freed on Wednesday and their families had waited in vain for them to arrive in Durban on Wednesday night.

Mr Mthembu said yesterday it was "nice to be out", but he was concerned about other prisoners serving long sentences on Robben Island.

"But our cause is just. I am still committed to a free and just South Africa," he said.

He and Mr Sibisi — "my best friend" — grew up together in Kwa Mashu and were pupils at the Ubuhle Higher Primary School at the time of their arrest.

Mr Mthembu and Mr Sibisi both studied while on Robben Island and were due to write examinations shortly before their release. Mr Mthembu studied Accountancy, Business Economics, English and History for Form 3 and Mr Sibisi completed courses in History, English, Biology and Business Economics for Form 5 (Matric).

Both men said they had no immediate plans for the future and would first assess "conditions at home".





Members of the South African Allied Workers' Union celebrate the withdrawal of treason charges against two of their leaders, Thozamile Gqweta and Sisa Njikelana outside an East London court this week.

# Union breaks State harassment



THE withdrawal of charges against two top South African Allied Workers Union officials in East London this week was the final blow to a Government-sponsored campaign to crush the union, say SAAWU officials.

The entire executive of the union — which claims a membership of nearly 95 000 — was in detention at one stage this year.

Two of the executives spent time during their detention in the psychiatric wards of hospitals.

Sam Kikine, the union's general secretary, who spent more than six months in detention, appeared in court nine times during and after his incarceration before charges under the Terrorism Act were withdrawn against him.

This week president Thozamile Gqweta and vice-president Sisa Njikelana, whose trial has been postponed eight times since May — after they had both spent several months in detention — were told the Attorney-General of the Cape had decided to drop charges of high treason, alternatively under the Terrorism Act.

Mr Gqweta has been detained seven times since 1980 and Mr Njikelana five times.

Mr Kikine told the Sunday Tribune the withdrawal of charges against his two colleagues this week was not unexpected following the acquittal in Johannesburg on Wednesday of another trade unionist, Alan Fine, who faced Terrorism and Internal Security Act charges.

Thirty-year-old Mr Fine, an official of a registered liquor and catering workers' union, was freed after spending more than a year in prison, by a Regional Court

By INGRID STEWART  
Labour Reporter

magistrate who found the State had failed to prove that, by secretly sending information to an official of the exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) he intended to assist the banned African National Congress.

Among his findings were that Mr Fine's participation in consumer boycotts did not mean he was working for the ANC and that he may have sent information to SACTU secretly because he feared banning or detention without trial.

Mr Kikine also said the State never had a case against the two SAAWU officials.

"SAAWU has never done, nor will we ever do, anything that is illegal. On the many occasions that I appeared in court there was never a charge sheet," he said.

The indictment against Mr Gqweta and Mr Njikelana also failed to arrive in courts where they appeared.

Mr Kikine said his detention and that of his two colleagues was part of a Government strategy to crush the union.

"But they have failed."

he said. Instead more than 10 000 people have signed up with the union since the crackdown on the leadership.

"Our detention is proof to the workers that we are fighting for them and the union has carried on regardless."

Backing up his claim of Government harassment of the union, Mr Kikine points to a document circulated by the Security Police in East London — where SAAWU is particularly powerful — on how to deal with labour unrest in the area.

The document outlined a joint Government-employer strategy to smash unregistered unions, especially SAAWU, in the area and became the subject of a heated debate in Parliament last year.

Mr Kikine says the Government is concerned about SAAWU not only because it refuses to register but also because it is committed to a policy of non-racialism and does not confine its activities to factory-floor issues only.

"We believe the problems of the workers go beyond the factory gate," he says.

We've stopped the campaign to crush us, says SAAWU as charges are dropped

*14/11/82*

For this reason SAAWU stands on the same platforms as those organisations fighting for improved housing and better transport for the poor and improved educational facilities. At the time of the three officials' detention last year, the union was actively campaigning in the Eastern Cape against Ciskeian independence.

SAAWU is also gaining support overseas. Organisations like Amnesty International and the Anti-Apartheid movement in London as well as the British Labour Party campaigned for the release of the unionists when they were in detention.

"When you put all this, and our vast and growing membership together, you can see why the Government finds us a threat and feels it necessary to harass us," he said.

Both the police and the Department of Manpower have persistently denied harassment of any trade unionists.

However, during Mr Fine's trial, Major Craig Williamson, a member of the Security Police, admitted that trade unions had been a particular target of police action over the past few years.


of paper or other material in the examination room instructed.

communicate with other person except the invigilator.

book is to be torn out. The book must be handed to the invigilator before leaving the examination room.

the exclusion from the examination room.

# Swazis get tough with ANC

THE RULERS of Swaziland seem more resolved than ever to prevent their tiny southern African kingdom from becoming a sanctuary for guerrillas fighting South Africa.

Three months after the death of King Sobhuza II, they also want a rapid conclusion of negotiations to cede South African territory to Swaziland.

But the kingdom squashed between Mozambique and South Africa is also more divided than ever over its loy-

alties.

Swaziland plans to maintain its close economic relations with neighbouring South Africa, whose racial segregation policies it condemns, but at the same time does not want to alienate the Organisation of African Unity by appearing to be a South

African ally.

The Swazi High Court recently issued a warning to "freedom fighters" belonging to the anti-apartheid African National Congress (ANC), which is banned in South Africa, and to the Namibian nationalists of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo).

It said heavier penalties would be imposed in future for illegal possession of weapons.

The warning was issued after a series of incidents implicating ANC members.

Last month alone,

*Sowetan 16/11/82*  
nine ANC members were brought before the courts on charges of receiving weapons. According to the South African Press, several others were questioned by police as they sought refuge near the Swazi Royal enclosure in Lobambo.

In September, two ANC activists convicted of possessing illegal weapons told the court their target was not Swaziland but South Africa.

King Sobhuza, until his death in August at the age of 83, refused to accept South African refugees unless they

promised to give up their armed struggle when they came to his country.

Several ANC members and militants of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) were detained at the Swazi capital, Mbabane, for breaking the rules, and some were deported to South Africa, according to the South African Institute for International Affairs.

It is not yet clear what attitude the new Swazi rulers will adopt to militants seeking refuge from the South African authorities.

Until a successor to the "Lion of Swaziland" is announced from among the 600 royal princes, the queen mother — "The Great She Elephant" — is ruling the country as regent.

The royal family wants to retain control of the government, despite growing opposition from those who want to democratise the tribal regime and improve relations with the "progressive" regimes of Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

South Africa claims Mozambican-trained ANC activists have been passing through Swazi-



REFUGEES Sobhuza supported armed struggle

and to South Africa to carry out sabotage.

The ANC has accused South African security agents of pursuing its members on Swazi territory. It charges that South African security agents were responsible for an attack two years ago on a building in Manzini housing the ANC, and for the deaths of two guerrillas killed in their car about 500 metres from a South African border checkpoint.

The deteriorating relations between the ANC and the Swazi authorities have come to the forefront because of

the ANC's open opposition to Pretoria's plan to cede territory to Swaziland.

Under the agreement, the kingdom would inherit about one million black South African citizens and a precious outlet to the Indian Ocean.

The ANC argues that the deal is part of Pretoria's plan to create a chain of dependent buffer states of formally independent African "homelands" around the apartheid regime. The plan has also been challenged in the South African courts. — AFP

Sho 5 12/11/82

# State rejects assault claim

11-A

By Themba Maseko

The prosecutor at the trial of Miss Lillian Keagile in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday dismissed as a lie her claim that she was assaulted and sexually molested by two security policemen last year.

Mr A R van Wyk said Miss Keagile made up a story to suit her evidence. He produced a statement alleged to have been made by Miss Keagile when she was examined by a doctor while in detention last year.

Mr van Wyk said that, in the statement, she had mentioned only the assault and had omitted the claim of sexual molestation.

Miss Keagile said she had felt ashamed to tell the doctor that she had been assaulted indecently.

"But you had the

temerity to tell the public and Press in this court about the sexual molestation," Mr van Wyk said. "Surely a doctor was the only person in whom you could confide. I put it to you that you were not sexually molested."

Miss Keagile replied: "I did not reveal these details in court for publicity or to attract attention. I still feel ashamed but I have taken an oath to tell the truth."

Mr van Wyk was warned by the magistrate Mr I J J Lutter to lower his voice after Mr C Mailer, defending, had objected to "the prosecutor's aggressive attitude towards my client."

Miss Keagile (25) of Molapo, Soweto, has pleaded not guilty to being a member of the African National Congress, or furthering its aims, and to contravening the Terrorism Act.

The case continues

# Men spied on ANC for SA, court told

ROM 19/11/82



HARARE — South Africa wanted Mr Phillip Hartlebury and Mr Colin Evans, former members of the Zimbabwe Central Intelligence Organisation, to provide it with information on the movements of Mr Joe Gqabi, the SA African National Congress leader assassinated in Harare last year, the High Court was told in Harare yesterday.

Mr Hartlebury, 36, and Mr Evans, 27, have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Nicholas McNally to a charge of contravening the Official Secrets Act and another of unlawfully possessing arms of war in contravention of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act.

A senior member of the CIO alleged that both men had made confessions to him concerning their involvement as SA spies. Under an

official order issued earlier in the case, witnesses' names may not be published.

He said both Mr Hartlebury and Mr Evans told him they had been recruited by their superior, former Superintendent Geoffrey Burton Price, who had defected from the CIO and left the country.

They were told they would be paid by the SA authorities for supplying intelligence or any information that could be of interest to the SA Directorate of Military Intelligence.

SA wanted information on the activities of the ANC in Zimbabwe and the movements of Mr Joel Gqabi, an ANC representative in Zimbabwe.

They were also expected to provide information on officers in the CIO and what members of the government thought about SA, he said. — Sapa.

# Old Bailey

Stas 19/11/82

## trial for SA 'paper spies'

By Jean-Jacques  
Cornish

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Zimbabwe raised pilot Mr Peter Caselton admitted in court yesterday that he tried to channel documents stolen earlier this year from the London offices of the ANC, PAC and Swapo to South Africa.

Mr Caselton (38) was ordered by the magistrate, Mr Edmund McDermott to stay in custody until the break-ins case went to trial.

It would be referred to the Old Bailey, he said, because of widespread public concern. No date was set for the trial.

Mr Caselton has been in jail since mid-September.

In the dock with him yesterday were Swedish freelance journalist Bertil Wedin (42) and Londoner Edward Aspinall (24).

Aspinall alone is charged with the burglaries at the offices of the PAC on September 9, the ANC on July 21, and Swapo on August 31.

He has also pleaded guilty to jumping bail after his arrest for the burglaries. He is being held in custody.

Mr Caselton and Mr Wedin are charged with dishonestly handling documents and goods stolen from the

three organisations and with conspiracy to burgle them. Mr Caselton is also charged with possessing a can of teargas-spray.

Mr Wedin is out on bail.

Appearing for Mr Caselton's release, Mr Lawson said his client admitted that he acted as an intermediary — a channel — so that documents, which he believed were against his newly adopted country, and from organisations which he considered to be terrorist organisations, could go to the proper authorities as he saw them.

### QUALIFIED

"He has denied and he denies through me today that he is an employee of any foreign security organisation," Mr Lawson said.

Mr Caselton, he said, was born in Britain and went to Rhodesia.

He qualified as a pilot in the mid 60s and worked mainly as a crop sprayer. During 1980 or 1981 he was granted a South African residence permit and went to Britain in May 1981.

Mr Lawson argued that the alleged offences did not constitute a major breach of security nor were they inimical to Her Majesty's Government.

Appeal by  
ANC men  
19/11/82  
dismissed

The Star's Africa News  
Service

MBABANE — Swazi-  
land's Court of Appeal  
has upheld sentences  
passed on two members  
of the African National  
Congress who were  
convicted of carrying  
arms of war in the  
Kingdom.

The judges' dismissal  
of the ANC men's  
claim that the sen-  
tences were too harsh  
— each was fined R630  
(or 2 months) —  
comes after a govern-  
ment ruling that arms  
offences should be  
dealt with more  
severely.

The instruction from  
the Queen Regent and  
her advisers on the Li-  
qoo council was seen  
widely as a bid to  
control the movements  
of ANC guerrillas who  
have used Swaziland as  
a springboard for at-  
tacks on South Africa.

The two men,  
Richard Nxumalo and  
Moses Mathebese, were  
convicted by a Mba-  
hane magistrate of pos-  
sessing three AK-47 as-  
sault rifles and ammo-  
nition, a pistol, a land-  
mine, hand grenades  
and detonators.

# Doctor took a look just 83 days later

## Mall Reporter

A DETAINEE was examined by a doctor 83 days after she was allegedly assaulted by members of the Security Police during interrogation, a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate heard yesterday.

This testimony was given in the Terrorism Act trial of Miss Lillian Keagile, 24, of Molapo, Soweto, who appeared before Mr I J J Luther.

The State alleges she took part in the activities of the ANC.

Giving evidence for the defence, the senior district surgeon for Johannesburg, Dr Norman Jacobson, told the court his duties included examining detainees.

He said he examined Miss Keagile on February 9 this year. She told him she had

been assaulted by Security Police when she was arrested on November 18 last year.

She said she was suffering from pains in the chest and also under her breast.

She told him she had not been seen by a doctor since she was allegedly assaulted by being kicked all over her body.

She told him her head was covered with a wet sack which was later used to hit her on the body. She was also slapped on both ears, he said.

Dr Jacobson said he noticed no visible injuries on her.

Miss Keagile, who first appeared in court eight months after being detained, will spend a second Christmas day in custody and will appear again on January 10 next year.

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120m 20/11/82

# Accused spoke freely, SP head tells court

Mail Reporter

AN ALLEGED double murderer and African National Congress saboteur spoke spontaneously and freely to the Security Police after 20 hours interrogation by three teams of interrogators, it was heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Rogerio Hoffsan Chamusso 32, alias Patrick Shangé, is appearing before Mr Justice A P Myburgh, and assessors on five charges — two counts of murder and three counts of contravening the Terrorism Act, and an alternative charge of sabotage.

Mr Chamusso is alleged to have murdered Mr Lukas Abraham Mans, 47, and Mr Hendrik Rudolph Gerhardus Booysen, 32, near Witbank on October 23 last year. He is also alleged to have sabotaged an Eskom electricity transformer in Witbank.

The State alleges further that Mr Chamusso received military training in Mozambique and Angola between 1979 and October 1981. When arrested, he was allegedly in possession of explosives and ammunition.

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert McIntyre of the Eastern Transvaal Security Police said Mr Chamusso looked normal after his arrest. He was not wearing a shirt or shoes.

Col McIntyre said he organised three interrogation teams. The first team was to interrogate Mr Chamusso from 4pm until midnight. The second was to take over from midnight until 6am and the third would interrogate Mr Chamusso until midday.

He talked to Mr Chamusso on the morning of October 28 and after Mr Chamusso made a verbal statement to the Security Police, it was decided he should make a statement to a magistrate.

Col McIntyre said Mr Chamusso spoke spontaneously and freely to him. He did not look as if he had been deprived of water.

"His spontaneity did not surprise me because from the beginning he co-operated with the police," Col McIntyre said.

Under cross-examination by Mr J N de Vos, Col McIntyre said Mr Chamusso had been in detention for nine

months, first as a suspect, then detained under the Internal Security Act and later, under the Terrorism Act.

Col McIntyre said Mr Chamusso denied he was a member of the ANC or that he possessed a car or pistol.

Earlier, a Middleburg magistrate, Mr S A Muller, testified that he was called by the Security Police to take Mr Chamusso's statement.

Mr Muller said he did not ask Mr Chamusso to tell him the circumstances which led him to make the statement. He did not ask Mr Chamusso to explain what he meant when he said he wanted to talk before a "court".

"There was water and a glass in my office when he was making a statement. He did not ask for water. I did not think that I should ask him further about the denial of the water. He did not look thirsty," Mr Muller said.

The judge is to decide on Monday whether the statement made to Mr Muller is acceptable as evidence in the hearing.

Mr P Hassbroek, SC Deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal, and Mr S Joubert, appeared for the State. Mr E Dane and Mr J N de Vos appeared for Mr Chamusso.



w/c ARBUS 20/11/82

2-2 117

# Citizenship the answer

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — The Government can still "buy time" to solve South Africa's burning racial questions, but it can do so only on the basis of recognising blacks as South African citizens, says Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Bishop Tutu believes that in trying to "get rid" of blacks from urban areas, the Government is intensifying an explosive situation — "I believe the trouble will start in rural areas," he said.

"How long does a man watch his children starve?"

In an interview at the Anglican Provincial Syn-

od here, the powerful black Christian leader said the situation in South Africa today was "gloomy", and becoming more so because of the further enforcement of apartheid.

"Things aren't getting better, they're getting worse," added the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who is widely regarded as an "optimist" about South Africa's future.

"I say things have become worse, because one just has to see the continuing uprooting of people, the proposed Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill and all the other paraphernalia accompanying apartheid, such as

By BRIAN STUART, Religion Reporter

bannings, detentions and security legislation.

"I do believe that in the Orderly Movement Bill the Government believes it has found its own 'final solution' to the problem of blacks. It wants to push them out — out of sight — and then pretend there are no more blacks in South Africa."

Bishop Tutu said there were three classes of whites:

● Those who are concerned and sincerely want real change — genuine change, not just "tinkering about with things."

● Those who know the crisis is real, but hope they can "stave off the

inevitable day of reckoning".

● Those who don't want to know about the situation, and choose to remain in "blissful ignorance."

The third class was promoted by the apartheid system. "How do you know about black conditions — you actually have to get a permit to go into a black area, and how many people do?"

"How do you know about the conditions in resettlement camps, unless you travel great distances to get into them to see for yourself?"

Bishop Tutu said the Government was probably trying to solve the wrong problem. And in

so doing it was promoting an explosive situation:

"My reading of the situation is that they believe trouble will come from urban areas. But I fear it will come from the rural areas — from the 'homelands'. And that is where all their 'resettlement' areas are."

Bishop Tutu said the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Philip Russell, had been realistic in his warning to whites this week "As long as you trust in the policy of apartheid, however backed by the SADF, the NIS, the Security Police and so on, you are doomed to failure."

"But it is not a picture so gloomy that it is without some relief, because there is still the possibility of change," Bishop Tutu said.

# Report on ANC fans new US row

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON. — An ex-Vietnam prisoner of war who is now a United States senator, believes the Communist Bloc has achieved "alarmingly effective" control over banned Southern African liberation movements.

But Republican Senator Jeremiah Denton's report on his controversial Senate hearings on Southern Africa, threatens to provoke a new row — Democrats serving on the sub-committee say the report misleadingly refers to the views of "the sub-committee" when they had not been told a report was being prepared, or been allowed to provide a minority report.

They claimed the report — attacking the banned African National Congress and South West Africa People's Organisation — represented only Sen Denton, chairman of the sub-committee on security and terrorism.

Sen Denton, who spent seven years as a prisoner of war in Vietnam, said the evidence his sub-committee had heard "strongly suggested" the original aims of the ANC and Swapo had been subverted by "the Soviets and their allies". Their activities could not easily be reconciled with liberation or the promotion of freedom, he wrote.

"The evidence has thus served to illustrate once again the Soviet Union's support for terrorism."

Sen Denton intends to now begin a probe of US organisations supporting the ANC and Swapo "to explore means of curtailing such support".

105m 22/1/82

## Swazis act against ANC

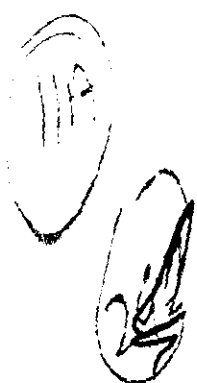
MBABANE. — Swazi authorities are concerned at the rapidly increasing number of African National Congress members being found armed, according to official sources in Mbabane.

The Chief Justice, Mr Justice Charles Nathan, has directed that cases involving ANC members convicted of possessing weapons should be referred to the High Court for review.

The sources also said the government was reviewing its policy on refugees with a view to tightening security before granting refugee status. — Sapa.

ARTS FESTIVAL

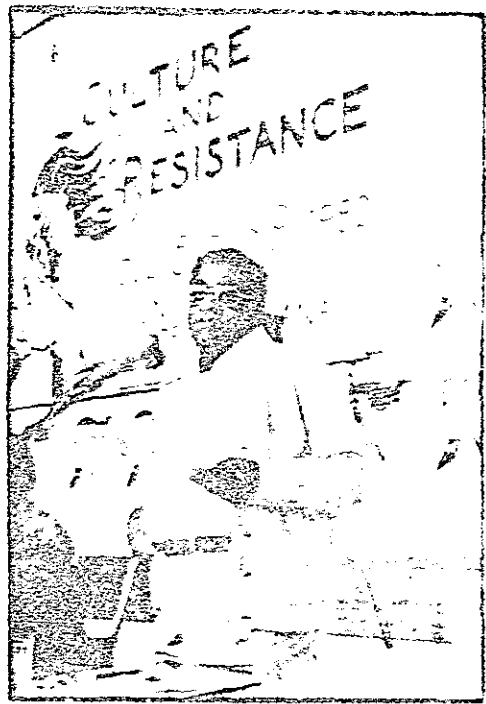
# Cultural milestone across the border



ARTS FESTIVAL



COMMUNITY ARTS PROGRAMME



RICHARD RILEY

For a week this winter, several hundred South Africans, including most of the leadership of the "alternative" South African establishment, migrated to Swaziland to an arts conference festival which also attracted numerous prominent artists. The occasion represented a unique meeting of dissidents both fierce and moderate and also marked a new point in the struggle for positions of black consciousness

and the faction which stands for radical change without recognition of racial participation. Here follow three separate perspectives of an event which may well at some future stage be recorded as a milestone in South Africa's history.

Malcolm Purkey is a founder-member of the Junction Avenue Theatre Company: a non-racial, experimental company dedicated to creating new and critical

works on South Africa. Their most recent work, *Marabi*, was performed in Gaborone.

Nape a'Motana is an advertising executive and is general secretary of the black-only African Writers Association.

P.J.D. Lourens is an Afrikaner with no connection to any political party or faction.

PLEASE TURN OVER

# A triumph of non-racialism

BY MALCOLM PURKEY

THE Botswana Conference and Arts Festival has to be the most important South African cultural event to happen in the last few or ten years. What an indictment of the started culture of apartheid, that a festival of serious artists of the highest calibre had to meet and discourse outside the borders of South Africa.

For once the whole range of debate was heard and artists met from inside the country and in exile could exchange views and witness each other's work without the direct and immediate interference of the state. There was also a welcome relief from the sense of unreality imposed by the participation of commercial industry and advertising in the festivals that are now taking place in the country. Festivals that function as tourist attractions on the East Town, Durban, can hardly pay serious attention to art that is dedicated to critique, analysis and resistance against the sources of the most vibrant art in the country.

One thing struck me as most significant. The conference accepted as given that artists have an absolute moral responsibility to their society. The issues under debate focused on the nature of this responsibility.

The thousand or so participants from South Africa, both black and white, were quite clearly sympathetic to debate that centred around principles of non-racialism and commitment to the struggle for freedom in South Africa, the festival itself being a most forceful affirmation of these principles.

The only dissonant note was struck by a small group of black consciousness proponents, who seemed to have commandeered power in excess of their support. Much to the surprise of the majority of the participants, including many black consciousness sympathisers, who recognised something very important was happening, a leader of this little group declared the whole conference invalid.

From my own point of view, many issues were clarified. It is absolutely vital for practising artists, especially those working in the more immediate and popular media such as theatre, to have a very clear analysis of the structures which underpin apartheid in order to incor-



Hugh Masekela and Wilson "Kunc Force" Sigeo

porate these observations and understandings into the work being produced. It is not sufficient merely to reflect repression and degradation. To do so can begin to have a counter-productive and reactionary function. Many new South African theatre pieces fall into this trap. They show an inadequate understanding of the exact relationship between class and race as social determinants in the structure of South African society, and thus degenerate into a concern for surface and appearance. Art must not only pose problems. It must also hint towards a solution. Of course, the solution must be grounded in reality. There is always the danger of romanticising "Africa" as a future paradise, with no regard for the problems of urbanisation, industrialisation and the rest of the world's interest in the outcome of the intense struggle going on in South Africa.

The Botswana Conference and Festival evoked all these issues and more, but mostly it was a joyous celebration, a microcosm of what South Africa could be. I for one hope it will become an ongoing event and wish for the time when it can come home where it belongs.

## The drums of blackness were pounded loud

BY NAPE e'MOTANA

THESE were theatre shows, dances and poetry. Musically, the legendary trumpeter Hugh Masekela was part of the high-voltage package that included mostly exiled virtuosos like Dollar Brand, Johnny Dyani and Jonas Gwangwa. And Botswana's modest capital was just caught up in a cultural hubbub; he will never forget.

When I arrived in Gaborone, I found scores of South African whites. I later learned from several "home boys" that this "influx" didn't please them as they wanted a "whole-black" affair and not something that resembled a pot of mas.

The tone of the festival was the main



Benny Morake of the Fulani Poets.



Dollar Brand

ed by the theme "Culture and Resistance". Further it sounded very odd to hear some of our white countrymen being addressed as "Comrade" but we soon got used to it!

One of the noteworthy issues raised during discussion was that the concerned whites who want to contribute to positive social change in the country should "conscientise their own people" rather than do charity work among blacks. Further the delegates couldn't agree that the real issue in South Africa was that of the class struggle rather than racism, and that black and white cultural workers should fight together in dismantling the "Apartheid Culture".

Several exiled white South Africans were very vocal - lambasting "the System". But they weren't just spitting blue fire: they were constructive. But the drums of Black Consciousness were pounded loud and nobody could wear ear-plugs.

We were also treated to some cinematic graphic delicacies like *The Freedom Charter* and *To The Last Drop of Blood* - which were shown repeatedly on demand by our white countrymen

especially

South Africans who are for the best part of their lives blinkered by censorship laws, propaganda and their "whiteness" or "blackness" seemed to view life with different spectacles. For example a white lady expressed a wish with tearful eyes (I hope they were genuine tears) that more and more South Africans could see films like those mentioned above lest they remain narrow and bigoted for the rest of their lives.

Most of our countrymen thought they knew the "correct" facts about the African National Congress, Communists, Marxists and other "ists" and "isms" but in discussions the flip side of things had to be seen without home-made blinkers. The ANC representatives who were proud of their imposing presence freely mixed with everybody including, notably, some Bothers and van der Merwes.

During the last music show, as we were filing into the Gaborone Town Hall, an Afrikaner here I had chatted to the previous day beckoned me over for a tête-à-tête. After telling me that he was a theology student at Stellenbosch, he then floored me by asking "Tell me Nape, how can an Afrikaner like myself contribute to the liberation struggle?" I didn't really know where to start.

## Racial tension and pressure to conform

BY P.J.D. LOURENS

NO well-known Afrikaners came to the festival.

More than 300 paintings, drawings, sculptures and photographs were displayed. Most of the non-photographic and 44 of the photographic works had been made by blacks.

Some effective pieces carried a loud political message; many spoke of pain rather than anger. As a result, the exhibition both celebrated amply the black

renaissance and reminded me strongly that the evil was the whites doing to our countrymen.

Marabi, a strong impression of black pain and suffering, was performed. The "Fulani Poets" gave two performances. At night their act was a sustained, moving cry of pain and anger. In a crowded chamber under the lovely Botswana sun, their play slipped into melodrama. Its mood's more than dramatic pieces seemed to air with sincerity or soapy emotion.

Indigenous African music with or without Western accretions could be heard every night and sometimes during the day. The music and song were often beautiful, a strong reminder of what all of us are missing as part of our African heritage. In the spirit of the renaissance, American and Americanised music was firmly rejected.

An aged African musician related how he and his band had made music throughout the night, then worked at routine jobs during the day. He recalled with a sad little smile, without bitterness, the two gambees (R4.20) they were paid per record by companies "earning" thousands of pula from the same records.

In general, race relations were cordial. But blacks made it clear that whites (delegates included) were eating the fruits of injustice. Almost casual remarks suggested that blacks could not trust a whites attending this kind of meeting.

James Matthews, a blunt, honest black poet, put a question to whites: Did they fear black poetry? Several whites tried to answer the question. A painter replied that she feared violence of any kind, though she acknowledged the right of blacks to violent emotion.

Near the end of the symposium a black actor called whites "foreign intruders". Let us throw them out of South Africa, he said. A few people applauded. A white man of unquestioned commitment, tactfully but decisively rejected the suggestion.

I have mixed feelings about the meetings. Understandably, there was a lot of revolutionary zeal; but the implications of the blatant pressure to conform, the Marxist preachings and the attempts to politicise artists and writers were not spelt out clearly and honestly.

Often, Marxist tactics seemed indistinguishable from those used by the Broederbond. For instance, an anonymous attack on Athol Fugard was circulated, calling on him to join the Marxist ranks.

One afternoon a young, intense and eloquent black man praised the "democracy" and "progressiveness" of the Soviet Union. I left the hall.

Yet ideology is almost a side issue. All South Africa should have been there to witness the pain and determination of some of our best artists and writers.

# Scheme to keep baasskap — Curry

ARGUS 23/11/82

~~SECRET~~

NA

## Political Staff

THE Labour Party's national chairman, Mr David Curry, today rejected crucial aspects of the latest President's Council proposals as "a clever and sophisticated scheme for entrenching white baasskap".

He said he could not believe the proposals would be acceptable to the coloured community. "They seem to be a new version of the same recipe for conflict that we had in the old Coloured Representative Council."

A detailed study would be made of the proposals. But on one important aspect alone the plan was unacceptable, he said.

## Sole discretion

"The executive President has the sole discretion in appointing coloured members to his Cabinet. They will have the real power in the day-to-day running of the country.

"The President is not required to choose men from the majority party in the coloured community. He is not required to reflect the views of the people in making his choice.

"I foresee a repetition of the conflicts we had in 1969 and 1975 on the old CRC. The Labour Party won most of the seats in elections, but the Government, or the executive, persisted in appointing non-Labour Party leaders."

## Firm impression

Mr Curry said for any constitutional plan to work, it had to reflect the choice of the people. Each community should elect its own leaders. It was "a clever and sophisticated new form of white baasskap" to give such powers to the white President.

"I get the firm impression that members of the President's Council expect to be appointed to the Cabinet. Not one of them can claim to represent anyone in the coloured community except themselves."

The President's Council spoke of "segmental autonomy" for each community. Yet it denied these communities the right to any say in the selection of those who would exercise day-to-day power over them.

"This is a recipe for conflict. We must have the right to elect and dismiss our own leaders."

mercury  
**Devan cuts** 24/1/82 (11A)  
**all ties with party**

Mercury Reporter

FORMER Indian Council executive member, Mr P I Devan, said yesterday he relinquished all ties with the National Peoples' Party, the ruling group in the council, on the day he left his executive seat.

He was responding to a decision taken by the party at the weekend to expel him as an ordinary member.

Mr Devan, deputy leader of the party, said when he resigned from Exco he had made up his mind to leave the party completely, and had advised party leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and several other party members of the decision.

He said party members were now trying to score points by giving the impression that he had been axed, whereas he had resigned.

'My decision to cut off ties completely was taken after a recent meeting of the party at which Mr Rajbansi was granted unlimited powers which allowed him to axe any member who did not toe the line,' Mr Devan said.

He said he warned members of the double-edged effect of such a mandate on the long-term interest of the community, but his pleas had been ignored.





UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
EXAMINATION ANSWER BOOK

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

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All answer books must be numbered

GENERAL NEWS

# SA accused on killing

S 1745  
24/11/82  
11A

By Robin Drew  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

**HARARE** — An assassination at Harare, Mr Joe Gubb, was assassinated here in July last year. The High Court heard today...

former Central Intelligence Organisation officers had been told this at a clandestine meeting with a contact of South African military intelligence.

The witness, a member of the South African interrogators who can not be named, was recounting details of alleged verbal confessions which are being challenged by the defence.

He said the two Zimbabwean officers had been told to start away from army operations and to supply intelligence.

At another secret meeting, they were told that three men using hired cars and false names had been involved in the killing and had since left for South Africa.

Mr Gubb had also been asked to find out whether the North Koreans were bringing tanks into the Inanga region of Zimbabwe.

The witness said inter bombs and other war material had been found at a house in the

Harare suburb of Braeside and that the keys were kept by the accused.

Under cross-examination he said he did not know if the house was a safe house run by the former Rhodesian Special Forces in which both Mr Gubb had previously served.

He said it was suspected that other explosives which had not been recovered had been used in the bombing of the Zanu (PF) headquarters in Harare last December.

The admissibility of the alleged confessions is being heard in a separate issue in the trial, which has now lasted for seven days.

Examiners' Initials		
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NOTE CAREFULLY

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

WARNING

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

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



# Rasta movement growing in City

CAPE Times 24/11/82

11A

Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN'S growing Rastafarian movement has a following of several hundred members, and although essentially black, enjoys support from a multiracial body of "sympathizers" estimated at a few thousand.

With their conspicuous twisted "dreadlock" hairstyle and their red, green and gold Ethiopian colours, Rastafarians (Rastas) are a common sight in the City's black townships, and more occasionally in the city centre, where they frequent clubs and record bars playing reggae music.

The University of Cape Town's Social Anthropology Department recently held a seminar on Rastafarianism, and second-year students enrolled for a "symbols and rituals" course studied the cult as an example of a millenarian movement. In Britain the popularity of Rastafarianism among young blacks commands increasing attention of sociologists.

Although very religious, Rastas reject institutionalized worship. "We Rastas pray a lot, in the mountains or at the beach. We don't have something like a church, we pray our own way. We don't have to (put a) step in Babylon," explained a 20-year

old Langa youth.

The worldwide back-to-Africa movement of which City Rastas are part started in Jamaica in the 1940s and takes its name from the Ethiopian title of the late Emperor Haile Selassie, whom its members believe to be divine.

Renowned for their frequent use of ganja (dagga) to assist in "meditation", Rastas live by a strict behavioural code, which calls for daily Bible readings and continuous worship of "Jah" (Jehovah) Rastafari. Rastafarians are vegetarian, abhor alcohol and will not take any drugs other than ganja, which is reserved for ritual purposes.

Whereas overseas Rastas emphasize "repatriation" to their Ethiopian (African) homeland, local Rastas are quick to point out their emphasis on social change. But Rastas are non violent: "We fight with our mouths, bringing the people together," they say.

Mr Darryl Solomon, manager of a City record store, confirmed yesterday that the sale of reggae records had increased dramatically in the past two years. "Black and coloured people, and particularly Rastas are the major purchasers of reggae albums," he said.

Some young whites have iden-

tified closely with Cape Town's Rastafarians. "We're all living in Africa, and we might as well get to know and love each other," explained a City drama student. "It is through Rasta and music that people can come together."

But hard-core Rastas are wary of the cult's fashionability. "Rasta is very popular now. Lots of records, lots of people wearing Rasta colours, but not all these people are Rastas. A Rastaman is suffering in his society, and must greet the other Rastas," complained a Rasta with several years' growth of dreadlocks.



TERRORISM

FM 26/11/82

~~218~~

117A

# A message for Machel

No doubt Marxist Mozambique believes it has a manifest destiny to "free" South Africa. But it should remember that people who play hard ball must expect to get hurt.

With the number of terrorist attacks on SA on the increase — almost certainly mounted from Mozambican territory — it will have only itself to blame if SA crosses its borders once more to strike back.

Mozambique claims that SA troops are massing on its frontiers in preparation for an attack. And while there is no reason to doubt the SA Defence Force response that there are no unusual troop movements in the area, it is common cause that a stronger military presence is being systematically built up along the border. And so it should be. This month alone there have been three separate incidents in which property has been destroyed and people killed.

On November 2 came the attack on a fuel depot in northern Zululand. Days later two policemen were wounded and three gunmen were shot dead during follow-up operations the next day. Finally, police and military targets were hit at Tonga near the border south of Komati-poort on Saturday.

Yet Mozambique still sees fit to term the SADF response a threat to its "sovereignty and territorial integrity." Previously it has spoken of "invasion," but the real truth is that SA is doing no more than its duty to protect its own citizens. Indeed, it would be remiss not to do so.

Any direct action by SA, far from threatening Mozambique itself, would be aimed at the ANC and the violent means it has chosen to try to force its will upon this country.

The more intelligent response, we suggest, would be for Mozambique to act — and be seen to act — against those who use its territory as a base for their attacks on SA.

SA has lost patience before, and will probably lose patience again. Claims from Maputo that Mozambique knows nothing about the latest terrorist attack on a police station and servicemen's quarters near Komati-poort could well be true. The more relevant question is whether it is doing anything to pre-empt a recurrence. If not, SA can hardly be blamed for doing the job itself.

Certainly the Machel government's denials of complicity in the Sasol sabotage affair last year were cut short when a South African strike force established beyond doubt that the attack was masterminded from Joe Slovo's Maputo headquarters.

Mozambique, of course, counter-claims that SA is attempting to destabilise the country through support of the resistance movement in its northern provinces. That re-

mains open to doubt but, if true, such action is ill-advised — unless there are telling reasons of which the public is not aware.

There are also stories that an anti-Frelimo radio station is operating with official approval somewhere in the eastern Transvaal.

SA's best course — which it has pursued with limited success — is to demonstrate that as the superpower of southern Africa it can be a major force for good.

And its strongman status in the region — both economically and militarily — is something that Machel would be well advised to note before pursuing a policy of confrontation.

After all, if SA does finally decide to use to the full the muscle it possesses, it will be doing no more than Mozambique's Soviet patrons have done for decades. It is basic to Russian thinking that it should be left free to deal with problems in its area of influence without interference from anyone, especially the West.

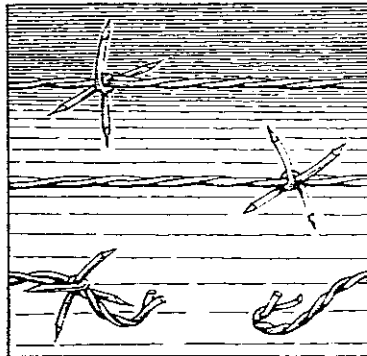
Indeed, in case the point is missed, the Soviets have formalised suzerainty over their communist satellites in the Brezhnev Doctrine.

Some will say that it goes no further than the Monroe Doctrine adopted by the US 160 years ago. But few will need reminding how easily the Russians have thus far been able to counter dissidence in the Communist bloc — troops and battalions of tanks into Hungary and Czechoslovakia; invasion of Afghanistan; and threatening troop movements on the borders of Poland.

The FM does not suggest that SA should adopt a similarly belligerent stance in southern Africa. What we do say is that Mozambique, and any other neighbouring state tempted to indulge the violent option, should take cognisance of the realities of their situations.

Thankfully, most states in the region have already done so. Both Swaziland and Botswana, while accepting refugees, are not prepared to host the militants. Lesotho and Zimbabwe display greater hostility at the rhetoric level, but they, too, have stopped short of allowing terrorist attacks. The time has come for Mozambique to do the same. Already it relies on South African economic strength to prevent a slide into national insolvency. SA runs its main harbour, props its railway system, employs its people and buys its goods.

Like the rest of black Africa, it has deep-rooted objections to SA's race policies. So does the FM. But change must come through persuasion. The violent alternative is one that cannot win.



# Painter tells court why he joined ANC

CAPE TIMES 27/11/82

118

Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — A former Maraisburg painter decided to join the African National Congress (ANC) and went for military training after his wife and child were killed during the Matola raid by the South African Defence Force, it was said in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Rogerio Hoffsan Chamusso, 32, alias Patrick Shange, told Mr Justice A P Myburgh and assessors that he was shot in the knee during the attack in Maputo on January 31 last year.

Mr Chamusso is appearing on two charges of murder and three of contravening the Terrorism Act.

## 'Sabotage mission'

The State alleges he left the country and underwent military training in Mozambique and Angola between 1979 and October 1981, and that he came back into the country with a mission from the ANC in Maputo to commit sabotage.

Mr Chamusso is alleged to have murdered Mr Lukas Abraham Mans, 47, and Mr Hendrik Rudolph Gerhardus Booysen, 32, on October 23 last year.

Mr Chamusso was arrested after a three-day search by the police who found arms and explosives in his car.

Mr Chamusso gave evidence in his own defence. He said he had left the country on June 20, 1980.

"The first reason was that I had problems with inspectors who did not allow me to do my painting in suburbs and said I must go to Soweto."

Mr Chamusso said he was sent for military training in Angola. He received orders from Joe Slovo to sabotage three targets, left Maputo on October 14 last year and entered South Africa through Swaziland. He had Russian limpet mines hidden in the back seat of his car.

## Ogies unit

Mr Chamusso said he met a man called George in Swaziland who gave him R200 for an ANC unit in Ogies.

He admitted he had sabotaged an electrical transformer in Witbank.

Mr Chamusso said he had decided to join the ANC after his wife and child were killed.

"The raid took place at the residence of innocent people. The nearby terrorist camp was not attacked," he said.

The deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr Haasbroek SC, and Mr S Joubert appeared for the State. Mr E Dane and Mr J N de Vos appeared for Mr Chamusso. The hearing continues on Tuesday.

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# 'I joined ANC after soldiers shot my wife'

Pretoria Bureau

THE death of his wife and child in Mozambique at the hands of South African soldiers prompted a former Maraisburg painter to join the African National Congress and go for military training, the Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Rogerio Hoffsan Chamusso, 32, alias Patrick Shange, told Mr Justice A P Myburgh and assessors he had been shot in the knee during the Matola raid by the South African Defence Force on January 31, last year.

Mr Chamusso is appearing on two charges of murder, three contraventions of the Terrorism Act, and an alternative charge of sabotage.

The State alleges Mr Chamusso left the country and underwent military training in Mozambique and Angola between 1979 and October 1981. He returned with a mission from the ANC in Maputo to commit sabotage.

Mr Chamusso is alleged to have murdered Mr Lukas Abraham Mans, 47, and Mr Hendrik Rudolph Gerhardus Booysen, 32, on October 23, last year. In the evening he allegedly sabotaged an Escom electrical transformer

with Russian limpet mines

In his defence, Mr Chamusso said he had left South Africa on June 30, 1980.

"The first reason was that I had problems with inspectors who would not allow me to do my painting in the suburbs and said I must go to Soweto. Again, my personal documents did not allow me in the urban areas," Mr Chamusso said.

Under cross-examination by the State prosecutor, Mr P Haasbroek, SC, Mr Chamusso said when he had crossed into Mozambique from South Africa he had been detained by Frelimo soldiers for three months.

He said he had decided to join the ANC and undergo military training in Angola after his wife and child had been killed during the Matola raid by South African soldiers.

"I saw the soldiers while on my way from the bioscope with my wife. I thought they were Frelimo soldiers. Minutes before midnight, while I was in the toilet, the attack started. There was bombing around me and I escaped through the toilet window," he said.

Mr Chamusso, who was shot in the knee, said he had been in hospital when he was told his wife and child had been killed in the raid. The hearing continues on Tuesday.

*[Handwritten notes in cursive script, mostly illegible due to blurriness and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*



Sowetan  
29/11/32  
(11A)

# Bread boycott grows

THE WHITE bread boycott campaign initiated by the South African Black Alliance (Saba) is gaining momentum as many shopowners in Soweto are stocking 50 per cent less white bread than usual.

This was revealed in a snap survey undertaken by The SOWETAN in the area.

The Maponya Supply Store in Dube, which used to stock 12 dozen loaves of white bread during the week, are only stocking 6 dozen at present. During the weekend they are now stocking 15 dozen loaves instead of 25 which is an average decrease of 45 to 50 percent.

A spokesperson at the store said many people no longer bought white bread as before, but she did not think it was because of the boycott. She attributed the drop in sales of this basic commodity to the high cost of living.

At Duba Duba stores a spokesman said they stocked very little white bread because many people no longer bought it.

"Our sales dropped over the past four weeks and we felt it was a waste of money to stock something which the consumer did not buy.

"When asked if this was due to the boycott he agreed that people seemed to be responding positively to this call.

Mr Gibson Thula, an executive member of Inkatha, said the findings of The SOWETAN corresponded with their reports concerning the boycott.

"We had a meeting on Wednesday and the reports we got from various members of our committee show that considerable progress is being made in this campaign.

"We wish to extend our appreciation to all organisations and individuals who are also taking part in this campaign. The campaign will continue until something urgent is done to reduce this price," he said.

Saba launched the white bread boycott after the Government increased the price of white bread to 53 cents a loaf, a price which Inkatha officials as well as the leadership of most consumer organisations agreed was too high.

People have now turned to homemade and brown bread and even school children have come out in support of the boycott.

In Mohlakeng township traders told The SOWETAN that local students had been campaigning from shop to shop warning them not to allow bakeries to bring white bread into their shops.



# Appeal for 3 ANC men

By CHARLES  
MOGALE

*Sowetan 29/11/82*  
THE STATE President is to be petitioned in a final attempt to save the lives of three condemned ANC guerillas, Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise. *224* *11A*

The move follows international appeals for a stay of their executions.

An appeal against their sentences was dismissed by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein on Friday.

The three's instructing attorney, Mr Ratha Mokgoathheng, yesterday confirmed the intention to petition the State President — the only legal recourse still left to save the men's lives.

All three were convicted in the Transvaal Supreme Court on August 18, 1981, for their roles in the attacks on the Booysens police station and Sasol fuel plant.

## CONVICTED

Tsotsobe was convicted for the attack on the Booysens police station, Uncle Tom's Hall in Orlando West, Dube Station and the Wrab offices.

Shabangu was convicted for a handgrenade attack on a police constable's house in Bosfontein and being in possession of weapons and ammunition.

Moise was convicted for his role in attaching limpet mines at Sasol II, Secunda and for being in possession of limpet mines brought into the country to commit acts of sabotage.

The ANC has issued a world-wide call for support to save the three's lives. The appeal for support has been made to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, the Organisation of African Unity and various governments.

# Petition to save the lives of ANC trio

APM  
117  
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30/11/82

The State President is to be petitioned in a final attempt to save the lives of three condemned ANC members Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe, Johannes Tshabangu and David Moise. This was confirmed today by a spokesman at the office of the instructing attorney, Mr Ratha Mokogoatheng.

An appeal against their death sentences for high treason was dismissed by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein last Friday. The move comes after international appeals for a stay of their execution.

The three men were convicted in the Transvaal Supreme Court on August 18 last year for their roles in attacks on the Booyens police station and Sasol fuel plant.

Tsotsobe's conviction arose from the attack on the Booyens police station on April 4 1980 and on Uncle Tom's Hall in Orlando West on May 5 1980. He also set TNT explosives attached to a time switch under and near the railway line at Dube railway station on October 14 and 15 1980. His conviction also arose from an attack on the West Rand Administration Board offices at Diepkloof on October 30 1980, setting up an underground base in Meadowlands between April and November 1980 and being in possession of arms, ammunition and explosives.

Shabangu was responsible for a hand-grenade attack on the house of a police constable at Bosfontein on April 27 1980. He then left for Swaziland but returned on July 26 1980 with orders to kill certain people.

Moise, with other people, attached limpet mines at Sasol Two on June 1 and 2 1980. On those days, at Secunda and other places, he was in possession of limpet mines that he and others had brought into South Africa to commit sabotage. He was arrested when he returned from Mozambique to again reconnoitre at Secunda.

The judgment, which consists of 143 pages, was delivered by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rabie, with the concurrence of Mr Justice Jansen, Mr Justice Joubert, Mr Justice Viljoen and Mr Justice van Heerden (Acting Judge of Appeal).

The Chief Justice said the powers of the Appeal Court to interfere with a sentence imposed by a trial judge were limited, and, in his view, it had not been shown that there were any grounds on which the Judges of Appeal would be entitled to interfere with the sentences. — Sapa.

# Pre-emptive strike hits ANC in suburbs of Lesotho's capital

South African soldiers, firing machine-guns and hurling grenades, took control of Lesotho's capital, Maseru, and killed as many as 37 people in a pre-dawn raid against African National Congress targets today. They apparently walked into the mountain kingdom's main city, a few hundred metres from the border, and took it over for more than an hour from 1 am.

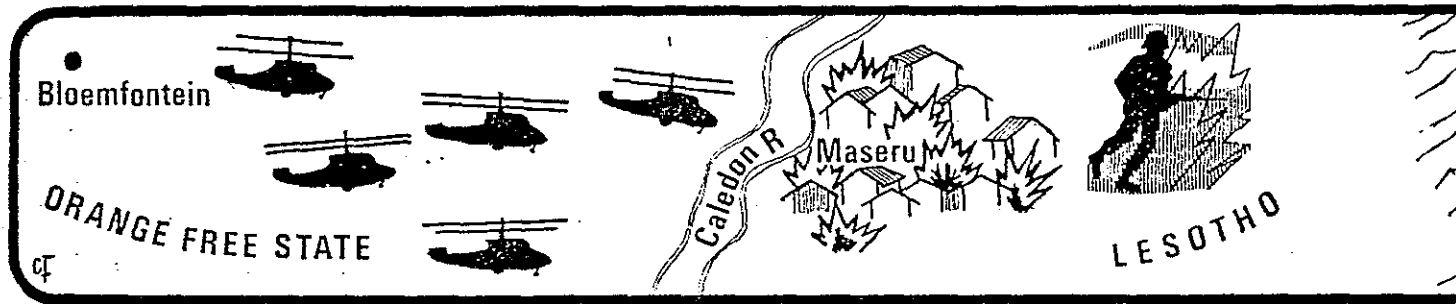
Lesotho officials and Western diplomats said the raiders met scant resistance as they spread through the city of 50 000, attacking 12 targets in business areas, wealthy suburbs and poor villages.

In Pretoria, the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said that 30 members of the banned ANC were killed. He said five women and two children were also killed and four South African soldiers wounded.

Permanent Secretary Mr V T Ndobe, the top civil servant in the Lesotho Foreign Ministry, confirmed in a telephone interview that more than 30 people were killed and said some were Lesotho citizens, including women. Others were South African ANC refugees.

Maseru residents said the raiders left by helicopters from a down-town sports field. Mr Ndobe estimated the attacking force at more than 100.

Sources in Maseru confirmed today that



The SADF denies that helicopters were used in the raid but news agencies and Radio Lesotho say at least five helicopters were used to transport South African soldiers out of Maseru.

11A ~~25~~ ~~167~~ star Dec. 1982 37

# SA attacks: 37 die in Maseru



Chief of the Defence Force. General Constand Viljoen, said that 30 members of the banned ANC were killed. He said five women and two children were also killed and four South African soldiers wounded.

Permanent Secretary Mr V-T Ndobe, the top civil servant in the Lesotho Foreign Ministry, confirmed in a telephone interview that more than 30 people were killed and said some were Lesotho citizens, including women. Others were South African ANC refugees.

Maseru residents said the raiders left by helicopters from a downtown sports field. Mr Ndobe estimated the attacking force at more than 100.

Sources in Maseru confirmed today that the Leana Jonathan Airport was closed. Road traffic was, however, moving freely through the Maseru Bridge border post.

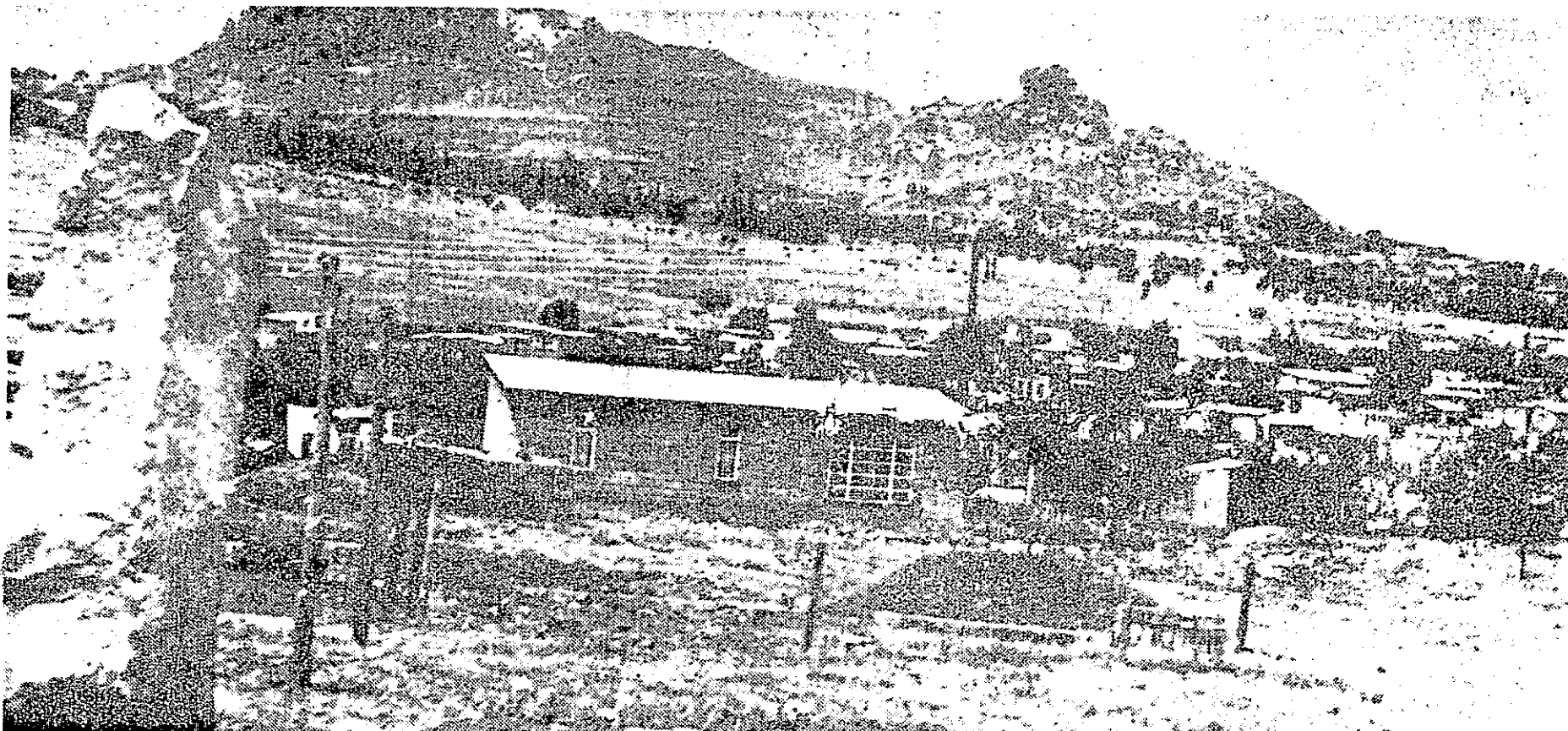
Activity at both the Lesotho and South African posts, only a few hundred metres apart, was normal and there was no sign of additional roadblocks or armed forces on the Lesotho side.

### Helicopters

Radio Lesotho has also said that five helicopters were used, but the SADF has denied this, saying helicopters were on standby only, to transport wounded.

Radio Lesotho said the houses of two South African "political refugees" and members of the ANC living in Lesotho were destroyed in the attack.

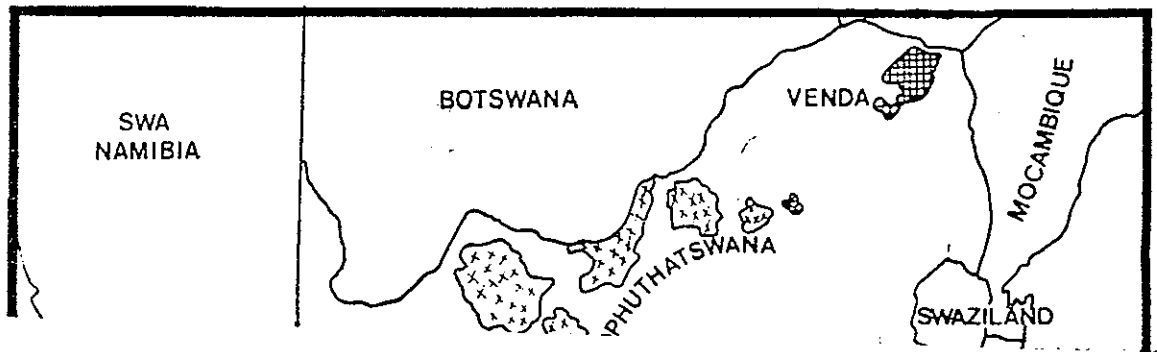
# die in Maseru



This house just outside Maseru was one of the targets in this morning's airborne raid into Lesotho by members of the SADF.

## SADF tells why it hit ANC targets

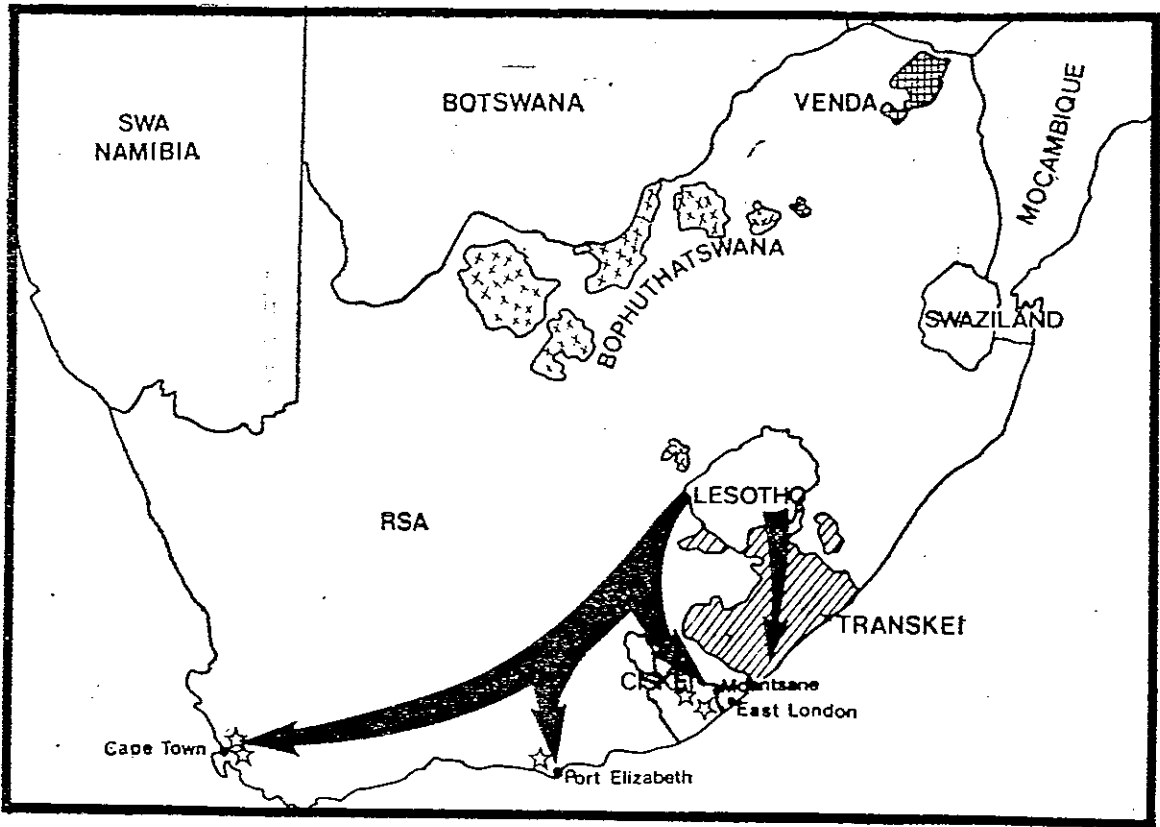
The Defence Force today issued a document justify-



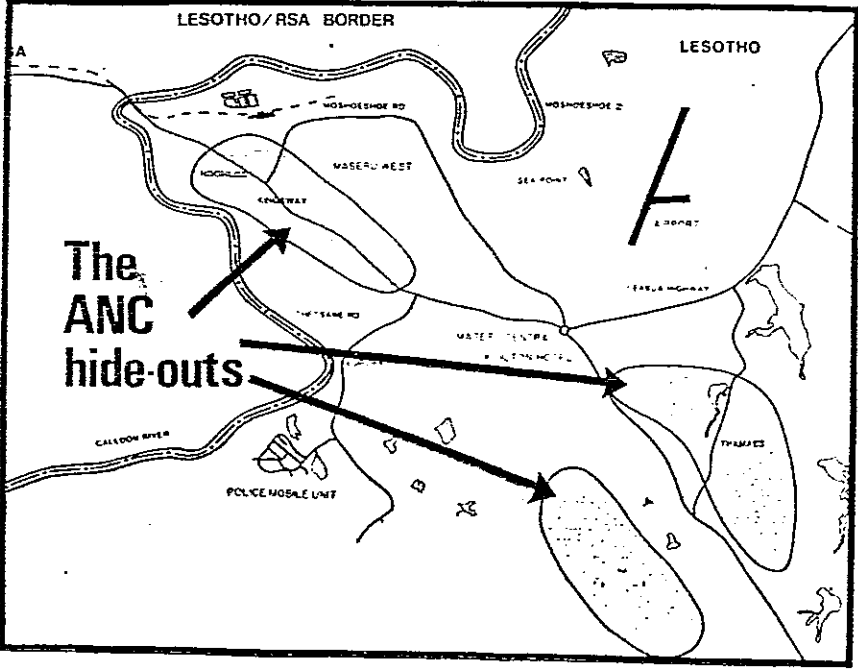
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Maseru was one of the targets in this morning's airborne raid into Lesotho by members of the SADF.



This map shows targets hit by ANC groups in the past year. The attacks, says the SADF, were planned and controlled from Lesotho.



## Where they plotted...

The map on the left, says the SADF, shows where the ANC were concentrated in Maseru. The maps were issued by the SADF today with seven pictures showing apparently peaceful civilian houses in Maseru. These houses, said the SADF, had been occupied by terrorists. The most significant, the SADF added, was "Moscow House," which for months had been used by terrorists going to and from South Africa, they said.

# Outrage at 'refugee massacre'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Lesotho government today expressed outrage at the "unwarranted massacre of refugees" by South South African forces in Maseru.

The kingdom's Permanent Secretary at the Foreign Ministry, Mr Victor Ndobe said his government would convey this in a protest note to Pretoria. He did not think the South African Government would pay much attention to the note.

But it was his government's duty to send it.

Mr Ndobe denied that Lesotho was being used as a springboard for ANC action against South Africa, or that guns and explosives for terrorist use had been found by the South Africans.

The Lesotho Government would also protest "in strongest terms" to the United Nations. The Director of Information, Mrs Moroese Akhionbare, said in Maseru today.

She challenged the SADF statement that civilians were killed in crossfire during the attack.

"I really do not think there was any crossfire," she said. "The SADF just went into houses and killed people. I do not think anybody fired back."

"Most of the corpses I have seen are in pyramids, so the people were obviously asleep."

# why it hit ANC targets

The Defence Force today issued a document justifying its raid on ANC targets in Maseru. The document gives examples of ANC raids in June and July on various targets in the Cape and the Ciskei.

The full text of the document is:  
The ANC selected a theme for 1982, calling it the "Year of Unity in Action" and the command structure in Lesotho set about this objective by giving priority to infiltration of organisations in Transkei, Ciskei and the Eastern Cape.

Trade unions, student organisations and church bodies were selected as targets for subversion.

The reason for this action was to enhance the ANC objectives in general and to establish a firm base for its acts of terror in the Eastern Cape adjoining independent states.

The ANC command structure in Lesotho was responsible for the following deeds of terror in the RSA and Ciskei in 1982:

- Sabotage at the offices of the Administration Board, Langa, Cape Town — 20/3/82.
- Sabotage at the seat of the President's Council, Cape Town—4/6/82.
- Attempted killing of Ciskeian policeman, Mdantsane—15/6/82.
- Sabotage railway line, Ciskei, Mdantsane —15/6/82.
- Sabotage at the SAP office, Port Elizabeth—28/7/82.

## ARMS CACHES FOUND

Apart from these incidents several ANC terrorists who infiltrated from Lesotho have been arrested and several arms caches found in the RSA and independent neighbouring states.

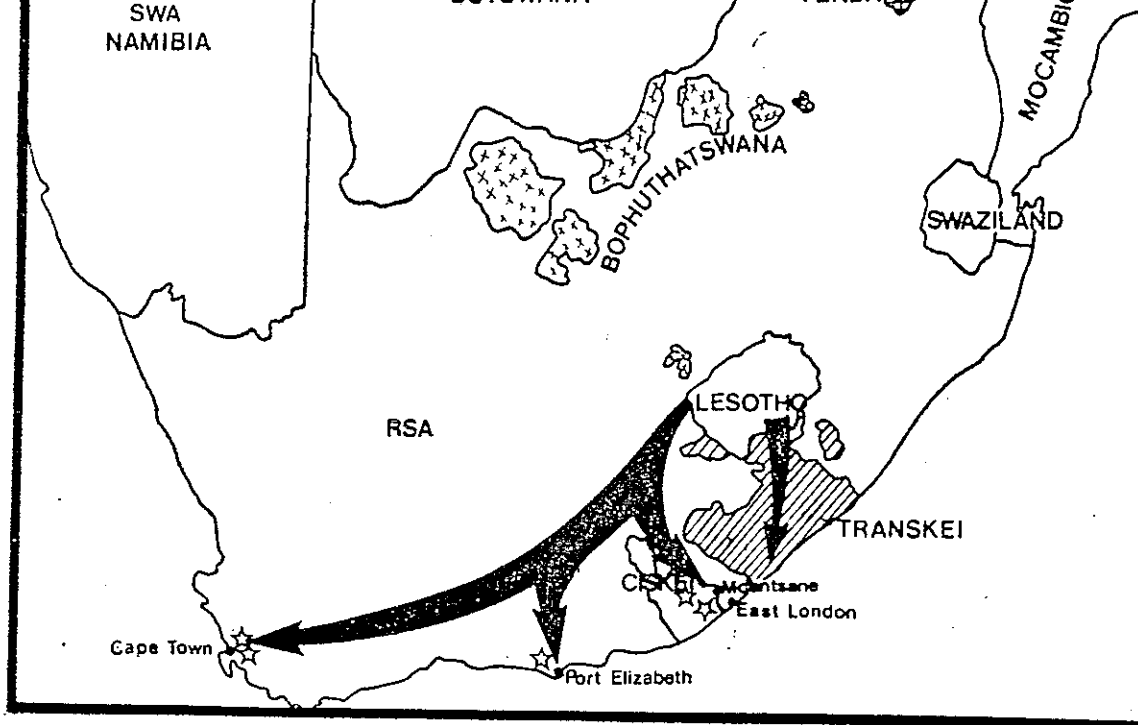
The ANC, however, did not succeed in intensifying its terrorism over the periods of its memorial dates in June 1982 as was planned. This resulted in a revision of their strategy.

The new strategy called for more overt infiltration of terrorists to the RSA, Ciskei and Transkei including the establishment of arms caches. These terrorists were to be responsible for deeds of terror of increased intensity in areas bordering on Lesotho.

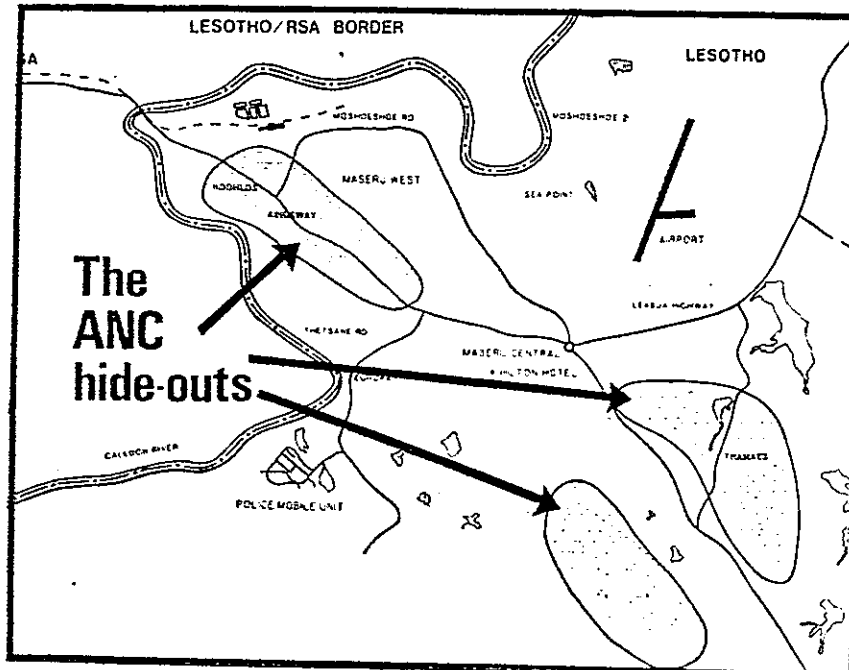
Specific targets allocated to terrorists by the command structure in Lesotho were:

- Political leaders in independent States.
- High-ranking South African officials.
- The infrastructure of the RSA and independent States.
- Community centres for blacks in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.

Lesotho is regarded by the ANC as strategically well-placed for planning and co-ordinating terrorism.



This map shows targets hit by ANC groups in the past year. The attacks, says the SADF, were planned and controlled from Lesotho.



## Where they plotted...

The map on the left, says the SADF, shows where the ANC were concentrated in Maseru. The maps were issued by the SADF today with seven pictures showing apparently peaceful civilian houses in Maseru. These houses, said the SADF, had been occupied by terrorists. The most significant, the SADF added, was "Moscow House," which for months had been used by terrorists going to and from South Africa, they said.

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# 'Kaffir' slur no reason to kill — ANC man

By JOHN MOJAPELO  
Pretoria Bureau

A MEMBER of the African National Congress appearing on two charges of murder and three contraventions of the Terrorism Act told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday that his head was full of politics, but he would never kill a white for calling him a kaffir.

Mr Rogerio Hoffmani Chamusso, 32, alias Patrick Shange, told Mr Justice A P Myburgh and assessors he was not bothered by whites calling him a kaffir.

"As far as I am concerned it is not a swearword. I heard it used while growing up. My head is full of politics. If anybody called me a kaffir I would fold the word like a piece of paper and put it in my pocket," Mr Chamusso said.

He denied police evidence that he said in a statement he killed two whites because one called him a kaffir.

The State alleges that Mr Chamusso left the country and underwent military training in Angola and Mozambique between 1979 and October 1981, and that he returned with a mission to

## Accused denies murder charges

commit acts of sabotage after receiving instructions from the ANC in Maputo.

It is further alleged that he murdered Mr Lukas Abraham Mans, 47, and Mr Hendrik Rudolph Gerhardus Booysen, 32, in Ogies near Witbank on October 23, then sabotaged an electric sub-station with limpet mines.

Three days after an intensive police search, Mr Chamusso was arrested in possession of a number of explosives and arms.

Under cross-examination by the prosecutor, Mr P Haasbroek SC, Mr Chamusso denied that he told a security policeman in a statement that he had killed Mr Mans and Mr Booysen because Mr Booysen called him a kaffir.

Mr Chamusso denied that the Makarov pistol used to

murder Mr Mans and Mr Booysen belonged to him. It belonged to another ANC member, a certain Lawrence, he said.

The defence closed its case after Mr Chamusso's evidence.

Mr J N de Vos, for Mr Chamusso, said his client was still pleading not guilty to the murders of Mr Mans and Mr Booysen. Mr Chamusso has pleaded guilty to a charge of receiving military training in Angola for four weeks between August and September 1981. He denied receiving training in Mozambique.

Mr Chamusso further pleaded guilty to causing the explosion at the electrical sub-station with Russian limpet mines, which resulted in R20 000 damages. He admitted being in possession of limpet mines but not the Makarov pistol and ammunition.

Mr Haasbroek accepted the pleas of guilty on the three Terrorism Act charges and not guilty on the two murder counts.

Both the State and defence will present arguments on Friday. The judge indicated that judgment would be handed down on December 6.

Mr Haasbroek and Mr S Joubert appeared for the State. Mr De Vos and Mr E Dane represented Mr Chamusso.

# Swazi clamp on ANC and govt rebels

Rbm 11/2/82

Mail Correspondent

MBABANE. — New legislation to tighten laws on the illegal possession of arms has been introduced into the Swaziland Parliament in what is seen as a move to crack down on the activities of the African National Congress in Swaziland, and to counter a possible revolt against the government by members of the armed forces.

The Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, said when he introduced the Bill this week: "There are too many free roaming people in the country loaded with guns and other dangerous weapons."

He said the legislation had been introduced as a matter of urgency because "any further delay would cause havoc to the national security and this Bill must be given high priority".

According to Swazi Parliamentary procedure all Bills have to be Gazetted at least three weeks before they are debated in Parliament.

But it was agreed that the Bill to be debated tomorrow was an urgent matter. In support of his appeal for this to be done Prince Mabandla said: "Even soldiers carrying guns need a special authority. But now there are too

many people who are unlawfully in possession of arms of war and other explosive material."

The new Bill is being interpreted as a total clampdown on ANC activities even though Prince Mabandla told the Rand Daily Mail in an interview that anyone, irrespective of his status, who was found unlawfully with arms of war would be charged.

Two weeks ago the Swazi Chief Justice, Mr Justice Charles Nathan, issued a directive to all subordinate courts ordering that cases involving unlawful possession of arms of war should be referred to the High Court for review.

This was interpreted as meaning that offenders might receive stiffer sentences from the High Court than the maximum of two years' jail that the lower courts can impose.

The introduction of the new Bill is also seen as a move to counter growing dissatisfaction with the government among top political, civil and military men in Swaziland.

It is known that some Cabinet Ministers opposed Prince Mabandla's appointment as Prime Minister.



# There's more than one way of hitting ANC bases

C.T.  
Dec 1982

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TWO experts consider the pros and cons of sanctions against Lesotho. The Argus Africa News Service reports.

JOHANNESBURG. — If South Africa had applied economic sanctions against Lesotho, it could have forced the Maseru government to eliminate the alleged ANC bases.

This is the view of Professor Gavin Maasdorp, of Natal University's economic research unit, who is regarded as an expert on Southern African economic relations.

He says the sanctions could have included:

- Stopping the flow of goods into Lesotho — 95 percent of Lesotho's imports come from South Africa.

- Cutting off electricity and oil — all of Lesotho's power and fuel comes from South Africa.

- Refusing to remit the earnings of Lesotho migrants on South Africa mines — these remittances account for about 40 percent of Lesotho's gross national product.

- Refusing to market Lesotho's wool and mohair — the country's prime export goods.

## SELECTIVE

The sanctions could have been applied selectively. For instance, professor Maasdorp believes that had they been tried, Pretoria would not have cut off Lesotho's food initially out of humanitarian considerations.

Sanctions would have "fairly quickly" made Lesotho implement the kind of crackdown on the ANC that Swaziland was now carrying out. (Swaziland has been detaining ANC members, confiscating weapons and charging some with illegal possession of firearms).

Asked why Pretoria had not used sanctions against Lesotho, Professor Maasdorp said: "They (sanctions) would have been a more drawn-out option and would have required the co-ordination of several Government departments. But they would have avoided the loss of lives.

## VISIBLE DETERRENT

"Possibly Pretoria chose the military option because it was a faster method and a more visible deterrent to South Africa's other neighbours.

"I think South Africa would hesitate to resort to sanctions as it has often fought hard against their being applied to itself."

Professor John Barratt, of the Institute of International Affairs, pointed out that sanctions would have given the ANC members the chance to slip away.

"It's quite possible that Pretoria did not merely want the alleged ANC bases closed down, but in fact wanted to remove the ANC members without allowing them to go elsewhere," he said.

## MAIN CONCERN

"Selective sanctions such as cutting off power supplies for a week might have succeeded in forcing the closure of the alleged bases. But I don't think it would have satisfied what I believe was South Africa's main concern, which was to eliminate quickly the ANC members in Lesotho."

Both professors emphasised they were not in favour of economic blockades or military attacks, but preferred diplomatic negotiations.

Professor Barratt said negotiations could be reinforced by economic measures that would include incentives.

## LAST RESORT

"One has to offer the other country incentives. With Lesotho this could have meant speeding up the Highlands water project or increased agricultural aid. And one could use the threat of sanctions alongside the incentives," he said.

"Military attack should be the last resort."

Professor Maasdorp said it was likely that Pretoria had been using the Kangwane-Ingwavuma land deal as an anti-ANC lever on Swaziland in the same way that sanctions could have been used against Lesotho.

Lesotho's only counter to wider-ranging sanctions would be an airlift along the lines of that in Berlin in 1948-49.

## DOUBTFUL

"Were sanctions to be imposed, Lesotho would win international sympathy, but whether it would get the aircraft and support for a Berlin-style airlift is doubtful," said Professor Maasdorp.

"One should remember that one cannot solve the problem by playing with levers — economic or military," said Professor Barratt.

"The basic cause of South Africa's problem is that its system is not acceptable to the majority of people. If one uses the levers, one may get rid of the symptoms, but not of the problem — for the ANC will crop up somewhere else."

# Anger over method of teacher promotion

2/12/82  
Mercury Reporter

THE Natal Indian Congress said in a letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday that recent developments in Indian education, particularly with regard to promotions of teachers handled by the South African Indian Council, had caused 'widespread concern' in the community and in the teaching fraternity.

It said: 'We wish to register to you as the responsible minister, the strongest possible protest at your Government's creation of a situation in which it has now become possible for the promotion of teachers to be handled by a group of politicians whose qualifications, ability and impartial assessment to exercise this function leaves much to be desired.'

'The reaction of the community and the teaching fraternity to the latest published list of promotions is one of shock, dismay and deep concern for the future of Indian education.'

The letter was signed by the NIC's acting chairman, Dr Farouk Meer.

MEMORANE — In the four months since King Sobhuza II's death, Swaziland's relations with the former African National Congress of South Africa have deteriorated to the point of polite tolerance.

There are signs that the present leadership in the country is increasingly concerned with ANC guerrillas who try to use the kingdom as a base for attacks on South African targets.

Some last month for example, South police captured and closed a cache of guerrilla arms and seized their weapons in a raid on the Lobamba village near the Royal Kwenkweni in the month the government threatened stricter action.

It is ordered that guerrillas charged with "legally" possessing arms of war would in future appear before the Swazi High Court and not the various magistrates' courts as in the past.

Now the government is imposing stringent legislation which will completely prevent ANC fighters arriving themselves in Swaziland for attacks on selected South African targets.

If passed, the legislation could finally seal off what had become a

# ANC faces 'freeze' in Swaziland

Star 2/12/82

11A

major infiltration route for ANC guerrillas operating either from Swaziland or crossing it en route from Mozambique.

Announcing the legislation, which is currently being reviewed by a parliamentary select committee, the Deputy Prime Minister, Senzo Ben Nsibandze, said it had been prompted by changing circumstances.

"We would like refugees to co-operate with us fully and abide by their conditions of asylum," he said.

Although the majority of South African political refugees in Swaziland live peacefully, others have made the move in order to carry out their war against the South African Government from a safer distance.

One of the conditions of asylum is that refugees live according to the host country's laws — in other words, no weapons!

Although the an

nouncement of the legislation follows closely on a resurgence of guerrilla activity in Northern Zululand and KaNgware along the Swaziland border, government sources have insisted to deny any hint of South African Government pressure on Swaziland.

Independent observers are convinced, however, that a combination of external South African pressure and a powerful conservative lobby within the Swazi leadership lies behind the strained ANC-Swazi relationship.

The conservative lobby, observers say, has seen in the death of the king a chance to clamp down on the ANC and revitalise its relationship with South Africa at great economic advantage.

Widely believed to be led by the Foreign Minister, Mr R V Dlamini, and Dr Simon Nxumalo, managing director of Tibiyo, the influential state develop-

ment corporation, the conservative lobby has little time for the ANC, supports the Swazi South Africa land deal and favours widespread development.

While the late king was committed to the aims of the ANC, his logistic support for the organisation was limited by the constant threat contained in the South African Government's "hot pursuit" policy.

Now observers feel that, apart from the possible threat of retaliatory military strikes into Swaziland, the now-postponed land deal is a major force shattering Swazi-ANC relations.

One Mbabane-based Western diplomat said it was highly unlikely South Africa would engage in an internationally unpopular border adjustment issue without the promise of some hefty benefits.

"One of these conditions is undoubtedly a guarantee by the Swazis that they will keep the ANC in check in return for the land in Ingwavuma and KaNgwane," he said.

When the land deal was announced earlier this year it immediately drove a wedge between Swaziland and the ANC which saw the implications of one of its backers (Swaziland) openly dealing with its worst enemy (the South African Government).

MoPles. 61  
A Campus

Land deal pressurised Swazi Government say observers

# Swazis turn hostile to ANC



SOBHUZA: His death gave birth to anti-ANC factions.

MBABANE — In only four months since King Sobhuza's death in August, Swaziland's relations with the banned African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa have deteriorated to the point of polite tolerance.

And there are signs that the present leadership intends dealing increasingly harshly with ANC guerillas who try to use the kingdom as their base for attacks on South African targets.

Early last month, for example, Swazi police arrested an undisclosed number of guerillas and seized their weapons during a raid at the Lobamba village near the royal kraal. Later in the month the government threatened stricter action. It ordered that guerillas charged with illegally possessing arms of war would in future appear before the Swazi High Court and not the various magistrate's

courts as in the past.

Now the government is examining stringent legislation which will ultimately prevent ANC fighters arming themselves in Swaziland for attacks on selected South African targets.

If passed, the legislation could finally seal off what had become a major infiltration route for ANC guerillas operating either from Swaziland or crossing it en route from Mozambique.

One of the conditions of asylum is that refugees live according to the host country's laws — in other words: no weapons.

Although the announcement of the legislation follows closely on a recent resurgence of guerilla activity in northern Zululand and KaNgwane alongside the Swaziland border, government sources have hastened to deny any hint of South African Government pressure on

Swaziland.

Independent observers are convinced, however, that a combination of external South African pressure and a powerful conservative lobby within the Swazi leadership lies at the roots of the strained ANC Swazi relationship.

The conservative lobby, observers say, has seen in the death of the king a chance to clamp down on the ANC and revitalise its relationship with South Africa at great economic advantage.

While the late king was committed to the aims of the ANC, his logistic support for the organisation was limited by the constant threat contained in the South African Government's "hot pursuit" policy. Now observers feel that apart from the threat of retaliatory military strikes into Swaziland, the now-postponed land deal is a major force shaping Swazi-ANC re-

lations.

One Mbabane-based Western diplomat said it was "highly unlikely" South Africa would engage in an internationally unpopular border adjustment issue without the promise of some hefty benefits.

"One of these conditions is undoubtedly a guarantee by the Swazis that they will keep the ANC in check in return for the land in Ingwavuma and KaNgwane," he said.

When the land deal was announced earlier this year it immediately drove a wedge between Swaziland and the ANC which saw the implications of one of its backers (Swaziland) openly dealing with its worst enemy (the South African Government).

Although Swaziland and the ANC subsequently denied reports of an estrangement, Senator Nsibandze felt it necessary to make an uncharacteristically strong pledge of support

for the organisation in a speech in Zimbabwe only days later.

Economically, observers feel South Africa is increasingly able to pressure Swaziland amid a worldwide recession.

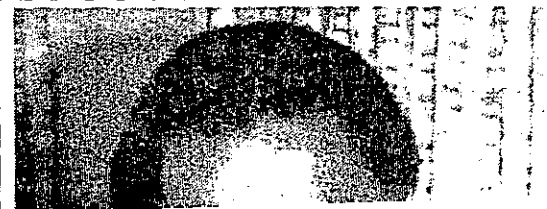
At the same time the kingdom is under relentless pressure from its eastern neighbour Mozambique, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to take a harder line in southern African power politics.

But a Swaziland alienated from South Africa could not possibly derive the economic benefits it now enjoys if it had to turn instead to Mozambique.

According to one source the ANC guerillas who stashed their weapons near the royal kraal may have done so to gauge the Swazi leadership's reaction to their activities.

Their arrest could not have left them in any doubt as to where they now stand. —SANS

## Free enterprise under duress



## Housing — Govt cuts

# Swedes told not to disinvest in S A

African Affairs  
Correspondent

we must advocate disinvestment,' he said.

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has told members of the Swedish Council of Industries that he does not support disinvestment because black workers in South Africa would lose their jobs.

'Workers have not said to us that, even if they lose their jobs, they do not mind.'

Chief Buthelezi said that Inkatha, while opposed to disinvestment, applauded the strategy of isolation in certain respects.

Speaking in Johannesburg yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha did not advocate a strategy which had repercussions for people until it had a mandate from the people themselves who would bear such consequences.

It was pleased with the results of isolating South Africa in world sport.

Similarly, the movement supported the imposition of an arms embargo on South Africa.

'Black workers in South Africa have not told us that

However, on the subject of disinvestment, he said it would be folly to tell black people it would be good for them to lose their jobs when blacks were being retrenched in their thousands.

The Chief Minister noted that the Swedish Parliament had passed a Bill in 1979 prohibiting investment in South Africa and, in doing so, had taken account of the feelings of the banned African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

He said that it was felt at the United Nations and in the Organisation of African Unity that whatever these two organisations said represented the will of the majority of blacks in South Africa.

# Crackdown on ANC

ARGUS 2/12/82 (11A)

## New Swazi law curbs armed fighters

Argus Africa News Service

MBABANE. — In only four months since King Sobhuza II's death, Swaziland's relations with the banned African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa have deteriorated to the point of polite tolerance.

And there are signs that the present leadership intends dealing increasingly harshly with ANC guerrillas who try to use the kingdom as their base for attacks on South Africa.

Last month, Swazi police arrested an undis-

closed number of guerrillas and seized their weapons during a raid at the Lobamba village near the Royal Kraal.

Later in the month, the government threatened stricter action. It ordered that guerrillas charged with illegally possessing arms of war would in future appear before the Swazi High Court and not the various magistrates' courts as in the past.

Now the government has introduced stringent legislation which will ultimately prevent ANC fighters arming themselves in Swaziland for

attacks on selected South African targets.

Prime Minister Prince Mabandla Dlamini this week urgently introduced in Parliament new legislation to tighten the law, saying: "There are just too many people freely roaming the country with loaded guns and other dangerous weapons."

"The problem is that our law has some loopholes. As long as these exist, it will be senseless for the police to arrest people on arms charges. Let's close these loopholes and make their jobs easier," he said.

This law could finally seal off what had become a major infiltration route for ANC guerrillas operating either from Swaziland or crossing it en route from Mozambique.

The deputy Prime Minister, Senator Ben Nsi-bandze, said: "We would like refugees to co-operate with us fully and abide by their conditions of asylum."

Although most of South African political refugees in Swaziland live peaceful lives, others have made the move to carry out their war against the South African Govern-

ment from a safer distance.

One of the conditions of asylum is that refugees live according to the host country's laws — in other words no weapons.

Although the announcement of the legislation follows a recent resurgence of guerrilla activity in northern Zululand and Kangwane alongside the Swaziland border, government sources have hastened to deny any hint of South African Government pressure on Swaziland.

### SA pressure

Independent observers are convinced, however, that a combination of external South African pressure and a powerful conservative lobby within the Swazi leadership lies at the roots of the strained ANC-Swazi relationship.

The conservative lobby, observers say, has seen in the death of the king a chance to clamp down on the ANC and revitalise its relationship with South Africa at great economic advantage.

Widely believed to be led by the Foreign Minister, Mr R V Dlamini, and Dr Simon Nzumalo, managing director of Tibiyo, the influential state de-



development... the conservative lobby has little time for the ANC, supports the Swazi-South Africa land deal and favours widespread development.

While the late king was committed to the aims of the ANC, his logistic support for the organisation was limited by the threat of the South African Government's "hot pursuit" policy.

Now observers feel that besides the threat of retaliatory military strikes into Swaziland, the postponed land deal is a major force shaping Swazi-ANC relations.

A Western diplomat said it was "highly unlikely" South Africa would engage in an internationally unpopular border adjustment issue without the promise of some hefty benefits.

"One of these conditions is undoubtedly a guarantee by the Swazis that they will keep the ANC in check in return

**SWAZI Prime Minister Prince Mabandla Dlamini. "Too many people freely roaming the country with loaded guns and other dangerous weapons."**

for the land in Ingwavuma and Kangwane," he said.

When the land deal was announced earlier this year it immediately drove a wedge between Swaziland and the ANC.

In contrast, Lesotho which followed the Swazi example by repeating its claims for parts of South Africa, postponed its claims.

Swaziland subsequently denied reports of an estrangement with the ANC. Senator Nsibandze felt it necessary to make an uncharacteristically strong pledge of support for the organisation in a speech in Zimbabwe recently.

Economically, observers feel South Africa is increasingly able to pres-

surise Swaziland amid a worldwide recession. At the same time, the kingdom is under relentless pressure from its eastern neighbour Mozambique, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to take a harder line in Southern African.

But a Swaziland alienated from South Africa could not possibly derive the economic benefits it now enjoys if it had to turn instead to Mozambique.

According to one source, the ANC guerrillas who stashed their weapons near the Royal Kraal may have done so to gauge the Swazi leadership's reaction to their activities.

Their arrest could not have left them in any doubt as to where they now stand.

# Thebehali, Brown trade verbal blows

1179 By LEN MASEKO

A WAR of words has erupted between the leader of the Orlando-based Sofasonke Party and Soweto's "mayor", Mr David Thebehali, over the shack issue. *Soweto 2/12/82*

This follows the Soweto Council's decision to lay a charge against the party's chief executive officer, Mr Ambition Brown, for "illegally" collecting funds to aid prosecuted shack dwellers.

Mr Brown reacted with anger yesterday, and dismissed the allegations that he had collected money from residents as "untrue and defamatory". He

said a public meeting, convened by his party, had resolved that each Orlando resident should contribute R5 towards legal fees for the defence of shack dwellers in court.

Last week, Mr Thebehali told a council meeting that Mr Brown had contravened the Fund Raising Act by "unlawfully" collecting funds from the public. He said the council would lay a charge against the Sofasonke Party leader immediately.

Mr Brown said yesterday: "The allegations made against me by the council were wrongfully and unlawfully applied to me. The accusations levelled against me have damaged and defamed my character to an irreparable extent."



the deposit, or by paying a levy for each employee into a fund which will be used by the nation to create housing. According to Hart, this type of fund has worked well in Brazil.

## SWAZILAND

### Tough security stand

FM 3/12/82  
Swaziland this week introduced tough legislation to curb ANC and dissident activity in the tiny, but strategically located kingdom.

Prime Minister Prince Mabandla Dlamini, in introducing the new measures, said: "There are too many free roaming people in the country loaded with guns and other dangerous weapons ... there are too many people who are unlawfully in possession of arms of war and other explosive material."

The government's move comes in the wake of several terrorist incidents within SA where the insurgents are believed to have originated from Swaziland. In addition, since the death of King Sobhuza, some observers have detected tensions within the ruling hierarchy, some of whom are believed to be arguing closer links with Mozambique.

Others — broadly speaking, traditionalists — are said to be concerned at the implications of intensified ANC-SA clashes. Anything like the disruption of the Zambian economy during the Rhodesian war, when the Ian Smith forces counter-attacked bases in the south of that country, would prove disastrous for Swaziland. The country is dependent on the goodwill of SA: nor can it afford to prejudice any future negotiations with Pretoria over land claims.

Swaziland's relations with Mozambique have been formally friendly since the accession to power of Frelimo. But matters have not gone much beyond that. As long as Sobhuza reigned he had, effectively,

unchallenged authority.

Observers, however, have pointed to a modernising, or even dissident impulse which has gained some ground over the past few years through the association of Frelimo with, in particular, Swazi student and intellectual circles.

Without Sobhuza, the future looks less assured — and certainly less traditional, however the country is managed throughout the interregnum. That the government intends to stifle any prospective rebellion, or even indirect involvement in the ANC-SA conflict, is indicated by the new legislation.



Swaziland's Sobhuza ... tensions after his death

# Coloured bitter at Govt hard sell

N/L-ARGUS  
4/12/82  
~~2088~~ 11A

By Tos Wentzel  
Weekend Argus  
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT attempts to "hard sell" its constitutional proposals to coloured community leaders at a number of closed meetings has caused resentment among some of them.

One leader walked out of one of the meetings.

Leaders complained that attempts had been made to "steamroller" answers to some queries on the proposals while other aspects had been inadequately dealt with.

## Sponsor

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Information is sponsoring the meetings.

People invited to attend were told that they were confidential.

Mr Cuthbert Loriston, president of the S A Rugby Federation, walked out of a meeting on Thursday night.

Explaining his action, Mr Loriston said yesterday that ignoring the urban blacks in the proposals was a fatal flaw.

## Powers

He was also concerned about the sweeping powers for the proposed executive president, but this aspect, especially, was referred to only in passing.

Some of those present were very resentful about remarks made by Mr Les Du Preez, of the President's Council, who said on Thursday that the coloured people had never been on the common roll.

Mr Frank Land, deputy regional representative of the Department, said there had been nothing particularly secret about the meetings. They had been meant as discussions for information purposes.

what 2

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Buthelezi Commission proved black and white South Africans holding different views could negotiate their common future, Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said last night.

Outlining Kwazulu's response to the commission's reports, Chief Buthelezi told 50 leading Natal people, including industrialists, businessmen, politicians, diplomats and editors: "An accommodation of all people in South Africa is inevitable in the future."

### Compromise

If nothing else, Chief Buthelezi said, the mere sitting of the commission to negotiate an equitable compromise on a shared future "will have given South Africa a clear and proven method of tackling the enormous political challenges posed by a deeply divided society".

Kwazulu had accepted the Buthelezi Commission reports as a basis

# 'Black and white can negotiate'

## — Buthelezi

for future political negotiation with the South African Government and as the basis for the development of her people.

Pointing out that his Government had not yet asked South Africa to accept or reject the findings, Chief Buthelezi said Kwazulu would insist "firmly and flatly" on proper negotiation if the central Government wanted to work with them in the future.

In the absence of negotiation "we come face to

face with Mr Vorster's ghastly alternatives."

Chief Buthelezi said: "The political and constitutional analysis in the Buthelezi Commission shows that a formula can be found to involve all groups in political decision-making without the danger of domination of minorities and yet without forcing permanent racial classification on people."

Kwazulu would prepare white papers on the reports, interpreting the findings against current political realities.

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W/ARGUS 4/12/82  
11A

# Buthelezi plans double strategy

5/12/82

(11A)

S. Tribune

## Tribune Reporter

THE KwaZulu Government has accepted the Buthelezi Commission report as a basis for a two-pronged strategy in negotiations with the South African Government and for the development of its people, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said this week.

Announcing this at a function in Durban at which he formally accepted the findings of the commission on behalf of his government, Chief Buthelezi emphasised that his administration and Inkatha still stood firm in its principles of universal suffrage and open democracy.

"We have not abandoned our ideals but we think of starting from what is acceptable to

most people of this region and ultimately to the people of South Africa. It is a basis for negotiation," he said.

His Government will respond in the form of two white papers. The first will be an interim white paper on the political and constitutional aspects of the commission and will embody a full statement on his government's interpretation of the commission's findings in the light of political realities.

The final white paper, to come after an examination of political and constitutional trends in the country, will make recommendations to his

and the central governments.

"This white paper will be an important part of our negotiations with the central government," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the findings of the commission had not been formally submitted to the Government and his government had therefore not asked for a formal response yet.

"Only when we have prepared our white papers on the political and constitutional aspects will we be formally submitting proposals to the South African Government and expecting formal replies."

The Buthelezi Commis-

sion was therefore far from dead. It was a vital part of an on-going process.

It was also mischievous to say, as it had already been alleged by certain people, including the Prime Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, that his government and Inkatha had not accepted the report.

The refusal by the New Republic Party representative on the commission to sign the report had caused his cabinet an obvious problem because the NRP was the majority party in the provincial administration.

It was futile, he said, to try to pretend that this region could be run by either side without the other. His government

had agreed to technical contact and joint planning between officials of the two administrations.

"But I must add that this co-operation at a technical level is not to be taken by any white political party as a vindication of its policies. Political contact is still under consideration by us, and we will not be used by any other party for its political platform."

Chief Buthelezi slammed the new constitutional recommendations by both the Government and the President's Council, describing them as delusions, modified dreams and constitutional absurdities.

He said the most recent report of the President's Council had dismissed political participation by Africans, the largest group in South Africa, with a few vague statements in its introduction.

He rejected as utter nonsense allegations by certain politicians, among them Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, that there was subtle Zulu pressure on Indians to influence them not to participate in the Government's constitutional dispensation.

It was up to the two groups to decide whether to take part in this convivance, he said.

"It is for our brothers and sisters in the coloured and Indian communities to decide whether to cut their throats by alienating themselves from 70 per cent of the South African population. If they see their salvation in such an unholy alliance between themselves and the white minority rather than with all the people of South Africa that will be their own decision.

"But it is clear that we will have to play a completely new game with them after they have taken such a decision."



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

Concern over Govt warnings

Maputo fears Matola-style raid by SA

Rbm 6/12/82

Handwritten circled notes: 117, 118

By JOSE CAETANO

THERE is disquiet in Maputo over recent warnings that Pretoria will not tolerate the concentration of sophisticated weapons in Mozambique or ANC operations from that country.

The warnings raise fears that another Matola-like raid is a distinct possibility.

The latest South African warning came in a strongly worded statement last Friday night by Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Botha said that "acts of violence by the ANC who enjoy facilities in Mozambique, which may lead to follow-up operations with resulting serious implications for the people of the region, continue to be a matter of grave concern".

The seriousness with which Mozambique views the South African warnings was clear among various Mozambican government officials with whom I spoke in Maputo last week.

I was told by some officials Mozambique is no threat to South Africa and that there are no ANC "centres" anywhere near the South African border.

One vital and sensitive aspect that has not yet become clear is the degree of military support received by the ANC from Mozambique.

Recently President Samora Machel referred to some of the South African warnings in a speech made to a closed session of Frelimo's central committee.

He said: "No sensible person could think that an under-developed country like ours could threaten the sovereignty, territorial integrity or stability of any state, especially a power like South Africa.

"The South African whites are not our enemy. They are not foreigners in their country or continent. They are African people, like us.

"It was racism that deformed the mentality of South African whites, that led them to cast themselves in the role of 'chosen people'.

"For this reason, it is the South African whites themselves who are the victims of their complexes and prejudices. They are the very ones who cut themselves off from the community of all South Africans and set themselves apart as a privileged minority, as a superior race to be preserved.

"Our enemy is apartheid. The destruction of the stronghold of apartheid will come from inside the South African society."

In his speech he also accused South Africa of launching what he called "a campaign of international terrorism against Mozambique" in a clear reference to the activities of the so-called Mozambique National Resistance which Maputo alleges is supported and armed by South Africa.

The question of Mozambique's attitude to South Africa is due to be discussed during the fourth congress of Frelimo in Maputo next April.

Table with 3 columns: Question Number, Internal, External. Rows 1-13. Row 1: (1), (2), (3). Row 2: 2, 12 1/2. Row 3: b, 9. Row 4: a, 13. Row 13: amir- tials.

NOTE CAREFULLY

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

WARNING

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

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

room 7/12/82

## Former painter freed on murder charges

# ANC man gets 24 years' for sabotage

By JOHN MOJAPELO  
Pretoria Bureau

A FORMER Dennilton painter, who trained as a saboteur for the African National Congress after his wife and child were killed in an army raid, was sentenced in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday to an effective 24 years' jail.

Rogério Hoffmani Chamusso, 32, alias Patrick Shange, was convicted on three counts under the Terrorism Act but acquitted on two murder charges.

The judge rejected the "conflicting" evidence of the Security Police and criticised the "unreliable" and "dishonest" testimony of some State witnesses, including the only witness to the shooting of two construction workers.

Chamusso remained impassive when Mr Justice A P Myburgh, sitting with two assessors, jailed him for 10 years for receiving a month's military training in explosives at the Funda Camp, Angola.

Chamusso was also jailed for 12 years for sabotaging an Escorn electric sub-station and six years for being in possession of Russian limpet mines used in the explosions.

The judge ordered four years of the six-year term to run concurrently with the 12 years.

Chamusso was found not guilty of murdering Mr Lukas Abraham Mans, 47,

and Mr Hendrik Rudolph Gerhardus Booysen, 32, on October 23 last year. The two construction workers were shot with a Makarov pistol.

Before sentence was passed the State prosecutor, Mr P Haasbroek, SC, asked the judge to impose the death sentence or 40 years' imprisonment. He said the five-year sentence prescribed by the Terrorism Act for such crimes would be "hopeless".

Mr Haasbroek said damage at the sub-station amounted to R20 000 and an aggravating factor in the sabotage was that Chamusso had undergone specialised training for it.

Mr J N de Vos, for Chamusso, said Chamusso had become an ANC sympathiser after his wife and child were killed during a raid on Matola, in Maputo, by the South African Defence Force on January 31 last year.

"His intention was only formed after this personal tragedy," Mr De Vos told the judge. He added that no one had died in the sabotage. In fact, before blowing up the sub-station Chamusso had made sure no one was on the premises.

"The death sentence is too harsh in this case and it is more than an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Must a man forfeit his life when he took no life?" Mr De Vos asked when pleading in mitigation.

He said the 40-year jail term asked for

by Mr Haasbroek would "completely crush the accused as a person". A sentence of more than 20 years was a "lifetime".

The judge said he would be failing in his duty if he imposed "too light a sentence".

In his judgment on the two murder charges, the judge referred to the "conflicting" evidence given by the Security Police and the "unreliable" and "dishonest" evidence of the two main State witnesses, including the only witness to the murders.

The judge said the evidence of Chamusso's wife, Miss Johanna Laolang, who testified that Chamusso had shown her a Makarov pistol and had later confessed that he had killed somebody, was not an honest witness.

The judge said there were "unsatisfactory" aspects of the police evidence concerning the identification parade at the Middelburg police station on October 27. The Security Police also had given "conflicting" evidence.

The judge said the evidence of the 15-year-old boy who allegedly saw Chamusso shoot Mr Mans and Mr Booysen at point-blank range in a tent attached to their caravan was subject to "well-founded criticisms".

The judge said there "was no doubt" Chamusso was a liar. But there were no grounds why the court should dismiss the explanation he gave the police.

BUTTERWORTH — A self-confessed member of the banned African National Congress told the regional court here he was lectured on South African politics when he was being recruited to join the ANC last year.

Mr Mlungisi Mtshontana, national organiser of the Transkei opposition Democratic Progressive Party Youth League, gave evidence in the trial of three men facing charges under the Terrorism section of the Transkei Public Security Act.

Mr Ezra Myuyisi Sigwela, a field worker for the Transkei Council of

(11A) ~~8/12/82~~ D. Dispatch  
**ANC member claims he had lessons on SA politics**

Churches, Mr Alfred Siphiwo Xobololo, the deputy leader of the DPP, and a Stutterheim man, Mr Mzwandile Wilson Fanti, have all pleaded not guilty.

Mr Mtshontana, who was warned as an accomplice, said that in August 1981, he was introduced to a Mr Tolo by Mr James Kati, now serving a prison sentence for terrorism. Mr Tolo recruited him as an ANC member.

Mr Tolo lectured him

on South African politics and elaborated on the aims and objectives of the ANC.

Later, Mr Tolo escorted him across the border into Lesotho by illegal routes.

He was given R1 000 for Mr Xobololo to pay for the funeral of Mr Kati's wife.

The witness told the court he later became a fugitive, changing his

places of residence to escape arrest.

Under cross-examination by Mr C. R. Mailer, for the defence, Mr Mtshontana said he was subjected to intensive police interrogation, assault, abuse and humiliation when he was arrested on July 22 this year.

He told the court the police had made him admit knowledge of activities concerning the

three accused.

The police had forced him to lift heavy chairs and had slapped him in the face.

The court heard that police assaulted Mr Mtshontana's wife.

He said he attached his thumb print to a statement implicating the three accused after a Lieutenant Booie threatened to make him defecate.

Mr Mtshontana told the court, however, that "everything I admitted in that statement was not true."

The trial continues. — SAPA

# 'Behave or get out' warning to ANC

Argus  
8/12/82

11A

Argus Africa  
News Service

MBABANE. — As Swaziland police searched the country yesterday for African National Congress guerrillas who stashed weapons near the South African border, the Minister of Foreign Affairs warned refugees to "behave themselves or get out".

In what is seen as one of the strongest policy statements yet on the future of the ANC in Swaziland, the Minister, Mr R V Dlamini, said: "We will no longer tolerate people who come here under the guise of refugees and then abuse our hospitality and set about spoiling the country's name and reputation purely for their own ends."

#### DISCOVERY

Mr Dlamini was reacting to a police discovery last week of seven AK-47 rifles, several boxes of grenades and 400 rounds of ammunition.

The weapons, which are believed to have been hidden by the ANC, were found by a villager in a forest near Swaziland's northern border with South Africa.

According to the Commissioner of Police, Mr Titus Msibi, who is directing the manhunt, the arms were "on their way to South Africa".

"They want to cause trouble for us," Mr Msibi said, referring to the owners of the arms.

#### ALLOWED

Under the late King Sobhuza II, the ANC was allowed a peaceful presence in Swaziland.

Recent developments indicate the Government intends taking a harder



King Sobhuza II  
... tolerated ANC.

line against ANC members who abuse their presence in Swaziland.

Mr Dlamini said his government would not allow anyone "to disturb our country's peace and stability and the harmonious relations we have enjoyed and still do with our neighbouring states, regardless of their respective ideologies and internal policies".

Meanwhile, the police are investigating an incident in which a man was badly beaten up by a group of unknown men whom police now suspect were responsible for stashing the arms.



Cache find evokes attack

# Get out says Swaziland

~~3/12/82~~ IIA

Sowetan  
8/12/82

**MBABANE** — As Swaziland police yesterday searched the country for African National Congress guerrillas who stashed weapons near the South African border, the Minister of Foreign Affairs warned refugees to "behave themselves or get out."

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"They want to cause trouble for us," Mr Mbisi said, referring to the arms' owners.

Under the late King Sobhuza II, the ANC was allowed a peaceful presence in Swaziland. Recent developments indicate the Government intends taking a harder line against ANC members who abuse their presence in Swaziland.

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# Men leapt for lives as guns blazed

The Star's Africa News Service

MASERU — The South African military force that raided ANC premises in Maseru early today set up machine-guns on the third floor of a block of flats in the centre of Maseru and poured bullets across a yard into another apartment on the second floor of the same block.

The apartment that was shot up was next to that occupied by Mr Thembu Hani, the ANC chief in Lesotho. The attackers appear to have intended the fire for the Hani apartment but shot at the wrong one.

Mr Hani was out of the country. His wife, who normally occupies the flat, was not there at the time.

The flat which was shot up was occupied by the daughter of a former Lesotho Cabinet Minister, Miss Matumo Ralebitso, who jumped out of a bedroom window in an attempt to escape but was fatally shot in the back as she

jumped. The rooms of the flat were extensively damaged by bullets.

In another flat on the same floor — the second — a man believed to be a member of the ANC was shot and killed as he jumped out of a window.

An eyewitness said: "I saw a group of men set up a machine-gun at the corner of the third floor of the Letsie Flats and suddenly I heard a shattering noise of gunfire as they shot into apartments below the third floor." The witness asked not to be identified.

## HELICOPTER

He said the machine-gun was set up on an open passageway outside the third floor flats.

The man said he was asleep in his flat in the same complex when he was awakened early this morning by a commotion outside. When he looked out of his window he saw the machine-gun being set up.

The raiders also

attacked about six other houses occupied by ANC members. At one, a journalist saw the bullet-riddled bodies of seven men clad only in their underwear.

As late as 9 am today the South African troops were still being evacuated by helicopter from the southern outskirts of Maseru near the Lesotho Police Mobile Unit base.

According to unconfirmed accounts the PMU received a telephone warning early this morning that if they interfered with the evacuation there would be severe retaliation.

Equipment captured in the raid was put on display today at Bloemspruit air base, near Bloemfontein. The booty included firearms, grenades and explosives of Russian origin. Among the weapons were an RPG-7 rocket launcher from Russia, a Soviet-made machine-gun, and AK-47 rifles. Two types of grenades were also on display.

The Star's Africa News Service  
MASERU — The South African attack on ANC bases in Maseru has delivered a resounding shock to Lesotho and has disturbing implications for Swaziland particularly, and also Botswana and Zimbabwe.

Lesotho has always maintained that it did not allow the ANC refugees to have arms or bases on its soil.

Up to now Swaziland has seemed the most heavily used route for ANC insurgents coming from bases in Mozambique. This year there have been several ANC attacks on fuel installations and other targets in South Africa close to the borders of Swaziland and Mozambique.

The Swazi Government, which this week

seized an alleged ANC arms cache near Pigg's Peak, has apparently tried to prevent the ANC from using its soil for attacks in South Africa.

Mozambique is believed to be the main rear base for ANC insurgents.

ANC surgent operations, and there has been no indication up to now of a major ANC military presence in Lesotho.

The Lesotho Government has claimed South Africa has supported the Lesotho Liberation Army insurgent movement which seeks to overthrow the Maseru Government and in return has been given information by the LLA of ANC activities in Lesotho.

The attack early today in Maseru was the first by South African forces into a neighbouring state since ANC houses in the Mozambique town of Matola, near Maputo, were raided in January 1981.

Observers believed the Maseru attack may send shock waves into the capitals of Zimbabwe and Mozambique where the ANC has a political presence.

# Raid will shock other neighbours

GENERAL NEWS

17A

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17A

STAS 9/12/82

Both countries have said they would not allow their countries to be used as a spring-board for attacks on South Africa. Zimbabwe has claimed South African agents killed Mr. Joe Gahi, the ANC representative in Harare who was shot dead in the city last year.

# Concern on Namibia talks follow raid

Chief Reporter

The South African Defence Force strike into Lesotho last night could damage negotiations with Angola on the Namibian issue, Opposition spokesmen warned today.

Mr Philip Myburgh, the Progressive Federal Party's defence spokesman, said that in the light of the delicate negotiations on Namibia, all diplomatic and economic channels should be exhausted before preemptive strikes were made.

He feared that the Lesotho strike against the ANC might influence negotiations on Namibia.

## REPEATEDLY

Mr Myburgh said the Government had asked Lesotho repeatedly not to help anti-South African groups, but these warnings had gone unheeded and South Africa had to take action.

Mr Vause Raw, the New Republic Party leader, said: "The raid will doubtless be exploited in the Namibian issues."

He added that the raid should logically have no more effect on these negotiations than similar strikes against South Africa had in the opposite direction. "But there is seldom logic in these matters."

# First thrust 22 months ago

It was 22 months ago that the South African Defence Force launched its first attack against ANC targets in one of its closest neighbours.

On the morning of January 30, 1981 South African troops attacked three ANC houses in Matola, about 15 km from the centre of the Mozambican capital of Maputo.

At the time eye-witnesses said the attackers made use of trucks, light artillery and heavy machine-guns.

Several ANC members and a Portuguese technician were killed in the attack which political

observers described as a clear sign that South Africa would no longer tolerate the presence of ANC bases in neighbouring countries.

A South African soldier was killed in the Matola raid.

A few months after the raid President Samora Machel of Mozambique ordered the arrest of a few officers who were accused of treason for failing to detect the raiding soldiers, who simply went overland from the South African border to the Maputo suburb on the main road.

## 'Attack criminal carnage' - ANC

The Star's Africa  
News Service

movement," the ANC statement said.

HARARE — The African National Congress has condemned last night's raid inside Lesotho as "criminal carnage" and warned that the nature of the attack was driving its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to retaliate against white civilians.

In a strongly worded statement received in Harare today the ANC accused the South African Defence Force of a "criminal act of aggression" against a neighbouring state and innocent civilians.

"We are certain that this kind of aggression is bound to increase as the armed struggle intensifies inside South Africa and the Pretoria Government becomes more desperate in the face of gains being made by the liberation

The raid against refugees in Lesotho, said the ANC, confirmed the Pretoria Government's "arrogance whereby neighbouring states cannot choose their own systems of government and allies without the approval of Pretoria."

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) has condemned the attack as a "dastardly act of aggression against the sovereignty of Lesotho and South African refugees."

"We are quite sure the houses attacked were residences of refugees and not bases," the PAC said.

"The singling out for execution of individuals outside the country will not deter the people of South Africa from fighting for their liberation."

COURTS

# ANC man's killers from SA, court told

Star 9/12/82

HARARE — A representative of the African National Congress of South Africa in Zimbabwe. Mr Joel Gqabi, was assassinated by a South African Defence Force's reconnaissance commando under the command of a former Rhodesian detective-inspector, Mr Graham Branfield, the High Court was told in Harare yesterday.

## STATEMENT

Before Mr Justice Enoch Dumbutshena and two assessors were two former members of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia security forces auxiliaries, Mr Melusi Ncube and Mr Peter Ncube, who pleaded not guilty to a charge under the Law and Order Maintenance Act.

The State alleges the two underwent military training in South Africa between July 1, 1980 and January this year.

A statement of

agreed fact, read out in court, said both were employed with the security forces in Filabusi from 1979 to March 1980.

Often they worked under the command of Mr Branfield of the Special Branch of the then British South Africa Police.

Early in March 1980 Mr Branfield, while still serving in the Special Branch, recruited the accused, saying he would offer them employment in South Africa.

## PAYMENT

The accused were not told what type of work they would do in South Africa but they accepted the offer.

In July they were contacted by a man named Lindani Maphosa who arranged for them to meet another former detective inspector, Mr John de Grey-Birch also of the Special Branch, in Bulawayo on July 17 1980.

When they met Mr Birch that day they were each given about

R105 and told to settle their personal affairs and to be at the same place the next day to leave for South Africa.

With three other recruits they were driven by Mr Birch to a point near Beit Bridge and left to wait while Mr Birch continued alone to collect a guide who took them across the Limpopo on foot.

On the South African side two white men met them and drove them to Messina where they were introduced to Mr Neil Kriel, a former major in the Selous Scouts. Mr Kriel was introduced to them as "the boss" of the organisation — the South African Defence Force special force's reconnaissance commando.

They were driven to a farm near Pretoria where they stayed until the middle of August 1980 when they were flown to the Caprivi Strip.

They stayed at the camp for nine months while they and four other recruits underwent military training.

At the end of the nine-month course, they were flown to Zwartkop Air Base and driven to Matubatuba in Natal where they underwent parachute training. Then they were moved to Durban for driving training.

In January this year the accused, with other South African agents, returned to Zimbabwe. They entered the country secretly near Beit Bridge and returned to Bulawayo for "an unknown purpose."

## MURDER

Mr Melusi Ncube said that before he returned to Zimbabwe, he learned from Mr Lundani Maphosa, a member of this group, that some members of their organisation were responsible for the murder of the ANC representative in Harare, Mr Joel Gqabi.

The members involved in the assassination were Mr Graham Branfield, Mr Lundani Maphosa and Mr Abraham Ncube.

The trial continues today. — Sapa.

# Hogan is refused leave to appeal

BARBARA Hogan, 30, self-confessed member of the African National Congress and the first white South African woman to be jailed for high treason — she was given a 10-year sentence — has finally been refused leave to appeal by the Chief Justice Mr Justice Rabie.

When Mr Justice A P van Dyk sentenced Hogan to 10 years' for high treason and four years' for membership of the ANC on October 20, he also refused her leave to appeal. *RBM 9/12/82*

But a petition was made to

the Chief Justice, which was refused on December 6 by Mr Justice Rabie, a spokesman for her lawyer Mr Raymond Tucker, said yesterday.

After Hogan's trial lawyers said the finding was particularly significant since it was the first time a charge of

treason had been made for the activities Hogan admitted.

They said the finding meant that membership of the ANC was in itself an act of treason, since it denoted identification with the overall aims of the organisation.

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# UK lawyer for Thloloe

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Some team  
9/12/82

ADVOCATE David Soggott will be recalled from London, where he is now based, to defend in the PAC trial involving banned journalist, Mr Joe Thloloe, and eight others.

Mr Soggott will form part of the defence team together with Mr George Bizos (SC) as soon as the PAC trial starts, probably early next year.

Johannesburg attorney, Mr Sello Monyatsi, said he had secured the services of Mr Soggott who will work alongside senior counsel, Mr Bizos, to defend his client, Mr Harrison Nogqekele, accused number one in the case.

The PAC case will be held at the Johannesburg Regional Court tomorrow, where the nine accused will be making their third appearance before court in two weeks.

By LEN KALANE

The date of trial might be decided tomorrow, according to senior prosecutor, Mr A P de Vries.

Mr Soggott left the country to stay in London where he is said to be working. Both he and Mr Bizos are known to handle mostly political trials.

Mr Bizos will defend all the accused in the trial.

The other accused in the case are Mr Philip Dlamini, Mr Nhlangu-nise Sibanda, Mr Mfana Mtshali, Mr Sipho Ng-cobo, Mr Shadrack Rampete, Mr Veli Tru-man Mnguni and Mr

Steven Maseko.

All the accused have not pleaded as yet, except Mr Nogqekele, who is said to be facing an additional charge. The accused are charged under security laws.

Mr Nogqekele pleaded guilty, but the magistrate entered a plea of not guilty. Mrs Jana represents Mr Mtshali and Mr Rampete while Mr Mok-goathleng represents the rest, except for Nogqekele.



Inside a room of one of the shattered Maseru houses, a man points to the spot where a body was found after the surprise night attack by South African soldiers.

Picture: DANIE COETZER

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor  
MASERU.

SOUTH AFRICA'S soldiers came in under a rising moon over Maseru at 1am yesterday, some wearing Basotho blankets, their faces darkened.

Sixty minutes later the moonlight raiders left Lesotho's capital — and a trail of devastated buildings, a shattered ANC community, a stunned nation — and at least 40 dead, including five women and two children.

And at 11am yesterday, as Rand Daily Mail reporters walked through the sprawling suburb of Upper Thamae on the outskirts on Maseru a woman screamed: "You must tell the world the whole truth."

"Look in there," she said pointing to a house with blackened walls and smoke

# Raiders struck at 1am — some wearing Basotho blanket 'disguise'

*(Handwritten notes: 237, 11A, ROM, 10/12/82)*

pouring out of a window. "Two corpses are in there. Two people were burnt to death. You'll see bones, brains and blood. It's horrible."

There was no sign of the bodies. They had either been burnt to cinders or taken away to the morgue. Smears of blood, however, somehow survived the fire.

The house was one of 12 — occupied by ANC expatriates — shot up and bombed by South African soldiers.

The Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, has described the raid as a pre-

emptive strike aimed at forestalling attacks on South Africa over the festive season.

"The SADF's sole aim was to prevent deeds such as the bloodshed of the innocent, bombings, sabotage and other acts of terror," he said in statement.

Referring to the death of Lesotho nationals — five women and two children died, according to the SADF — Gen Viljoen said: "It is regretted that the innocent also had to suffer."

The Lesotho Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr C D Molapo, labelled

the attack as the "murder of Basotho women, children and refugees". The Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, characterised the attack as "naked provocation".

Mr Molapo reaffirmed Lesotho's publicly declared policy of granting asylum to refugees under the Geneva agreement, which lays down that refugees must not use the host country as a base for attacks on their country of origin.

"Lesotho is a nation of refugees — and whenever people seek asylum in Lesotho it is because they are confident

that they will be welcome to live here in peace."

In Bloemfontein, however, the SADF displayed weapons of communist origin which it said were captured in the raid and proved that Lesotho-based ANC members were planning acts of terror against South Africa.

South African soldiers killed 30 ANC members, according to General Viljoen. The 30 apparently did not include any of the better known ANC members living in Lesotho.

Among the more widely known ANC men and women are Mr Temi Hani, probably

the top ANC man in Lesotho and a reputed member of the ANC fighting arm, "Umkhonto we Sizwe" (Spear of the Nation), Mr Thozamile Botha and Ms Thenjwe Mtintso.

Mr Hani's house on the outskirts of Maseru, however, was severely damaged during the attack. A flat reported to be occupied by his wife, Mrs Limpho Hani, in central Maseru, was also attacked. Neither Mr Hani nor Mrs Hani was at home during the raid.

A feature of the raid was the precision with which it was carried out. Not even the labyrinthian complexity of

outer Maseru, with its twisting roads and paths and lack of street lights, provided immunity from attack.

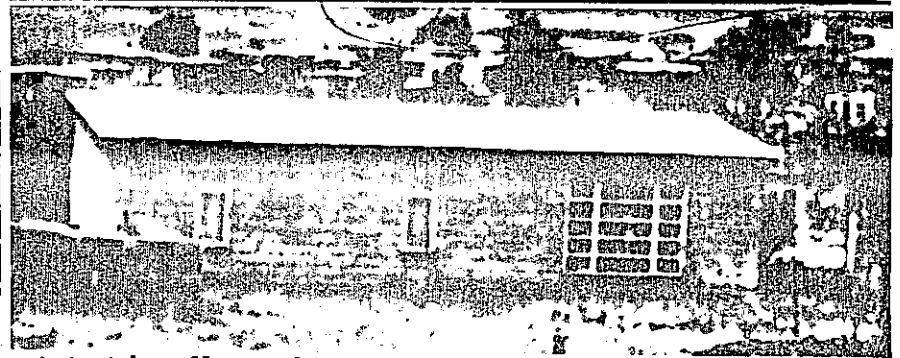
The soldiers, who are said by eyewitnesses to have included Xhosa-speaking blacks, seemed to locate and attack their targets with pinpoint accuracy. Eye-witnesses said "searchlights" were used intermittently during the attack.

Eight ANC supporters are reported to have been killed in the attack on a house in Thamae. One was said to have been shot as he scrambled toward a nearby car in a desperate bid to escape.

The burnt-out car bore mute testimony to the attack. A shoe lay forlornly near the back wheels. It was said to belong to the victim.

Inside the house ANC posters adorned the walls of one room. There were pictures of ANC leaders Nelson Man-

11A 2



s. Explosives, firearms and handgrenades of Russian and other communist bloc origin were among the items brought back from Maseru after yesterday's strike, and displayed to the Press.

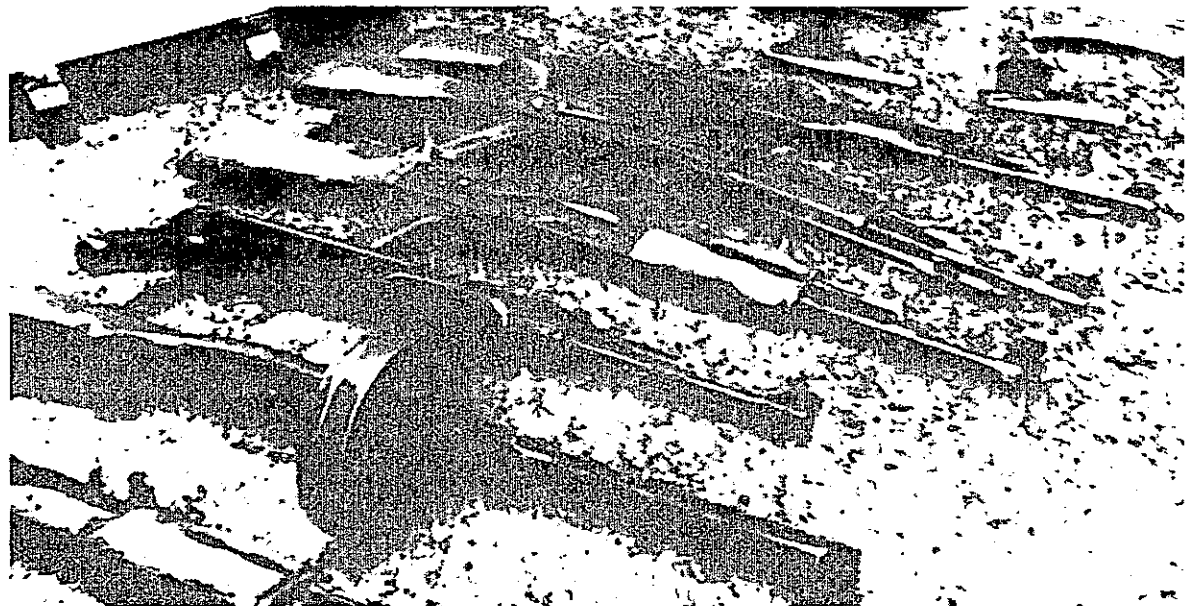
# Arms booty

Transkei passports and a collection of Christmas cards which said on the outside "Season's Greetings" and inside displayed an ANC symbol with the words "Unity in action". The message read: "Unity in action hasten the dawn of freedom. Unite, mobilise, fight on".

Among the personal possessions was a well cared-for AKM folding type firearm and a voltmeter, which could be used in the preparation of electronic devices for time bombs and for delayed-action devices for explosives.

Also shown were various suitcases with false bottoms, which could be used to evade customs detection of documents, fuses and magazines.

An SADF spokesman said the documents could provide a considerable amount of information on ANC leaders and bases in Lesotho.



Part of the arms and explosives cache brought back by raiding soldiers after the South African Defence Force attack on ANC bases in Maseru early yesterday morning.

# Moonlight raiders trail of devastation

From Page 1

del. Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu and copies of the Freedom Charter.

Somewhat incongruous was a photograph of the former South African Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, with leading members of the ruling National Party.

Taken shortly after he was elected by the National Party caucus as Prime Minister in September, 1966, it was titled: "The Fascists".

A prominent South African refugee, Mrs Phylis Naidoo, was too stunned to comment as she stared at the ruin and devastation. Mrs Naidoo has survived a parcel bomb attempt to kill her.

An Indian national on an exchange programme caught the mood of shock and fear

when he recalled his reaction to the attack. He lived in the same block of flats as one said to be leased to Mrs Hani.

"They came at about 1.10am," he said.

"There were big explosions. The attack lasted about 50 minutes. We peeped out of the windows. But we didn't go out. We were just too scared. No one dared to."

Flags will fly at half mast in Lesotho from today until Sunday in memory of the dead. People have been urged to pack the churches on Sunday in a gesture of solidarity with the dead and sympathy with surviving relatives, friends and comrades.

**LOW-PRICED CROCKERY & CUTLERY**

# Many shocked — Sebe pleased

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

THE Defence Force raid on Maseru was met with shock and surprise by a number of South African leaders yesterday — but was welcomed by Ciskei.

Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa said it was difficult to see the logic behind the action. He believed there were other pressures which could have been applied by the Government on Lesotho to counter ANC activities.

"To me this action appears to be unreasonable and unjustifiable interference in the

## Weather Mail

Forecast summary for today.

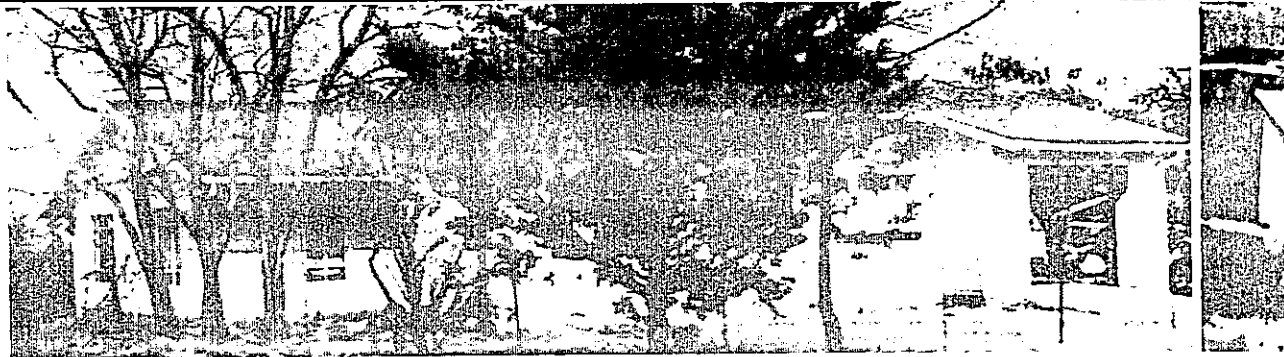
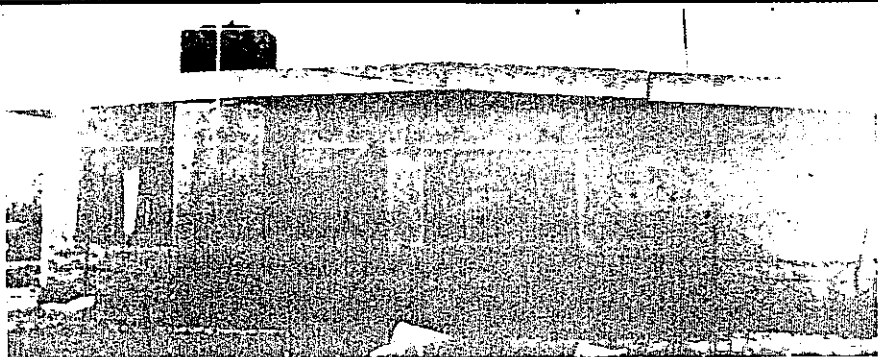
**TRANSVAAL:** Cloudy and mild over the north and east with light rain, clearing partially and becoming warm along the escarpment. Elsewhere partly cloudy and warm with scattered thundershowers.

**OFS AND NORTH CAPE:** Fine to partly cloudy and warm with isolated thundershowers.

**CAPE PROVINCE:** Fine and warm to hot over the northern interior but partly cloudy and mild to warm elsewhere. Cloudy and cool with light on the coast.

**NATAL:** Partly cloudy and cool to warm with





Several of the homes which the SADF claims were used by ANC terrorists. Explosives, firearms and handgrenades of Russian and other communist bloc origin were among the items brought back.

## Communist-made arms among Maseru booty

By CHRIS OLCKERS

EXPLOSIVES, firearms and handgrenades of Russian and communist origin were found among items brought back from Maseru after yesterday's strike.

The booty was on display to the Press at the Bloemspruit Air Base at Bloemfontein yesterday afternoon.

Included were rifles of Chinese origin and one believed to be from an Eastern bloc country as well as the popular terrorist weapon, the AK 47.

There was also a large quantity of documents. These have not yet been evaluated, but they include pamphlets, newspaper cuttings and personal documents.

A large quantity of ANC literature, including its official publication, Se-

chaba, and Mayibuye — its fortnightly journal — were also brought out.

The weapons included an APG-7 rocket-launcher of Russian origin, a PKM Russian machinegun and its belt, a PPSH antiquated Russian sub-machinegun of the type used by Swapo women insurgents, an AKM Russian weapon, AK-47s of Russian and Chinese origin and Tokarev and Makarov pistols.

Two types of grenades were on display, one a concussion type which gives a shock effect, and the other of the shrapnel type which breaks up.

The explosives were in the form of blocks of TNT which can be used as a booster to the more modern limpet mines.

The weapon believed to come from the Eastern bloc is a VZ-23.

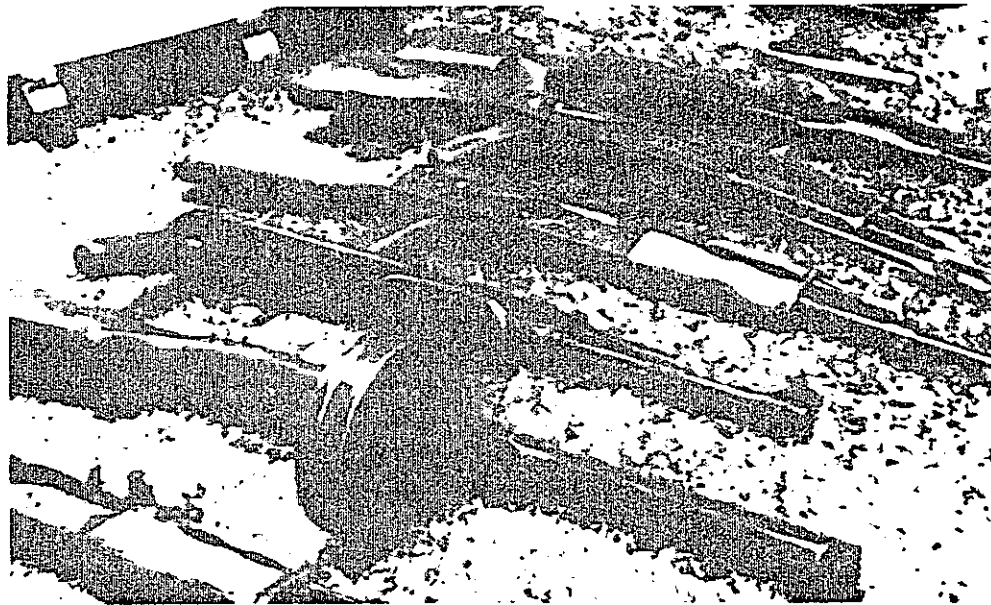
Among the documents were Republic

of Transkei passports and a collection of Christmas cards which said on the outside "Season's Greetings" and inside displayed an ANC symbol with the words "Unity in action". The message read: "Let unity in action hasten the dawn of freedom. Unite, mobilise, fight on".

Among the personal possessions was a well cared-for AKM folding type firearm and a voltmeter, which could be used in the preparation of electronic devices for time bombs and for delayed-action devices for explosives.

Also shown were various suitcases with false bottoms, which could be used to evade customs detection of documents, fuses and magazines.

An SADF spokesman said the documents could provide a considerable amount of information on ANC leaders and bases in Lesotho.



Part of the arms and explosives cache brought back by raiding soldiers after the South Force attack on ANC bases in Maseru early yesterday morning.

# LOW-PRICED CROCKERY &

## Many shocked — Sebe pleased

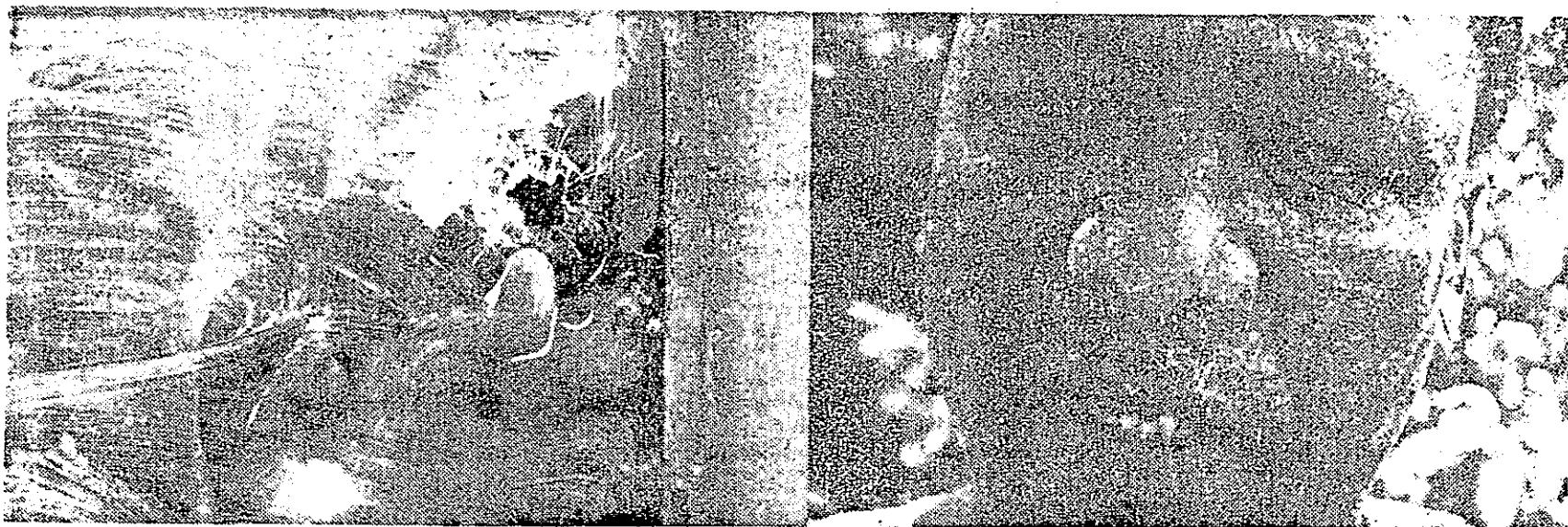
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## The fatal shot...

Distraught, Mr Petros Malefane points to a starred hole in a window through which came the bullet which killed his wife, Mrs Mopolako Sehlabaka, in the Maseru raid. He said he had tried to pull her away from the window. But before he could do so she was dead.



# SA defiant in face of hostile raid reaction

Star 10/4/82

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The Star's Africa  
News Service

South Africa remained defiant today in the face of international condemnation of yesterday's pre-dawn raid into Lesotho against African National Congress bases which left 42 dead— including five women and two children killed in cross-fire.

Government and military spokesmen pointed



children and children killed in cross-fire.

Government and military spokesmen pointed out that frequently in the past South Africa had stated it felt free to launch attacks into neighbouring states hosting guerrilla forces. There was evidence Lesotho-based ANC guerrillas planned acts of terrorism in South Africa over the Christmas period, they said.

But in Maseru today Lesotho pledged to continue housing South African political refugees.

In a hastily called Press conference, Lesotho's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Charles Molapo, called the raid a "disgrace." He said it would not deter his country from offering aylum to those 'fleeing Bantu Education."

### 'Big Fish'

Shocked villagers were today still cleaning up and salvaging property from 12 homes blasted in the cross-border attack that lasted at least two hours.

The widespread damage drew hundreds of locals who arrived in buses and lorries to find out for themselves what the rest of the world was talking about.

But it appears the two "Big Fish" — Lesotho ANC leader Thema Hani and his deputy, Mathabathe Sexwale — slipped the net.



This charred wreck is all that is left of the home of Mrs Bunie Sexwale after the Maseru raid. Mrs Sexwale, whose picture is superimposed on the scene, said she and her husband and three children were in bed when the raiders burst in firing machine-guns. All the family survived. In the bag she carries are all the possessions she could salvage.

perished when soldiers blasted their homes.

The dead Mosotho was 20-year-old Miss Matumo Ralebutso, daughter of a former Lesotho Cabinet Minister.

Mathabathe Sexwale escaped through a window seconds before South African troops stormed his home.

His wife, Mrs Bunie Sexwale (34) described today how she, her husband and three children cowered in their bedroom at the rear of the house after hearing troops outside discussing in Afrikaans how they would attack.

She said her husband escaped alone because he believed the troops would not harm his family if he was not caught with them.

"I huddled in the

She said the troops did not search the building properly but rushed into the room where she was hiding and set fire to it with what appeared to be a flame thrower.

Mrs Sexwale said she hid behind a bed to escape the flames. "It was unbelievable. I was terrified."

The family ran out

of the house through a wall of flame as soon as the soldiers began to leave. The eight-year-old child was treated in hospital for a minor injury she said.

The house was still smouldering 18 hours after the attack. The

Her neighbour, Mrs Mopolako Sehlabaka, was shot inside her bedroom when she drew aside the curtain to see what was happening. A single SADF bullet ended her life before her husband could pull her away.

Eyewitnesses said the troops came in five helicopters escorted by a low-flying plane. They were guided to

herb appeared to have suffered less damage than the Sakhoales' home. The building had been cordoned off with a wire fence to deter onlookers.

A neighbour said she heard the loud bangs and saw soldiers — two of them black — running in front of the house carrying guns. They called to the watchman and told him to come out. He

begged them not to kill him. "I was too frightened to look any more."

Angry Maseru residents stoned cars with South African licence plates yesterday morning, according to a government source.

men to the scenes of the attack.

Family and friends were removing partially burnt furniture and possessions from the house. A woman wept openly and shouted: "Why did they have to come here?"

The official said: "The people who used to live here were apparently members of the ANC. They left here six months ago."

Radio Lesotho quoted the Commissioner of Police as saying a number of ANC refugees and Lesotho citizens were missing. "It is possible that the missing have been abducted by the South Africans during the raid," he said.

A number of names of those killed in the SADF strike on Maseru have been released.

## Security Council set to act on attack

NEW YORK — Lesotho last night asked for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council after the incursion into its territory by South African troops.

Diplomatic sources said the 15-nation body would probably take up the matter on Monday.

United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar condemned the South African attack and said he was appalled by the

● See Pages 25 and 27 for more reports and pictures.

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But it appears the two "Big Fish" — Lesotho ANC leader Thèmba Hani and his deputy, Mathabathe Sexwale — slipped the net.

Instead — in what appears to have been a major SADF error — a civilian was killed and a family of five almost

This charred wreck is all that is left of the home of Mrs Bunie Sexwale after the Maseru raid. Mrs Sexwale, whose picture is superimposed on the scene, said she and her husband and three children family survived. In the bag she carries

perished when soldiers blasted their homes destroyed their home.

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of the house through a wall of flame as soon as the soldiers began to leave. The eight-year-old child was treated in hospital for a minor injury she said.

The house was still smouldering 18 hours after the attack. The inside was gutted. A burnt-out stereo, refrigerator and charred chairs were strewn across the floors.

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● See Pages 25 and 27 for more reports and pictures.

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Angry Maseru residents stoned cars with South African licence plates yesterday morning, according to a government source.

Government officials, who said 42 bodies were pulled from the debris, escorted hordes of international Press-

Mr Hani's former home in a Maseru su-

## Anti-SA feelings are running high in Maseru

Own Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN—Anti-South African feeling is running high among those who have flocked to witness the scenes of destruction which bore witness to the efficiency of the raid on Maseru yesterday.

A reporter-photographer team, travelling in a car with Free State number plates, was harassed on three occasions and we were warned not to flaunt our South African connections.

A white expatriate working in Maseru who said one of his staff had been killed in the attack refused to comment further when he saw the car's number plates.

"How can I talk to you?" he asked. "Your country is responsible for what has happened here."

The man refused to give his name — a consistent pattern.

Nobody, not even peasant women approached for directions in rural villages on Maseru's outskirts, wanted to be identified or even seen to be collaborating with South African Press representatives.

One man wearing the uniform of a government employee said: "The people—not just ANC people—are hurt and angry. They believe the South Africans came in here and murdered these people in cold blood."

Predictably he also refused to give his name and may have been a sympathiser of the ANC. Nevertheless, his comments echoed the sentiments

of almost every person approached at scenes of the raid's aftermath.

Scores of South African tourists staying in Maseru on Wednesday night heard and witnessed the attack. Roulette wheels and one armed bandits suddenly came to a halt at the Maseru Holiday Inn casino when the cacophony of mortar attacks and shooting started, said the hotel complex's engineer, Mr R Spijken.

Spokesmen for the Lesotho Hilton and Holiday Inn hotels said they were heavily booked for the Christmas and New Year period and were not expecting any cancellations because of the incident.

Lesotho Airways flights in and out of the country operated normally yesterday and the border posts were open.

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United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar condemned the South African attack and said he was appalled by the loss of innocent lives.

Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr Charles Molapo, was reported to be on his way to New York.

In his request for Security Council action, Mr Molapo said citizens of Lesotho and refugees from South Africa were attacked in a "dastardly, cowardly and barbaric act."

He said "Victims were eliminated either through indiscriminate bombings of dwellings and, in some cases, victims were awakened and callously shot in a cold, criminal manner."

Lesotho begins a three-day period of official mourning for the victims today. — Reuter.

Above: This house in Maseru, which the SADF claims the ANC used as a headquarters, was known as Moscow House.  
 Below: A South African exile living in Lesotho, Mr S Mabalà, points out a charred area in one of the 12 houses in Maseru raided by South African troops yesterday.



## '41 killed' <sup>CAPL Times</sup> <sup>10/12/82</sup> Lesotho Radio

**Own Correspondent**  
**MASERU.** — Forty-one women and children and South African political refugees were killed yesterday morning when a South African Defence Force unit launched an attack on 12 places in Maseru, according to Lesotho Radio.

Among those killed was Mr Motlatsi Hlalele, who died with his wife and child.

Two bodies were burnt beyond recognition during the three-hour attack.

The Prime Minister of Lesotho, Mr Leabua Jonathan, said the nation should not allow itself to fall into the trap of South

Africa's naked provocation in which Lesotho's air space had been violated "whilst our territorial integrity has been challenged by armed foreign troops who massacred innocent civilians, including women and children".

The Lesotho cabinet had an emergency meeting yesterday after the attack. According to an official Lesotho Government announcement, the South African head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Johan Coetzee, had telephoned the Lesotho police and demanded the return of 64 South African soldiers who had remained behind.

At a press conference yesterday the Lesotho Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr C D Molapo, said it had been clear for some time that South Africa was going to launch an attack.

It had been clear from South African suggestions that there were Cubans, Russians and ANC bases in Lesotho — suggestions designed to create the impression that Lesotho had hostile intentions towards South Africa.

Mr Molapo said Lesotho would continue to accept political refugees from South Africa because it had an obligation to do so.

Mr Molapo reaffirmed Lesotho's publicly declared policy

of granting asylum to refugees under the Geneva agreement, which lays down that refugees must not use the host country as a base for attacks on their country of origin.

"Lesotho is a nation of refugees — and whenever people seek asylum in Lesotho it is because they are confident that they will be welcome to live here in peace."

According to an official Lesotho Government statement, the South African Government had announced that an area of 20 aeronautical miles around Maseru had been declared a war zone.

# DEATH

**SOUTH AFRICAN soldiers, firing machine guns and hurling grenades, killed as many as 37 people in a pre-dawn raid against African National Congress targets in Maseru yesterday.**

The troops apparently walked into the capital, a few hundred metres from the border, at about 1 am.

Lesotho officials and Western diplomats said the raiders met scant resistance as they spread through the capital of 50 000, attacking 12 targets in business areas, wealthy suburbs and poor villages.

The Lesotho Permanent Secretary, Mr V T Nkobe, said in a telephone interview "over

Reports  
by OWN  
CORRESPONDENT  
and Sapa

30 people were killed, some of them Lesotho citizens, including women. Others were South African ANC refugees."

Maseru residents said the raiders left in helicopters that landed on a sports field.

Mr Nkobe estimated the attackers to have numbered more than 100.

Lesotho was calm by midday yesterday, although some residents travelling to work from the suburbs reported seeing bodies beside the roads.

Mr Nkobe said the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, called the Cabinet into emergency session, while the Government of King Moshoeshoe summoned foreign diplomats to inform them of the raid.

A Western diplomat in Maseru said after touring the city at dawn that eight targets were hit, including one within a block of the US Embassy and nearby homes of American diplomats.

The South African defence force said in a statement this morning that 12 ANC targets had been destroyed.

## SA attacks 'ANC' targets in Maseru



This house outside Maseru was one of the targets in yesterday morning's raid.

The diplomat said: "They knew where they were going."

Another house, occupied by a member of the ANC, Mr Peter Sexwale, near the Maseru border post, was destroyed by fire after it was hit by bullets fired by the raiders. A stray bullet also killed a Mosotho woman neighbour.

It has been officially confirmed that a man, his wife and daughter

were among the five Basotho killed in crossfire during the raid.

Lesotho officials have not yet determined how many people were killed but an official this morning estimated that about 40 people had died.

Some of the members of the SADF who were engaged in the raid left Maseru in SADF helicopters as late as 9 am, they said.

A Government spokesman said the

Lesotho Cabinet held a special meeting in Maseru this morning to discuss the raid.

Two targets were in western Maseru and two others were in the city centre, at a hotel and an apartment building, the spokesman said. He said four others were in poor, residential sections south-east of Maseru.

Mr Nkobe said some victims died in their sleep. "They were wearing pyjamas." — Sapa.

## ANC release names

**HARARE.** — The external mission of the ANC has released the names of four of those killed in the bloody South African Defence Force raid on ANC exiles in Maseru during the early hours of yesterday.

The four are Mr Zola Nqini and Mr Sidney Mavimbela, both former Robben Island prisoners, Mr Titus Mngoma and Mr Terror Mangena.

The short ANC statement referred to the men as "martyrs". — Own Correspondent.

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10/12/82

# The aftermath of the S

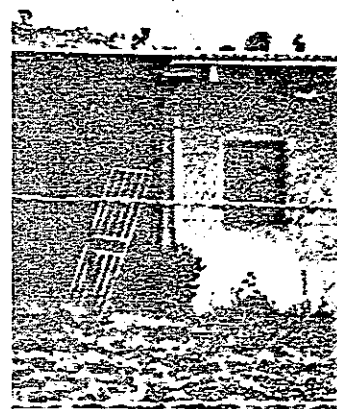
## CUBA'S LAWS ORDER AND RULES

### Cleaning & Cooking

### DAILY ROUTINE

1. MAKING OF BED BY EVERYBODY
2. Coffee MAKING for whose responsible for that day
3. Sweeping or Scrubbing and polishing of  
[Tuesdays and Saturdays]
4. Breakfast
5. Window Seal cleaning
6. Toilet Sweeping and washing on Mondays
7. YARD cleaning
8. Lunch
9. Coffee time on Sunset
10. Evening Dish washing And WATER fetching

1. Failure to fulfill these duties is a punishable offence.
2. To use a stove without permit is an offence
3. Discussions should be conducted by everybody at the table.
4. You must inform the house if you are going to be late.
5. Rebels will be referred to higher courts.
6. Rules not amendable on any circumstances.
7. The offenders shall be given three days to fulfill his sentence.
8. If a Comrade borrow a book he will give it with another.
9. Undermining the court is a serious crime.



This was known as "Moscow" against South Africa. The ho



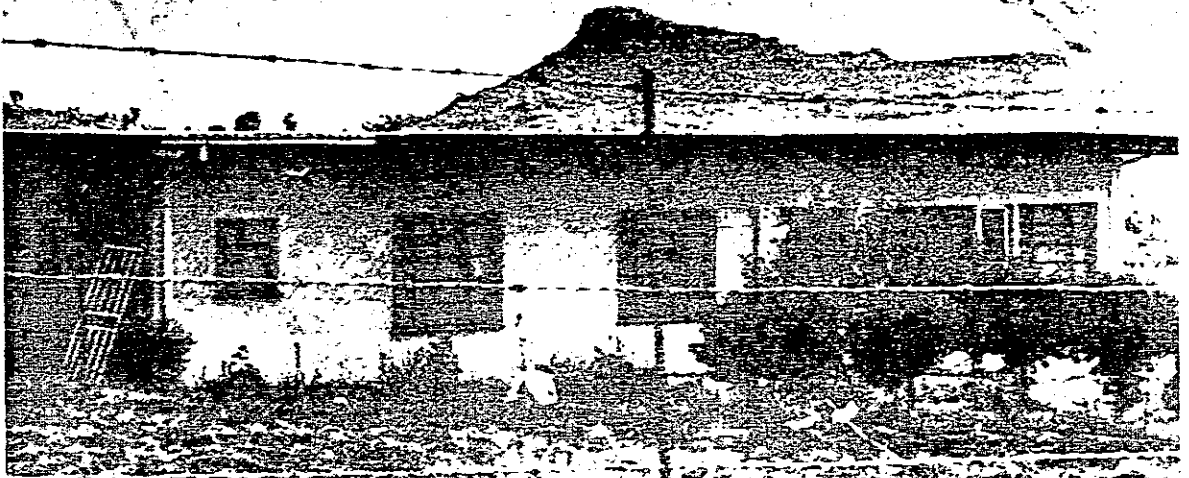
"Moscow House" after the at belonging to Mr Tembl Hani,

A document found in another house — apparently called "Cuba House" — which was attacked during the raid. Eight people died in the house during the attack.

10/12/82

RA

# h of the SADF's blitz



This was known as "Moscow House" and was allegedly used as headquarters for the ANC to plan attacks against South Africa. The house, outside Maseru, was one of the targets in yesterday's SADF raid.



"Moscow House" after the attack. Stunned onlookers examine the ransacked and bombed ruined house belonging to Mr Tembi Hanf, a high-ranking ANC leader. He was not at home at the time of the attack.

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# ks mum and kids



ONLOOKERS: Residents watching as Mrs Eslie Mandela's body is loaded into the van. PIC LEN KUMALO

## Britain deplores massacre

LONDON. — The British Government has deplored the raid by South African forces into Lesotho yesterday.

British ambassador in South Africa, Mr Ewen Fergusson, is expected to make his government's displeasure known to the South African authorities.

Lesotho's high commissioner here, Mr Joseph Mollo, called on Foreign Office Minister, Mr Cranley Onslow, to report on the raid.

"We have not yet had a full account of the incident, but we condemn this flagrant violation of Lesotho's sovereignty and greatly regret the loss of life," the foreign office statement said.

"We deplore violence from any quarter in the search for solutions to the problems of southern Africa and appeal to all the countries in the region to show restraint."

Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement yesterday appealed to the government to recall the British Ambassador to South Africa in protest against the attack.

The AAM planned a demonstration yesterday evening outside the South African Embassy to protest against "the massacre of South African refugees and Lesotho citizens, including women and children".

It said in a statement in London that the AAM Chairman, Mr Robert Hughes, had urgently appealed to the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to recall Britain's Ambassador in Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter.

# I have never seen such destruction, says witness

*Sowetan 10/12/82*

HARARE. — The ANC has rejected as "utterly false" the claim by the Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, that the houses of refugees attacked constituted military headquarters.

The ANC denial came in a second ANC statement released yesterday.

"I have never seen such devastation and destruction in all my life," A SOWETAN correspondent said after having completed a tour of the devastated area. He reported that hotels were bullet ridden in the city centre and many bodies could be seen.

"About 30 refugees were killed and five civilians died in the attack — a man, his wife and daughter, a woman and her daughter, and a woman and her cow."

The leader of the ANC in Maseru, Mr T Hani, who lives in the

Seoli suburb of Maseru, escaped injury when his house was attacked as he is presently out of the country.

Second in command of the ANC, Mr S Mathabathe, who lives in the Hohli suburb escaped from his house when it was attacked.

Our correspondent reports three helicopters and a jet were used in the early-morning attack on the Lesotho capital.

A block of flats next to the Victoria Hotel in the Maseru main street, Letsie Flats, were also bombed early on Thurs-

day morning but civilians in the block were not harmed.

The ANC's external mission in Harare puts the death toll in yesterday's bloody attack at at least 30 South African refugees and 10 Lesotho nationals.

In a defiant second statement released from Lusaka at midday yesterday, the ANC said the South African claim that the houses of refugees attacked in Maseru constituted military headquarters would "not save the apartheid regime from the consequences of this cold-blooded massacre".

## QUAL JACKETS



## HAWKERS

# Killer hacks mum and kids

By SELEO RABOTHATA

A MOTHER and her two children were yesterday hacked to death in a shack in a horror killing in Kagiso, Krugersdorp.

The two children aged one year three months and two years six months were Cornelius and Chrisia.

Their mother Eslie Mandla (22) was sleeping with the toddlers in their backyard shack at 3075 Sebenzisa Street when the brutal killing took place at 4am, yesterday.

Mr Phillip Chonco who had been treating the mother for epilepsy and who was the first

person on the scene, said: "On Wednesday night when I came back from work. I was told she had been to my home and that she was crying, so I decided I would see her first thing in the morning.

The next day when I went over to their shack and knocked at their shack there was no reply. I knocked a number of times and decided to call the landlady. We were shocked to find three bodies covered with blood where they had been sleeping on the floor. It was a sickening sight to see, I ran to a phone and called the police.



ONLOOKERS: Residents watching as Mrs Eslie Mandla's body is loaded

## France 'shocked'

PARIS. — France was "shocked" at the South African attack in Lesotho, a French foreign ministry spokesman said here yesterday.

He added that it was "not very reassuring for South Africa's neighbours, like Angola".

Mr Robert Hughes, MP, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain, has appealed urgently to Mrs Thatcher in London to recall Britain's ambassador to South Africa in the wake of the attack in Lesotho.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in Harare has condemned the attack on ANC members in Lesotho as a "dastardly act of aggression against the sovereignty of Lesotho and South African refugees".

"We are quite sure the houses attacked were residences of refugees and not bases," the PAC said.

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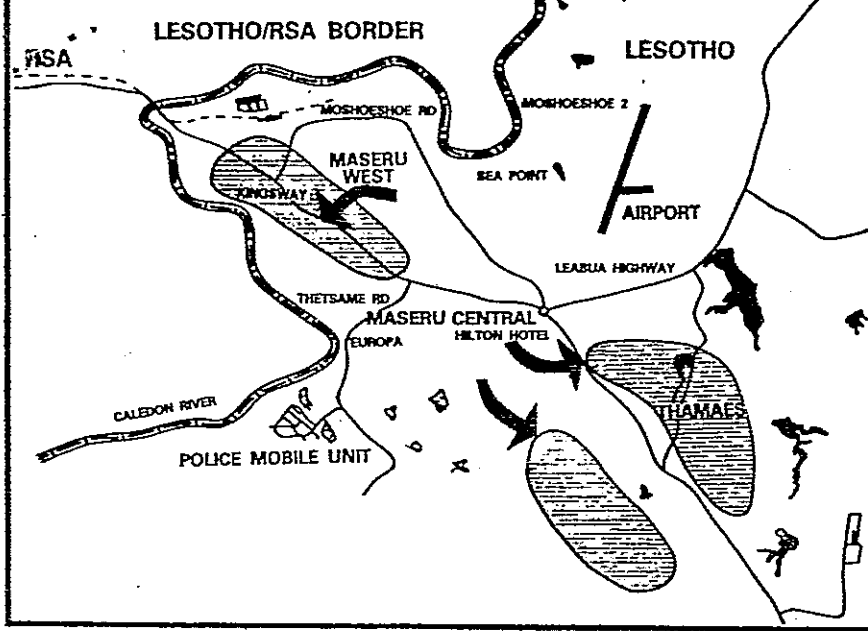
## CHECK TROUSERS & CASUAL JACKETS



TODAY'S FASHION!



## HAWKERS



A map of the Lesotho capital Maseru indicating the locations where SADF forces yesterday morning attacked homes from where the banned African National Congress operated.

# World anger at SA strike

CAPL TIMES 10/12/87

The South African ambassador, Mr Marais Steyn, was summoned to give an explanation for the Maseru raid.

John Matisonn reports from Washington that the United States State Department had "deplored" the raid — one of the strongest statements yet by the Reagan administration about a South African raid.

Sapa-Reuter reports from New York that the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had condemned South Africa's incursion into Lesotho and had said he was appalled by the loss of innocent lives.

He said in a statement that he had been informed that the Lesotho Government intended to raise the matter with the UN Security Council.

In the General Assembly, delegates from Western, communist and Third World countries denounced the South African incursion.

### Condemned

In London, the British Government, the Labour Party and the Liberal Party condemned the action in the strongest terms, as did the African National Congress and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, which staged a noisy demonstration outside South Africa House in Trafalgar Square last night.

In a statement released in Lusaka, the ANC said: "The barbarous attack carried out by the South African Defence Force in

♦♦♦♦ A To page 2

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Relations between Britain and South Africa were under severe strain last night for what Britain described as South Africa's "flagrant violation" of Lesotho's sovereignty.

# LETTERS

## ers of vice



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MR JAN VAN ECK, MPC for Grootte Schuur said "the change of the timetable has had a disastrous effect on the efficiency of the suburban train service".

"Thousands of people are coming into the job market in the new year and they are being put off using public services — this means using private transport and buses, and an increase in pollution and congestion".

"The South African train service must be the worst in the whole world," said MRS R HILL of Thornton. "I never know when I'm going to get home. Peak hours are appalling and they have the audacity to increase the fares".

MR A J FULLER of Somerset West said railway officials "should introduce cheaper rates for off-peak hour travelling to utilize the trains which are already running, and should issue week-end rover tickets at a low cost to encourage the public to use the service over week-ends," he said.

"Instead of farmer politicians running the service, businessmen should become involved, which would improve the service," said MR R PHILIPS of Cape Town.

# ARMACY centre

WE WILL BEAT ANY PHOTOGRAPHIC PRICE



passport, wait

Cape Times 10/12/82

**A** From page 187  
Maseru will spur the African National Congress to redouble its offensive for the destruction of the apartheid regime."

The statement said the SADF attack, which marked a new high point in South Africa's "campaign of terror against the people of Southern Africa", had claimed the lives of at least 30 South African refugees and 10 Lesotho nationals, including women and children.

### 'Utterly false'

The statement described as "utterly false" the statement by General Constand Viljoen, chief of the SADF, that the targets had been military headquarters.

The British Foreign Office Minister of State dealing with Southern Africa, Mr Cransley Onslow, summoned Mr Marais Steyn to a meeting last night after receiving a call from Lesotho's High Commissioner in London, Mr J K Mollo.

The Foreign Office said later: "We condemn this flagrant violation of Lesotho's sovereignty, and greatly regret the loss of life involved."

The British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr E A Ferguson, is expected to convey Britain's protest to the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik

Botha, within days.

A spokesman for the US State Department, Mr Alan Romberg, said the United States planned to raise the issue with the South African authorities.

The attack had underlined the urgency of finding a means of resolving the problems of Southern Africa through peaceful negotiation and conciliation.

"The consistent position of the United States has been that there are, in fact, peaceful means to resolve the problems of Southern Africa and that they are far preferable to the violence that otherwise continues to occur," Mr Romberg said.

"We have made this position eminently clear to South Africa — it is at the core of the negotiations we are pursuing with regard to Namibia and Angola."

### 'Shocking massacre'

● The ANC chief representative in London, Mrs Ruth Mompoti, admitted those killed had been "ANC refugees" but denied strongly that they had been armed. The killings had been a "shocking massacre" of innocent refugees, including women and children. There was no question of them having been terrorists, she said.

● Sapa-Reuter reports from Maseru that the

Lesotho Government said South African troops had acted in collusion with the Lesotho Liberation Army to "murder Basotho women, children and refugees".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Broadcasting and Information, Mr CD Molapo, said in a statement in Maseru that the country had been greatly hurt by the "brutal killings of Lesotho citizens and refugees".

### 'Nation of refugees'

"Lesotho is a nation of refugees, and whenever people seek asylum in Lesotho it is because they are confident that they will be welcome and live here in peace without fear of being attacked by the Lesotho Liberation Army," Mr Molapo said.

● The Basutoland Congress Party representative in London, Mr M Q Molapo, said in a statement: "Whilst conveying our heartfelt condolences and sympathy to the families and next of kin of the 37 people who were killed in the raid, we would like to place on record that this tragedy flows directly from Leabua Jonathan's callous disregard of the national interest when he allowed the Communist Party of South Africa to establish anti-South African military bases on the sovereign territory of the Kingdom of Lesotho."

## Fuel depot attacked

MAPUTO. — Saboteurs attacked a fuel depot outside the port of Beira in northern Mozambique early yesterday and it was still blazing at midday, diplomatic and oil company sources here said.

In Lisbon, a spokesman for the rebel Mozambique National Resistance claimed responsibility.

The depot, owned by Shell and British Petroleum, handles fuel for Mozambique and its landlocked neighbours, Zimbabwe and Malawi.

The RNM spokesman in Lisbon said the attack was a warning to the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, who, he said, had sent troops to help the Marxist Mozambique Government of President Samora Machel fight the rebels. — Sapa-Reuter

## Gardens man killed on road

Staff Reporter  
A 52-YEAR-OLD Gardens

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# OUTRAGE AT ATTACK

## HORRIFIED PUBLIC DEMANDS EXPLANATION FOR BLOODY INCURSION INTO LESOTHO

Dr Motlana said: "With the information available or released by the army there seems to be no evidence that this was a raid on a training camp which would be located either in the mountains or the bush. "It seems inconceivable that a camp as described could have been situated in the centre of a busy city like Maseru. We want further information from the author-

ities." "In the meantime," Dr Motlana continued, "we cannot help but express our concern at what appears to be an unjustified incursion into a friendly country whose borders have now been violated when there is no question of so-called 'hot-pursuit'." Mr T W Kambule, a leading educational figure, said he had never been so shocked —

"words fail me". He said: "These chaps want to see the entire sub-continent going up in flames like Vietnam. They are creating rather than solving problems, and such dastardly acts will convert people to the ANC's cause. Some of us won't forget." The Assistant General Secretary of the ruling Basutoland National Party (BNP), Mr Lekhoana Jonathan said:

"We are witnessing a horrible scene here. It was a terrible thing done by the SADF. "Bodies of children and women are lying all over. The place is smouldering. We can't identify the people yet. Some bodies are still burning from the fire attack." Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, publicity secretary for the Azanian's People Organisation (Azapo),

commented: "South Africa's deliberate and brutal attack on Lesotho is a total violation of Lesotho's national integrity and a complete disregard of human life." Mr Mkhabela said: "We interpret the attack as a message to all southern African states that there will be no peace and prosperity in the region while the white minority rules

Azania. The act is completely condemned with anger and extreme contempt." A spokesperson for Black Sash said the continued raids and killings of people in neighbouring countries can in no way solve the problems brought about by the injustices being done to the people of South Africa. "South Africa would not like the inviolability of its territory to be invaded and is surely inviting aggressive reaction when she invades other people's territory. "This destabilisation cannot possibly be helpful. We can only strongly condemn this act of aggression," said the spokesperson.

STUNNED and dismayed, the public has demonstrated its abhorrence to the SADF raid into Lesotho yesterday morning by calls and letters to The SOWETAN shortly after news of the attack hit the media.

Soweto Committee of Ten member, Dr Nthato Motlana expressed his disquiet at the sin "committed by the South African forces by going into Lesotho to wipe out refugees from South Africa".



TUTU: "They're our brothers."



MOTLANA: It's a sin.



MKHABELA: Violation of human rights.



KAMBULE: Horrified.

# ANC CONDEMN SA ATTACK

By HOWARD BARRELL

THE African National Congress has condemned last night's raid inside Lesotho as "criminal carnage" and warned that the nature of the attack was driving its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to retaliate against white civilians.

In a strongly worded statement received here yesterday the ANC accused the South African Defence Force of a "criminal act of aggression" against a neighbouring state and innocent civilians.

"We are certain that this kind of aggression is bound to increase as the armed struggle intensifies inside South Africa and the Pretoria government becomes more desperate in the face of gains being made by the liberation movement," the ANC statement said.

### RAID

The raid against refugees in Lesotho, said the ANC, confirmed the Pretoria government's "arrogance whereby neighbouring states cannot choose their own systems of government and allies without the approval of Pretoria".

As details of the raid and the death of at least five women and two children reached the ANC's external mission, the ANC said the action was "driving Umkhonto we Sizwe to do the same in South Africa against white civilians in retaliation".

The African National Congress of South Africa had vowed to retaliate for the South African raid on Maseru early yesterday in which at least 37 people were killed, the semi-official news agency, Ziana, reported.

In a statement telexed to Ziana from Lusaka, the ANC said the raid would not succeed "in its intentions of stopping the struggle in South Africa".

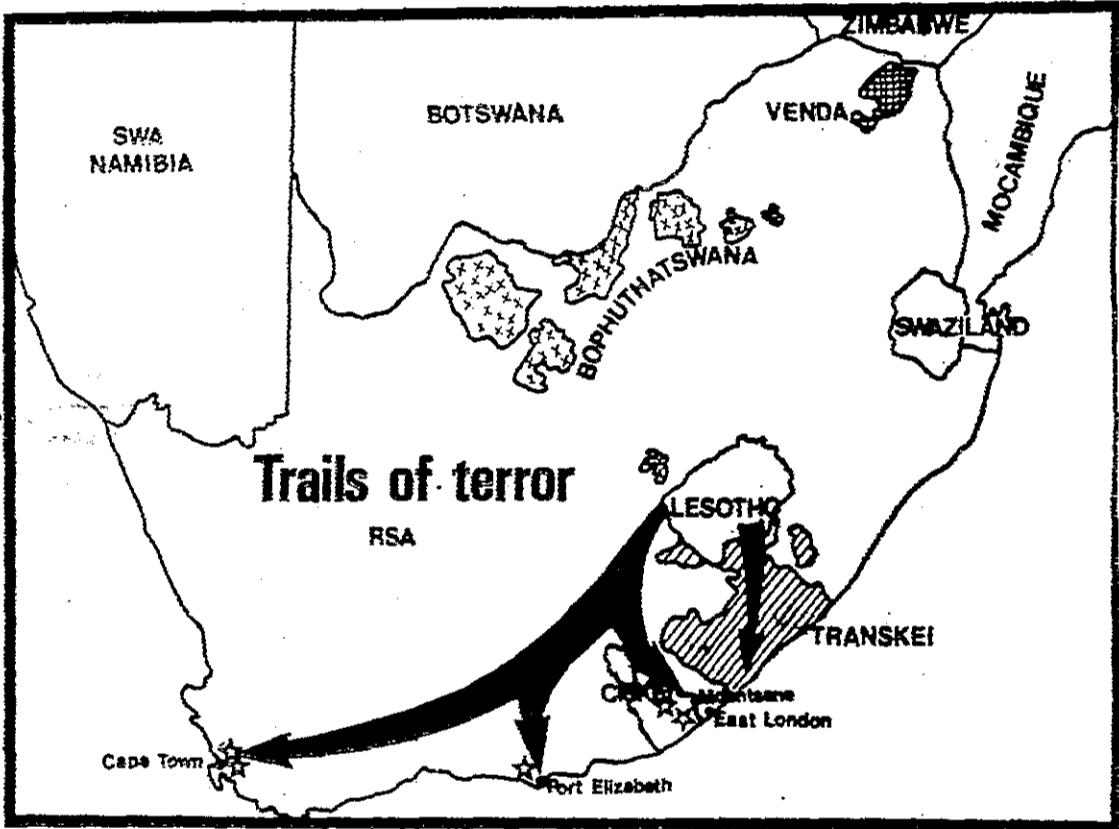
The ANC statement denied South African

claims that the raiders had attacked the ANC headquarters in Maseru. "The utterly false

claims put out by the racist General Constand Viljoen (the chief of the defence force) that the

residences of our people in the suburbs of Maseru were a military headquarters will not save

the apartheid regime from the consequences of this cold-blooded attack." — SAANS.



ONE YEAR OF TERROR: This man shows targets hit by ANC guerillas in the past 12 months. The attacks, says the SADF, were planned and controlled from Lesotho.

## 'Barbarous act by troops'

SOUTH AFRICA'S attack yesterday on bases of the African National Congress in Lesotho was made under what Pretoria sees as a right of pursuit, something it has

threatened to invoke to justify any future attacks on Mozambique and Swaziland.

Lesotho was top of the South African hit list. In November Law

and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange said that Maseru had become a centre of subversion with support from the Soviet Union.

The government of

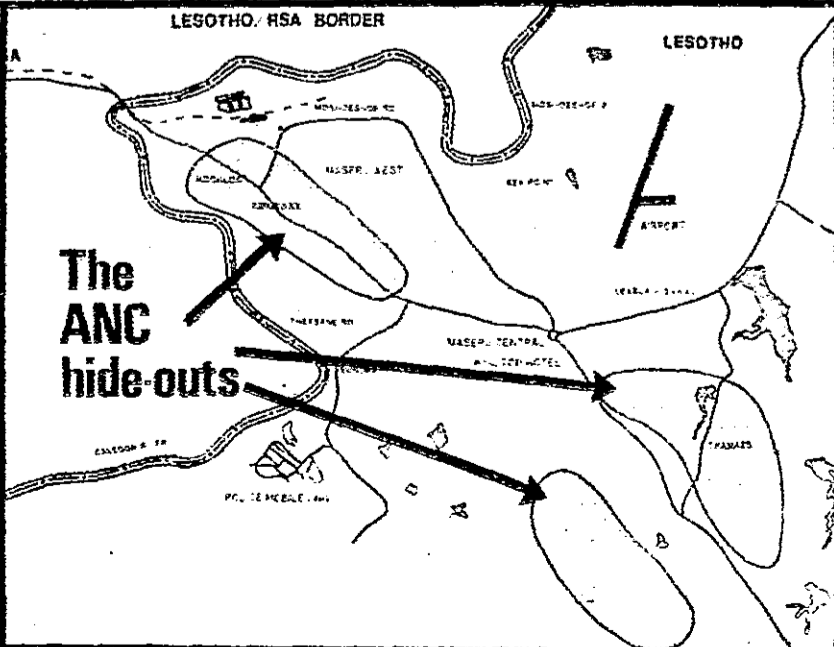
Chief Leabua Jonathan responded that Pretoria had an obsession about Moscow. He also stressed that Lesotho policy was to accept only unarmed refugees.

South African charges that ANC bases exist in Mozambique has recently led to a deterioration in Pretoria's relations with Maputo.

So far, said the ANC, it was known that 30 South African refugees and 10 Lesotho nationals had been killed by the South Africans.

"The barbarous act carried out by troops of the Pretoria regime into Maseru, Lesotho marks a new high point in this regime's campaign of terror against the peoples of southern Africa," a statement says.

The ANC would not be terrorised into submission, nor would Lesotho and other states in the region "abandon their principled position of opposition to the apartheid system". — AFP-Sapa.



WHERE THEY PLOTTED: The map above, says the SADF, shows where the ANC guerillas were concentrated in Maseru.

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# Women, children killed

CAPE TIMES  
10/12/82

PRETORIA — Five women and two children had been killed, along with 30 terrorists, during yesterday's SADF raid into Lesotho, the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, said in a statement released yesterday.

He said the civilians were killed during the successful attack launched on 12 African National Congress (ANC) targets in Maseru yesterday morning.

"Although the strike force had strict instructions to avoid women, children and Lesotho citizens not involved with the ANC, five women and two children died in the crossfire.

"A total of about 30 terrorists were killed in the attack and a quantity of arms, explosives and documents were seized," General Viljoen said.

"Four members of the strike force were wounded in fighting.

"It is regretted that the innocent also had to suffer because they were housed by terrorists to discourage action against them.

"These targets served as planning and control headquarters for ANC terrorist action against South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei and were used as a springboard for terrorist action against the RSA and those neighbouring states," he said.

"The headquarters were deliberately located among civilian houses spread throughout the residential suburbs of Maseru, to complicate action against them.

"It is emphasized that this attack was aimed only at ANC terrorists and everything possible was done to prevent contact with the forces of Lesotho and innocent civilians.

"According to information received recently, the ANC was planning to carry out deeds of terror in South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei during the festive season.

"A number of well-trained terrorists moved from other Southern African States to Lesotho during the past month to execute these plans. The South African Government repeatedly warned governments of all neighbouring countries not to allow terrorists to use their territories and facilities as springboards against South Africa.

"In addition, the SADF is also aware that the ANC regularly receives advice on the nature and extent of its activities from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

"The danger therefore exists that the ANC terrorist activities from Lesotho could increasingly follow the pattern of brutal violence and disregard for human rights. It is known that ANC terrorists in Lesotho were influenced by the PLO to eliminate, among others, black leaders.

"Small elements from the ANC headquarters in Lesotho were to have carried out this instruction. "The SADF's sole aim was to prevent deeds such as bloodshed of the innocent, bombings, sabotage and other acts of terror.

Staff Reporter  
AN official Opposition spokesman said yesterday that the Defence Force had had no option but to carry out yesterday's raid on the ANC in Lesotho.  
Mr Philip Myburgh, the official Opposition's spokesman on defence matters, said that in the light of the critical stage reached in negotiations on SWA/Namibia the attack had come at a bad time.  
"As violence begets violence, the Progressive Federal Party believes that every possible method open to South Africa via diplomatic or even economic channels should be used to convince bordering States not to harbour dissidents who seek to use their territory as a springboard for attacks on South African civilians or installations.

## Requests ignored

"South Africa has repeatedly asked the Lesotho Government not to allow dissidents to gather for the purpose of organizing or preparing for violence against South Africa. These requests were ignored, and finally the SADF had no choice but to carry out a pre-emptive strike in order to protect South Africa and its citizens."

● Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, condemned the South African attack on ANC targets in Maseru as an infringement of the territorial integrity of a sovereign State.

## 'Real causes'

"The Lesotho Government has repeatedly stated that it would not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on South Africa or any other country," he said.

"The SADF incursion into Lesotho can therefore not be justified as either a pre-emptive strike or hot pursuit."

● Church leaders said in a joint statement that it

appeared that the government was resorting to force instead of trying to deal with the real causes of unrest.

The leaders who signed the statement were: The Most Rev Philip Russell, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, chairman of the Catholic Bishops Conference of South Africa, the Rev S Mogoba, secretary of the Conference of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Margaret Constable, chairman of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, and Mr RC Dowie, moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.

## Arrests of ANC are likely

CAPE TIMES  
10/12/82  
114/167/250 227

ARRESTS of African National Congress members working inside South Africa by members of the security branch of the police are highly likely in the wake of yesterday's anniversary raid into Lesotho.

Security police are understood to be party to the evaluation of documents captured during the raid, which came on the anniversary of the ANC attack on the Department of Co-operation and Development offices in Observatory last year.

Personal documents, banned literature and documents with code names were captured during the raid.

## TELELETTERS

# Commuters' criticism of train service



DURING the past weeks the rail transport issue has become a sore point with commuters in the City and surrounding areas. The late arrival and departure of trains, the overcrowding of carriages and the general attitude of Railways staff are some of the issues which have spread discontent.

The teleletter service of the Cape Times was inundated with calls yesterday and only a few comments could be accommodated.

MISS R WAINWRIGHT of Mowbray commended the train service on the suburban lines in the mornings and evenings, "but at lunch hour the trains are too far apart".

"I am happy with the service and I always get to work on time, but they have to increase the number of coaches during peak hour periods to avoid overcrowding," said MISS E WALLACE of Plumstead.

MISS P LANNING of Kraaifontein said she had used the service for 31 years and it had never been so bad. "The trains are always late in the mornings and evenings and we have this joke: What is the difference between fast trains and slow

Newlands I have to wait for up to three-quarters of an hour on the station."

MR B ALLEN of Lavis-town said railway staff were "rude and unhelpful".

"The trains are overcrowded between Belville and Cape Town and I don't see why I should pay a lot of money for a weekly ticket when I am never able to sit down".

MR P DE BEER of Retreat said apart from the inadequate number of trains to Retreat in the evenings, staff often neglected to change the boards saying which race group could sit in the coach, and "this can be embarrassing".

MR E PICKSTONE of Sir Lowrey's Pass said the service was an utter disgrace, as there were no mid-morning trains to the City. "This is when elderly people like to travel."

MR I GILMORE of Rondebosch suggested that during school holidays children should be encouraged to travel out of peak period hours. "They make the congestion worse for the daily commuter," he said.

"Conductors rarely call the stations out in an audible fashion," said MR D LAND of Rondebosch.

morning trains had been late for more than a year, coaches were dirty, doors, blinds and windows were not maintained, subways were filthy and dangerous and the attitude of staff left a lot to be desired.

MR JAN VAN ECK, MPC for Groote Schuur said "the change of the timetable has had a disastrous effect on the efficiency of the suburban train service".

"Thousands of people are coming into the job market in the new year and they are being put off using public services — this means using private transport and buses, and an increase in pollution and congestion".

"The South African train service must be the worst in the whole world," said MRS R HILL of Thornton. "I never know when I'm going to get home. Peak hours are appalling and they have the audacity to increase the fares".

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CAPL Times 10/12/82 (114) (SAD) (47) (254)

# Fears over crowded SA shop 'targets'

By WILLEM STEENKAMP  
Defence Reporter

THE decision to strike at the African National Congress headquarters in Maseru may have been prompted by fears that targets in South Africa such as crowded supermarkets and department stores were due to be bombed during the festive season.

This is one deduction which can be made in the wake of South Africa's first over-the-border raid into Lesotho.

It is obvious the government must have had what it considered a pressing reason for launching an attack into a country with

which it has hitherto maintained fairly friendly relations.

If the precedent set in last year's attack on the Maputo suburb of Matola is adhered to, the government will issue few details apart from those given in yesterday's statement by the Chief of the Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Constand Viljoen.

The general said the raid took place because the ANC had planned "deeds of terror in South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei during the festive season".

At present the ANC policy is to attack only "hard" targets such as police stations, industrial installations and the like.

However, a school of thought which favours attacks on "soft" targets is known to exist within the ANC's command echelon and some local military and security observers have been predicting a switch to this policy for some time.

It is a fact that December 16 (the Day of the Vow) is also an important date in the ANC's "Revolutionary Calendar", which lists it as "Heroes' Day", commemorating the creation of the movement's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

It is also possible that in addition to destroying what General Viljoen described as a "planning and

control headquarters" and generally disrupting operations, the attack was aimed at capturing or killing leading ANC officials — either residents or visitors from London or Lusaka.

One of the targets in last year's Matola attack, it is believed, was Joe Slovo, mastermind of various ANC successes. The Matola attackers did not succeed in capturing or killing Mr Slovo, but according to one source, a charismatic young ANC leader destined for a leading role in operations in South Africa was one of those who died in the attack.

The final go-ahead for

the attack may have been given on reception of the news that an important official had arrived in Maseru from, say, London.

There is a possibility that prisoners were taken and brought back to South Africa, as was the case with the Matola raid, in which three ANC members were captured and later tried and jailed.

From the South African Government's point of view, the attack will also serve as notice to other neighbouring countries such as Swaziland and Botswana that the country will not tolerate an active ANC presence on their soil.

# PFP: SA 'had no choice', but raid was 'at bad time'

CAPL Times 10/12/82 (114) (SAD) (47) (254)

Staff Reporter

AN official Opposition spokesman said yesterday that the Defence Force had had no option but to carry out yesterday's raid on the ANC in Lesotho.

Mr Philip Myburgh, the official Opposition's spokesman on defence matters, said that in the light of the critical stage reached in negotiations on SWA/Namibia the attack had come at a bad time.

"As violence begets violence, the Progressive Federal Party believes that every possible method open to South Africa via diplomatic or even economic channels should be used to convince bordering States not to harbour dissidents who seek to use their territory as a springboard for attacks on South African civilians or installations.

## Requests ignored

"South Africa has repeatedly asked the Lesotho Government not to allow dissidents to gather for the purpose of organizing or preparing for violence against South Africa. These requests were ignored, and finally the SADF had no choice but to carry out a pre-emptive strike in order to protect South Africa and its citizens."

● Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, condemned the South African attack on ANC targets in Maseru as an infringement of the

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"A number of well-trained terrorists moved from other Southern African States to Lesotho during the past month to execute these plans. The South African Government repeatedly warned governments of all neighbouring countries not to allow terrorists to use their territories and facilities as springboards against South Africa.

"In addition, the SADF is also aware that the ANC regularly receives advice on the nature and extent of its activities from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

"The danger therefore exists that the ANC terror activities from Lesotho could increasingly follow the pattern of brutal violence and disregard for human rights. It is known that ANC terrorists in Lesotho were influenced by the PLO to eliminate, among others, black leaders.

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## TELELETTERS

CAPL Times 10/12/82 (269)

# Commuters' criticism of train service



DURING the past weeks Newlands I have to wait for up to three-quarters of morning trains had been late for more than a year.

11A

~~11A~~

## Fire, rubble, dead bodies

MASERU — Buildings were still smouldering in Maseru yesterday after South African forces launched a helicopter-borne night raid against homes of members of the African National Congress.

A reporter counted eight bodies in the rubble of one house on the outskirts of Maseru but saw no bodies at two other wrecked homes. Authorities could not confirm South Africa's statement that its forces killed 30 ANC members.

The raid was the first by South Africa into Lesotho.

Local sources said at least three houses occupied by known members of the ANC were demolished in the hour-long strike that began at about one o'clock this morning.

Eye-witnesses said the South African troops were flown in by five helicopters. They attacked the houses with automatic rifles and grenades and then blew them up with bombs.

Government officials expressed deep shock at the raid. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Troops, jet planes, 'copters attack Maseru

AN attack by a South African helicopter and a jet plane was launched on Maseru in the early hours of yesterday morning, between midnight and 2am.

Targets were ANC residences in and around Maseru. Twelve targets were attacked, and at least 30 people were killed, mostly at Upper Thamae and Lithoteng.

The first point of attack was at the village Hohlo's near the South African/Lesotho border at Maseru.

The target was the home of Sekhoane Mathabathe, reported to be the second in

command of the ANC in Lesotho. The house was completely destroyed by fire, but Mathabathe is reported to have been out of the country.

A woman in a neighbouring yard, Mapoloko Schlabaka, was shot dead as well as a cow.

She was shot by men on the ground.

The next point of attack was the home of Mr Tembi Hani reported to be chief ANC man in Lesotho.

Mr Hani was out of the country, but his wife was living in a flat in Maseru at the

time.

These flats are reported to have been bombed from the air.

The next area of attack was at Upper Thamae and Lithoteng.

Witnesses report that a total of 30 people were killed as they tried to flee. Early yesterday morning corpses still lay scattered on roads in the area.

A Lesotho citizen, known only as Mr Mothlatsi, his wife and 13-year-old daughter were killed by gunfire.

## Flats machine gunned in middle of night

MASERU. — The South African military force that raided ANC premises in Maseru early yesterday set up machine guns on the third floor of a block of flats in the centre of Maseru and poured bullets across a yard into another apartment on the second floor of the same block.

The apartment that was shot up was next to that occupied by Mr Thembi Hani, the ANC chief in Lesotho. The attackers appear to have

intended the fire for the Hani apartment but shot at the wrong one.

The flat which was shot up was occupied by the daughter of a former Lesotho Cabinet Minister, Miss Matumo Ralebitso, who jumped out of a bedroom window in an attempt to escape but was fatally shot in the back as she jumped.

The rooms of the flat were extensively damaged by bullets.

In another flat on the same (second) floor a man, believed to be a

from the southern outskirts of Maseru near the Lesotho Police Mobile Unit base.

According to unconfirmed accounts the PMU received a telephoned warning early yesterday morning that if they interfered with the evacuation there would be severe retaliation.

Foreign diplomats and representatives of international organisations were yesterday taken on a tour of the

## Witness tells tale of death

HARARE. — A South African exile yesterday told of terror, devastation and death in Lesotho's capital, Maseru as South African forces attacked ANC targets.

The exile, who did not want to be identified, said that as helicopters roared overhead and gunfire and explosions ripped the night apart, vehicles crossed back and forth through the border post on the city's outskirts.

In a telephone interview from Harare early yesterday, the distraught exile said: "Vehicles were going racing backwards and forwards through the border.

"I do not know what happened at the customs post.

"I do not know if anyone was killed there."

The exile said 41 people had been killed in the attack.

Among the dead was Mr Zola Nini, a former Robben Island prisoner released recently.

"Young boys and women have been killed.

"I have just been to a home that was blown to pieces. There were three





about one o'clock this morning.

Eye-witnesses said the South African troops were flown in by five helicopters. They attacked the houses with automatic rifles and grenades and then blew them up with bombs.

Government officials expressed deep shock at the raid. — Sapa-Reuter.

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the daughter of a former Lesotho Cabinet Minister, Miss Matumo Ralebitso, who jumped out of a bedroom window in an attempt to escape but was fatally shot in the back as she jumped.

The rooms of the flat were extensively damaged by bullets.

In another flat on the same (second) floor a man believed to be a member of the ANC was also shot and killed as he jumped out of a window.

"I saw a group of men set up a machine-gun at the corner of the third floor of the Letsie flats and suddenly I heard a shattering noise of gunfire as they shot into apartments below the third floor," said an eye-witness who asked not to be identified.

As late as 9am yesterday the South African troops were still being evacuated by helicopter

firmly accounts the PMU received a telephoned warning early yesterday morning that if they interfered with the evacuation there would be severe retaliation.

Foreign diplomats and representatives of international organisations were yesterday taken on a tour of the attacked premises by senior Lesotho Government officials. They were first given a briefing on the attack by the Foreign Minister, Mr C D Molapo.

In addition to the attack on the Letsie flats, the raiders also attacked a Government house near the Maseru bridge border post occupied by four ANC members who had been given refugee status. All four were killed.

Another and larger house near the border



MOLAPO: Tour of the attack scene.

post was also attacked and destroyed by fire. The owner, Mr Peter Sexwale, was not in the house at the time but his wife and three children and sister were asleep inside. They escaped uninjured.

A Mosotho woman in a house next to Mr Sexwale's house, Mrs Mapoloko Sehlabaka, was killed by a stray bullet.

A house belonging to Mr Hani at Lithabaneng on the outskirts of Ma-

seru was destroyed, apparently by hand grenades and a subsequent fire.

A correspondent of The SOWETAN saw seven bodies inside a house at the township of Upper Thamaea on the outskirts of Maseru. Another body covered in a blanket was lying outside the house. All were men. The house is known to be occupied by ANC members. — SANS.

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Among the dead was Mr Zola Nini, a former Robben Island prisoner released recently.

"Young boys and women have been killed.

"I have just been to a home that was blown to pieces. There were three children there. I do not know how they survived."

Among the dead was a woman who had arrived only the day before to see her exiled husband. She died in her bedroom without seeing the light of day.

"I have been to places that had been bombed but there is nobody there to talk to." — SANS.

11A 10/12/82

# World condemns Maseru

WASHINGTON — With the White House and the United States State Department deploring South Africa's raid into Lesotho, critics of the Reagan Administration have seen the attack as yet another failure of the policy of constructive engagement with South Africa.

Congressman Howard Wolpe, chief critic of the South Africa policy in the House of Representatives, and chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa,

was scathing in his denunciation of the action.

He described it as "yet another example of the extraordinary arrogance of the South African regime."

Mr Wolpe, a Democrat from Michigan who this week presided over a congressional hearing on South Africa's alleged campaign of destabilisation in Southern Africa, said the raid showed South Africa was the principal destabiliser.

Both the State De-

partment and the White House made statements on the raid.

A State Department spokesman said: "The United States deplors the South African attack into a neighbouring country, and especially the tragic loss of innocent life that occurred."

A statement by President Reagan's Deputy Press Secretary, Mr Larry Speakes, was couched in similar terms.

The State Department spokesman and

Mr Speakes said the Administration's attitude would be raised with the South African Government, but it was not clear in what form this would be done.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, also condemned the raid.

He said he was appalled by the loss of innocent lives and viewed the attack as a grave violation of the UN Charter.

News of the raid came as the General

Assembly was voting on draft resolutions aimed at imposing comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

Many nations took the opportunity to condemn the raid when explaining how they would vote. The European Economic Community said the 10 member nations "strongly condemn this flagrant violation" of Lesotho's territorial integrity.

In Paris a French Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed

## We'd do it again, Steyn tells UK

By Jean-Jacques Cornish of The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain's condemnation of the South African strike into Lesotho was as strong as its attack on the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.

South Africa's ambassador in London, Mr

Marais Steyn, was summoned to the Foreign Office yesterday to be told of Britain's "strong disapproval of the unjustified violation of the territorial integrity of a fellow member of the Commonwealth."

The Foreign Office Minister, Mr Cranley

Onslow, who delivered the dressing down, made it clear to Mr Steyn that the raid was seen in such a serious light in Whitehall because it was carried out against one of Britain's Commonwealth partners.

Mr Onslow called on the South African

Government to desist from such attacks and urged restraint "in the interests of peace in southern Africa."

Mr Steyn put on a brave face to reporters after his encounter. "I was not uncomfortable," he said. "There was straight talk, but I didn't break out in

tears." The ambassador rocked British correspondents with his assertion that if the "survival of lives depends upon it we will probably do it again."

While the raid itself had been successful, he insisted, it had not rooted out the "terrorists" the South African forces were aimed at.

Mr Steyn would not comment on his meeting with Mr Onslow. But he attacked what he termed the one-sided condemnation of violence in southern Africa by the Western world generally.

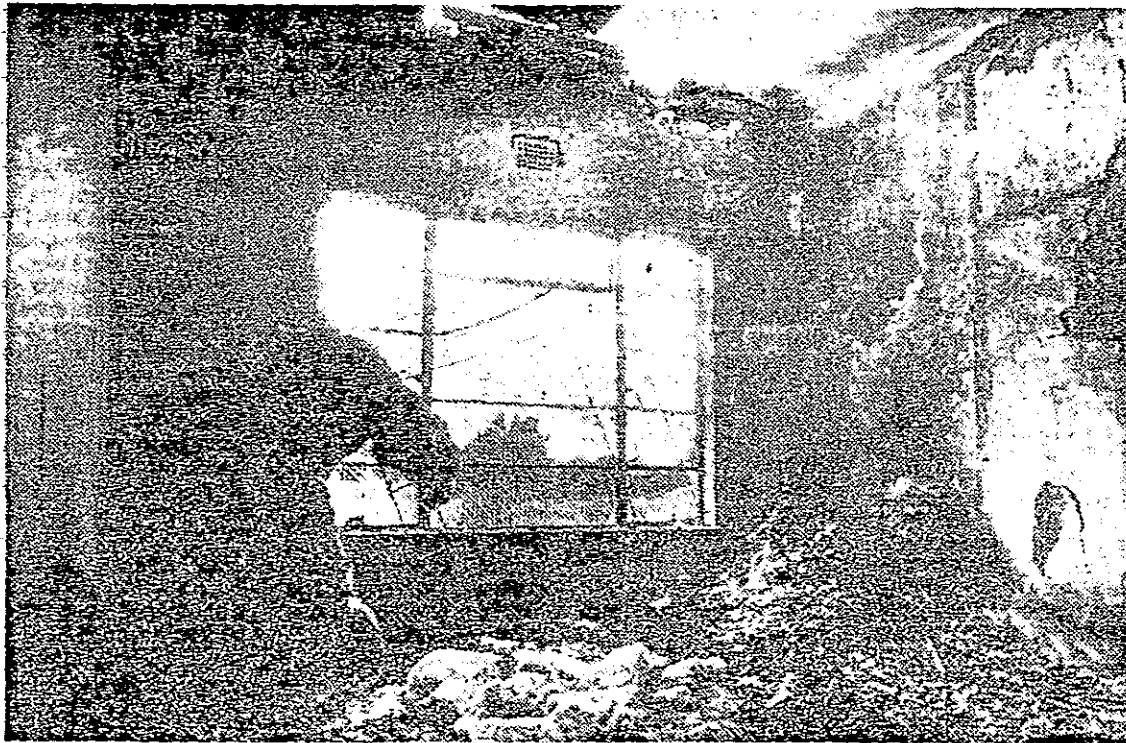
"Violence takes place all the time against us. But there is not a murmur," he said.

"The violence committed against us is hardly reported and never criticised."

His interview with Mr Onslow came after an earlier call at the Foreign Office by the Lesotho High Commissioner here, Mr Joseph Mollo.

Mr Mollo gave a full account of the raid and, according to a Foreign Office spokesman, denied the existence of any ANC bases in Lesotho.

Mr Mollo asked for Britain's understanding and support.



The wrecked bedroom of top ANC man Mr. Temi Hani's house in Maseru after the SADF attack early yesterday. Mr Hani was not at home at the time of the raid. Pictures by Clive Lloyd.

their grand designs, buses thrive on oil. How much of the fuel the rest of us will be forced to conserve is then simply going to be burnt on the altar of grand apartheid?



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# Maseru raid

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his country's shock at the raid.

In London, Mr Robert Hughes, chairman of the Anti-apartheid Movement in Britain appealed to Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to recall Britain's ambassador to South Africa.

The AAM expects a big response to a torchlight demonstration outside the South African embassy tonight to protest at "the massacre of South African refugees and Lesotho citizens, including women and children."

The movement has appealed to the UN and Commonwealth to act immediately "to protect Lesotho's sovereignty and security."

In Durban, Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley said that rather than consider black aspirations in a "human and Christian manner," the Government had signalled clearly that it would fight and never yield to them.

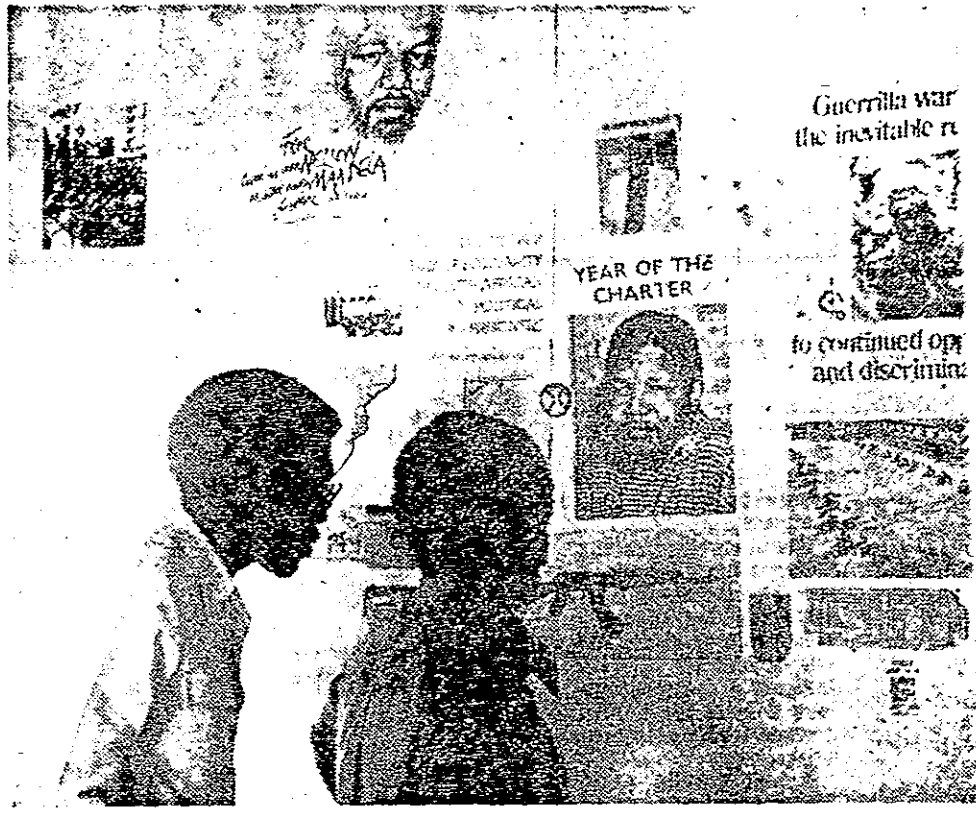
The archbishop expressed his "deep shock and dismay" at the Lesotho raid.

He said this amounted to a further admission of a state of war with the ANC, and a worsening of the conflict.

The Commander-in-Chief of State Security in Ciskei, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, said the territory was jubilant about the raid.

"We're all the more jubilant in Ciskei because on several occasions we had pointed out the activities of ANC terrorists who moved from Butterworth, Transkei, to launch attacks in Ciskei before returning to Lesotho," he said.

The Star Bureau, Own Correspondent, and Sapa.



Posters on a wall in the Maseru house where eight ANC members died during the raid.

# ANC may strike at Ciskei now despite the declaration

By Howard Barrell, The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — The ANC's declared policy of seeking to minimise civilian casualties is under severe pressure after yesterday's South African Defence Force attack on exiles in Lesotho.

The feeling among sources close to the ANC's external mission is that yesterday's raid could usher in an unprecedented era of bloodletting by members of its military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The initial response from an ANC spokesman to the raid was: "Don't they know they are driving Umkhonto we Sizwe to do the same thing inside South Africa against white civilians in retaliation?"

What particularly incensed exiles was that at least seven women and children were among those killed and reports reaching the Frontline states that the home and family of former ANC representative Thembi Hani had again come under attack.

After the Matola raid into Mozambique in January last year, there were

calls within the ANC for the movement to embark on what, strictly speaking, amounts to terrorism, indiscriminate attacks on civilians for political purposes.

ANC sources said the question asked by all ranks was: "If any house containing black South African refugees and a gun constitutes an ANC military base, then by the same logic does every white South African household with a gun not constitute an apartheid military base?"

That question is being asked again now.

So far, the ANC claims, it has held back from indiscriminate attacks on civilians.

But it is a sobering thought to consider the effect on South Africa, its society and economy if the more than 50 Umkhonto we Sizwe attacks last year and the more than 40 this year (according to a leaked American CIA document) had been directed towards civilians rather than installations and security forces.

"If the ANC had done that," in the words of one exile, "people would be saying South Africa had clearly moved into a revolutionary situation."

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Posters star on a wall in the Maseru house where eight ANC members died during yesterday morning's raid.

# ANC may strike at civilians now despite the declared policy

By Howard Barrell, The Star's Africa News Service

RE — The ANC's declared policy of trying to minimise civilian casualties under severe pressure after yesterday's South African Defence Force raid on exiles in Lesotho.

The feeling among sources close to the ANC's external mission is that yesterday's raid could usher in an unprecedented era of bloodletting by members of the military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

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"If the ANC had done that," in the words of one exile, "people would be saying South Africa had clearly moved into a revolutionary situation."

Sources close to the ANC continue to make clear that the movement regards indiscriminate attacks on civilians as poor, ultimately counter-productive politics.

Nonetheless, sources close to the ANC have said repeatedly over the past year that the ranks of those it regards as its "enemy" and legitimate targets are being swelled.

The reason for this is the increased militarisation of South African society, particularly among whites, and security systems being set up in factories, businesses and on farms, these sources add.

How badly Umkhonto we Sizwe's capability has been hit is not clear.

But one possible political effect of the raid is worth considering in the context of Zimbabwe.

A former leader in exile of Zimbabwe's Zanu party remarked recently: "When the Rhodesians extended the call-up to all whites, it was a major political victory for us. We knew we were winning. When they attacked the Chimoino refugee camp in Mozambique, it was a further political gain for us among our people."

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NIC  
Meer  
disputes  
11/12/82  
survey's  
findings on  
proposals

By Nagoor Bissetty

THE Natal Indian Congress yesterday challenged Prof Lawrence Schlemmer's published sample findings on Indian attitudes to the proposed constitutional plans — and said it was confident a referendum would produce results to the contrary.

Dr Farouk Meer, the NIC's acting chairman, said the Schlemmer survey findings appeared to be wide of the mark.

The way Indians had rejected the South African Indian Council at its last election and the results of two independent newspaper surveys which gave the NIC — which rejected the proposals outright — a high rating, told a different story, he said.

Approached for comment last night, Prof Schlemmer, head of the University of Natal's Institute of Applied Social Sciences, said that results of an opinion poll on the constitutional proposals could not be compared with election results for a body such as the SAIC.

### Negotiation

'I have no doubt that Dr Meer is correct on many of the points he makes, since a large majority of Indians and coloureds said they would reject the proposals in their present form.

'What the survey shows, however, is that a considerable proportion of people want an active negotiation with the Government to get the proposals improved — and a large majority would also want to see blacks included.

'I fail to see in what way these results differ markedly from the points made by Dr Meer,' he said.

On the Government's constitutional proposals, Prof Schlemmer found that 73 percent of Indians sampled were prepared to cooperate to secure greater benefits.

He ascertained that a higher percentage of younger Indians — those in the 18 to 34 age group — were in favour of co-operation in order to secure a more favourable deal than those in the age group above 34.

His survey among coloureds and Indians was undertaken in the Cape Town and Durban municipal areas, and he has emphasised it was likely that the response from country areas would be less critical.

GENEVA. — Mr Zola Ngini, the chief representative of the African National Congress in Lesotho, was killed in Thursday's South African raid on Maseru, a United Nations spokesman said yesterday.

Sapa-Reuter reports that Mr Ngini, 48, was one of 11 500 South Africans in Lesotho registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the spokesman said.

He said most of the raid victims were refugees and that UNHCR reports from Maseru spoke of anywhere between 32 and 46 victims.

South Africa has said about 30 ANC members and seven civilians were killed in the raid. Lesotho police said yesterday a total of 42 people were killed — 12 of them Lesotho nationals.

Observers were divided yesterday over whether the South African raid would jeopardise the direct talks between South Africa and Angola on South West Africa, reports the Mail's Political Editor. **PATRICK LAURENCE.**

# Maseru raiders killed ANC's Lesotho chief

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The Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, asked what influence the raid would have on the talks, the first round of which was held on Cape Verde on Tuesday, said: "I don't know. We will simply have to wait and see."

Mr Tom Lodge, lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, was pessimistic.

"I don't see how the Angolans can sit round the negotiating table again with the South Africans for quite some time," he said.

But Professor John Barrott, of the Institute of International Affairs, said: "The raid may not have an adverse affect on the talks. South

African raids into Angola itself have not prevented the talks. The Maseru raid may actually help by emphasising South Africa's strength and the need to talk to South Africa."

Another question which has aroused speculation is whether Pretoria made specific diplomatic representations to Lesotho to remove the "ANC units", which were purportedly planning Christmas attacks on South Africa — or whether, as some observers suspect, it preferred military action because it wanted the ANC men dead, not merely out of Lesotho.

Mr Botha said talks were

held on "numerous occasions" but added: "More will be said about this in South Africa's response to Lesotho's charges in the forthcoming Security Council meeting."

Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr C D Molapo, left for New York yesterday to ask the UN Security Council for an emergency debate.

Meanwhile, observers predicted yesterday the SADF raid would place ANC leaders under strong pressure to abandon their campaign of violence against selected strategic targets and opt for terror attacks on civilian targets.

The ANC had vowed to avenge the Maseru attack and pressures on the ANC leadership to sanction a retaliatory attack "on the residences of their people in South Africa" were immense, observers said.

According to Mr Lodge, a British-born political scientist who has made a special study of the ANC, the ANC leadership is already under pressure from fighters in the camps to abandon its policy of restraint and switch to attacks on "soft" civilian targets.

● The world reacts  
— Page 2

# SA diplomats fear attacks by ANC

W/E ARGUS 11/12/82

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Weekend Argus  
Bureau

LONDON. — South African diplomats in Europe are said to be nervous after the strike by SADF commandos on Maseru. They have been warned that the ANC could retaliate by "hitting" them.

A senior South African diplomat in Western Europe said they had intelligence that ANC operatives were planning to strike at selected South African envoys as a reply to the Maseru attack. Officially, the South Africans adopt the customary stonewall stance when answering security questions.

They say they are doing what is necessary to ensure the safety of South Africa's representatives abroad. Certainly the various South African embassies in the European

capitals are as secure as is humanly possible.

However, the Argus Africa News Service in Harare reports that the ANC has rejected as completely false suggestions that the organisation might be about to execute South African diplomats in foreign capitals.

● The South African Ambassador in London, Mr Marais Steyn, has a fulltime bodyguard, but other embassy officials do not.

Diplomats from other countries doubt that the ANC would try to hit at South African diplomats in Europe.

"It would destroy their standing here," one of them said in Paris. "Here, in Bonn or in London, the respective governments would take the strongest action against any organisation using terrorism."

# Labour, govt in 'profitable' talks

## Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, and the Labour Party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, had agreed to hold further consultations on the government's constitutional plans, Mr Hendrickse said last night.

Although the Labour Party did not release an official statement after four hours of talks with Mr Heunis and government officials yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said last night that it was one of the "most profitable" round of talks he had had with the government.

## Further talks

Mr Hendrickse, who headed the Labour Party delegation, said that while it had been agreed to hold further talks, this would not take place until after the party's annual congress on January 3, when a formal position on

the government's constitutional plans would be adopted.

He said that yesterday's meeting was primarily to inform Mr Heunis of proposals by the party's regional committees — which had been set up to study the constitutional plans — and to ask questions that had been raised by those committees.

"We will now be in a position to report back to the party structure at the annual congress on the basis of Mr Heunis's replies," Mr Hendrickse said.

He said there had been no discussion on the government's draft legislation to implement the proposals, which, he understood, were still in the process of preparation.

There had also been little discussion on the latest proposals of the President's Council, because the government had itself not taken a final po-

sition on many of the proposals.

In a short statement following the meeting, Mr Heunis said the meeting had taken place against the background of several months of consultations between the coloured leaders and their electorate.

Questions which had arisen from these consultations relating to the government's constitutional proposals had been put to him to seek a clear indication of the government's point of view.

Mr Heunis said last night that he had nothing to add to his official statement.



**Swazis**  
*S. Express*  
**fear SA**  
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**strike**

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MBABANE — An explosion rocked a house occupied by South African refugees at Manzini's Fairview township yesterday, only one day after the South African Defence Force raid in Maseru.

Nobody was killed or hurt but the explosion strengthened fears that Swaziland could be the next target in the South African campaign against African National Congress targets in neighbouring states.

There has been some demand for measures to protect Swaziland and prevent possible loss of innocent lives. — Sapa.

**COUNTS THE COST AND THE WORLD IS UNITED IN CONDEMNATION**

# Lesotho's troops fired on SADF raiders

By LIZ VAN DEN NIEUWENHOF

LESOTHO troops fired on the South African strike force for two hours when it attacked ANC bases in Maseru this week, General Ian Gleeson, head of SADF staff operations, said this week.

"Fortunately we were able, in the early hours of the morning, to reach the commander of the Lesotho forces and to request them to withdraw, after informing them that our operation was solely aimed at the ANC."

The general told a Pretoria Press conference that the pre-dawn raid on 12 ANC targets on the outskirts of Maseru had successfully eliminated well-established hideouts.

It was during the course of the operation that the SADF seized a detailed map of the Bloemfontein railway and station complex, which indicated that it was being used for a planned ANC attack.

The map, roughly but accurately sketched on two foolscap sheets of paper, indicated transformers, diesel

storage, tanks, warehouses and station complexes.

It also included the location of security fences around the railway complex. Portions of the fencing were marked with the word 'holes'.

After the operation SADF members passed this information on to the South African Railways, which later confirmed holes had been found at the indicated spots.

General Gleeson would not divulge details of how the attack was executed or the tactics employed.

"All I am prepared to say is that with the assistance of the South African Security Police we acted on reliable information we received. "The raid occurred at about 1am on Thursday and lasted until 5.14am."

He said there was a possibility that the South African forces had not been entirely successful in wiping out all their targets.

MIKE CADMAN reported from Maseru that a devastating trail of death and destruction was left in the raiders' wake.

Altogether 41 people, including women and children, were killed and more than a dozen houses wrecked.

Pock-marked walls with machine gun bullets firmly embedded five centimetres into the brick-work, shattered glass, fire-blackened rooms and ripped-off roofing marked the trail of the attack which took place over a wide area of Maseru.

Although Lesotho authorities have ordered a massive clean-up operation, blood-stained walls and floors and extensive wreckage were

left in evidence.

One man in the area said he heard aeroplanes and helicopters.

"The helicopter landed in the road right between the telephone lines," Mr Joseph Maranyane, 35, said.

"Three men ran out and destroyed Mr Mathabatha's house with machine gun and hand-grenade."

Homes further away from the city centre were still smouldering on Friday morning.

On the walls of one house

were copies of the Freedom Charter, posters commemorating the ANC's 70th Anniversary and other posters showing various South African scenes.

In another house a horrific sight greeted reporters — a pile of bones and ashes, all that remained of two men whose bodies had been set alight.

Lesotho authorities believe the SADF troops used a highly inflammable substance to destroy the houses and, in this case, the bodies.



A TELEPHONE can prevent a bloody clash between South African and Lesotho forces during the Maseru raid.

"Don't interfere," a senior officer in the mountain kingdom was told in the predawn warning on Thursday from Pretoria.

And Lesotho's paramilitary force did just that.

At one stage the two forces exchanged fire, but Lesotho's defenders left the way clear for the army when the SADF spokesman assured his Maseru counterpart the offensive was aimed solely at the ANC.

In making this disclosure a top Defence Force spokesman also provided the first real insight into the reasons which persuaded military planners to take their controversial action.

Captured documents, chief of operations lieutenant general Ian Gleeson said yesterday, proved the ANC hoped to turn Christmas into a season of terror.

The chief of Lesotho's police, Major-General S. R. Matella, admitted that Lt-Genl Johan Coetzee — who heads the security police — had contacted him about the raid and warned him not to hamper the men.

Earlier, Mr Victor Ndobe, permanent secretary to Minister of Foreign Affairs Charles Molapo — who is expected to address the United Nations Security Council tomorrow on the attack — had denied any collusion in an interview with the Sunday Tribune.

"It's comparable to saying that people who hit targets in South Africa and evade arrest have colluded with the South Africans. It's preposterous. We certainly would not have consented to the murder of Lesotho civilians either."

He said the Lesotho inaction was not surprising. "Such a retaliatory mission could have been suicidal. Lesotho is a nation of 1.2 million people, one percent of whom are refugees. It would be suicidal to operate against South Africa or allow this to be used as a base for terrorist activities.

"This country is committed to peace and development."

During the four-and-a-half-hour attack, Lesotho's paramilitary forces, its police and fire brigade stayed firmly ensconced in their barracks as the night sky was lit with explosions and tracer bullets.

Forty-two people died, including about five children and 12 or more civilians — among them Pietermaritzburg's Dr Norman Nsipi (24), an intern at Edendale Hospital — as more than 100 South African commandos opened fire on 12 targets with bazookas, grenades, machine-guns, FNs and AKs.

Five helicopters landed in and around Maseru and during the attack at least one plane circled continuously.

## By CHARLENE BELTRAMO and ROY DEVENISH

General Gleeson said the raid had uncovered an ANC plot to attack targets in South Africa, Transkei and Ciskei over the festive season.

Among the documents brought out of Lesotho was a detailed map of

## 'Hit' warning for diplomats

LONDON: South African diplomats in Europe are jumpy after the strike following a warning that the ANC may hit them in retaliation for the raid.

A senior diplomat in Western Europe told the Sunday Tribune they had intelligence that ANC operatives were planning to strike at selected South African envoys as reprisals.

But the ANC has replied from Lusaka, Zambia, rejecting the claims as "completely false".

Secretary of Foreign Affairs Johannes van Dalsen said yesterday from his home in Pretoria that SA envoys in foreign postings had instructions to be on their guard all the time.

the main Bloemfontein railway station complex detailing key points in the area.

This could have been one of the main targets in the campaign to be launched between December 16 and early January.

During the explosions in the cross-fire two houses were destroyed. General Gleeson denied that the SADF had conducted any bombing raids and said their information had confirmed they had hit the correct targets during the raid.

He said there were 12 target areas in three main areas in Maseru and its outlying townships, but this did not mean that only 12 houses were attacked.

It seems one of them, "Moscow House", was used as a transit centre for several months by ANC guerrillas to and from South Africa and as a "refugee centre" following the 1976 riots when thousands of black children fled South Africa.

Another was well known to South African intelligence sources as "Hani's House," an apparent reference to the man whom the SADF regarded as being the Lesotho ANC leader.

He said the Lesotho raid had been a complete success for the SADF.

"However, this does not mean that we are so naive as to believe that nobody could have escaped," he said.

The SADF would not give details of how the strike was carried out but has confirmed some details and denied others as reported from Maseru.

Wesley's Review  
LESOTHO  
SOUTH AFRICAN  
COMMISSION  
DETERMINED

12/12/82

11A

# SA raid 'embarrassed' U.S. Government

S. Times 12/12/84

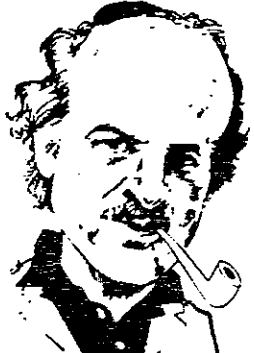
11A

THE United States has told South Africa that the raid into Lesotho has embarrassed the Reagan administration.

During a meeting with Dr Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs late on Friday, the South African Ambassador, Dr Brand Fourie, was told that the Lesotho raid embarrassed Washington at a time when:

- The United Nations is preparing to debate the future of South West Africa.
- American Vice-President George Bush has recently returned from Africa.
- After the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, met senior officials in the American capital late last month.

Mr Botha's visit would be interpreted as showing US complicity in the raids, American officials feared.



DR CHESTER CROCKER Timing was the puzzle

By John Matlson in Washington and Ivor Wilkins in Pretoria

During the Falklands crisis the US imposed sanctions on Argentina and froze Argentinian assets in the United States.

South Africa is already subjected to a US arms embargo, but decisions are pending on a number of South African requests to buy nuclear-related items from the US.

The list of restrictions on American exports to South Africa — relaxed in February as part of the administration's policy of constructive engagement with South Africa — is currently under review.

A decision is expected by the end of this month.

Other senior legislators also expressed dissatisfaction with the official US response to the death of 42 people in Maseru.

Senator Charles Percy, Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, strongly attacked the "murders of innocents" and called on the US Government to show its indignation over the killings.

tegrity of its neighbours," Senator Percy said.

"At a time of sensitive negotiations with respect to Namibia and Angola, and of an American attempt to pursue a policy of constructive engagement with South Africa, it is very disappointing for those of us who seek to promote non-violent solutions to Southern African problems to witness an escalation of violence," Senator Kassebaum added.

Under the headline "Bully" the Washington Post said in an editorial yesterday none of the reports from Lesotho support South Africa's claim that the victims were recently arrived ANC terrorists planning to undertake new missions soon.

"Most of the victims were refugees, including some women and children, and the others were Lesotho citizens", the editorial said.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was not available for comment yesterday but all indications are that South Africa will simply sit tight and ride out the international storm as it has done in the past.

There are no indications that the Department of Foreign Affairs is embarrassed by the raid.

The Lesotho Foreign Minister, Mr Charles Molapo, was sceptical about the chances of any punitive measures being adopted against Pretoria.

He indicated that Lesotho might still be willing to meet South African representatives to defuse the growing tension between the two countries.

Mr Molapo refused to say what line his government would take at the UN this week.

## No warning

The US was not warned of the raids in advance.

If South Africa had consulted the US about a security problem in Lesotho, American influence could have been put on Lesotho's Government through peaceful diplomatic channels, Dr Fourie was told.

The meeting took place at the State Department headquarters at the same time as Senator Nancy Kassebaum, the pro-Reagan chairman of

the Senate African Affairs sub-committee, surprised observers with a tough response to the Lesotho raid.

Senator Kassebaum called on the Reagan administration to "take action similar to that taken in the recent Falklands Islands invasion, to make it clear to South Africa that this type of activity would not be tolerated".

An aide to Senator Kassebaum said it was up to the Reagan administration to determine what kind of actions should be taken but they should go beyond the administration's statement deploring the raid.

## Contrast

"The brutal attack is in stark contrast to the South African Governments announced desire for co-existence and co-operation with its neighbours.

"The US Government should make clear its commitment to the territorial in-

# Slabbert enters Lesotho row

By IVOR WILKINS

THE Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert yesterday entered the row over the SADF raid into Lesotho and said the struggle in South Africa could not be solved by military means alone.

In a statement, Dr Slabbert said politicians could not sit back and let the military cope with problems that were their responsibility to solve.

He said the problems in South Africa cried out for political, economic and social reforms.

"I am appalled and shocked at the loss of inno-

cent lives during the recent raid, and wish to urge the Government and anyone concerned with peace to redouble their efforts.

"We cannot allow this sort of thing to become a regular feature of South African life.

"If it does, it would simply mean we would be caught up in a spiral of violence and counter-violence which could force us all into a period of prolonged siege in which the valuable human and natural resources of this country would be systematically destroyed."

Dr Slabbert's entry into the outrage over the cross-bo-

der raid follows a brief comment by the Progressive Federal Party's new defence spokesman, Mr Phillip Myburgh, on Thursday shortly after news of the raid broke.

Mr Myburgh's statement urged that diplomatic and economic channels be exhausted before pre-emptive strikes were made.

He feared the strike could effect Namibia negotiations, but added that the Government had repeatedly asked Lesotho not to help anti-South African groups.

These warnings had gone unheeded, he said, and South Africa had to take action.

## WEATHER AN

TRANSVAAL: Fine and warm with isolated thunder-showers over the western and southern parts.

FREE STATE: Fine and warm with isolated thunder-showers over the northern and north-eastern parts.

CAPE: Partly cloudy and mild with wind fresh to

stro: NAT mild fresh Cape Mosses Knysen Port Elizabeth East L Durban Welw

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uter Co., Ltd., Tokyo, Japan.

LIDAY TIMES C-8212S

# Raiders foiled bombing and murder plots

By NEIL HOOPER and KEN SLADE

SOUTH Africa's onslaught against ANC deployments in Maseru foiled a plan for assassinations and sabotage that included the destruction of Bloemfontein railway station, central point of the country's rail-transport system, security chiefs said yesterday.

The initiation of this plan could have been only days away — to coincide with Wednesday's Day of the Vow commemorations (which is also the 21st anniversary of the founding of "Umkhonto we Sizwe", the ANC's military wing).

Among those killed is believed to have been Zola Nqini, acting head of the ANC in Lesotho.

Lieut-General Johann Coetzee, head of the Security Branch of the SAP, and Lieut-General Ian Gleeson, SADF Chief of Staff, Operations, said information collected during the raid revealed the following ANC plan:

- Assassination attempts on selected high-ranking South African officials.
- A full-scale bombing attack on Bloemfontein railway station and other SAR installations.
- An assassination attempt on the life of Transkei President Kaiser Matanzima and his replacement by former Paramount Chief Sabata Dalinyebo.
- The infiltration of black units of the SADF.
- Acts of sabotage — particularly in the Eastern Cape and Transkei and Ciskei — to reach a climax on December 16.

General Gleeson also revealed that South African commandos were involved in a nearly two-hour battle with Lesotho security forces before Lesotho's security chief and Minister of External Affairs were assured that the incursion was directed only against ANC bases. The Lesotho forces then withdrew.

## ANC anniversary

Detailing the ANC plans, Gen Coetzee said: "One of the documents showed that they planned to assassinate President Matanzima and replace him with former Paramount Chief Sabata Dalinyebo, who defected to the ANC several years ago. He joined the ANC after fleeing to Lesotho and then to Dar es Salaam."

Gen Coetzee said the documents also showed that the ANC was planning acts of sabotage, particularly in the Eastern Cape and Ciskei, to reach a climax on December 16.

Attacks were also planned to reach a climax on January 8 next year, the 71st anniversary of the foundation of the ANC.

One of the most startling documents seized during the raid was a map of a planned bombing attack on Bloemfontein railway station.

It is believed this attack was planned to take place before Christmas.

The map — drawn on a piece of rough brown paper rather like that from a cement packet — was evaluated by the SADF on Friday.

Gen Gleeson said it was only after this evaluation that it was realised an attack was due to have taken place on the Bloemfontein station and marshalling yards.

"The map was sent to railway officials, and it was learnt that it was, in fact, an accurate plan of Bloemfontein station."

Gen Gleeson pointed out a number of marks on the map which indicated where holes could be cut in security fencing surrounding the station.

"Railway officials checked the fencing and discovered that the holes had already been cut," he said.

## Countless lives

Also indicated on the map were a number of points where bombs would have been placed.

If the attack had succeeded, vital areas of the station and surrounding areas would have been destroyed and countless lives might have been lost, he said.

Another seized document was headed: "The SADF and the Area Defence Scheme."

According to this document, a portion of which was shown to the Sunday Times, the ANC was extremely worried about the formation of area defence units in black areas.

The document suggested that the ANC should attempt to infiltrate the units and later induce members to use their arms for ANC purposes.

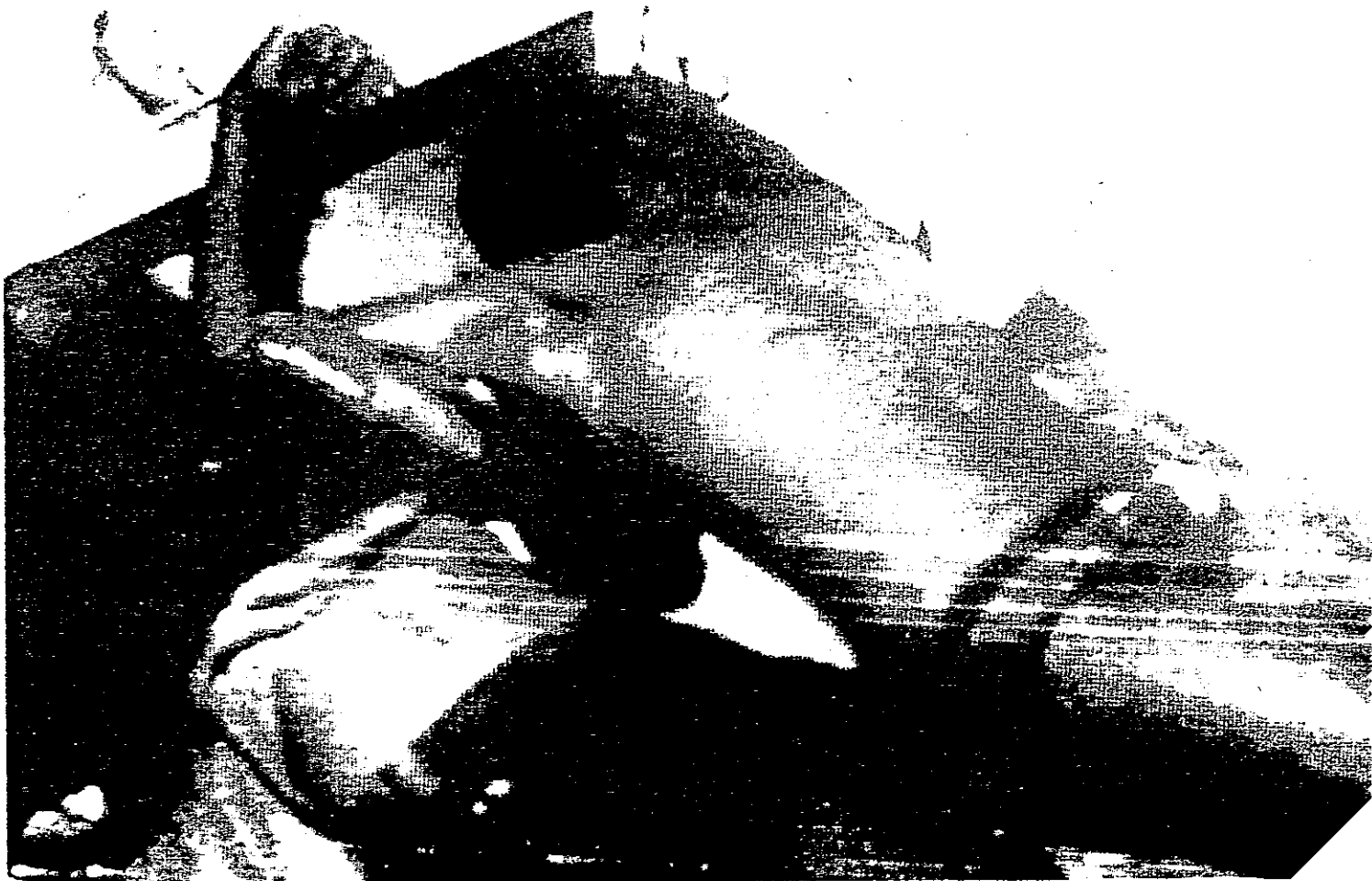
Yesterday Gen Coetzee gave details of telephone conversations he had had during the operation with the Lesotho security chief, General S J Molapo, and the Minister of External Affairs, Mr Charles Molapo.

"During the operation, intelligence sources reported to me that units of the Lesotho Mobile Unit were going into action, under the impression that the (South African) firing was caused by elements of the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), the military wing of the Lesotho Congress Party headed by Mr Ntsu Mokhehle," Gen Coetzee said.

"I telephoned Gen Molapo and informed him that the operation was directed solely against ANC bases in Maseru. I appealed to him not to allow the official forces to become

□ To Page 5

# After the raid... death, mou



DEATH BEFORE DAWN ... the bodies of two terrorists killed in the South African attack on ANC bases in Maseru this week. This picture, taken soon after the raid, suggests that the terrorists were surprised in their sleep

# SA's biggest mess Lesotho offici

12/12/82 (11A) (374)

A VIEW starkly different from that in Pretoria is being given by Lesotho Government officials about just what happened when South Africa launched its lightning raid on Maseru.

Lesotho Government officials are trying to present evidence that the South African soldiers attacked the homes of Basotho civilians.

They are claiming that fatal attacks took place on homes of civilians who were not connected with the banned ANC.

They have taken international and South African newsmen to see devastated houses of civilians allegedly killed as a result of what are claimed to have been inaccurate South African intelligence reports.

Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr Charles Molapo, has accused South Africa of committing the "callous and brutal" murder of civilians and bona fide refugees.

## 'Bungled'

Describing the raid as "South Africa's biggest mess", Mr Molapo added:

By DAVID FORRET and NORMAN CHANDLER in Maseru and KEN SLADE in Johannesburg

said, pointing to the blood-stained walls of the tiny Upper Thamae suburban home which was riddled with bullet holes.

In that house, Mr and Mrs Motlatsi Hlalele, both in their mid-20s, and his 14-year-old brother, Pondo, were allegedly gunned down by the South Africans.

The house, once rented by an ANC member, was reoccupied by Mr Hlalele, an unemployed taxi driver, after he



"At least four helicopters came over the border at 0630 on Thursday morning. Two passed over my house and another landed near to where government Ministers lived.

"There is no doubt that, in spite of South African denials, helicopters were used to ferry in arms and ammunition."

Lesotho sources claimed that, to distract the PMF (Lesotho's paramilitary force), mortars were fired from the South African side of the border in the vicinity of the Caledon River bridge.

The source said the PMF rushed reinforcements to the border, thinking that it was yet another attack by the Lesotho Liberation Army.

"It was a classic diversion which gave the South Africans much-needed time to carry out their objectives," a government spokesman said. Prime Minister Leabua

cans allegedly attacked a couple of flats in the block, killing two civilians, including Miss Matumo Ralebitso, daughter of a former Cabinet Minister and ambassador to Mozambique.

Mrs Hanl, who works for the Lesotho National Tourist Board, is said to have been sleeping in her flat when the raiders struck.

They threw a grenade into the flat next door — occupied by Miss Ralebitso — and fol-



and machine-gunned the sleeping occupants, Mr and Mrs S Jafta and their two-year-old son, according to government officials.

It was also claimed that one woman, Mrs Mapoloko Sehlabaka, 25, was fatally wounded in the chest when she peeped through her bedroom window while troops were attacking the house next door.

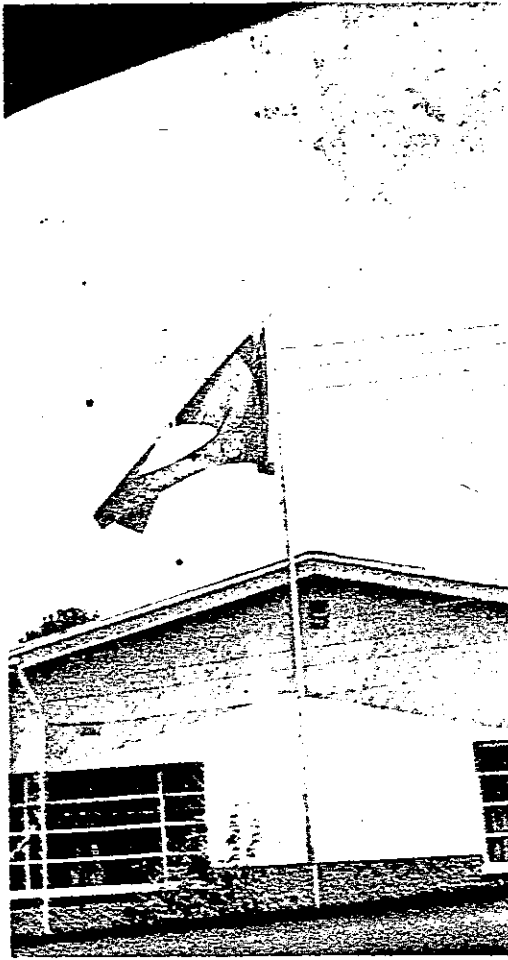
A mass funeral for these victims is scheduled for next weekend.

One man — a member of the ANC but not yet identified — allegedly died in the arm of Mrs Mainello Khasake, private secretary in the office of the Prime Minister.

"I was about to be shot when one of the soldiers said 'Don't, she's a woman'," badly shaken Mrs Khasake said yesterday.

Lt-Gen Ian Gleeson, SADF Chief of Staff Operations, has denied massive civilian deaths and prisoner-of-war reports.

# ...orning and a family's misery



A TIME TO MOURN . . . the Lesotho flag flies at half mast after the attack



A FAMILY'S MISERY . . . Mr Tseliso Sehiabaka, whose 25-year-old wife, Mapoloko, a Lesotho citizen, was killed in the raid, with the couple's children, Tsatsane, left, and Poloko

## S. Tries 12/12/82 S, says ial

Gen Gleeson said another "confirmed" death was that of Jackson Tayo, an explosives expert who had the alias "Fatman".

"He was killed with about eight or 10 other people when his house blew up during our attack," said the general.

"We believe that he could have wired the home and detonated the explosives to avoid being captured.

"Otherwise, one of our grenades might have exploded their explosives."

Gen Gleeson said Tayo was a former Robben Island prisoner.

Gen Gleeson, however, claimed that Hani, who used the alias "Dimpho", was killed and that his men had fingerprints as proof.

"The woman Limpho was the wife of Martin Hani, the leader of the ANC in Lesotho.

"She was secretary of the ANC's women's section in Lesotho."

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... are claimed to have been inaccurately South African intelligence reports.

Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr Charles Molapo, has accused South Africa of committing the "callous and brutal" murder of civilians and bona fide refugees.

## 'Bungled'

Describing the raid as "South Africa's biggest mess", Mr Molapo added:

"South Africa has acted too hastily ... they have really bungled this time."

Government officials in Lesotho have put the death toll at more than 40, including 12 civilians.

Lesotho Government officials are hotly disputing claims by South Africa's military chiefs that civilians killed in the raid were caught in crossfire.

They claim that some of the civilians, including women and children, were killed in cold blood in houses that were hit by heavily armed South African troops.

"There is no crossfire like this," said Mr Vincent Mabele, Permanent Secretary in Lesotho's Department of Information, when he showed journalists the house where three Lesotho citizens were allegedly killed.

"They (the South African authorities) keep talking about crossfire ... there was no crossfire here at all," he

... an ANC member, was reoccupied by Mr Hlalele, an unemployed taxi driver, after he



Mr CHARLES MOLAPO  
Callous and brutal

resigned from government service and had to give up his state-owned home.

Lesotho officials have also claimed that:

- Other civilians were killed in cold blood in their homes.

- Eight unarmed ANC refugees were herded into a small room of a house they shared, which was plastered with revolutionary posters, and gunned down.

- Some ANC members living in Lesotho were killed while still dazed from sleep.

Mr Desmond Sixishe, in charge of Press inquiries following the raid, claimed that the South Africans entered Lesotho posing as tourists and then apparently linked up with members of the banned opposition Congress Party led by Mr Ntsu Mokhehle.

... (Lesotho's paramilitary force), mortars were fired from the South African side of the border in the vicinity of the Caledon River bridge.

The source said the PMF rushed reinforcements to the border, thinking that it was yet another attack by the Lesotho Liberation Army.

"It was a classic diversion which gave the South Africans much-needed time to carry out their objectives," a government spokesman said.

Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan sent his Foreign Minister, Mr Molapo, to the United Nations on Friday to protest about the raid. But, ironically, he had to fly via Bloemfontein because South Africa had declared Maseru Airport "a war zone" for 24 hours.

South African troops are claimed in Maseru to have made fatal mistakes when they raided a three-storey apartment block near the city centre, according to Lesotho Government officials.

While one soldier set up a machine-gun post on one of the landings at Kuena flats, his comrades allegedly forced a nightwatchman at gunpoint to take them to the flat of Mrs Limphe Hani, wife of the top ANC official in Lesotho who is described by local government officials as the man "most wanted" by South Africa.

It proved a futile search, however, and the South Afri-

... They threw a grenade into the flat next door — occupied by Miss Ralebiso — and fol-



Gen IAN GLEESON  
Mortars not used

lowed it up with a missile, according to claims in Maseru.

It is said that the blast hurled Mrs Hani and her children from their beds, and she clearly heard shouts of "Hani, come out", but escaped through a back entrance.

Mrs Hani is now believed to be in hiding in Maseru.

Her husband, leader of the ANC in Lesotho and a reputed member of its military wing, "Umkhonto we Sizwe", has escaped two previous attempts on his life.

His strongly secured home on the outskirts of Maseru was hit again in Thursday's raid. He has not been seen in Lesotho for three months.

Nearby, troops also allegedly burst into a house once occupied by an ANC member

... weekend. One man — a member of the ANC but not yet identified — allegedly died in the arms of Mrs Mainello Khasake, a private secretary in the office of the Prime Minister.

"I was about to be shot when one of the soldiers said, 'Don't, she's a woman,'" a badly shaken Mrs Khasake said yesterday.

Lt-Gen Ian Gleeson, SADF Chief of Staff Operations, has denied massive civilian deaths and prisoner-of-war reports.

He said a post-operation evaluation of the attack had already confirmed that intelligence on which the raid was based was accurate.

"The evaluation has also proved that the targets we operated against were ANC establishments," he said.

"There was, however, a great deal of crossfire between our troops, the ANC and Lesotho Government forces.

## Escaped

"Although our men had been drilled on how to attempt to avoid civilian casualties, a few civilians were unfortunately killed. A main problem was that the ANC, by living with civilians, attempted to use them for protection against possible attack."

Although the general refused to comment on how the raid was executed, he did say that, by 5.40am on Thursday, all South African troops were out of the area.

"I know reports being circulated state that we still have soldiers inside Lesotho, but that is not correct. Everyone who took part in the raid was back by 0540."

He denied that South Africa had made use of attack aircraft or mortars during the operation.

"We used no aircraft or attack helicopters in support of the operation.

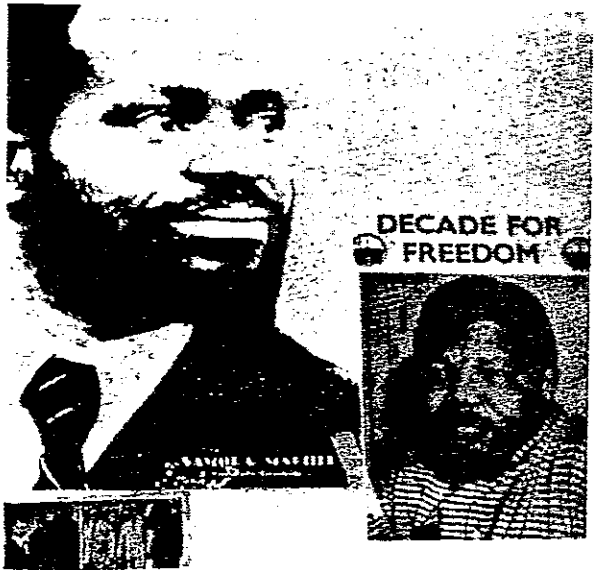
"We did, however, make use of helicopters once the attacks started. They were used a number of times to evacuate our injured.

"Our side did not use mortars. If any such weapons were used, then they must have been handled by the Lesotho Government forces."

Gen Gleeson said his men had confirmation of the deaths of four ANC leaders.

One of the "confirmed" dead is the woman Limphe Hani. According to a Lesotho spokesman, she is alive after escaping.

# What SA raiders found on the walls



Revolutionary posters found pasted on the walls of ANC bases attacked by South African forces in Maseru



# ANC murder, bombing plans

From Page 1

involved in combat.

"Mr Molapo then telephoned me and this request was repeated.

"The Minister's attitude was that he was very disappointed and felt the presence of ANC terrorists in Lesotho should have been dealt with through diplomatic channels."

Gen Gleeson confirmed that the message had had an immediate effect on Lesotho forces which were then in combat against the South

Africans.

"Our forces were involved in firefights with the ANC terrorists when the Lesotho forces appeared on the battle scene.

"There was a great deal of small-arms fire taking place at the time."

The general said Lesotho troops joined the fight against the South Africans and were caught in crossfire.

The South Africans managed to get a message to the commander of the Lesotho

forces and a request was put to him to withdraw his forces.

"The commander was told that the South African operation was solely against the ANC, and that we had no fight with Lesotho forces.

"The message had an immediate effect and, much to their credit, the Lesotho forces withdrew," Gen Gleeson said.

"Thousands of documents were found at the ANC bases and are being scrutinized by the Security Branch for fingerprints so that we can identify all those killed as well as any other members of the ANC who handled the documents," Gen Coetzee said.

He added that many of the dead had already been identified, but that a full list would probably be released only this week.

Gen Coetzee did disclose, however, that a woman who died when she jumped from a second-floor flat in Maseru had not been a civilian as had been claimed.

"We have identified her as a Mrs Moloi, the wife of an ANC official. We have also established that she was trained as a terrorist in Russia," he said.

So far, more than 40 bodies have been recovered following the South African raid.

In addition to Zola Nqini, other prominent ANC militants believed to have been killed were Jackson Tayo, Sidney Mavimbela, Titus Mangoma, and Terror Mangoma.



12 Dec. 1982

# Watchman tells how SA troops hit empty house

(11A) ~~SA~~

S. Express

By MIKE CADMAN

A NIGHT watchman at the home of the top ANC man in Lesotho, Mr Thembe Hani, said this week's raid was the third at his employer's house.

Mr Josef Ntsibane, 46, said he saw Thursday's devastating raid — which destroyed the house — but that no one had been injured.

The earlier attacks were amateurish efforts compared with the raid, he said.

"Men with darkened faces and speaking a language I could not understand appeared in the early hours of the morning. I saw five of them near the house but there were many outside a fence," Mr Ntsibane said.

"They had machineguns and hand grenades and blew the house up.

"Mr Hani has been away for two months and I was the only person there. There was nothing in the house. No papers, no guns, nothing.

"I was so scared I hid in the bushes. I heard

a helicopter somewhere near "the new airport," he said.

Mr Hani's house was gutted. The blaze melted windows, blackened walls and left piles of ashes strewn throughout the ruin. Mangled corrugated iron roofing lay around. Bullet holes in a solid brick wall were at least 5cm deep.

Mr Ntsibane said that after the raiders destroyed the house they went away towards the helicopter which had landed on Qoaling Hill, a large flat-topped hill on the outskirts of Maseru.

"It was about 4.30am when the men left."

Mr Ntsibane said the first two attacks on the house had failed.

"The first was about six months ago when someone threw a bomb over the back fence. No one was injured. The bomb was thrown by a black man.

"After that a car bomb was set off near the house and a man was wounded in the leg," he said.



● Mr Josef Ntsibane ... watched raiders

Sun Exp: 12/12/82

# IN THE AF TER MATH OF THE MASERU RAID, THE ANC LEADERSHIP



● Mr Mapoloko Sehlabaka and his two children, Tssetsane, three (left) and Poloko, nine months, at the window through which his wife was shot dead by SADF forces. The house next door was used by the second in command of the ANC in Lesotho, Mr Sexwale Mathabatha, who escaped the attack.

A QUESTION-MARK still hangs over the number of African National Congress members and civilians killed in the South African Defence Force's attack on their hideouts in Lesotho.

Conflicting versions of what happened have been given by SADF and Lesotho official sources, with the ANC in New York adding to the confusion with its pronouncements.

What is clear is that at least one ANC leader was killed, but that others — including the top man, Mr Thembe Hani, his deputy, and his wife — appear to have escaped. An unknown number of innocent civilians were killed.

The SADF said they could have died in cross-fire, but Lesotho officials and eye-witnesses said the South African troops hit the wrong targets.

The SADF issued a list of ANC members it said were killed in the raid, but this did not tally with the accounts given in Maseru, where the emphasis was put on civilian victims.

General Ian Gleeson, head of SADF staff operations said: "At this stage we are still in the process of establishing who was killed and who was not killed."

Referring to the house that was shelled, he said there was no possibility of finding out who had been killed there.

"There is a question-mark over the number of people killed in the house ... we believe there were eight people inside, but it would be virtually impossible to prove."

One civilian victim was Mrs Tselipo Sehlabaka, mother of two small children, one aged three, and the other nine months.

"We heard shooting about 1.30am," her husband, Mr Matolako Sehlabaka, 25, said.

"My wife peeked out of the window to see men wearing masks (balaclavas). They were shooting and blowing up the house next door.

## Conflicting claims on raid leave ANC death

By LIZ VAN DEN NIEUWENHOF in Pretoria and MIKE CADMAN in Maseru. Pictures by DOUG LEE

"The next thing I knew she fell backwards. She had been shot in the chest. She died immediately. I was too terrified to look out of the window again.

"My two little children, Poloka and Tssetsane, will probably never remember their mother. Why did they kill her?"

The Permanent Under-Secretary for Information, Mr Vincent Malebo, said the house which was attacked had been occupied by Mr Sexwale Mathabatha, the second most senior ANC man in Maseru, who escaped.

At Kuena flats, in the middle of busy Maseru, the raiders killed two people, destroyed a car and caused extensive damage while searching for the wife of Mr Thembe Hani, said Mr Malebo.

Mrs Limtho Hani escaped. She was said to be away on a visit at the time.

Mr Malebo added: "They destroyed Mrs Hani's car and went from flat to

flat searching for her, shooting all the time. They caused extensive damage.

"They killed two people here, including Miss Matumo Ralebitso, 22, the daughter of a former Minister of Education and Ambassador to Mozambique."

At a house in a suburb of Maseru, said Mr Malebo, nine men were herded into a room decorated with ANC posters and executed by machine-gun fire. One escaped and has not been traced.

"These men were members of the ANC," Mr Malebo said.

At another house, three Lesotho citizens were shot while they slept in their beds.

Mr Motlatse Hlaible, 24, Gpeque Ghamae, 21, and Pondo Hlaible, 14, died in a hail of machinegun bullets and grenade fragments.

A few hours later an unexploded hand-grenade was found in the room.

A student at a local college, who claimed to be a Soweto refugee, said four

young men who were killed who were sympathetic to the ANC, but were in Lesotho as students.

"I knew them only as Sipho, Rocks, Tfiipo and Phule," said the student, who did not want to be named or photographed.

"They all left South Africa in 1978. All they were here for was to study."

Not all victims have been identified. On Friday a long line of people anxiously waited at the Maseru mortuary hoping that missing friends and relatives were not among the bodies.

In Pretoria the SADF released the following names of ANC members who were killed in the attack:

● Jackson Balisani Tayo Mafuta, alias Tron, a former Robben Island prisoner who had served a six-year sentence for being in possession of chemicals which could be used to make explosives.

Mafuta was in the Transkei in August 1981 at the time when two Transkei policemen were murdered

# toll puzzle

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He fled to Lesotho where he helped train ANC members. He specialised in explosives.

● Zola Sgonyela Nqini, alias Brazed, who was also a former Robben Island prisoner. He belonged to the 'high command' of a communist cell at Robben Island before being released in 1969.

After his release he was appointed as the contact man for the South African Communist Party in Ilingsi. In August 1978 he left for

Lesotho where he underwent an ANC military training course.

● Adolf Joseph Phicamile Mpongonshe, alias Mavimbela, alias Strike, alias Ready, was in Port Elizabeth when he was arrested for subversive activities. He left South Africa and underwent training in Angola and Russia in 1977.

Later he became the political commissar for the ANC in Angola and in 1978 be-

came a sub-commander at Funda.

● Limphe Sekamane, alias Dimpho, was the wife of Hani, the chief representative for the ANC in Lesotho.

She received military training in Angola in 1978 and became an ANC courier, regularly visiting Maputo and Lusaka. In 1980 she went to Russia and then later studied in Yugoslavia.

Sekamane was the secretary of the ANC women's section based in Lesotho.



● A neighbour in the ruined 'Moscow House' owned by Mr Thembe Hani a top ANC leader in Lesotho.

## Houses used for planning

By GHERHARD PIETERSE

NEW YORK — The African National Congress admitted yesterday that some of the buildings hit by the South African Defence Force in Maseru on Thursday had been used for planning anti-South African strategy.

The organisation also admitted that at least 30 of the dead had been 'active' members of the banned organisation.

A spokesman for the ANC's permanent observer mission to the United Nations said that while none of the people killed in the raid had been "specifically" sent to Lesotho for activities against South Africa, "at least 30" had been active members of the ANC and had participated in planning strategy against South Africa.

Asked how many of the 30 members killed in the raid had undergone military training, the spokesman declined to answer, saying that it was "classified" information. But he left the impression at least some of the 30 had undergone some military training.

The spokesman confirmed that some of the buildings that had been partially demolished by the South Africans had been designated as non-military headquarters for the ANC.

A spokesman for the Lesotho Permanent Mission to the UN said the official death toll now stood at 42 and denied that any of the dead had been in his country to wage guerrilla war against South Africa.

"Lesotho has never allowed its territory to be used as a springboard for military action against South Africa by any group," he said.

P. T. O.

# Raid raises world anger

By MIKE CADMAN

MASERU — Lesotho's Foreign Minister Mr Charles Molapo left Maseru on Friday at the head of a special delegation to the United Nations to protest against the South African raid on Maseru in which 41 people were killed.

Mr Molapo said that the Lesotho Government condemned the "brutal and callous murder of innocent people" during the raid early on Thursday morning.

"As yet there's absolutely no evidence that Lesotho has been used as a launching pad for African National Congress attacks against South Africa," Mr Molapo said.

"If South Africa had come to us with evidence of raids from our territory we would have acted on this."

Meanwhile the raid has elicited wide reaction in the United States.

GHERHARD PIETERSE reported that both the State Department and the White

House have released statements condemning the raid. The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Peres de Cuellar, denounced the raid saying he was "appalled" at the loss of innocent lives.

Sapa reported worldwide condemnation of South Africa's strike into Lesotho.

ZIMBABWEAN Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, has sent a message to the Prime Minister of Lesotho, Dr Leabua Jonathan, expressing his horror and deep shock at the attack.

Mr Mugabe condemned "this latest example of savage aggression waged in the bloody name of apartheid, as a cold-blooded massacre against the peace-loving and defenceless people of Lesotho".

MALAYSIA has described the strike as an unprovoked and cold-blooded massacre.

ANGOLAN President Jose Eduardo dos Santos condemned the United States for what he described

as complicity in South African terrorist acts against the frontline states, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said.

The ITALIAN Government said repeated South African incursions into bordering States risked compromising efforts to achieve a negotiated independence settlement in Namibia.

TANZANIA predicted the raid would result in an intensified struggle against the South African Government.

The DUTCH Government strongly condemned the attack, deplored "the loss of innocent lives" and said the raid was a violation of the United Nations' Charter.

INDIA said the attack was part of Pretoria's policy to destabilise neighbouring governments.

The OAU expressed regret that, 34 years after the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "institutionalised racism still survives in South Africa".

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]*

# IN MASERU

## THE VICTIMS

THE Sunday Tribune was able to compile the following list of people killed in the Maseru raid:

Zola Nqini, his house in Florida, Maseru, and an outer building were raked with gun and bazooka fire. His bakkie was still smouldering a day later. A former Robben Island prisoner, he worked for CARE — an organisation which runs a feeding programme in Lesotho — for the three years he lived in the mountain kingdom.

He resigned in November to start an ANC self-reliance project, a farming scheme similar to ones the ANC has in Zambia and Tanzania to reduce their dependence on host countries. Mr Nqini, 50, leaves a wife and children in Port Elizabeth. Three other people died with him, two of them arrived on Thursday night shortly after being released from Robben Island. Another man received a hand injury.

Mathabathe Sekhoale's neighbour in Haholoo was Mapolokosahlabaka, 25, the mother of two infants. She had no political links. She died as she peered through her bedroom window to see. A bullet hit her in the chest.

In a house near the Teachers' Training College, about a kilometre from the town centre, lived Sidney Mavembela, 49, and his 37-year-old wife Tseli. Both were ANC members. The refugee family of an old ANC member and former Robben Island prisoner was living with them. Alfred Marwangwana, 51, died with his daughter Thandiswa, 21, and his 18-year-old son Mzukiasi. Mrs Marwangana escaped when she hid in the toilet with three of her children and eight-month-old grandchild.

A few kilometres away in Upper Thamae eight men died in a house which was still smouldering 40 hours after the attack. Their bullet-riddled bodies were unrecognisable. Two other men escaped from the ANC poster-adorned three-roomed house.

In one of the more tragic scenes of the raid, an old woman was shot dead and a man, his wife and young child died when a gas cylinder exploded after being hit by bullets. The house they were in burst into flames. Bits of human bone still lay among ashes. The remains of a child's toys and a woman's sewing machine lay half-melted or twisted in smouldering heaps.

Matumo Ralebiso, 24, daughter of Lesotho's former Minister of Education and Ambassador to Maputo. She had just returned from England after completing a master's degree in librarianship. She was a lecturer at the National University of Lesotho.

It appears her flat could have been mistaken for that of the wife of Chris Hani, the ANC's former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief in Lesotho, although some sources claim she was a target of the Lesotho Liberation Army. She apparently jumped out of her flat window to escape from automatic weapon fire.

A landlord who lets houses to ANC people was out at work at a flour mill. His maid was killed while she was baby-sitting his young children.

Sefate Jafeta, 40, his wife Matebho, 29, and their four-year-old son, Tebho. Neither he nor his family were connected with the ANC. They lived in their room for a year. At the opposite end of the house in Qoaling lived an ANC family. They escaped. Mr Jafeta, according to eyewitnesses, repeatedly told attackers he was not an ANC member before he and his family were gunned down.

By Charlene Beltramo

HOURS after the Maseru attack in which 42 people died, the picturesque capital of the mountain kingdom that extols visitors at points of entry to Come In Peace was already welcoming South African visitors.

Indeed, the only note that jarred upon entry, were some brash young policemen on the South African side who asked, "Aren't you afraid to go in, there are terrorists that side?"

Maseru residents could be forgiven for thinking the converse.

They had been jolted from their beds at 1 am that morning, by the sounds of gunfire, explosions, helicopters and aircraft, an operation that obviously took months of planning by the South African Defence Force

Some of the SADF information appeared to be either inaccurate or became confused in the battle that shook Maseru from 1 am to 5.30 am.

Seafata Jafeta, 40, his wife Matebho, 29, and their only child, four-year-old Tebho were asleep in their tiny one-roomed flat in Qoaling, a village adjacent to Maseru, when automatic weapon-fire raked the door and windows of their room.

All died in the attack. It appears that in the Maseru attack FN rifles, AK-47 automatic rifles, bazookas and pistols were used.

A bazooka left a gaping-hole through the wall of the Jafeta's kitchen into the adjoining room, where the young owner lived. She had already thrown herself under her bed and miraculously survived.

Next to that was another kitchen and then a room in which three ANC women were sleeping, inexplicably. Their windows were blasted away.

Next to that was the end room in the block in which the 15-year-old son of one of the ANC women

## Bullets strike sleepers early morning

"There were many outside. They spoke in Afrikaans, Sotho, Zulu, English and Xhosa."

The young boy's refugee family had been living in Lesotho for three years. In common with all the refugees attacked they had all come into the country "post-1976".

In two cases former Robben Island men, who had just entered the country as refugees died.

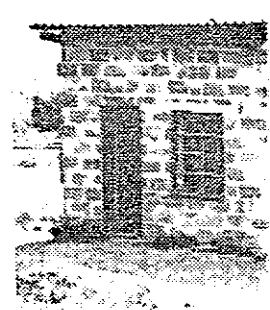
Two had arrived the evening before at the home of Zola Nqini, in Florida. They died with the man the United Nations claims was the ANC chief in Lesotho and also a former Robben Island prisoner. Their identities are still not known.

Another refugee and former Robben Island prisoner, had arrived a few days before with his wife, five children and grandchild.

His wife, Mrs M Marwangana, later told the Tribune that her husband Alfred, 51, and two children, Mzukiasi, 18, and Thandiswa, 21, died, along with their hosts, long-time ANC members, Sidney Mavembela, 49, and his wife Tseli, 37.

"At about 1.10 am there was banging on the door and some men saying they wanted Mavembela. They shot at the door and broke it down. Mzukiasi, Thandiswa and the other children, aged 24, 4 and 3, were sleeping in the lounge. They shot Mzukiasi where he lay on the couch. (The blood-soaked couch still lies in the shambles of the lounge which had been peppered with automatic gunfire.)

"They then came through to the room



AFTERMATH...

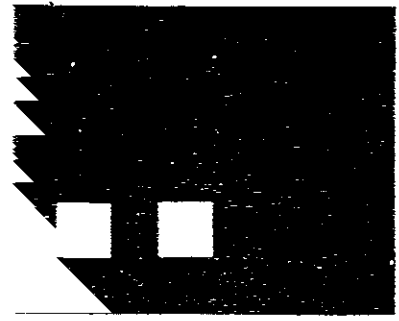
"She ran into the room where Mavimbela and his wife were and was shot with them."

A former cabinet minister's daughter died in a grenade and machine-gun attack on the apartment block where the wife of former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief, Chris Hani, was living with their two small children.

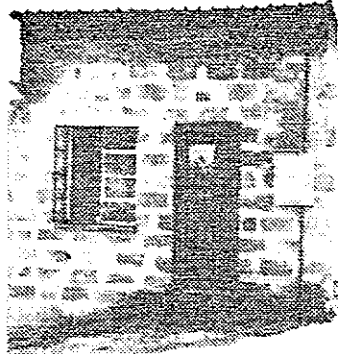
Mrs Hani lived next door to the flat in which 24-year-old Matumo Rlaebiso died.

However, Mr Hani has not been in Lesotho since February this year after the Lesotho Government requested him to leave following pressure from the South African Government. His wife, a Lesotho citizen, and her two small children remained behind.

At least one person attacked appears to have been armed — illegally, as Lesotho specifically does not allow any of the 11 500 ANC and Pan Africanist Congress refugees, which form 10 percent of the landlocked nation's population, to possess firearms. Those found in



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peered out of her bed-  
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taking place at the home  
of Mr Sekhoale. A single  
bullet through the win-  
dow ended her life.

Mrs Sahlabaka was a  
non-political housewife.  
A Lesotho citizen, she  
spent her days looking  
after her children, Tset-  
sana, 4 and Poloko, nine  
months.

At another house in  
Upper Thamae, eight  
men died and two were  
injured, one seriously.

The house was the  
headquarters for a group  
of young refugees. Post-  
ers commemorating  
Charter Year and Nelson  
Mandela adorned the  
walls.

One read: *Guerilla is  
the inevitable response  
to continued oppress-  
ion and discrimination.*  
The young men, in com-  
mon with their other  
ANC comrades, appeared  
to live sparse existences.

More than 40 hours  
after the attack, parts of  
the house were still  
smouldering. Hundreds of  
bullets riddled the walls  
of the room where the  
men were shot.



Aftermath . . . a burnt out car bears testimony to the fury  
of the attack

sals said: "These are our  
brothers, this is our coun-  
try, we are entitled to  
have them here."

Some residents said  
that on previous occa-  
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attacked sirens had gone  
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day morning the sirens  
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do not arrest saboteurs,  
that the South Africans  
colluded with them. Ludi-  
crous."

However, subsequently  
the head of Lesotho's po-  
lice Major-General S R  
Matella, admitted he was  
informed of the attack by

into the homes of friends.

"We are all fright-  
ened", one refugee said.  
"We are wondering who  
is watching us, whom we  
can trust".

Early Saturday morn-  
ing the remaining top  
ANC officials flew out of  
Maseru to Lusaka for dis-  
cussions with the ANC  
headquarters there.

# RU

## Flames and blood as strike force hits refugee targets in surprising shock attack



**AFTERMATH . . .** The attackers left behind a trail of destruction

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None of the three were  
victims of Thursday's  
raid.

The man who succeed-  
ed Mr Hani, is Matha-  
bathe Sekhoale who was  
at his home near the bor-  
der in Hahohloo.

The roof of his house is  
still adorned with sophis-  
ticated radio and TV an-  
tennae, but inside nothing  
remains.

While Mrs Buni Sek-  
hoale huddled in the pas-  
sage with her three  
young children Mr Sek-  
hoale returned the fire,  
apparently wounding  
three or four raiders.

Incendiary weapons  
were used to set fire to  
the house.

Mr Sekhoale held off  
the men while his wife  
and children escaped out  
of a back entrance, be-  
fore making good his own  
escape.

The following day Le-  
sotho police found three  
AK-47's outside the  
house. During the attack  
on Mr Sekhoale's house, a  
cow in his neighbour's  
garden was shot dead.

The following day it  
had already been skinned

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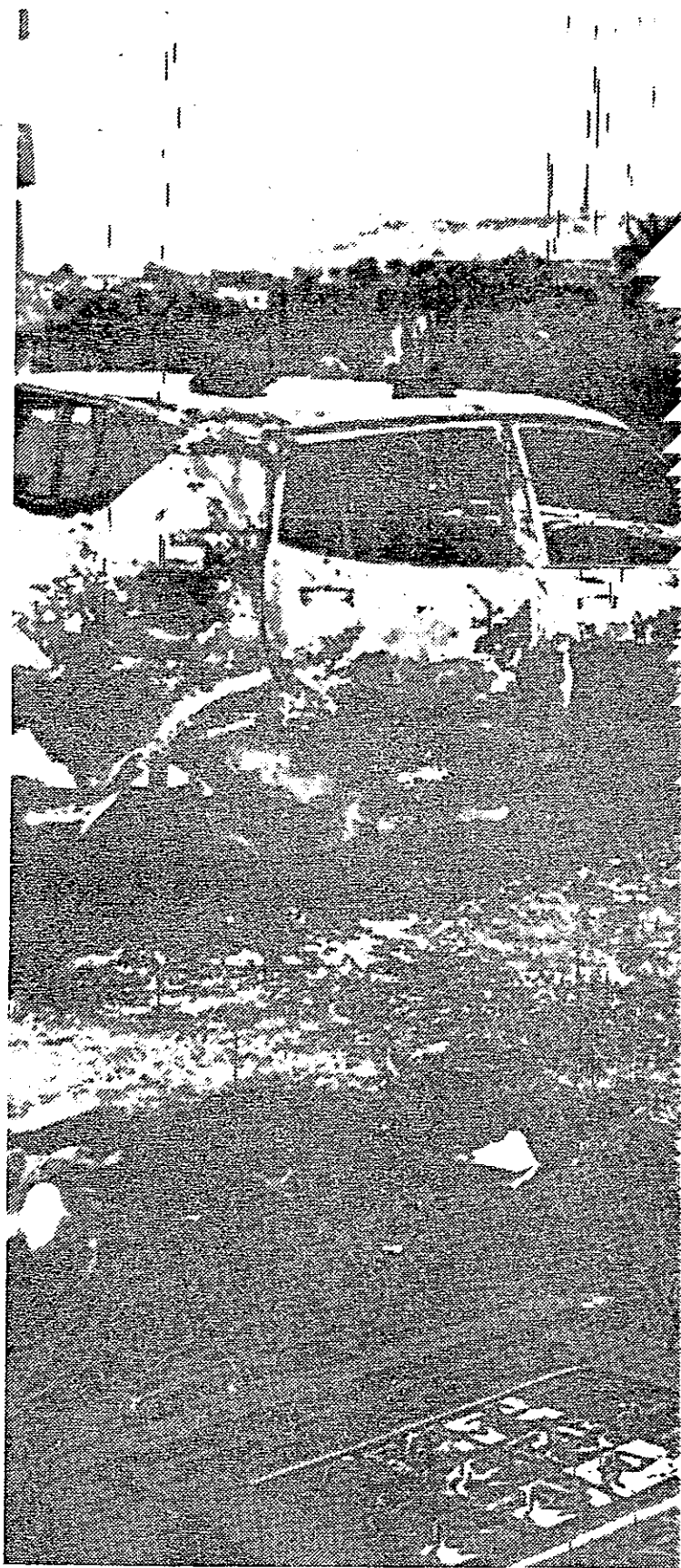
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his family were gunned down.

Further down the rutted hilly road was another six-roomed housing complex. In flat number four four people died. The flat belonged to a Mr Lekhaloane. Three of the people killed were visiting him.

In another complex in Lower Seodi broken windows and shattered doors stand as mute testimony to the fact that seven people died there.

Phomolo Thabe, 42, and Moima Raretha and his wife Mary, all ANC members, died in their house in Qoaling.

Other victims were Mr Titus Mngoma and Mr Torror Mangena.

...in the block in which the 15-year-old son of one of the ANC women (all of whom survived) was sleeping.

He told the Sunday Tribune: "At about 1 am I heard three shots outside. I hid under the bed.

"They came and shot the door open and then came into the room, it was two black men speaking Zulu. They did not see me and left.

They then came through to the room where my husband and I lay. There were two white men and three black men wearing overalls under Basotho blankets. They told me to get to the toilet with my children. They then shot my husband. Thandiswa was in the passage. She would not come into the toilet because she was scared we would be killed in there.

population, to possess firearms. Those found in possession of weapons are dealt with severely

Earlier this year three ANC members, arrested at a Lesotho border post entering from South Africa with three pistols three AK-47's, two grenades and ammunition were convicted in the Lesotho Supreme Court.

However, they won an appeal in October.

# NOW REAGAN COMES UNDE

By NEIL LURSSSEN in Washington

337 12/12/82 S. Tribune

WHATEVER military gains South Africa might have hoped to achieve from its raid into Lesotho this week, it is clear here that the attack has triggered a major diplomatic setback for the Republic.

There is outrage in the United States at the killing of innocent people, horrifying details of which have been given in major newspapers such as The Washington Post and New York Times.

Matching this is the astonishment both in the Reagan Administration and in Congress and among African affairs specialists that the raid was launched at a time when a series of sensitive US-backed negotiations seemed to be making some progress in the efforts to achieve peaceful solutions to Southern Africa's problems.

The Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement will come under even more pressure now from critics who claim it has merely encouraged the South Africans to act violently.

Evidence of this is contained in tough statements made this week by powerful figures in Congress concerned with African affairs.

Senator Charles Percy, Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, referred to the "murder of innocents" in Lesotho as a "shock and an outrage" and said the "brutal attack" was in stark contrast to the South African Government's avowed desire for co-existence and cooperation with its neighbours.

Senator Nancy Kassebaum, also a Republican and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee's African Affairs sub-committee, said she was deeply saddened and shocked by the shooting of civilians, including women and children who were "awakened in the middle of the night and killed."

Both senators called on the Administration to make its indignation clear to the South Africans.

Senator Kassebaum said an appropriate American response would be to increase the Lesotho Government's ability to defend its territory and to take action "similar to that taken in the recent Falklands invasion."

There has been no further clarification of that statement but it has been taken by some observers here to mean a call for sanctions against South Africa to match US sanctions against Argentina in the recent war with Britain.

Sources in the Reagan Administration could not comment on the raid. There was a feeling that congressmen were running

Though the State Dept earlier statement that it is known that officials here what is seen as a setback atmosphere of sensitive negoti

One source said the tin been worse. Several initial question of the Cuban trade of Mozambique in the region

The raid effectively unc African suspicions about South Africa resulting from

The proximity of the raid between the US and South Africa given ammunition to Africa that they are in collusion.

The destruction of oil supplies will be seen in the same way said. It will be seen as South Africa few days before talks between how to improve relations between

Another who was astounded Dr Ian Butterfield, Africa Heritage Foundation, a conservation

Referring to the recent can and Angolan delegati



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...cow in his neighbour's garden, was shot dead.

The following day it had already been skinned and the hide was lying out to dry.

In the next yard, a group of black-clothed people were sitting on benches under a tree. A four-year-old girl fingering a bottle top was clasped in the arms of a young man, his face streaked with tears. He was the husband of Mopoloko Sahlabaka, 25, who died when she

smouldering. Hundreds of bullets riddled the walls of the room where the men were shot.

Throughout Maseru at homes which were attacked, the picture was similar. Some places had been attacked with greater ferocity, incendiaries set homes ablaze, bullets drilled huge holes into walls, windows and roofs and blood splattered walls and floors.

A prominent Lesotho citizen, who refused to be named for fear of retri-

on in Maseru. On Thursday morning the sirens only went off at 7 am, some bodies were only collected at 10 am.

Mr Victor Ndobe, Lesotho's most senior civil servant and permanent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said he found suggestions of collusion preposterous. "We cannot offer asylum to political refugees and then allow them to be killed. If there was collusion then surely the South Africans would have had better informa-

the head of Lesotho's police Major-General S R Matella, admitted he was informed of the attack by the SADF and warned not to meddle.

Maseru, after the attack, was it's quiet, peaceful self. Flags flew at half-mast as the nation mourned. Radios were kept tuned into news broadcasts.

Other ANC refugees were moving belongings out of their homes. Some moved into hotels, while others moved elsewhere

ANC officials flew out of Maseru to Lusaka for discussions with the ANC headquarters there

But for the rest the people of Lesotho were their normal, friendly selves, courteous and willing to help.

A news report from Bloemfontein suggested locals were hostile to South Africans. None of the dozens of local and foreign journalists who streamed into the kingdom found any evidence of this.

# 'S SA POLICY R HEAVY FIRE

ss said this week that the Rea- expect its constructive engage- er severe fire in the coming ses- hat it had achieved very little and ; out of patience with it.

partment has not added to its deplored the raid and that prob- be solved by peaceful negotiation. ave been deeply embarrassed by k to their carefully constructed gotiation.

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dercut America's position, given the ties between the US and m the policy.

raid to recent top-level contacts ith African authorities has also rican governments who charge

storage tanks in Beira this week way, a State Department source uth African-inspired and comes a een Mozambique and the US on between the two countries.

unded by this week's events was an affairs specialist of the Her- rnative Washington think tank.

nt meeting between South Afri- tions on the Cape Verde islands.

Dr Butterfield said there was a danger that the Ango- lans would not be able to deal with the South Africans now and that "Mr Pik Botha might just as well go home."

Dr Butterfield gave evidence at a congressional hearing this week during which he differed with speakers who al- leged that South Africa was actively pursuing a policy of destabilisation in the region.

He said most of these charges could not be verified in the U.S, and the root causes of the problems in South Africa's neighbouring countries could be found within those countries.

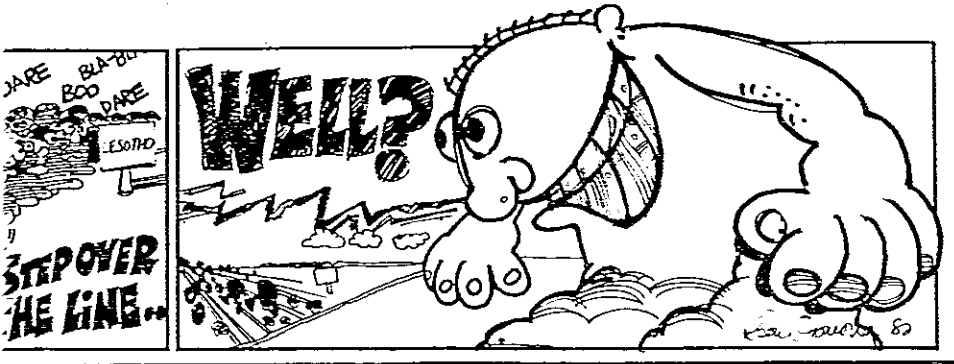
Approached after the Lesotho raid, he said the inci- dent was a gift to the hardliners in America who want- ed the policy of constructive engagement to be aban- doned.

A recent article by Philip Geyelin in the Washington Post quoted a State Department official as saying that America had got to the 10-yard line in the Namibian negotiations "and while the last 10 yards will be the hardest, that's further than we have gotten in the Mid- dle East in 30 years."

The signs now are that the play has been pushed back to the halfway line and the Middle East and Southern Africa problems will continue to be as difficult as ever to solve.

In the Christian Science Monitor, Paul van Slambrouck, writing from Johannesburg, said the Lesotho raid was like- ly at best to be a qualified victory for Pretoria.

"The raid may go down as one more example of South Africa winning the 'battles' while it is considered to be losing the long-term 'war' against rising black nationalism," he wrote.



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# NOW REAGAN'S SA POLICY COMES UNDER HEAVY FIRE

By NEIL LURSSEN  
in Washington

12/12/82  
S. Tribune

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There has been no further clarification of that statement but it has been taken by some observers here to mean a call for sanctions against South Africa to match US sanctions against Argentina in the recent war with Britain.

Sources in the Congress said this week that the Reagan Administration could expect its constructive engagement policy to come under severe fire in the coming session. There was a feeling that it had achieved very little and congressmen were running out of patience with it.

Though the State Department has not added to its earlier statement that it deplored the raid and that problems in the region should be solved by peaceful negotiation, it is known that officials have been deeply embarrassed by what is seen as a setback to their carefully constructed atmosphere of sensitive negotiation.

One source said the timing of the raid could not have been worse. Several initiatives are under way on the question of the Cuban troops in Angola and on the role of Mozambique in the region.

The raid effectively undercut America's position, given African suspicions about the ties between the US and South Africa resulting from the policy.

The proximity of the raid to recent top-level contacts between the US and South African authorities has also given ammunition to African governments who charge that they are in collusion.

The destruction of oil storage tanks in Beira this week will be seen in the same way, a State Department source said. It will be seen as South African-inspired and comes a few days before talks between Mozambique and the US on how to improve relations between the two countries.

Another who was astounded by this week's events was Dr Ian Butterfield, African affairs specialist of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative Washington think tank.

Referring to the recent meeting between South African and Angolan delegations on the Cape Verde islands,

Dr Butterfield said there was a danger that the Angolans would not be able to deal with the South Africans now and that "Mr Pik Botha might just as well go home."

Dr Butterfield gave evidence at a congressional hearing this week during which he differed with speakers who alleged that South Africa was actively pursuing a policy of destabilisation in the region.

He said most of these charges could not be verified in the US, and the root causes of the problems in South Africa's neighbouring countries could be found within those countries.

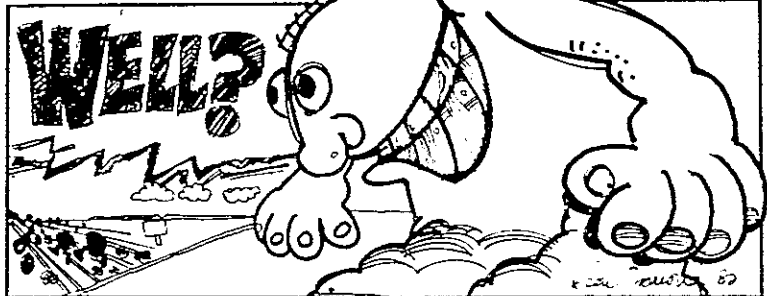
Approached after the Lesotho raid, he said the incident was a gift to the hardliners in America who wanted the policy of constructive engagement to be abandoned.

A recent article by Philip Geyelin in the Washington Post quoted a State Department official as saying that America had got to the 10-yard line in the Namibian negotiations "and while the last 10 yards will be the hardest, that's further than we have gotten in the Middle East in 30 years."

The signs now are that the play has been pushed back to the halfway line and the Middle East and Southern Africa problems will continue to be as difficult as ever to solve.

In the Christian Science Monitor, Paul van Slambrouck, writing from Johannesburg, said the Lesotho raid was likely at best to be a qualified victory for Pretoria.

"The raid may go down as one more example of South Africa winning the 'battles' while it is considered to be losing the long-term 'war' against rising black nationalism," he wrote.



13/12/82  
11A

# Lesotho king heads for UN over SA raid

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

KING Moshoeshe II flew to New York yesterday to head the Lesotho delegation at the expected United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa's cross-border raid on Maseru.

But it is still unclear exactly what diplomatic action Pretoria took before the raid to secure the removal of African National Congress insurgents.

South Africa has repeatedly expressed opposition to the presence of ANC cadres in Lesotho in general, but it is uncertain whether a specific request was made to Lesotho to remove the insurgents who were reportedly planning a series of raids into South Africa over Christmas.

Professor John Barratt, of the Institute of International Affairs, has even raised the question of whether a lobby in ruling circles favoured military above diplomatic action because it wanted the ANC men dead — not merely forced by the Lesotho Government to leave Lesotho.

Approached for comment, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said: "Lesotho was warned repeatedly and discussions were held with them on numerous occasions on the question of the ANC in Lesotho."

Before leaving for the Security Council debate in New York, the Lesotho Foreign Minister, Mr C D Molapo, said: "As yet there is absolutely no evidence that Lesotho has been used as a launching pad for ANC attacks against South Africa."

Meanwhile, the SADF has released the names of four ANC exiles whom it said were killed in the raid.

One of them was Mr Zola Ngini, described as the ANC's chief representative in Lesotho.

The remaining three were Mr Jackson Balisani Tayo, Mr Adolph Joseph Phicamile Mpongosohe and a woman, Ms Limpho Sekamane, the wife of another top ANC man, Mr Temi Hani.

## SCA condemns new 'poverty' bill

THE GOVERNMENT was tightening screws on the lives of urban blacks with an ultimate aim of driving them to the poverty-stricken homelands, a Soweto Civic Association (SCA) annual conference was told at the weekend.

This was the opinion of speakers at the meeting on the proposed legislation affecting the movement and re-settlement of blacks.

A representative of the Black Lawyers Association, Mr S Moshidi, called on black organisations to unite and fight for the re-drafting of the bill. He said the life of urban blacks would worsen if the proposed legislation became law.

"Thousands of blacks, who have no accommodation but qualify to be in urban areas, will be driven to the homelands. Pass raids will be intensified as the bill will require blacks to have permits to be in urban areas," Mr Moshidi added.

Speaking on local government, legal expert Mr Bob Tucker said there was an urgent need for community councils to be granted the same powers as those of white municipalities. He said Soweto was not in a position to finance itself.

SCA chairman, Dr Nthato Motlana, said the discussion on the subject should not be taken as an indication that the organisation was preparing to contest the forthcoming community council elections.

Meanwhile four members of the Committee of 10, the umbrella body embracing the SCA, have left the organisation for undisclosed reasons.

They are Mr Leonard Mosala, Mrs Ellen Khuzwayo, Mr Pat Ndabezitha and Mr John Motata, all of whom did not stand for elections at the SCA meeting at the weekend.

After his re-election as chairman of the committee, Dr Motlana said the organisation had a lean spell this year. "The organisation never functioned as a committee and this was frustrating," he said.



DR MOTLANA: Focus on local authority.

# Zimbabwe claims men under went military

## training in South Africa

# Joe Gqabi killed by SA team court told



HARARE — A representative of the African National Congress of South Africa in Zimbabwe, Mr Joel Gqabi, was assassinated by a South African Defence Force's reconnaissance commander under the command of former Rhodesian Detective Inspector Graham Branfield, the High Court in Harare has been told.

Before Mr Justice Enoch Dumbutshena and two assessors, were two former members of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia security forces auxiliaries, Melusi Ncube

and Peter Ncube, who pleaded not guilty to a charge under the Law and Order Maintenance Act.

The State alleges that the two underwent military training in South Africa between July 1 1980 and January this year. A statement of agreed fact, read out in court said both were employed as security forces in Filabusi from 1979 to March 1980.

They often worked under the command of former Detective Inspector Graham Branfield of the Special

Branch on the then British South African Police.

Early in March 1980 Branfield, while still serving in the Special Branch. Recruited the accused saying he would offer them employment in South Africa.

The accused, both of whom were to be demobilised by the end of the month, were not told what type of work they would do in South Africa. They both accepted his offer. In July, they were contacted by a man called Lindani Maphosa who arranged for them

to meet another former detective inspector, John de Grey-Birch, also of the Special Branch Bulawayo on July 17, 1980.

When the accused met Birch on that date, they were each given 70 Zimdollars (about R105) and told to settle their personal affairs and to be at the same place the next day to leave for South Africa.

With three other recruits they were driven by Birch to a point near Beit Bridge and left to wait while Birch continued alone to collect a

guide who took them across the Limpopo on foot.

On the South African side, two whites met them and drove them to Messina where they were introduced to a Neil Kriel, a former major in the Selous Scouts. Kriel was introduced to them as "The Boss" of the organisation — the South African Defence Force Special Force's Reconnaissance Commando.

The recruits were driven to a farm near Pretoria where they stayed until the middle of August 1980 before they were flown to the Caprivi Strip.

Two black Mozambicans and three instructors joined them there. One of the instructors was a former captain in the Selous Scouts, named only as "Schulenberg."

The accused and the party stayed at the camp which appeared to have been abandoned and remained there for nine months while they and four other recruits underwent military training.

The accused were trained in bushcraft, pistol shooting, AK-rifle use, RPK machinegun and in RPK light machinegun, G3 and FN rifles, rocket launchers, map reading, compass marching, radio procedure and unarmed combat, among other things.

At the end of the nine-month course, they were flown to Zwartkop air base and driven to Matubatuba in Natal where they saw many former members of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian security forces auxiliaries.

While there, they underwent parachute training courses and were then moved to Durban for driving training. They then went to a base on a farm near Pretoria for further training where they were told that their roles in life would be to reconnoitre bases of the African National Congress of South Africa.

They would also be used to kidnap ANC officials. The operator would express Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Swaziland.

In January this year, the accused with other South African agents, returned to Zimbabwe. They entered the country secretly near Beit Bridge and returned to Bulawayo for "an unknown purpose."

Melusi said before he returned to Zimbabwe he learned from Lindani Maphosa, a member of this group, that some members of their organisation were responsible for the murder of the South African ANC representative in Harare, Mr Joel Gqabi.

The trial continues.

### Lesotho denies arms allegations

A LESOTHO Government spokesman said last week arms which South Africa claimed to have brought back after its raid in Maseru on Thursday had been captured in Angola and Namibia.

Radio Lesotho, monitored by the SABC, quoted the spokesman as saying any refugees found with weapons in Lesotho were prosecuted.

South Africa's claim that it took weapons from members of the African National Congress during the raid was a lie by which the Republic attempted to justify its aggression to the world, the spokesman said.

The arms shown to newsmen in Bloemfontein were from the same supply which South Africa used to support the Lesotho Liberation Army, he added.

The spokesman said South Africa had failed hopelessly to substantiate its claim that attacks on the Republic were being carried out from Lesotho.

## 'South Africa knew it was attacking refugees'



KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

# Lesotho raid called sadistic

HARARE — South African troops raided Lesotho on Thursday knowing they were attacking refugees and not guerrillas, the Sunday Mail newspaper of Zimbabwe said at the weekend.

"It is patently clear that the apartheid troops deliberately massacred the refugees in the full knowledge that they were refugees," the paper said in an editorial. "That is barbarism personified and incomparable. It is sadism."

Experience of Rhodesia and other countries shows palpably that such barbarism does not stop the liberation war. Instead, it fuels it."

And in Kenya President Daniel Arap Moi last week commented: "The Pretoria racist regime continues to invade with impunity the

neighbouring states in southern Africa under the pretext that these states are harbouring opponents of apartheid."

The Dutch Government Friday also strongly condemned South Africa's raid into Lesotho.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said such military action was not in South Africa's interests.

In a message to the Lesotho Government, Chief Buthelezi said that as the region's most powerful country, South Africa should be a stabilising and not a destabilising force.

Earlier, Chief Buthelezi said in a statement he remained committed to a policy of non-violence but South Africa's apartheid system and unwillingness to hold a

national convention caused people to resort to violence.

In Manzini, Swaziland, an explosion rocked a house occupied by South African exiles early on Friday. Police said. No one was hurt and damage was slight.

It was ironical that South Africa should have raided Lesotho and killed some 40 people on the eve of Human Rights Day, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in SA said on Friday.

"Now, even the right to be a refugee is in jeopardy. Even if these refugees are engaged in activities against the South African regime, this is only because for them all other methods to change the situation in the country have proved to no avail."



Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi.

### Sweden promises ANC aid

STOCKHOLM — Swedish Foreign Minister Mr Lennart Bodstroem will visit Lesotho next month with plans for increased financial and material aid for the African National Congress.

Mr Bodstroem announced his plans to visit the mountain kingdom on January 27 and 28 in Stockholm on Friday. He said Lesotho would be included in his tour of the Front Line states and while in Africa he would reveal Sweden's plans for increased aid to the ANC.

Mr Bodstroem's announcement came after the Swedish Government condemned South Africa's attack on Maseru. The government said: "South Africa has once again shown that its answer to its own people's and neighbouring states' legitimate wishes for freedom is violence and military aggression.

— Stareut.

**Lesotho unit fought SA raiders for two hours**

**4 ANC leaders died in attack**

Military intelligence sources have confirmed that the chief representative of the banned African National Congress in Lesotho Mr Zola Nquini (48), whose battle codename was "Brazed," was killed in the commando raid on ANC targets in Maseru on Thursday.

They also confirmed that three other high-ranking ANC members killed in the raid had been positively identified. They were: Mr Jackson Balisani Tayo, Mr Adolph Joseph Phakamile Mpongosohe and a woman, Mrs Limphe Sekamane.

According to intelligence sources in Pretoria, Mr Nquini (also spelt Ngini) was at one stage secretary of the ANC.

He started off as clerk with the magazine New Age and in 1964 was sentenced in Humansdorp to five years' imprisonment on Robben Island for terrorism.

**EXPLOSIVES**

Mr Tayo, an explosives expert, known by the codenames "Mafuta" and "Trom" (meaning "Fat Man"), spent six years on Robben Island — after having been caught with chemicals for producing bombs — and was later banned after his release.

After the murder of two Transkeian policemen at Msobomvu in 1981, he fled to Lesotho where he had previously undergone a crash course in explosives. He was known to have aided ANC saboteurs carry out terror acts in South Africa, Ciskei and Transkei.

Mr Mpongosohe received guerilla training in Angola and Russia. He was a political commissar at Catengue in Angola at one stage and in 1978 became a camp commander at Funda in the former Portuguese territory.

**CODENAMES**

He had several codenames, including "Strike," "Sidney," and "Ready."

Mrs Sekamane, whose alias was "Dimpho," was the wife of one of the ANC's top representatives in Lesotho. Mr Martin Themvize Hini, who underwent military training in Russia and Angola. It is not yet known whether Mr Hini was killed in Thursday's raid.

After completing her studies in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, Mrs Sekamane underwent military training in Angola in 1978. She later became a courier for the ANC, paying frequent visits to Lusaka, Maputo and Moscow.

At the time of her death she was understood to be the secretary of the ANC's women's section in Lesotho.

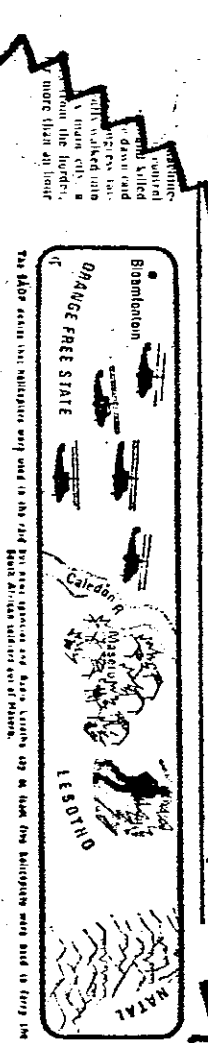
**EXILE MISSION**

In Harare, the exile mission of the ANC yesterday released the names of 21 of the 29 South Africans among the total of 41 killed in the raid.

They include the four named by military intelligence as well as Ligwa Mdlankomo; Kentridge Moloisane; Patrick Moholo; Dumisani Matandela; Mbuso Bungashe; Michael Mlenze; Cecil Ngxitho; Vuyani Zibi; Samson Kana; Sipho Notana; Lizethile Dyani; Zwelendaba Gova; Dr Norman Nciphe; Mzwandile Fazzie; Titus Jobo; Alfred Marwanqana and Mzukusi Marwanqana, his son, and also his daughter Thandiswa, the only South African woman killed.

Those in hospital are: Zanisile Bokwa; Xanduleli Cuna; Kananelo Sexwale (8); Kananelo Sexwale. All are out of danger — The Star's Africa News Service.

**SA attacks: 37 die in Maseru Forewarning denied**



South African commandos encountered resistance from the Lesotho Paramilitary Unit during their pre-emptive strike on African National Congress targets in Maseru on Thursday, the SADF Chief of Staff Operations disclosed in Pretoria at the weekend.

Lieutenant-General Jan Gleeson told military correspondents that it was possible a number of civilian women and children were killed in the crossfire. Between five and 12 civilians were reported to have died in the raid.

The general said the

battle with Lesotho security forces lasted for almost two hours before the Lesotho units withdrew from the firing line

At the weekend news conference General Gleeson said: "Fortunately, we were able in the early hours of the morning to reach the commander of the Lesotho forces and to request them to withdraw after informing them that our operation was solely aimed at the ANC.

"And this, fortunately to their credit, had the immediate desired effect."

He said one woman, thought to be the

daughter of a former Lesotho Cabinet Minister, who was reportedly killed in the raid, had evidently jumped to her death from a building to escape the attack.

"Our information is that she was killed when she jumped out of a building, but she could also have been shot in the crossfire."

General Gleeson said the SADF regretted innocent women and children had been killed in the strike.

"We specifically carried out drills beforehand to practise and try to avoid this happening.

"But as a result of the fact that at most of the targets we met

with return fire from the ANC, and later a group of the Lesotho security forces also became involved, women and children were killed in the resultant crossfire."

"During the operation we did not make use of aircraft in support of the operation nor any form of attack helicopters, nor any form of support weaponry, such as mortars or artillery," said General Gleeson.

"We did, however, have troop-carrier helicopters on standby to cart away casualties, and these helicopters flew in a few times to fly people out," he said.

He added that the

four South African soldiers injured during the attack were off the danger list but were still in hospital.

The general also scoffed at reports that Lesotho police were scouring the country for 64 South African soldiers said to have remained behind after the raid.

"The strike began just after 1 am. By 5.30 am all South African troops were out of the area."

There was little doubt, the general said, that those killed in the attack were hardened ANC terrorists who were planning to carry out sabotage and terror in South Africa, Ciskei and Transkei over Christmas. — Sapa.

# Zimbabwe newspaper slams raid

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Zimbabwe's Sunday Mail newspaper attacked the South African raid on exiles in Lesotho as "a most dastardly act of international-bullying," adding that it would not stop the liberation war in South Africa.

In a strongly worded editorial, Sunday Mail editor Mr Willie Musarurwa, a top figure in Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu party, said the killings were "futile, except as morbid sadism."

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*(11A) Sowetan 13/12/82*

# Lesotho resisted - SADF

SOUTH AFRICAN commandos encountered resistance from the Lesotho paramilitary unit during their early morning pre-emptive strike on ANC targets in Maseru on Thursday, the SADF Chief of Staff Operations has disclosed in Pretoria.

"Fortunately," he said, "we were able in the early hours of the morning to reach the commander of the Lesotho forces and to request

them to withdraw, after informing them that our operation was solely aimed at the ANC.

"And this, fortunately to their credit, had the immediate desired effect."

General Gleeson said one woman, thought to be the daughter of a former Lesotho cabinet minister who was reportedly killed in the raid, had evidently jumped to

her death from a building to escape the attack.

"Our information is that she was killed when she jumped out of a building, but she could also have been shot in the crossfire. However, we never directly shot her," he said.

General Gleeson said the SADF regretted that innocent women and children had been killed in the strike. — Sapa.

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# Report on ANC's Transkei command

PRETORIA — The African National Congress has evidently been experiencing problems with its Transkei command.

A report captured by South African commandos during a pre-dawn strike on ANC targets in Lesotho on Thursday called for the reorganisation and restructuring of the command.

The report expressed dissatisfaction with two groups in Transkei, known as Masakane and Masingavabane.

"Masakane provides money by selling Xosa (sic) beer whereby in cases where somebody needs money it can provide it," the unsigned report said.

"There is also Masingavabane. This Masingavabane is led by puppets. I am a member of the Masingavabane.

"The chairman is Dunwezwani. He is not an agent but is not strong politically," the report added.

The group's members were opponents of the Matanzima "puppet government," the report said.

It described the other members of the committee as "good people" adding that the majority were women. "The joining fee is R3."

The chairman of Masakane was named as Bayi Mpengenzi and the secretary as R. Boyana.

"The secretary to the treasurer is Mrs Mguzulu. Boyana is an agent. Bayi is a dyakophu.

"A member donates 30c and Xosa beer."

The report said: "reorganisation in Transkei as a whole is necessary.

"Somebody from outside should go inside to form structures."

"The committee should choose people to deal with MK (ordinance), propaganda and security and intelligence.

"The operative inside should know the biography of each recruit."

The report mentioned that the group had found two new recruits, a salesman from Khundula it identified as Bayi, and a person called Mirha from Xhonxa.

Military intelligence sources have confirmed that the chief ANC representative in Lesotho, Mr Zola Ngini, 48, whose battle codename was Brazed, was killed during the Maseru raid.

Three other high-ranking ANC members who were killed in the raid have been positively identified.

The family of Mr Ngini has approached the authorities to get his body into South Africa for burial.

His daughter, Miss Nelisa Zinana Ngini, speaking from her home in Kwanobuhle, Uitenhage, said she would like her father to be buried in his hometown next to his mother, Mrs Betty Ngini, who was buried on December 4.

Nelisa, a Std 9 pupil, said she last saw her father shortly before he left the country in 1978 from Mdantsane, where he was banished from

his imprisonment on Robben Island for a political offence

Queenstown-born Mr Ngini, was a Fort Hare bachelor of arts graduate, who majored in political science and history

Mr Mbuzeli Piyo, a teacher at the Kwazakhele High School, who spent four years with Mr Ngini at Fort Hare, described him as "pleasant" during their days and a "student who could cope with his studies."

Mr Jackson Balisani Tayo, an explosives expert who died in the raid, spent six years on Robben Island after being caught with chemicals for producing bombs, and was banned after his release.

After the murder of two Transkeian policemen at Msobomvu in 1981, he fled to Lesotho, where he had previously undergone a crash course in explosives.

He was known to have aided ANC saboteurs carry out terror acts in South Africa, Ciskei and Transkei.

The others killed were Mr Adolph Joseph Phicamile Mpongosohe and Mrs Limpho Sekamane. — SAPA.

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GENERAL NEWS

# Women targets of East Rand sex attacks

He then grabbed her by an arm and pulled her into the car. He fondled her and she started screaming.

The woman freed herself, opened the door and fell out. The man then drove off at high speed.

Police report the man as being about 24 years old. He has a dark tan, dark longish hair and a moustache. He wore a pair of corduroy trousers and a T-shirt and drove a green BMW automatic with a sunroof.

In the second incident, a 62-year-old woman was standing in her front garden in Anzac at about 9 pm on Friday when a man attacked her. He throttled her, threw her to the ground and tried to rip off her petticoat. Then he apologised and fled.

# Tape recording of gun battle for UN debate

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The Star's Africa News Service

MASERU — A 10-minute battle between an unidentified African National Congress guerilla and South African troops attacking his Maseru flat was tape recorded by a United Nations official and may be played to the Security Council.

Mr Cornelius Kole, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees legal counsellor in Lesotho, said today he was awakened at 1.04 am on Thursday by gunfire directed at a flat in his central Maseru block.

When the fire was returned from the flat, he turned on his tape recorder.

The shooting continued, with some gaps, for 10 minutes or so until the ANC member tried to leap to safety from his second-floor window. He was shot dead as he jumped.

Lesotho sources said the tape recording of the guerilla's "last stand" might be played to the Security Council which is shortly to debate the South African raid.

King Moshoeshe flew to New York yesterday to head the Lesotho

delegation at the debate.

It will be the king's first major appearance abroad since he last attended an Organisation of African Unity summit in the 1960s.

After losing a power struggle with Chief Jonathan soon after independence, the king has played no significant part in Lesotho's domestic or external politics.

Lesotho sources said today it was unlikely the head of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, would attend the mass funeral to be held in Maseru on Saturday.

"He would be too good a target. There would be too much temptation for them to come back to get him."

### 'BLUE LIE'

And a Lesotho Paramilitary Force officer has described SADF claims to have captured arms from ANC houses in Maseru as "a blue lie." He said the weapons displayed in Bloemfontein after the raid "were not found here."

The SADF met no resistance from the ANC members because they don't have arms — that's why the South Africans could kill them so easily."

Lesotho believes the SADF were led to their targets by members of the Lesotho Liberation Army and ANC defectors, because many of the houses attacked lay in confused, overcrowded suburbs.

"That township Upper Thamae is so complicated that unless a person points out a house to me I would never find it," the officer said.

# Seychelle hit man claims SA training

VICTORIA — A Seychelles citizen confessed on national radio yesterday that he was a member of a three-man team which was to have killed leading government and army officials in Victoria as a prelude to a coup.

Mr Claude Moulins said in the broadcast that he was a member of an assassination squad led by South African mercenary Y Mike Asher and a Seychelles citizen, Mr Simon Desnousse.

The two men were killed when their car exploded on a lonely Seychelles beach last October. They apparently accidentally detonated bombs they were to have used to destroy government buildings.

Mr Moulins said he and Mr Desnousse received firearms and explosives training in South Africa to blow up government targets. Mr Moulins (25), said he had been questioned by police in Victoria but had not been detained.

He said the three-man team was to have killed the Youth and Defence Minister Mr Ogilvy Berliouis, former Minister Mr Mathew Servina, army Major Raymond Bonte and navy Captain Paul Hodul as a prelude to a coup attempt next year.

The broadcast was the latest in a series featuring tape recordings of exiled Seychelles Opposition leaders plotting in a London hotel room earlier this year to overthrow President Albert Rene's Government.

The Seychelles Government says it was responsible for bugging the room where leaders of the outlawed Movement for the Resistance (MPR) discussed a campaign of violence in the Indian Ocean islands before a mercenary invasion next year.

# SA dubbed a 'bully' in US

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — One of America's most influential newspapers has labelled South Africa's military raid into Lesotho as an "inexcusable act of bullying."

In an editorial at the weekend, the Washington Post referred to Lesotho as the "weak little independent black nation completely surrounded by South Africa."

"Utterly dependent on Pretoria's whim. Lesotho is well known for trying to avoid giving South Africa the slightest pretext for querying its policy."

"It is perennially restricted anyone who might be an activist guerilla. None of the accounts now coming out of Lesotho supports South Africa's claim that the victims of its

commando attack were recently arrived African National Congress terrorists planning to undertake new missions soon."

The newspaper said most of the victims were refugees, including some women and children, and others were Lesotho citizens.

Denied legal or political recourse, black nationalists went underground, often fleeing abroad.

"The South African Government then seizes upon their activity, or simply their innocent presence, to punish them and the countries in which they live."

It was difficult even for members of the white opposition in South Africa to stand up against military operations lauded in the name of fighting ANC terror, the paper said.

## **ANC names the dead**

# **Lesotho death list released**

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13/12/82

**HARARE.** — The exile mission of the ANC has released the names of 21 of the 29 South Africans killed in the defence force raid on Lesotho-based exiles on Thursday morning.

The ANC has disclosed that a total of 41 people died, 12 of them Lesotho citizens.

Seven women were killed, six of them Lesotho citizens and one a South African, according to the ANC.

Four South Africans are still in hospital, all of them out of danger, and one is an eight-year-old girl, the ANC said in a statement from Lusaka received here yesterday.

The ANC has received a number of messages of condolence and support in the wake of the raid.

The following are the names of the dead released by the ANC:

Zola Nqini, a former Robben Island prisoner, originally from Uitenhage; Phakamile Mpongoshe, a former Robben Island prisoner, originally from Port Elizabeth; Jackson Tayo, a former Robben Island prisoner, originally from Lady Frere; Ligwa Md-lankomo, originally from Port Elizabeth; Kentridge Moloisane,

### **Own Correspondent**

originally from Bloemfontein; Patrick Mopholo, originally from Bloemfontein; Dumisani Matandela.

Mbuso Bungashe, originally from Transkei (Maluti); Michael Mlenze; Cecil Ngxitho, originally from Cofimvaba, Transkei; Vuyani Zibi, originally from Mqanduli, Transkei; Samson Kana, Siphonotana, originally from Mdantsane; Lizethile Dyani, originally from Engcobo, Transkei; Zwelendaba Gova, originally from Engcobo, Transkei.

Dr Norman Ngciphelwe, was visiting Maseru from Pietermaritzburg; Mzwandile Fazzie, was visiting Maseru from Duncan Village, East London.

Titus Jobo, an ex-Robben Island prisoner, believed to have served about 18 years, who had arrived a day earlier from the Border area; Alfred Marwanqana, an ex-Robben Island prisoner, who had arrived a day earlier from Ilings. Queenstown: Mzukusi Marwanqana, daughter of Alfred, the one South African woman to die, was visiting with her father.

Those in Hospital are: Zanisile Bekwa, Manduleli Cunu, Mothobeli Zokwe, Kananelo Sexwale, who is eight years old.

## **Mass Maseru funeral as king leaves for UN**

**KING** Moshoeshe of Lesotho left Maseru yesterday for New York to present Lesotho's case at the UN Security Council following the SADF raid in Maseru last Thursday.

Meanwhile a mass funeral for the victims of the raid will be held in Maseru next Saturday.

# ANC <sup>14/12/82</sup> <sup>CAPR TIMES</sup> lists 22 killed in raid

From ANDRE VILJOEN

HARARE. — So far the African National Congress (ANC) has listed the names of 22 of the 29 South African refugees and ANC members, including a woman, killed on Thursday in the South African raid on Maseru. It has also released names of four wounded South Africans, including an eight-year-old girl. The four are reportedly out of danger.

## 'Identified'

The dead South Africans so far identified are: Zola Nqini, ex-Robben Island prisoner, originally from Uitenhage; Phakamile Mpongoshe, ex-Robben Island prisoner, originally from Port Elizabeth; Jackson Tayo, ex-Robben Island prisoner, once charged together with Looksmart Solwandle who died in police custody, originally from Lady Frere; Ligwa Mdlankomo, originally from Port Elizabeth; Kentridge Moloisane, originally from Bloemfontein; Patrick Moholo, originally from Bloemfontein; Dumisani Matandela; Mbuso Bungashe, originally from Maluti, Transkei; Michael Mlenze; Cecil Ngxitho, originally from Cofimvaba, Transkei; Vuyani Zibi, originally from Mqanduli, Transkei; Samson Kana; Siphonotana, originally from Mdan-tsane, East London; Lizethile Dyani, originally from Engcobo, Transkei; Zwelendaba Gova, originally from Engcobo, Transkei; Dr Norman Ngciphe, who arrived a day earlier on a visit from Maritzburg; Mzwandile Fazzie, who arrived a day earlier on a visit from Duncan Village, East London; Titus Jobo, an ex-Robben Island prisoner who served about 18 years and arrived a day earlier from the border area; Alfred Marwanqana, an ex-Robben Island prisoner who arrived a day earlier on a visit from Illege, Queens-town; Mzukisi Marwanqana, who was visiting his father Alfred, and Thandiswa Marwanqana, who was also visiting her father Alfred, and Dr Pule Matjoa.

## 'Wounded'

The four wounded are Zanisile Bekwa, Manduleli Cunu, Mthobeli Zokwe, and Kananelo Sexwale, the eight-year-old girl.

● An ANC spokesman from London said in a statement last night that difficulty was being experienced identifying some of the victims "due to the extensive charring of some of the bodies".

# UN camps in Africa <sup>Abul</sup> 'training' <sup>14/12/82</sup> guerrillas'

Argus Bureau

WASHINGTON. — A leading Washington think-tank reported today that United Nations refugee camps in Southern Africa are used to train Soviet-backed guerrillas.

The report was compiled by Mr Thomas G Gulick, a policy analyst specialising in United Nations affairs for the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think-tank closely linked to the Reagan administration.

It said military use of United Nations refugee camps revealed in the Israeli occupation of Lebanon was just the tip of the iceberg.

## "CONSIDERABLE"

"There is now considerable evidence that Soviet-backed guerrillas are also using United Nations camps in Southern Africa and Central America for similar purposes.

"Even more disheartening is the fact that the United States is picking up the tab for 25 percent, and often more, of the operating costs of these camps."

The report gave the following examples:

- The Swapo-controlled Institute for Namibia, in Lusaka. The institute was supposed mainly to train administrators for an independent SWA/Namibia, but it appeared the school was used for military training.

- The Namibian Health and Education Centre in Luanda, Angola. On March 28 last year the New York Times reported that this United Nations facility had been commandeered by Swapo for its terror campaign. It was being used to train students to be returned

to SWA/Namibia as guerrillas.

- The United Nations refugee camp at Dukwe in Botswana. The African National Congress — "a thoroughly Marxist terrorist organisation aimed at overthrowing the Government of South Africa" — used the camp as a recruiting centre for terrorists, according to sources in Botswana.

- The United Nations High Commission for Refugees refugee centre in Lesotho. This was "suspected" of being an ANC recruiting centre.

The report said refugees recruited in Lesotho and Botswana were sent to military and terrorist training camps in Angola, Tanzania, Algeria, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

This had been confirmed recently by former ANC members during hearings before the Senate Sub-committee on Security and Terrorism.

"It's high time the United States and its Western allies demanded a full investigation of United Nations aid and support for terrorist groups.

Cape Times 14/12/82 (11A) ~~(S.A.)~~

# SADF denies linking City blast with ANC

Crime Reporter

THE Defence Force yesterday denied that it had linked the ANC with the Cape Town Centre blast, which killed Mr Michael Youngusband, in any official statement after last week's raid into Lesotho.

A spokesman said that no such statement had been made in any official release to the press.

After the raid into Lesotho, the Defence Force was quoted in several reports as saying five major sabotage incidents this year had led to the attack on the ANC homes.

The blast at the Cape Town Centre on June 4 was one of the attacks blamed on the ANC. The blast occurred in a lift at the building which

houses the President's Council.

Mr Youngusband was in the lift when the blast occurred.

Another attack blamed on the ANC was the blast at the Langa Commissioner's Court.

After the Cape Town Centre blast, there was speculation that the bomb could have been placed by either right-wing or left-wing movements. At that stage the avowed aim of the ANC was to attack state and military targets and this brought into doubt speculation that the ANC were responsible.

On the other hand, if the bomb had been placed by one of their members, they might not

have claimed responsibility because an innocent person was killed.

However, the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said after the raid into Lesotho that the aim of the strike had been to prevent "deeds such as bloodshed of the innocent, bombings, sabotage and other acts of terror".

Security sources have said this indicated the ANC had changed its targets and raised the question: "Why did the ANC not claim responsibility for the Cape Town Centre blast if it was responsible for it?"

● Police have, as yet, not confirmed the ANC was behind the Cape Town Centre blast.

(11A) (18th) (2/11)

## Moshoeshoe at UN for debate on raid

By Donald Knowler  
NEW YORK — King Bereng Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho is in New York to address the United Nations General Assembly today over South African "aggression" against his country.

The assembly is due to consider a draft resolution condemning

South Africa for its raid last week on members of the banned African National Congress based in the Lesotho capital of Maseru.

King Moshoeshoe will

speak in support of the draft motion, introduced yesterday by Libya, which condemns South Africa for its "unprovoked aggression" against Lesotho which resulted in a loss

of "innocent lives."

The draft resolution is expected to be adopted overwhelmingly for later consideration by the UN Security Council, according to UN sources.

South Africa is expected to address the Security Council. The Pretoria Government is barred from taking its seat in the General As-

sembly but it has addressed the council in the past on matters affecting it directly.

A spokesman for the South African Mission to the UN said yesterday that South Africa

would ask to speak in the debate on the Lesotho issue.

The last time South Africa addressed the council was in the middle of last year when the body met to consider Angolan complaints about South African raids against Swapo camps in its country.



# Troops didn't pull back, says Lesotho

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

THE Lesotho Government yesterday denied that its security forces withdrew from engagement with South African commandos after they were informed by Pretoria that the South Africans were interested only in attacking African National Congress targets.

The denial, issued by the Office of the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, was in response to a weekend statement by Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, of the South African Defence Force.

Gen Gleeson, who is SADF Chief of Staff Operations, had said the South Africans encountered resistance from Lesotho security forces during last Thursday's raid.

But he added: "We were able in the early hours of the morning to reach the commander of the Lesotho forces and to request them to withdraw after informing them that our operation was solely aimed at the ANC."

The message had had the "desired effect" and the Lesotho forces withdrew, he said.

However, the Lesotho Government denied yesterday that its forces had withdrawn to barracks and said they continued to attack the South African raiders until they were ferried across the border by helicopter.

According to the Lesotho Government, two South African soldiers and one member of the Lesotho Para-Military Unit were wounded in the clash.

An SADF spokesman said last night the

Lesotho statement was made with a view to the anticipated meeting of the UN Security Council, at which the Maseru raid is due to be discussed at the urgent request of Lesotho.

Apart from reaffirming earlier official statements issued by the SADF on the raid, the spokesman denied allegations that South African commandos had used bombs and insisted that South African soldiers had been wounded by "well-armed terrorists".

The SADF had not tried to create the impression of collusion between its invading forces and the Lesotho Government but had merely expressed its "appreciation" for Lesotho's decision to withdraw its forces after it was informed of the purpose of the raid, he said.

The spokesman repeated an earlier statement that helicopters had not been used to transport troops into or out of Lesotho, but only to ferry out four wounded soldiers.

A man who said he represented the rebel Lesotho Liberation Army yesterday described Lesotho's claims of LLA involvement in the South African attack on ANC bases in Maseru as "unfounded lies," Sapa reports.

The spokesman, who gave his name as Mr Donald Libe, said the claims by the Lesotho Minister of Foreign Affairs, Information and Broadcasting, Mr Charles Dube Molapo, were untrue.

"The charges over Radio Lesotho and in our newspapers of coalition with South Africa are unfounded lies. We had absolutely nothing to do with the attack," he said.

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# Chief Jonathan slams ANC raid deal with SA as a 'lie'

*Star* 14/12/82

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Lesotho Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan has slammed as "a lie" speculation that he sanctioned the attack on ANC offices in Maseru as part of a deal with South Africa.

In an interview on Independent Television News last night Chief Jonathan was asked about the alleged deal — that he allowed the South African forces to

enter Lesotho and attack ANC targets in return for South Africa withdrawing its support for the Lesotho Liberation Army.

"It's a lie," the chief said. "We refused this because it was immoral and unpolitic. So this is a lie. We haven't come into this nefarious deal with them."

Chief Jonathan spoke from his official residence after attending a funeral for a government Minister's son

who died in a landmine explosion last week — an attack carried out by the LLA, said ITN reporter Peter Sharpe.

Sharpe told viewers Lesotho was now home for more than 11 000 South African exiles.

"Their presence is often resented by local residents who feared exactly that kind of retaliation from the South African security forces."

● See Page 3.

By John D'Oliveira  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A leading Washington think-tank reported yesterday that United Nations refugee camps in Southern Africa were being used to train Soviet-backed guerrillas.

# UN camps are rebel bases

A conservative think-tank, the Heritage Foundation, is closely linked to the Reagan Administration. Mr Gullick said the military use of United Nations refugee camps — revealed by the Israeli occupation of Lebanon — was just the tip of the iceberg.

"There is now considerable evidence that Soviet-backed guerrillas are also using UN camps in Southern Africa and Central America for similar purposes. Even more disturbing is the fact that the US is picking up the tab for 25 percent and often more of the

operating costs of these camps." He gave the following examples: ● The Swapo controlled Institute for Namibia, in Lusaka. While the institute was charged largely with responsibility for training administrators for an independent Namibia, in practice it ap-

peared the school was used for military training. ● The Namibian Health and Education Centre in Luanda, Angola. On March 28 1981 the New York Times reported this UN facility had been commandeered by Swapo for its terror campaign. It was being used to train

students as guerrillas to be returned to Namibia. ● The UN refugee camp at Dukwe in Botswana. Here the African National Congress — a thoroughly Marxist terrorist organisation aimed at overthrowing the government of South Africa —

used the camp as a recruiting centre for terrorists, according to military sources in Botswana. ● The UN High Commission for Refugees' Refugee Centre in Lesotho. This centre was "suspected" of being an ANC recruiting centre. Mr Gullick said re-

committee on Security and Terrorism.

He added: "It's high time the United States and its Western allies demanded a full investigation of UN aid and support for terrorist groups which operate freely in refugee camps in the Middle East, Southern Africa and Latin America. "These investigative teams should include representatives of the United States and the Western nations which pay the lion's share of the tab for the UN refugee programme."

This was confirmed in recent testimony by former ANC members during hearings before the Senate Sub-

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Star

14/12/81

# Families try for SA burials

14/12/82 Sowetan 11A

By LEN MASEKO and ALI MPHAKI



THE SOWETAN yesterday traced families of two of those killed in last week's Maseru raid, while other families interviewed said they were still in the dark as to whether their exiled relatives living in Lesotho were still alive.

The families are those of Siphon Patrick Mchunu (30) and Rocks Matlhare both originally from Soweto. Both families were yesterday still trying to get permission from police to hold the burials in South Africa.

The two are among 42 people killed on Thursday when the South African Defence Force raided exiles in Lesotho. Twenty-one of the 29 South Africans killed in the attack have been identified.

A distraught Siphon's mother, Mrs Linah Mchunu, told The SOWETAN of how she nearly collapsed when she first learned through a phone call from friends in Maseru of her son's death. "We didn't believe it until a relative went to Lesotho and identified Siphon's body at the weekend," she said.

Mrs Mchuni said she last saw her son, a bricklayer and a former Morris Isaacson student, four years ago when he disappeared from his Dube home. Security Police visited his home on several occasions looking for him she said.

"We were not aware that he had skipped the country and gone to Lesotho. My family searched for him everywhere without success. We are terribly shocked by Siphon's death and I still believe that my son was not engaged in activities described by the Government," she said.

A member of the Matlhare family said Rocks was a student at Maseru High School and was not a member of the ANC.

"At the time of his death he had visited friends not far from his school. He did not skip the country, he went there with a valid travel document," she said.

The family member said that both his parents had gone to the police to try to get permission to transport his body to South Africa for burial.

MRS MCHUNU: Son killed.  
Pic ROBERT MAGWAZA

# Fedsaw appeal for Lesotho dead

11A

Sowetan

14/12/82

By SAMMABE

THE FEDERATION of South African Women (Fedsaw) has called for the suspension of all festive activities and the closure of all businesses on Thursday, when a number of prayer services will be held on the Reef in memory of the victims of last week's SADF attack in Maseru.

A spokesman for Fedsaw asked everyone to wear black clothes and to attend a service which will be held from 10 am at the St Augustine Anglican Church in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, where Bishop Desmond Tutu of the SACC is rector.

Another prayer service will be held by the Tembisa branch of the

Young Christian Workers (YCW) at the St Vincent Roman Catholic Church in Kopanong Section at 8 am.

Bishop Tutu said all political parties, including the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), spoke as with one voice in expressing their delight at the attack.

He said newspapers, radio and television showed that there were those who celebrated the occasion, when there was another side — the 80 percent of South Africa's population who have a different perspective of what happened.

He said freedom was not cheap and that it was because human rights in South Africa had not been assured to all that there were people who left the country. Many

had given up hope that a peaceful resolution to the country's problems would occur.

He said he did not believe that the SADF attacked ANC bases, because of the unlikelihood of the ANC placing strategic and sensitive bases where police could pounce on them in Maseru.

Bishop Tutu called on South Africans to commit themselves to a liberation struggle to create a country where race and colour would be irrelevant.

He said the authorities must be told: "Please don't make people desperate because then they use desperate means."

The Sofasonke Party, led by Mr T J Makhaya, has called a meeting at Mofolo Park on Thursday.

OFFER

# PE service for Lesotho raid victims planned

11A

E. Post  
14/12/82

By JIMMY MATYU

A MEMORIAL service will be held in Port Elizabeth at the weekend in honour of the African National Congress members and refugees killed in the South African raid in Maseru last week. It is being arranged by residents and students of the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage townships.

A spokesman for the organising committee said today that a community hall for "this sad occasion" had been booked for Sunday. The service would be peacefully conducted.

He said the names of the organisations involved would be released later in the week.

The spokesman said the organisations "condemned the senseless killing of innocent people, some on visits to relatives who had left the country because they wanted peace and freedom which they could only find outside South Africa".

He said he hoped the South African Government would allow the victims' bodies to be brought to

South Africa for burial.

The names of some of the victims are still unknown because of extensive charring of their bodies. The death toll is 41 — 29 South Africans and 12 Lesotho nationals.

Among the dead were seven women — one believed to be a South African.

Four people are still in hospital, among them an eight-year-old child.

Reports from Lesotho say some of the victims had arrived from South Africa shortly before the raid to visit friends and relatives.

Among the dead were Dr Pule Matjoa Zola Nqini, an ex-Robben Island prisoner from Uitenhage; Mr Pakamile Mponqoshe, an ex-Robben Island prisoner, originally from Port Elizabeth; Mr Ligwa Mdlankomo, from Kwazakele in Port Elizabeth; Mr Jackson Tayo, an ex-Robben Island prisoner, from Lady Frere; Mr Kentridge Moloisane and Mr Patrick Moholo, both from Bloemfontein; Mr Michael Mlenze Cecil

Ngxitho, from Cofimvaba in Transkei; Mr Vuyani Zibi, from Mqanduli in Transkei; Mr Samson Motana, from Mdantsane in Ciskei; Mr Lizethile Dyani and Mr Zwelindaba Gobiya, both from Engcobo in Transkei; Dr Norman Ngciphe, who arrived a day before on a visit from Maritzburg; Mr Mzwandile Fazzie, who also arrived a day earlier from Duncan Village in East London; Mr Titus Jobo, an ex-Robben Island prisoner who arrived a day before the raid on a visit from the Border area.

Also killed was Mr Alfred Marwanqana, an ex-Robben Island prisoner, from the Ilinge resettlement camp in Transkei.

He arrived a day earlier accompanied by his daughter, Thandiswa, who was also killed. Mr Marwanqana's son, Mzukisi, was also among the dead.

The wounded in hospital are: Mr Zanisile Bekwa, Mr Manduleli Cunu, Mr Mthobile Zokwe and eight-year-old Kananelo Sexwale.

# Soweto service for Maseru slaying

*(11) Sowetan 14/12/82*  
A MEMORIAL service will be held in Soweto on Thursday in honour of the 42 people killed in last week's South African Defence Force raid into Lesotho.

An appeal has been made to Soweto's 4 000 shebeen owners to close their businesses during the course of the service — which will be held at St Augustine's Church, Mzimhlope, at 10 am. Several speakers, yet to be named, will address the meeting.



**TUTU: Sympathy.**

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said the service had been organised to sympathise with the relatives of those killed and express feelings towards the action of the Government in launching a military attack in Lesotho.

The 42 people were killed when the SADF attacked 12 African National Congress bases in Maseru, Lesotho on Thursday morning last week.

- A Soweto Civic Association fund-raising braai was cancelled at the weekend, in honour of those killed in the Maseru raid. The occasion has been postponed to early next year.

227 (11A) 15/12/82  
RDM

# US stands alone against anti-SA debate over raid

NEW YORK. — The United States stood alone against a resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly yesterday condemning the South African raid into Lesotho.

The 157-nation General Assembly approved the resolution without a vote. Introduced by Libya on behalf of the African bloc, it condemned South Africa for the "unprovoked invasion of Lesotho resulting in the loss of innocent lives and the destruction of property".

It urged the UN Security Council to take "immediate steps to deter South Africa from repeating its acts of aggression against Lesotho and other neighbouring independent African states".

As the resolution was being approved in the Assembly, the Security Council began closed-door consultations to hear Lesotho's protest about the raid.

After its adoption, the US delegate, Mr Jose Zorzano, told the Assembly: "The United States did not participate in the adoption of this resolution. Our views will be made known in the Security Council."

The US was the only nation to dissociate itself from the adoption of the resolution.

The British Ambassador, Mr John Thompson, said his government supported it, but questioned whether it served "any real purpose" because Lesotho's complaint was already under discussion by the Security Council, which held primary responsibility for the maintenance of international security.

He also objected to paragraphs which, he said, went beyond the immediate issue, apparently referring to a section calling on the UN to "counteract effectively South Africa's policy of coercing its neighbours into not opposing its policy of apartheid and not giving sanctuary to South African refugees".

Introducing the resolution, the Libyan Ambassador, Mr Ali Treiki, devoted most of his speech to denouncing Israel which, he said, committed the same international offences as South Africa.

Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe had been expected to address the debate but did not do so. However, as a head of state he has the right to speak in the General Assembly at any time.

South Africa's case will be put to it by the country's Ambassador to the UN, Mr David Steward. — Sapa.

● See Page 3



11A/29/161 15/12/82

# Maseru has shock victim exterior after SADF raid

By CHRIS MARAIS

MASERU. — Maseru has the aspect of a shock victim after last week's sudden commando raid and subsequent suburban massacre.

The internationally condemned manoeuvre of the South African Defence Force has dealt a crippling blow to local ANC cells, and has also driven the Lesotho refugee community from sight.

By day, the town appears to be caught up in the normal bustle of an African urban centre.

The famous Basotho weavers ply their trade behind tapestry frames, hands flying in tempo with a fast gossip grapevine.

The kids still press beads on you and wash your car when your back is turned.

Old men from the mountains, eyes shaded under coned straw hats, ride in on ponies for a day in the market place.

The white colonials and foreign aid programmers zoom around in their fashionable jeeps and four-wheel-drives.

But somehow, this mountain kingdom seems to have lost any Christmas spirit 1982 might have promised.

One is more aware than ever of the guards and their metal detectors at hotel entrances and soldiers at the ready by the car parks to protect the rich and holidaying tourists.

The casinos stand empty.

Hotel attendances are down, townspeople report little or nothing of the massive Christmas influx they normally receive from Maseru Bridge.

The bars, however, tell it all.

The black patrons keep to themselves and talk softly. Incredibly, we came across a group of five drunk middle-

aged white men who joked loudly and crudely about the raid.

A young Dutchman was in Maseru on the night more than 40 people were killed by SA troops.

"We stood in the doorway and watched the flashes and heard the explosions. A house less than half a kilometre away was being burned. It was crazy.

"The booms echoed in the valley from mountain to mountain. It was not a sound I care to remember."

A local crop sprayer said: "Everyone said it was such a lightning raid. Why, I saw armed South African soldiers walking the streets at 4pm that day, as open as anything".

He said he also saw a number of SADF men in plain clothes at the Hilton Hotel, on the hill overlooking central Maseru.

Demand conditions?

# Lesotho accuses SA of 'naked terrorism'

New York

King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho has accused South Africa of trying to 'over-run neighbouring states and rule them as colonies.'

Addressing the United Nations Security Council yesterday, he accused South Africa of an act of naked aggression in the attack on Maseru.

King Moshoeshoe called on the Security Council to "restrain South Africa from violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of UN member states, and from pursuing a strategy of naked terrorism against a whole sub-continent."

He asked why South Africa was openly supported and encouraged by countries founded on principles of freedom, liberty and equality.

He was evidently alluding to the United States, Britain and other Western members which were expected to reply to the charge when the debate was resumed.

## 'Unprovoked'

The Security Council meeting was called after the General Assembly yesterday condemned a South African commando raid into Lesotho last Thursday.

King Moshoeshoe said 42 people died in a murderous attack that South Africa had attempted to justify as retaliation for acts of sabotage in that country. "Lesotho totally rejects this hollow explanation."

The attack was "unprovoked and indefensible" King Moshoeshoe said.

He said 12 of the victims were Lesotho citizens and it was inconceivable that they were plotting attacks against South Africa.

In a departure from custom, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar denounced the South African attack as a grave violation of the UN charter and of the territory of a sovereign state.

We said that of the

Reports by Reuter, Sapa and The Star's New York Bureau.

42 people killed, 19 were registered refugees. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees had dispatched a special mission to Lesotho to meet government leaders there and help the families of those killed, he added.

The 50-nation African group at the UN has prepared a draft resolution, still confidential, to put before the council, demanding from South Africa "full and adequate" compensation.

## Veto

It does not demand punitive measures and makes no mention of sanctions against South Africa, but it condemns what it terms "the premeditated and aggressive attack" and calls on South Africa to declare that it will in future comply with the UN charter.

Diplomats here considered the resolution was designed to obtain unanimous support from the Security Council and to avoid a possible veto from the United States.

South African UN ambassador Mr David Steward, who watched from the council sidelines last night, is expected to speak at today's meeting.

# Lesotho names Maseru raid dead **Funeral set for Monday** *Star 15/12/62*

The Star's Africa News Service

MASERU — The Lesotho Information Department has supplied the following list of names of those killed in the SADF raid on Maseru.

It has counted 42 dead, but has not been able to identify two corpses. So far, then, the toll is 29 South Africans and 11 Lesotho citizens.

- Zola Noini (47), Mzwandile Fazzie, Dr Bantwini Ngciphela (50), also known as Phakamile Mponaashe, Alfred Marwanga, Mzukis Marwanga, Tandiswa Marwanga, Lizathile Dyani (36), Zwelendaba Gova (42), Toto Biza (20), Vuyani Zibi (25), Cecil Nxethu (22), Michael Mlanze (24), Dumisani Matandela (21), Mbuso Bunsane (19), Sipho Mutana (28), Sampson Kana (19), Themba Mazibuko (28), "Rocks" Mathare (20), Tliso Makoa (21), Sipho Mchunu, Nyukile Troin (50), also known as Jackson Tayo, Kenridge Moloisane (25), Patrick Mhoho (21), Lingwa Mlankomo, Sibusiso Khuzwavo (25), David Sello, Jesus or Gene Gugushe (29), also known as Titus Mngoma.

In addition the ANC has said the following four people were killed, but their names have not been confirmed by Lesotho: Terror Mangena, Titus Mngoma, Phakamile Mponaashe, Jackson Tayo. The following are Lesotho citizens: Mapotoko Sahlabaka, Matuona Ralebiso, Mapulela (surname not known), Molaisi Hlaele, Anna Hlaele, Rondo Hlaele, Peter Tseholi, Sezie Jafeta, Matoboho Jafeta, Teboho Jafeta, Florence Mateliso.

The Star's Africa News Service

MASERU — The funeral of the victims of last week's South African Defence Force raid on Maseru will be held there next Monday, a reliable source said.

The Lesotho Government has attached great significance to the SADF action and Monday will be declared a day of mourning.

Several political groups excluding Black Consciousness movements, will commemorate "Heroes Day" in various centres throughout the country tomorrow.

The commemoration to mark December 16 will coincide with a memorial service in Soweto to pray for the victims and families of those killed in the SADF raid.

The services will be held at St Augustine Anglican Church in Mzimhlophe, St Francis of Assisi in Rockville, St Vincent Roman Catholic Church in Kagiso and Tembisa.

Black groups involved are the Federation of South African

Women, Congress of South African Students, the Azanian Students Organisation and the Soweto Civic Association.

The African National Congress named December 16, Heroes Day, as it was on this day their military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed.

On that day, bombs shattered Government installations.

Umkhonto we Sizwe proclaimed selected sabotage, pointing out that loss of life would be avoided and targets would be Government installations.

Two leading Anglican churchmen, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Simeon Nkoane, will conduct services in Soweto.

● Reports from Paris suggest that the SADF raid could have had repercussions on next year's French rugby tour.

France's rugby newspaper Midi Olympique has warned South Africa that the raid could seriously prejudice next year's rugby tour.

# **Policemen acquitted**

5/12/82  
Court Reporter

TWO security policemen, W/O Patrick Jacobs, 35, and Det-Sgt Mohlin Gopal, 29, were found not guilty and discharged by Mr D M Young in the Durban Magistrate's Court yesterday on a charge of assaulting the Azanian People's Organisation acting chairman, Mr Bradley Potgieter.

The two men had pleaded not guilty to assaulting Mr Potgieter on March 19 after they had seen him putting up a poster advertising a Sharpeville commemoration service.

15/12/82  
Sawetam  
-11A

# Maseru raid victims can sue, law prof

THE dependants of the ANC members and Lesotho citizens killed in the Maseru raid are entitled to sue the SADF for loss of support, said Professor Johan van der Vyver of Wits University yesterday.

The law professor thinks that were such claims to be filed, they would possibly succeed.

This will probably arouse considerable interest among the relatives of the raid's victims who number 42 in the latest Lesotho death

toll. The SADF has said 30 ANC "terrorists" died and seven civilians — five women and children were killed "in the crossfire".

Lesotho's Information Department said 30 "South African Refugees" and 12 Basotho civilians were killed.

Professor van der Vyver said in principle the dependants of even an ANC guerilla would have as strong a claim against the SADF as that of the relatives of a Lesotho civilian.

Moreover, the fact that a civilian was shot by an ANC guerilla, who was firing at the SADF, would not necessarily remove the SADF from liability, he said.

"If the SADF were legally expected to foresee that civilians might be killed in the crossfire, it would be legally liable for the deaths of such civilians — even though its actions were not primarily directed at civilians."

"I am sure Lesotho law would be the same as South African law on this point. The important element would be to show negligence on the part of the SADF."

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## Man warned: cut ANC ties

UMTATA — A son-in-law of President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei, says he has received death threats from an anonymous caller who warned him to cut ties with the banned African National Congress if he still wished to continue living.

Mr Prince Madikizela, former president of the banned Transkei Youth League, said the caller said he was telephoning from the offices of the South African Security Police.

The caller reminded him of the assassination of a Durban civil rights lawyer, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, and said if Mr Madikizela did not dissociate himself from the ANC, he would be the next victim.

Mr Madikizela, a practising attorney, who has been active in taking defence instructions in a number of political cases, said the caller also reminded him of the incident of the attacks on ANC targets by South Africa in Maseru last Thursday.

Mr Madikizela said he was "no member of the African National Congress and I will never be one."

He admitted he has defended in several political cases, including last week's terrorism trial of three men in Butterworth and said: "I do take instructions from political detainees just as any other lawyer can do, and I will continue to do so as long as I am still a practising attorney." — SAPA.

~~11A~~ 11A D. Dispatch 15/12/82

# EL union leader's son among dead

EAST LONDON — The son of a trade union leader here was killed in the South African Defence Force raid on ANC targets in Maseru last week.

Mr Mziwanele Fazzie, 20, son of the local branch secretary of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (Naawu). Mr Juda Fazzie, had arrived in Maseru the day before he was shot dead in the raid.

Mr Fazzie was with a friend, Dr Norman Ngcipe, an intern at Pietermaritzburg's Edendale Hospital, who was also killed.

Mr Juda Fazzie said yesterday that news of his son's death had come as a "terrible shock". He had not known his son was going to Maseru.

"He had gone to Somerset East to attend a funeral and was on his way to Durban and it appears he stopped over

for the night in Maseru with Dr Ngcipe," he said.

Dr Ngcipe, 24, came from Somerset East.

Mr Fazzie said he was negotiating the return of his son's body from the Lesotho government.

"We hope to conduct the funeral in Duncan Village," he said.

Dr Ngcipe was described yesterday as a "poor boy made good".

According to a cousin, Mr Zwelinzima Dilima,

of Somerset East, Dr Ngcipe was a brilliant student who obtained a first class matriculation pass with distinctions.

After matriculating from St Johns in Umtata in 1975, he studied medicine at the Wentworth medical school and was undergoing his internship at Edendale Hospital at the time of his death.

A close friend, the Reverend Simon Gqubule, a minister in

the Methodist Church in Edendale, said he was "horrified" by the news of Dr Ngcipe's death.

"How does one distinguish between the so-called terrorists and people who just spend the night," he said.

A member of a Durban legal firm, which has been instructed to arrange the return of Dr Ngcipe's body, said yesterday the funeral would be in Somerset East. — DDR

# Prayer service for victims of Maseru raid

(11A) E. Post  
15/12/82

By JIMMY MATYU

A THREE-HOUR prayer service for the victims and relatives of those killed in the South African Defence Force raid on African National Congress refugee camps in Maseru last week will be held in the New Daku Hall, Kwazakele, on Sunday at 2pm.

A Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) spokesman said today that a similar service to be led by the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, would be held in Soweto tomorrow.

He appealed to all residents in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage to go into a period of mourning on Sunday during the three-hour duration of the service.

Pebco also appealed to all shebeen owners and businessmen in these areas to close their businesses for the duration of the service.

It is reported from Maseru that the mass funeral of the victims of last week's raid is expected to take place in Maseru on Monday. — Sapa

So?



## Clergy plan fast for ANC

CAPE TIMES 15/12/82 (11A) ~~Staff~~  
Staff Reporter ~~Staff~~

FIFTEEN clergymen from various township churches in Cape Town yesterday resolved at a meeting — held in Bonteheuwel to find ways of expressing condemnation at the SADF raid into Lesotho — to hold a 48-hour fast and vigil in memory of those who died in the raid.

The fast and vigil is to be held at St George's Cathedral starting on Friday and ending on Sunday at 3pm, a spokesman for the ad hoc committee which organized the meeting said last night.

The committee comprises members of the church and Cape Flats community.

"A group of church members will be fasting and sleeping over at the church from Friday to Sunday," the spokesman said.

# SA must pay over raid — UN

The Star Bureau  
NEW YORK — The United Nations Security Council last night ordered South Africa to pay full and adequate compensation for damage to life and property in last week's raid on Maseru.

The 15-nation body unanimously condemned South Africa for its attack on Lesotho's capital.

The United States, Britain and France voted for the motion as no provision was made for political or economic sanctions.

The council acted in response to King Moshoeshoe's complaint on Tuesday that South Africa had committed "unprovoked and naked aggression" against his country in a military operation which killed more than 40 people.

South Africa is expected to make a statement before the Security Council today.

The motion adopted by the council reaffirmed Lesotho's right "to receive and give sanctuary to the victims of apartheid."

South Africa was called on to comply with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and not to commit aggressive acts against Lesotho directly or through its proxies.

The resolution demanded the payment by South Africa of full and adequate compensation to Lesotho for the damage to life and property.

The Secretary-General of the UN, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said on Tuesday that of the 42 victims accounted for, 19 had been registered with the UN as refugees and four others had been in the process of being registered.

The only permanent

To Page 3, Col 1

## EEC slams SADF action

The Star's Africa News Service  
MASERU — The 10-nation European Economic Community has delivered a demarche to Pretoria condemning the SADF attack in Lesotho.

It has also provided R82 000 in emergency aid to the relatives of the raid's victims, official sources here said.

The EEC representative in Lesotho, Mr Tue Rohrsted, said the distribution of the aid would be worked out between the EEC and the Lesotho Government.

The West German ambassador

to South Africa delivered the demarche to Pretoria on behalf of the EEC.

It said: The Ten strongly condemn this flagrant violation of Lesotho's sovereignty and South Africa's breach of the principles of international law. The Ten deplore the loss of life involved.

"The Ten reject violence from any quarter in the search for solutions to the problems of Southern Africa.

"The Ten recall their urgent appeal to all countries in the region to show restraint."

SA to pay for Lesotho raid — UN

16/12/82  
▶▶ From page 1

member of the Security Council not to speak last night was the United States, which is expected to make a statement today.

But Britain's Sir John Thomson said there was no justification for the action by South Africa, which had "wilfully breached the principles of international law, the UN charter and civilised behaviour between nations."

He said Lesotho had posed no threat to South Africa and had pursued a policy of co-existence and good neighbourliness. "A policy which is far from easy in the circumstances of Southern Africa, and which is therefore all the more commendable."

Sir John stressed that his country was continuing to play a part in the search for peaceful solutions to the problems of Southern Africa, in close contact with the countries of the region and the Western contact group on Namibia.

He regretted "preposterous and intemperate statements made by those who wish to exploit the region's problems and this latest tragedy."

# Bodies 'not allowed into SA Lesotho

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MASERU. — The bodies of two high-school pupils killed in last week's SADF raid on Maseru were not allowed into South Africa on Tuesday for burial, the Lesotho Government said yesterday.

According to Radio Lesotho, the Ministry of the Interior in Maseru announced yesterday that South African border officials had refused the parents permission to take the bodies to Soweto for burial.

The announcement said the Lesotho Government was communicating with Pretoria over the matter. The bodies had in the meantime been returned to Maseru.

The dead pupils, Isaac Matlhare, 20, and Floyd Mako, 21, were not members of the banned African National Congress (ANC) or political refugees, the radio quoted the ministry as saying.

● In Maseru, Radio Lesotho reported that a mass funeral would be held on Sunday for the ANC exiles who died in the SADF raid. Lesotho citizens who were among the 40 killed would be buried on Saturday.

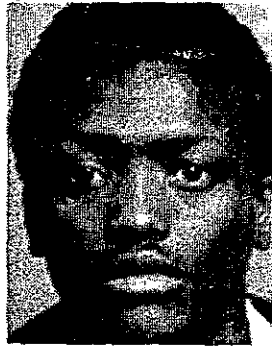
● Four people were killed on Tuesday night in an attack on a house used as an armoury by the Lesotho Paramilitary Force, a spokesman for the Lesotho Liberation Army said yesterday.

In a telephoned statement he said the house, near Marakebei in the Buthabuthe district, was seriously damaged in the handgrenade and rifle attack.

All four occupants of the house were killed, he claimed. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

# Families plan burials for raid victims

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MR FAZZIE... his body may be brought back.

EAST LONDON — Arrangements have been made for the bodies of two men killed in the Maseru raid last week to be buried in East London and Somerset East, a spokesman for a Durban firm of attorneys making arrangements for the family, claimed yesterday.

The spokesman said the bodies of Mr Mzwanele Fazzie, of Duncan Village, and Dr Norman Ngcipe, of Somerset East, would probably be returned tomorrow morning.

Meanwhile, the parents of two high school pupils who were killed in the raid were refused permission at a South African border post to bring the bodies into the country for burial in Soweto. The bodies have been returned to Maseru while the Lesotho Government gets in touch with the South African Government.

In the case of the bodies of Mr Fazzie and Dr Ngcipe, arrangements have been made by a firm of undertakers

to obtain the necessary permit from the Director General of Health's office in Pretoria for the return of the bodies.

Mr Fazzie's father, Mr C. J. Fazzie, said the family had arranged to bury Mr Fazzie on Sunday, December 28. He hoped Dr Ngcipe would be buried on another date about that time to allow friends and relatives of the two men to attend both funerals.

Mr K. Jobo, younger brother of Mr Titus Jobo, who was also killed in the raid, said members of the family had agreed to make arrangements for the body to be brought back and were working on a plan to have the body buried at Qanda, Middledrift, but nothing definite had been settled.

It was not clear yesterday whether relatives of Mr Mzukisi Marwanqana, his sister Miss Thandiswa Marwanqana, and his father, Mr Alfred Marwanqana, had made any arrangements for a burial in Ilinge, near Queenstown.

Other Eastern Cape,

Transkei, Border and Ciskei people killed in the raid are: Mr Alfred Nqini, of Uitenhage, Mr Ligwa Mdlankomo and Mr Phakamile Mpongose, both of Port Elizabeth, Mr Jackson Tayo, of Lady Frere, Mr Dumisani Matandela and Mr Mbuso Bungashe, both of Maluti, Transkei, Mr Michael Mlenze and Mr Cecil Ngxito, both of Cofimvaba, Transkei, Mr Vuyani Zibi, of Mqanduli, Transkei, Mr Lizethile Dyani and Mr Zwelendaba Gova, both of Engcobo, Transkei, and Mr Sam Kana and Mr Sipho Notana, both of Mdantsane.

A mass funeral for the victims of the raid will be held in Maseru, most probably on Sunday.

A three-hour prayer service will be held for the victims and their relatives in Kwazakele Port Elizabeth on Sunday afternoon. — DDR -SAPA.

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# Lesotho bodies are sent back

16/12/82 (11A)

Star

The Star's Africa  
News Service

MASERU — South African border officials yesterday prevented the parents of two young Soweto men killed in last week's SADF raid on the ANC in Lesotho from bringing their sons' bodies home for burial.

According to Lesotho sources the families of Isaac Matlhare (20) and Floyd Makoa (21) arrived in Maseru on Tuesday to collect the bodies.

Officials on the South African side of the border would not let them through with the coffins which were then returned to the Maseru mortuary.

Lesotho officials say that the two men were at school in the kingdom.

It appears likely that they will now be buried on Sunday at the mass funeral of ANC members killed in the raid.

Most of the Basotho killed with them will be buried on Saturday.

# Tutu: SA raid 'immoral'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At a Soweto memorial service for victims of the SADF's Maseru raid, Bishop Desmond Tutu, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, yesterday condemned the killings as "totally immoral".

He told almost 1 000 mourners packed into St Augustine's Anglican Church that the fact that the victims were killed in their sleep disproved the claim that Lesotho was being used as a springboard for ANC activists.

Lesotho had said 12 of the victims were their nationals and the United Nations had said 19 were "bona fide refugees".

# SA fighting 'civil war', Boesak

Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africa was engaged in a civil war, Dr Alan Boesak told a 600-strong crowd at a service commemorating the deaths of 42 people killed in the SADF raid on Maseru.

Speaking in Bonteheuwel yesterday, Dr Boesak, who is president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said South Africans ought to stop believing that "what we witness is an act

against Russian communist aggression".

"It is South African people that have been killed, and we are here to express clearly that what has happened is an outrage. We are disgusted at the murder of the children of this land," he said.

The desire was not for world domination, but "to find a place in the land of our birth". Dr Boesak said there would be bloodshed as long as the privilege of a few was maintained through the oppression of the majority.

Professor Michael Savage, head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town, said the SADF invasion of Lesotho could usher in a period of "escalated bloodletting".

"In the eyes of most of white South Africa, these people died because they had the extraordinary idea that South Africa should be a democratic and non-racial society. We are here to affirm that this idea is not extraordinary, and to mourn their deaths," he said.

Professor Savage questioned the statement by the PFP defence spokesman, Mr Philip Myburgh, that the SADF had no choice but to carry out a pre-emptive strike into Lesotho.

"If this is what the PFP believes, then it places them squarely in the camp of those prepared to take any steps whatever to defend white privilege and supremacy," he said to loud applause.

Other speakers included the Rev Howard Marawu of the General Workers' Union, Dr Margaret Nash of the Black Sash, Mrs Dorothy Zihlangu of the United Women's Organization, former Robben Island prisoner Mr Christmas Tinto and the UCT Students' Representative Council president, Mr Anton Richman.

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Cape Times

## MASERU AFTERMATH

By Jasper Mortimer,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

The dependants of the victims of the Maseru raid might succeed in suing the SADF for loss of support, according to Professor Johan van der Vyfer of Wits University. But Unisa's Professor Hercules Booyesen believes that they would not stand a chance.

The SADF has said 30 ANC "terrorists" died and seven civilians — five women and two children — were killed in "crossfire" when South African troops attacked.

The two law professors have different views of the validity of claims that might arise from the relatives of these dead.

Professor van der Vyfer said in principle the dependants of even an ANC fighter would have as strong a claim against the SADF as that of the relatives of a Lesotho civilian.

Moreover, the fact that a civilian was shot by an ANC member in the crossfire would not necessarily

# Maseru raid victims: lawyers differ on their legal redress

remove the SADF from liability.

He thought the suit would have to be filed in a South African court, but Lesotho law would apply.

"I am sure Lesotho law would be the same as South African law on this point. The important element would be to show negligence on the part of the SADF."

The SADF might try to justify itself by saying it acted against terrorists.

"But I don't think this defence would succeed, because the SADF violated international law by invading

Lesotho. Even if the SADF were to maintain an ANC member no longer deserved the protection of the law, the fact is that such a member is a person, and his killing is as much an offence as the killing of any other person."

Professor Booyesen said that under South African constitutional law the Government had an absolute prerogative to conduct foreign affairs or to perform "acts of state" in a foreign country.

He saw the Maseru attack as "an act of state performed in a

foreign country" and said South African courts would not judge such acts.

He had no doubt that Lesotho citizens would have no claim against the SADF but said there was a little uncertainty over the claims of South African refugees in Maseru.

Even their claims, however, he thought would not succeed because "the power of the South African Government in a foreign country is not limited by the fact that its own citizens are affected by its acts."

Professor Booyesen pointed out

there was a provision in the Defence Act which indemnified the SADF and the State from claims arising from the combating of terrorism.

He seemed to be referring to Section 103 of the Act, which says no proceedings may be instituted against the State or SADF concerning an act connected to "the prevention or suppression of terrorism in any operational area."

Professor van der Vyfer made a further point contending that South Africa was not "at war" with the ANC. "Or if it is, then the ANC are

not terrorists.

"South Africa must make up its mind. If it claims its actions in Maseru are legitimate under international law, then ANC members are not terrorists and it must treat ANC captives as POWs."

Dr T W Bennett of the University of Cape Town's law faculty said he thought Professor van der Vyfer's was substantially a good argument but "not as certain as he makes out."

"South Africa is still treating ANC members as terrorists, but there is a trend in international law to permit cross-border raids against terrorists, as in Israel-Lebanon and Central America.

"The trend is to say "If a state harbours people who launch attacks across its borders, then it must be prepared to suffer counter-attacks." "Were a Lesotho plaintiff to sue in a South African court, the SADF would not be able to claim immunity under international law."

Lorna Guthrie, who worked for the Red Cross in Lesotho last year, returned to Britain from Maseru this week. In the Guardian newspaper, London, today she gives this first-hand account of the South African raid into Maseru.

## Red Cross worker tells of SADF raid

At one in the morning on December 9 we were awoken by the sound of gunfire and mortars.

Very soon it was clear that this was a major assault from somewhere, and the sky was alive with flares.

Because the fighting seemed close we did not go to the window to see what we could. But when I heard bullets ricochet off the wall of our house I crept into our baby's room and brought him into our bed.

For two hours we lay awake, apprehensive of what such heavy fighting could mean. We heard aircraft, and men knew this must be an external attack on a large scale.

### STUNNED

Only after sunrise did we emerge to find that if our neighbours and friends were safe.

Bullet holes marked the walls of our terrace houses. A spent mortar shell from a flare had crashed through the roof of the house a few doors away, where a Finnish couple lived. One shell landed only metres from their bed.

It was later identified as being of the type used by the South African Defence Force. We heard that the

target nearest to our house was 300 metres away. I walked there to find about 20 people around the house standing silent and stunned.

### RANSACKED

The body of a man who was killed had been taken away to the mortuary by his family. The car had been burnt out and the house ransacked.

There was nothing anyone could do, and yet they could not leave the scene: yesterday this had been the home of their friend.

With a feeling of horror I went across town to some of the other houses which had been destroyed in the raid.

A group of people surrounded one house which looked at first untouched. Then I noticed the windows were broken and the frames

charred. Inside, smoke rose from a pile of debris which included a human hip bone.

According to the neighbours, the man in the house had been taken by South African soldiers, wrapped in a blanket, and set on fire. Then the house had been devastated by incendiary devices.

As I went from house to house which had been hit in the raid, I heard more from local people of the events of the previous night which had left everyone in a state of shock and disbelief.

These are some extracts: A woman, seven months pregnant, was admitted to the Queen Elizabeth II Hospital in Maseru with gunshot wounds in the abdomen. In one house a Lesotho man, his wife and their two young children were killed. A month before they had moved into the house after a South African refugee had moved out.

### SURVIVED

This intelligence had obviously not reached the South African authorities. In another house three small children owe their lives to

their 13-year-old sister. She heard gunfire and mortars and immediately woke the three younger members of her family.

She made them lie on the floor and put the mattress over them and then lay on the mattress.

When the soldiers came in she was shot and killed. The three younger children were not found, and survived.

The wife of a South African refugee, who was a target for the South African Defence Force, recently moved

from one flat to another in the same block.

This was apparently not known to the South African authorities, and a Lesotho woman unconnected with South Africa was killed while their intended victim witnessed

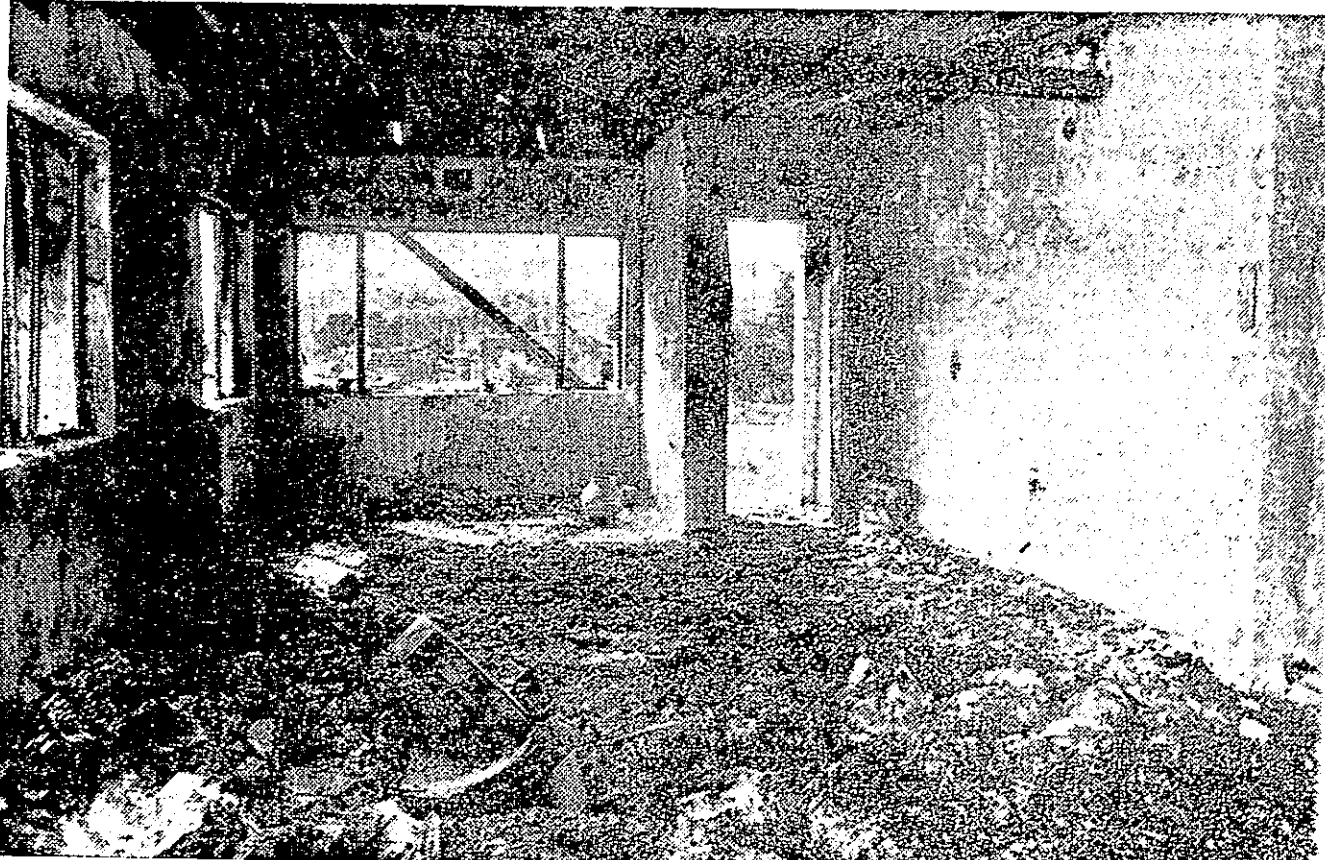
the scene helplessly from her new flat.

In another house, soldiers stormed the building and killed the wife. They then went to the bed, pulled back the blankets and found a four-year-old child alone there. He was shot and killed. The

father was the in another room.

In the South Press, the South African Defence claimed that 10 people killed subsequently (42), five won two children killed in crossfi

# Maseru's nightmare



A charred wreck was all that was left of this home after the SADF raid. A family of five was sleeping here when raiders burst in firing machine-guns. All the family survived.

Star 17/12/82



# 'Basotho jobs in SA jeopardised'

Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. — South Africa warned landlocked Lesotho last night that the jobs of its citizens working in the Republic would be placed in jeopardy if the Lesotho Government continued to "harbour terrorists".

Mr David Steward, South African Ambassador to the United Nations, told the Security Council that his country would consider tightening border controls if Lesotho failed to clamp down on the activities of the African National Congress (ANC).

## CONDEMNED

Mr Steward was replying to a two-day debate that has heard repeated condemnation of South Africa for the strike against ANC members based in the Lesotho capital of Maseru last week, which resulted in the deaths of more than 40 people.

The South African delegate also attacked the United Nations for "urging war" in Southern Af-



Mr David Steward

rica and "forgetting peace".

Mr Steward spent a large part of his half-hour speech detailing Lesotho's economic dependence on South Africa and said his government wanted to make an "urgent appeal to Lesotho to

ARGUS 7/12/82  
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reconsider its attitude to the harbouring of terrorists".

He said the Government believed that the majority of Basotho did not support the Lesotho Government in the stand it was taking regarding the ANC.

"... and the Government of Lesotho will have to accept the responsibility if employment opportunities for its citizens are placed in jeopardy as a result of more stringent movement control measures which South Africa will have to introduce on the border unless the Lesotho Government changes its attitude," he said.

"It would be a matter of great regret to the South African Government were it to be compelled to consider instituting more restrictive measures to control movement across the border."

## NO CHANCE

Mr Steward also accused the British Government of "turning a blind eye" to terrorist attacks against the Republic.

Britain was the only Western country he named in his bitter criticism of the Security Council for not giving the Pretoria a chance to speak before a vote was taken condemning the South African raid.

# Thousands mourn for raid victims

By SAM MABE *Sowetan*

ABOUT 1 000 people crammed the St Augustine's Anglican Church in Mzimhlophe yesterday, where a prayer service was held to commemorate the death of 42 victims of last week's SADF raid in Maseru.

The main speaker at the service, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said there were whites who had been regarded as "nice whites" and newspapers which had been regarded as being on the side of the oppressed, but through their reaction to the Maseru incident, showed that they actually sided with the oppressor.

He said an event which makes 80 percent of the population cry, makes the other 20 percent shout in jubilation. And as the bishop spoke, about 12 white policemen were having a braai vleis about 200 metres from the church.

Condemning apartheid as a policy that could not tolerate opposition, Bishop Tutu said many blacks had been killed for attempting to use

peaceful means to bring about change in South Africa.

Father Lebanang Sebidi, an executive member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said the divisions among black people were only delaying the day of liberation.

Dr Nthato Motlana, the Committee of Ten's chairman, said the people who brought Christianity to South Africa were now preaching ethnicity and worshipping the gun.

"The South African Army have, through their deeds in Maseru, shown us that they have replaced Christ with R1 rifles," he said.

Bishop Simeon Nkoane said whites could not stand before God because their hands were soiled with blood. He said apartheid, which had in the past been responsible for the miseries of the black man in South Africa had now crossed the border to kill South Africa's children in Maseru.



BISHOP TUTU: "Nice whites side with oppressors."

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# Swazis detain 100 ANC members

Argus Africa  
News Service

MBABANE. — Swazi police have detained up to 100 members of the African National Congress who had been granted asylum here, reliable sources say.

The Commissioner of Police, Mr Titus Msibi, confirmed that people had been arrested but would not give the number of ANC members involved.

A source close to the ANC here confirmed the figure of almost 100, and said the raids had begun at dawn yesterday. Some refugees had had to be forced into police vehicles at gunpoint.

## "SOME TIME"

The source said some of those arrested had been living in Swaziland for 20 years. Wives of men arrested had been told by police that their husbands would be detained "for quite some time".

The arrests are seen here as linked with the SADF raid into Maseru, and also as a follow-up to a recent warning that refugees should abide by the laws of the country.

This year has seen a noticeable increase in the number of cases of possession of arms of war by ANC members. Arms have included hand grenades, AK 47 rifles and, in some cases, landmines.

Swaziland's stand has long been that the country must not be used as a springboard for attacks into other countries.

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

(LIA) ROOM 17/12/82  
**ANC arrests in Swazi raids**

IN A series of synchronised pre-dawn raids yesterday Swazi police and troops detained members and supporters of the African National Congress in what may be a prelude to banning ANC activities in the country.

Armed police and soldiers dressed in camouflage uniforms arrested people at their homes in Mbabane and Manzini.

News of the planned raids apparently leaked out earlier this week and many ANC members went into hiding to avoid detention.

Government officials yesterday refused to discuss the action, but about 20 people are believed to have been picked up — though the figure could be far higher, according to a source in Mbabane.

In 1978 there was similar action against the Pan African Congress. Senior members of the PAC were expelled from Swaziland and the organisation's activities were effectively curtailed.

Yesterday's raids came less than a week after ANC

operatives in Maseru were attacked by members of the South African Defence Force.

The South African Government has repeatedly warned neighbouring states not to harbour ANC members who may be planning violence against targets in South Africa.

Sources in Swaziland yesterday said most of the people detained were apparently genuine refugees living and working in the country, and not ANC cadres on their way to South Africa.

A spokesman for the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Mbabane said he had no firm information on the arrests and could not say how many, if any, of those detained were registered refugees. He said there were 7 500 registered refugees from South Africa in Swaziland.

The Swazi Government has had an uneasy relationship with the ANC for a number of years. A number of ANC members have been convicted of illegal arms possession and some have been

expelled from the country.

Draft legislation was recently introduced into the Swazi Parliament to tighten laws on illegal arms possession in what was seen as a move directed at the ANC.

Reacting to the Maseru raid, the Swazi Foreign Minister Mr R V Dlamini — in an obvious reference to the ANC — criticised people who accepted Swaziland's hospitality and then used the country as a base to launch attacks on her neighbours with whom Swaziland wanted peace.

# 25 detained (TIA) as ANC flee (SIA) Swazi police *staw*

17/12/82  
The Star's Africa News Service

MBABANE—Swaziland police were today hunting ANC members who slipped through a net apparently intended to put the organisation in the country out of action. Commissioner of Police Mr Titus Msibi said 25 ANC members were detained in a widespread operation that began early yesterday.

Another police source said a number of other ANC members escaped after having apparently been tipped off about the raid.

The number of ANC members detained in the operation had earlier been put at about 100. About 300 ANC members are believed to have been living in Swaziland.

Police were reported to have carried arms and teargas as they swooped on listed ANC residences.

Those detained are believed to be held in a former refugee camp near the University of Lesotho.

Observers said the scope of the police operation indicated that it was intended to pull in the main body of ANC militants in Swaziland.

The arrests are seen here as being connected with the South African Defence Force raid into Maseru.

### ARMS OF WAR

During the past year there has been a noticeable increase in the number of cases of possession of arms of war by ANC members. The arms have included large numbers of hand grenades, AK 47 rifles, and in some cases, land mines.

Swaziland's stand, summed up by Foreign Minister Mr Richard Dlamini just after the Maseru raid, has long been that the country must not be used as a springboard for attacks into neighbouring countries.

He summed up the South African action in Lesotho as "a lesson to Africa and the world."

A foreign diplomat here commented that it was significant that the arrests came on the Day of the Vow in South Africa.

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Cape Times 17/12/82

# Police, troops swoop on ANC in Swaziland

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a series of synchronized pre-dawn raids yesterday, Swazi police and troops detained members and supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) in what might be a prelude to banning the group's activities in the country.

The raids occurred at people's homes in Mbabane and Manzini.

Apparently news of the planned raids leaked out earlier this week and many ANC members went into hiding.

Government officials refused to discuss the action yesterday, but about

20 people are believed to have been picked up — although a source close to the exiles said more than 100 people were being held.

In 1978 there was similar action against the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) before senior members of the PAC were expelled from Swaziland and the organization's activities effectively curtailed.

Yesterday's raids came less than a week after ANC members in Maseru were attacked by members of the South African Defence Force.

Sources in Swaziland said yesterday most of the people detained were ap-

parently genuine refugees living and working in the country and not ANC cadres.

A spokesman in Mbabane, for the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, said he had no firm information on the arrests.

In his reaction to the Maseru raid, the Swazi Foreign Minister, Mr R V Dlamini — in an obvious reference to the ANC — criticized people who accepted Swaziland's hospitality and then used the country as a base to launch attacks on her neighbours, with whom Swaziland wanted peace.

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# Salutes

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## Maseru dead

Mercury Reporter

SALUTES, freedom songs and fiery speeches marked a meeting held in Durban's APS Hall yesterday to mourn the dead in the recent raid on the ANC in Maseru by the South African Defence Force.

And when the names of about 40 blacks killed in the raid were read out, more than 500 blacks and many Indians and whites at the meeting — called jointly by the Release Mandela Committee and the Natal Indian Congress — stood in absolute silence, many with bowed heads.

Proceedings were orderly throughout and there were no uniformed policemen present.

One speaker, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Archbishop of Durban, described last week's events in Maseru as a 'bloodbath' and said it had stained the history of southern Africa.

It seemed incredible, he said, that although many South Africans realised that 'on-going injustices' would invariably lead to bloodshed, strife and even war, they would not learn lessons from the Maseru happenings.

### Bodies

'The sense of justice grows and cannot be suppressed,' he said, adding he wondered even if God would recognise His image in some men.

Earlier, chairman Paul David said an application had been made to Pretoria for permission to bring the bodies of some of the slain South Africans for local burial.

Mr David said the funerals of others would take place in Lesotho on Sunday and arrangements were being made for special buses to leave Durban for Maseru for anyone wishing to attend the funerals.

Speaker after speaker condemned South Africa for the raid, and Mr Archie Gumede, chairman of the Release Mandela Committee, said it was astonishing that there were some people who actually congratulated the Government on what had taken place in Maseru.

'How South Africa can still regard itself as a Christian country is beyond me,' he said.

# SA lashes Britain over raid

7/12/82  
By Donald Knowler, *Stew*  
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — South Africa last night accused the British Government of "turning a blind eye" on terrorist attacks against the Republic.

Britain was the only Western country mentioned by name when South Africa's ambassador to the United Nations, Mr David Steward, bitterly criticised the Security Council for not giving Pretoria a chance to speak before a vote was taken condemning South Africa's raid last week on members of the African National Congress (ANC) based in Lesotho.

Mr Steward said it was disturbing that members of the Security Council had adopted a resolution which ignored the role played by the ANC in the Lesotho raid issue.

For more reports on the Maseru raid see also Pages 2, 14 and 23.

"The representative of the United Kingdom, in particular, seemed to be quite content to turn a blind eye to terrorist attacks against South Africa," said Mr. Steward, describing proceedings leading to the Security Council vote on Wednesday.

"Evidently — and incredibly — as though expects the Republic to do likewise — as though South Africa were under some moral obligation to endure such attacks without defending itself.

"The representative of the United Kingdom also referred to the 'statesmanship and restraint' of Lesotho.

"Does the United Kingdom really believe that Lesotho showed statesmanship and restraint when it accused the Republic of trying to overrun and rule its neighbours as its colonies?

"And, while we are on the subject, what, may we ask, did Britain do to prepare Lesotho for independence and to ensure that it would be a

To Page 3, Col 4

Peace is  
the only  
way, SA  
is told

NEW YORK — The United States, deploring South Africa's raid into Lesotho, said yesterday it had made "eminently clear" to Pretoria that the problems of Southern Africa can be solved only by peaceful means.

"Violence, from whatever quarter, must be condemned," the US Ambassador, Mr Charles M Lichenstein, told the UN Security Council, adding:

"Those who would promote or resort to violence must know that the consequence can only be more violence, an escalating cycle that presents only obstacles to solving real problems.

## CONSEQUENCES

"More than most countries, South Africa surely must appreciate the consequences of further eroding international restraints against the use of violence."

Mr Lichenstein spoke in explanation of Wednesday's vote, in which the US joined with the 14 other council members in strongly condemning last Thursday's pre-dawn raid on exiles in Maseru.

The envoy said: "All concerned, including South Africa, must

To Page 3, Col 3

# America SA attacks deplores Britain in UN raid by SA

▶ From page 1

▶ from page 1

realise that violence cannot and will not solve the grave problems that confront the peoples of Southern Africa.

"The only appropriate means of solving the problems of this and all other regions of the world are peaceful negotiation and conciliation."

## SOLUTION

Mr Lichenstein said his government was making "strenuous efforts to promote practical, negotiated solutions to the problems of Southern Africa."

He referred to US involvement in the process to bring independence to Namibia.

"Whatever South Africa's concerns may have been, however legitimate they may have seemed, we cannot believe that they could not have been resolved through diplomacy or that they could in any way justify this violation of Lesotho's sovereignty and the resulting loss of innocent life."

The Ugandan Ambassador, Mr. Clara Otunnu, the unofficial leader of the council's Third World group, said the council would "have to consider more definite measures beyond the tokenism of resolutions." — Associated Press/Sapa.

able state. What, indeed, is it doing now to assist Lesotho?"

Mr Steward went on to warn Lesotho that the jobs of its citizens working in South Africa would be in jeopardy if the Lesotho Government continued to harbour terrorists.

He said South Africa would consider tightening border controls if Lesotho failed to clamp down on the activities of the ANC.

At the same time, he attacked the United Nations for "urging war" in Southern Africa and "forgetting peace."

Mr Steward spent a large part of his 30-minute speech detailing Lesotho's economic dependence on South Africa and said his Government wanted to make an "urgent appeal to Lesotho to reconsider its attitude to the harbouring of terrorists."

He said Pretoria believed that the majority of Basotho did not support the Lesotho Government in the stand it was taking regarding the ANC.

Mr Steward explained that about half the adult male population of Lesotho — 141 000 Basotho — were employed in South Africa and the remittance of their wages made up more than 40 percent of Lesotho's Gross National Product.

He said that, if Lesotho did not heed South Africa's advice, "it would be a matter of great regret to the South African Government were it to be compelled to consider instituting more restrictive measures to control movement across the border."

## ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

Mr Steward, who leaves tonight for a new posting in Pretoria, told the Security Council that South Africa sought economic co-operation and peaceful co-existence with neighbouring black states, including Lesotho, and had helped the latter with aid programmes.

He said allegations that South Africa wished to destabilise the sub-continent were manifestly fabricated and South Africa remained the perennial scapegoat for governments unwilling and unable to face their own political and economic realities.

On Wednesday the Security Council ordered South Africa to pay reparation to Lesotho for the raid in a unanimous vote which also condemned South Africa for its "aggressive act."

Referring to recent UN resolutions commending the ANC for intensifying its campaign against South Africa, Mr Steward said, "By a distorted brand of logic, clandestine marauders are applauded when committing acts of violence. When counter-action follows, they are transformed into refugees."



# Maseru raid victims' burial

**HARARE** — The funeral of the more than 40 ANC exiles and Lesotho citizens who died during the South African raid on Maseru is likely to be held on Sunday, according to exile sources.

Confirmation of the date is still being awaited from the Lesotho Government however.

Meanwhile exile

sources have said that, at this stage, it appears as though no South African refugees were abducted by South African forces during the raid.

In the Matola raid into Mozambique in January last year three men were captured by South African Government forces.

In another development, the ANC's

external mission has disclosed that ANC President Mr Oliver Tambo has sent a message to the President of the UN Security Council. The council is preparing for an emergency debate called by Lesotho on the raid.

The South African dead are:

Mr Zola Noini (47); Mr Mzwandile Fazzie; Dr Bantwini Ngciphe;

Mr Titus Jobo; Mr Sidney Mavimbela (50); Mr Alfred Marwangana, Mr Mzukisi Marwangana; Mr Tandizwa Marwangana; Mr Lizothile Dyani (36); Mr Welendaba Gova (42); Mr Toto Biza (20); Mr Vuyeni ibi (23); Mr Cecil Pakamisa Nxitho (22); Mr Michael Mlenze (24); Mr Dumisani Matandela (21); Mr Mbuso Bunganshe (19); Mr Siopho Notana (28); Mr Samson Kana (19); Mr Themba Mzibuko (28); Mr Isaac "Rocks" Mailhare (20); Mr Floyd Ts'epo Makoa (21); Mr Zibi Siphon Mchunu; Mr Nyukile Trom (50) who according to the SADF is also known as Jackson Tayo, Mr Kentridge Morena Lehlohomolo Moloisane (25); Mr Patrick Utukile Moholo (21); Mr

Lingwa "Walk Tall" Md-lankomo; Mr Sibusiso Khuzwayo (25); Mr David Sello; Mr Jason Gene Gugushe (29).

In addition the ANC has said the following four people were killed, but their names have not been confirmed by Lesotho:

Mr Terror Mlangena; Mr Titus Mngoma; Mr Phakemile Moongoshe;

Mr Jackson Tayo. The Lesotho dead are:

Mr Mapoloko Sehlabaka; Mr Matumo Ralebitso; a woman whose Christian name is Mapuleng; Mr Motlatsi Hlalele; Mrs Anna Hlalele and her son Pondo Hlalele; Mr Peter Tsenolj; Mr Sefate Jafeta; Mrs Meteboho Jafeta and her son Teboho and Mrs Florence Matseliso.

## Jo'burg scooter queen

**THE Johannesburg Scooters Drivers' Association** will hold a beauty contest in search of their 1983 Queen at the Dube YWCA on Sunday, December 19.

The chairman of the association, Mr Paul Mhlayivana said as a supporting programme they would also stage two fashion shows — one on hair styles and one on clothes featuring outfits.

Tickets at R5 will be available from the door at 3 pm.

## 'Klue had vital info' - SA

**MR JOSEPH KLUE**, the official at the South African Embassy in London who had to leave Britain for alleged spying activities, was "in possession of important information concerning violence planned by the African National Congress in respect of South Africa", South Africa has alleged.

Reacting to a British Government request for the waiver of Mr Klue's immunity, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha said in a statement in Pretoria yesterday that suggestions that Mr Klue was spying against Britain were totally unfounded.

## Daveyton cop's funeral

**THE first black station commander in Daveyton, near Benoni, Lt Col Mbusi Patrick Mbatha, who died last week after a long illness, will be buried tomorrow in Natal.**

Lt Col Mbatha (52), of 160 Makigwane Street, died on December 8.

W/O N Xaba, the acting station commander in Daveyton, speaking on behalf of the Mbatha family, said a memorial service would be held...

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# Govt urged to pay Lesotho damages

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

SOUTH AFRICA should take the "positive" step of offering Lesotho compensation for loss of life to Lesotho nationals and damage to property in Lesotho, Professor John Barratt, director-general of the Institute of International Affairs, said yesterday.

He was commenting on the UN Security Council resolution condemning South Africa for last week's raid into Lesotho and ordering Pretoria to pay compensation to Lesotho for loss of life and destruction of property.

The condemnation came before the South African Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr David Steward, had been given an opportunity to reply to charges against South Africa of "naked terrorism" made by King Moshoeshoe of Lesotho.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday labelled the Security Council action a violation of its own

charter, which enshrines the right of reply.

The council was thus not even interested in hearing South Africa's case, despite the fact that it knew that the South African representative had requested in writing to be heard and had a right to be heard under Article 32 of the United Nations Charter," Mr Botha said.

Prof Barratt agreed South Africa should have been given the right of reply but still felt South Africa should offer to compensate Lesotho for loss of life of its nationals and damage to its property.

Recalling that the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, had already expressed regret about the death of Lesotho citizens during the raid, and thus indirectly created a climate in which an offer could be made without loss of face, he said reparation would benefit South Africa in several ways.

"We are in danger of using up all our credit with the United States and an offer to compensate Lesotho would reverse the trend," he said.

Prof Barratt described Mr Perez de

Cuellar as a "moderate" who had been "very careful not to blame South Africa" in his attempt to bring a peaceful end to the war in South West Africa.

In a statement immediately after the raid Gen Viljoen expressed regret that seven Lesotho nationals had been killed in "crossfire" during the raid. Lesotho later put the number of Lesotho dead at 12.

In his statement yesterday Mr Botha implicitly criticised Western countries for identifying with the Security Council decision and the manner in which it was adopted.

Claiming that states with representation in South Africa knew what was happening in the country, Mr Botha said he hoped they would feel "shame" when they tried to reconcile the truth with the decision taken in the Security Council.

But, whether they felt shame or not, South Africa would not diverge from its policy of not tolerating the granting of shelter by neighbouring states to "terrorists" involved in the planning and execution of sabotage and violence

## Big welcome planned for king

By MIKE PITSO  
Mail Africa Bureau

MASERU. — King Moshoeshoe II returns to Maseru at 11am today to a welcome by the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, Cabinet Ministers, members of the Diplomatic Corps and of the public, after addressing the United Nations on Tuesday.

In a statement broadcast by Radio Lesotho yesterday, the Prime Minister said the government and people of Lesotho were thankful for the support given by all their friends during the current difficulties.

Radio Lesotho's commen-

tary last night said the unanimous condemnation of South Africa by the Security Council in the United Nations, following last week's raid by the South African Defence Force, was a victory for Lesotho in particular and for peace in the world in generally.

While South Africa looked upon its military might and brute force as an instrument for conducting relations between people, the Security Council, by its resolution, had reaffirmed that the rest of humanity still believed in peace as the norm of international relations, it said.

Lesotho citizens, South

African refugees, visitors and students who were killed in the raid will be buried in different parts of Lesotho on Saturday and Sunday.

The Lesotho Council of Churches will bury all the South Africans in a special burial plot being given by the principal chiefs of Thaba Bosiu.

The parents of Isaac Mathare, 19, and Floyd Makoa, 19, both from Soweto, have been refused permission by the South African authorities to bring the bodies of their sons to Soweto for burial.

Sapa reports that a five-man delegation of top offi-

cials of the African National Congress arrived in Maseru yesterday to attend the mass funeral on Sunday. The men, who arrived on a scheduled flight, said they were from ANC offices in Maputo and Lusaka.

The agency says that the European Economic Community has donated R82 000 in emergency assistance for victims of the raid. The Lesotho representative of the EEC, Mr Tue Rohrsted, announced in Maseru yesterday that the assistance would "go towards quickly remedying the human and social sufferings as a result of the South African raid."

### Cheaper by the chicken

THE wholesale price of frozen chicken will be reduced by 15c/kg from December 20, the South African Poultry Association said in a statement yesterday.

The coastal price will be about R1,30/kg, and the inland price R1,34/kg. — Sapa.

## Blast may have been sabotage

Mall Reporter

POLICE yesterday were investigating the possibility of sabotage after a blast ripped through two transformers at Escom's Annandale sub-station, causing damaged estimated at between R80 000 and R100 000.

The blast occurred at the sub-station — near Grasmere, south of Johannesburg — between 3am and 3.30am yesterday.

A spokesman for Escom said bomb disposal experts

and members of the Security Police had combed the area throughout yesterday.

The sub-station was unmanned at the time of the blast.

The spokesman said last night one transformer had already been replaced and the second would be installed on Friday.

He said one transformer was capable of carrying the load supplied to Grasmere and Nancefield.

A police spokesman said all possible causes were being investigated.

Sabotage had not been ruled out.

A Mail team visited the site yesterday afternoon and found three Escom personnel on duty.

The Mail team could not ascertain from them whether a large hole in one of the boundary fences — which appeared to have been hastily patched up — was new.

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The Minister of For  
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Merry Christmas  
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# DION

Brings You a Bagful of  
Christmas SAVINGS ON



By Eugene Saldanha

The South African Defence Force raid into Lesotho could not have been aimed at African National Congress military bases because 31 of the people killed were not members of the ANC, Bishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

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**Tutu doubts motive for Maseru raid** 17/12/82

He was addressing more than 800 people at a memorial service for the members of the ANC and the Basotho citizens killed in the raid last week.

Bishop Tutu told the meeting that the Lesotho Government had stated repeatedly in the past that it would not allow Lesotho to be used as a springboard for attacks against

South Africa. It was inconceivable that Lesotho would allow the ANC to set up military bases in Maseru, which was easily accessible to South African forces.

"Moreover, 19 of the people killed were bona fide Lesotho citizens, and 12 were Basotho. The fact people were unarmed and most were sleeping when they were killed

can only mean the SADF is embarking on a campaign of deliberate disinformation," Bishop Tutu said.

"Many white people are congratulating themselves for the raid, but many blacks — especially those who lost relatives in the raid — regard it as a tragic event. Even some of the newspapers who we thought were

committed to justice in this country have shown where their true colours lie by failing to censure the SADF."

Bishop Tutu added that members of the ANC would willingly throw down their arms if the South African government dismantled apartheid.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said

many white South Africans were increasingly beginning to believe that violence was the ultimate solution.

"In World War 2 one could save one's life by waving a white flag at the enemy. But in Maseru, people were killed while sleeping. The Government is forcing black people towards violence with its actions."

**Maseru raid vile says church leader**

Own Correspondent  
 CAPE TOWN — The South African Defence Force raid into Lesotho last week was a vile act against the children of this land, who could no longer find a home in South Africa, said the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, yesterday.

Addressing about 600 people mourning the deaths of 42 South African exiles and Lesotho citizens at the Church of the Resurrection in Bonteheuwel, Dr Boesak said the outrageous raid had brought home the fact that South Africa was engaged in a civil war.

As long as apartheid remained there would be violence.

"As long as the privileges of a few are defended against the rights of the many we

shall have this violence," he said.

Dr Boesak said the people to be blamed were not only those soldiers who had carried out the raid, but those in whose name it was done.

Professor Mike Savage, of the sociology department of the University of Cape Town, said the people killed in the Lesotho raid were seen not as enemies but as martyrs by the rest of the world and a large section of the South African population.

"The South African invasion of Lesotho has worsened a spiral of violence. Up to now the military wing of the ANC, unlike the SADF, has held back from indiscriminate actions that could involve civilians," Professor Savage said.

"It is likely this policy of the ANC will continue, but the arena

**50 in demo over Lesotho**

The Star Bureau  
 WASHINGTON — About 50 people carrying lighted candles protested near the South African Embassy here last night over South Africa's raid into Lesotho.

At one stage, the South African Ambassador, Mr Brand Fourie, drove slowly past the group in his

official car but no strators recognised. Police kept in the protesters marching on the pavement, and carrying procession was organised by the Africa Organisation active anti-apartheid Washington.

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17/12/82

# Tutu doubts motive for Maseru raid



Bishop Tutu ... a campaign of disinformation.

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## Maseru raid vile act, says church leader

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"It is likely this policy of the ANC will continue, but the arena

of armed struggle will be enlarged."

There was loud applause when Professor Savage slammed the official PFP statement on the raid made by Mr Philip Myburg, PFP spokesman on defence, who said South Africa had no choice but to carry out a pre-emptive strike.

"If this is what PFP leaders believe then it places them squarely in the camp of those prepared to take any steps whatever to defend white privilege and supremacy."

Other speakers included Moulana Faroek Essack, Anton Richman, president of the Student Representative Council at UCT, Christmas Tinto, a former political prisoner, Dr Margaret Nash of the Black Sash, Mrs Annie Zihlangu, president of the United Women's Organisation and the Rev H S Marawu of the African Reformed Church.

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official car but none of the demonstrators recognised him.

Police kept in the background as the protesters marched in a circle on the pavement, chanting slogans and carrying posters. The demonstration was organised by the Trans-Africa Organisation, one of the most active anti-apartheid bodies in Washington.

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# Attack victim was visiting say friends

CAPE TOWN TIMES 17/12/81

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — One of those people killed during the South African attack on suspected ANC bases in Maseru only intended spending a night in Maseru according to his family and friends.

They said that Dr Norman Ngcipe, an intern at Edendale Hospital, had taken friends to Maseru and planned to spend a night there before returning to Maritzburg.

The Rev Simon Gqubule, a minister in the Methodist Church in Edendale, said he had known the 24-year-old doctor for about a year.

He said that Dr Ngcipe had gone to visit his mother in Somerset East, picked up some friends in East London and spent a night in Maseru where he was killed early the following morning when the South Africans struck.

"How does one distinguish between the so-called terrorists and people who just spend the night?" Mr Gqubule said.

Dr Ngcipe's aunt, Mr Mrs Regina Ngcipe, who is a domestic worker in Maritzburg was reported to have fainted when she read of her nephew's death.

"He was no terrorist — he was a very shy boy and was never mixed up with things like that," she was quoted as saying.

A member of a Durban legal firm, which has been instructed to arrange the return of Dr Ngcipe's body, said it would be taken to Somerset East. He confirmed that the body had been positively identified.

CAPE TIMES 8/12/82

# Cathedral closed to solidarity fast

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Staff Reporter

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A 48-HOUR fast and vigil, expressing solidarity with the families of those killed in the recent South African raid into Lesotho, shifted venues last night after the Dean of St George's Cathedral, the Very Rev Edward King, withdrew use of the cathedral.

Asked for comment, Dean King said the vigil had been cancelled because of a newspaper report linking the clergy with the African National Congress.

In consultation with the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Philip Russell, he had withdrawn the use of the cathedral after reading the report, headed "Cler-

gy plan fast for ANC".

"I felt I was misinformed by the organizers and we don't want to hold any vigils or fasts for any political movement," he said.

Initially he had supported the vigil, which was to have been held in solidarity with "those who had suffered for peace and justice in the country".

The vigil is being held instead at the Good Shepherd Church, in Maitland, and will end at 4pm on Sunday.

A spokesman for the organizers said the vigil was to express solidarity with the people killed in the raid, and condemnation of the act. Supporters of the vigil would be welcome at any time.

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# Raid victim's family unable to travel

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D-Dispatch  
18/12/87

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The mother and relatives of a doctor killed in the South African Defence Force raid in Lesotho last week returned to their Somerset East home yesterday afternoon after finding they could not get to Lesotho to identify the dead man's body.

The contingent of five people included Mrs Cynthia Thembisa Ngcipe, Dr Norman Ngcipe's mother, and her sister, Mrs Mavis Tesani.

Mrs Ngcipe said that after making arrangements through lawyers to have her son's body buried in Somerset East, they decided to travel to Lesotho to identify the body before it could be released for transfer to South Africa.

When they checked at the Commissioner's office in Somerset East they were told travel documents were no longer issued from there.

"We contacted the Ciskei Consul-General in Port Elizabeth, Mr W. M. Maku, and he suggested we travel to Zwelitsha and arrange for travel documents from there as it would be costly to travel to Port Elizabeth and then back to Lesotho," Mrs Ngcipe said.

On arrival in Zwelitsha they were referred to a Mr Madikane who referred them to a Miss Gcilitshana in the passport control office.

Miss Gcilitshana referred the matter to the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services (CCIS) for clearance.

"There we were asked many questions about the ANC and told the Ciskei Government had nothing to do with Lesotho."

After that they tried unsuccessfully to contact the Commander-in-Chief of State Security, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe.

They tried to get to the

passport control office again after speaking to the Director-General of Internal Affairs, Mr W. Grieb, who suggested they see Miss Gcilitshana.

Miss Gcilitshana, after consulting with Mr Grieb, told them they could not issue any passports without clearance from the CCIS.

Last night General Sebe said he would comment on the matter when he had consulted the officials concerned.

Meanwhile a Durban attorney acting for the Ngcipe and Fazzie families for the return of the bodies of Dr Ngcipe and Mr Mzwanele Fazzie said she had not received any direct word clearing the return of the bodies.

"I had contact with the Lesotho Department of Foreign Affairs earlier but now I can't get anyone there and there has been no clearance," she said.

What worried her was the possibility of a refusal next week after the burial tomorrow of others killed in raid.

Mr Fazzie's father, Mr C. J. Fazzie, of Duncan Village, drove with relatives to Lesotho yesterday to identify his son's body.

● At least one of the families of two Soweto people who were killed in Maseru has been refused permission to bury their son in South Africa.

A relative of Mr Siphon Mchunu, 30, of Dube, said yesterday permission had been refused for his body to be brought home for burial. Instead he will be buried in Lesotho alongside other refugees and Basotho at 7am tomorrow.

The family of the other raid victim, Mr Rocks Matlhare, 20, of Rockville, was still engaged in a last ditch attempt to get authorities to allow the body to be transported back to South Africa. — DDR-DDC.



Mrs Ngcipe waits in King William's Town yesterday.

## Leaders condemn military strike

**LUSAKA** — African leaders and their trade ministers ended a two-day meeting in Lusaka yesterday with a strong condemnation of the South African raid into Lesotho last week.

A communique issued at the end of the inaugural meeting of the East and Southern African Preferential Trade Area described the military strike as "savage unprovoked aggression".

The meeting, attended by heads of state or government from seven nations and ministerial or official delegations from 11 others, had earlier heard an account of the Maseru raid from Lesotho's Trade and Industry Minister, Mr Mooki Molapo.

On the meeting itself, the communique said the authority endorsed decisions which effectively launched the functional phase of the PTA, an economic bloc created in collaboration with the United Nations economic commission for Africa.

The meeting also decided to adopt a work programme and budget for next year.

● A scheduled SAA flight from Jan Smuts airport to Maseru was diverted to Bloemfontein yesterday because of the arrival of King Moshoeshoe II from his visit to the UN. — SAPA-DDC.





# ie scenes the southern African conflict goes on

on the ANC in Lesotho  
warnings to neighbouring  
in a much broader conflict  
omatic, economic and mil-

e-flexing has sent tremors  
ations in several southern  
ambiguous warning of the  
porting the African Nation-

that followed the Maseru  
ador to the United Nations  
Lesotho that if the kingdom  
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ord to fire the 141 000 Ba-  
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opments over the past fort-  
of an increasingly aggres-  
sing liberal use of olive



□ Aftermath of the South African raid on Ma-  
seru. RIGHT: Robert Mugabe ... ironic dilemma



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S. Tribune 19/12/82

# After Maseru ... the war of nerves

By BRENDAN NICHOLSON: Tribune Africa News Service

army was housed and  
supported during the  
Rhodesian war by Mo-  
zambique, which says its  
economy suffered damage  
running to several  
hundred million rand  
through the sanctions it  
applied against Ian  
Smith's Government and  
in cross-border raids by  
Rhodesian troops.

For Mugabe to do for  
the ANC what Mozambi-  
que did for him would be  
to invite damage on a  
similar scale in Zimbab-  
we.

Apart from the  
pressure South Africa  
can apply to persuade its  
neighbours not to support  
guerrilla operations,  
there is a very real fear  
in these countries of com-  
paratively small popula-  
tion that any or all of  
them could be turned into  
an "African Lebanon" if  
a conflict in South Africa

spilled over the Repub-  
lic's borders.

Such a reluctance to  
become embroiled in an  
armed conflict may be  
behind the Swazi Govern-  
ment's crackdown on the  
ANC which began several  
weeks before the Maseru  
raid and which involved  
the imposition of harsher  
penalties on anyone  
caught carrying arms of  
war.

It is not clear whether  
the Swazi police opera-  
tion, mounted early on  
Thursday to round up the  
core of the ANC in the  
Mbabane area, had been  
planned for some time or  
was carried out to avoid  
a repetition of the Ma-  
seru raid.

The Under-Secretary  
in the Deputy Prime Min-  
isters Office, Prince Su-  
lumlomo, said the deten-  
tions were a precaution  
against such an attack

and were carried out for  
the protection of the  
guerrillas as well as for  
the good of Swaziland.

This too reflects the di-  
lemma of governments  
which may sympathise  
with the guerrillas but  
which do not have the  
military resources to  
guarantee their protec-  
tion.

In the past such guer-  
rillas have sought safety  
in areas of dense popula-  
tion but the deaths of 11  
Basotho civilians demon-  
strated the flaws in that  
strategy.

If neighbouring gov-  
ernments do move them  
out into sparsely-populat-  
ed areas they are, as a  
nationalist in Gaborone  
explained, "likely to be  
picked off at leisure by  
South African troops".

South Africa's position  
was bluntly stated by Mr

Pik Botha early this  
month in reply to a Mo-  
zambican claim that Pre-  
toria was massing troops  
on its border near Koma-  
tiport.

Mr Botha referred in  
his statement to a mes-  
sage conveyed to Mapu-  
to in September this year  
in which Mozambique  
was warned that "acts of  
aggression across bor-  
ders would not be to-  
lerated".

"I wish to emphasise  
once again that acts of  
violence by the ANC, who  
enjoy facilities in Mo-  
zambique, may lead to  
follow-up operations with  
resulting serious implica-  
tions for the people of the  
region."

Mr Botha urged the  
Mozambican Govern-  
ment not to give facilities  
to any organisation plan-  
ning acts of violence  
against South Africa "or

any other country in our  
region".

Mr Botha said Cuban  
President Fidel Castro  
had written to the heads  
of state of the Non-  
Aligned Movement stat-  
ing that the Mozambican  
Government had advised  
him that South African  
troops were gathering on  
its borders.

"If this present ma-  
noeuvre on the part of  
the President of Cuba  
should in any way be a  
pretext for Cuba to pre-  
pare the way for the in-  
troduction of troops into  
Mozambique, the South-  
African Government rei-  
terates emphatically that  
such an eventuality will  
not be tolerated.

"South Africa likewise  
does not and will not tol-  
erate the operations of  
the ANC across the bor-  
der into South Africa  
from Mozambique," Mr  
Botha said.

# The plot to kill top ANC leaders

By HOWARD BARRELL

**HARARE:** The blow struck against the ANC in Lesotho was light compared to the fate that nearly befell the movement in early 1981 when, according to sources, a plot to assassinate its entire Lusaka-based leadership was uncovered.

ANC security personnel claim they then exposed a number of black agents (whom they allege were South African) who had infiltrated the movement and were working towards the assassination of the organisation's leadership.

The agents are said to have confessed to being government spies, and to have been linked to a network of other South African agents operating in the frontline states, the sources add.

The bulk of the black agents, some of whom said they had been trained at a special spy school in South Africa, had been working undercover in Lusaka, but others were stationed in other frontline states, the sources say.

The plot would have meant the death of ANC president Oliver Tambo, and other members of the organisation's national executive committee.

ANC security regarded the foiling of the plot as a major coup.

Many of the agents, believed to total at least 12, had since been "turned", the sources said.

The Maseru raid, obviously based on considerable intelligence work by the Pretoria Government, has served to high-light the ongoing spy-versus-spy struggle in the shadows being fought both inside South Africa and in frontline and neighbouring states.

Another incident which came to light in September last year was an alleged plot to assassinate the former representative of the PAC in Lesotho, Mr Naphtalie Sizamba, according to the sources.

If true, the incident reveals some good intelligence on the part of the Pretoria Government.

A PAC member, a Mr Tyhibilika, who had been expelled from Lesotho as an undesirable (or spy) several weeks before, turned up at Mr Sizamba's house in early September with a soviet-made Tokarev pistol.

He had, he told Mr Sidzamba, been sent with the Tokarev and two bombs by a colonel based in Bloemfontein, to assassinate the PAC representative and two members of the ANC. Mr Tyhibilika claimed he had been shown a map of Maseru by the colonel on which every house or flat belonging to South African refugees was identified.

In addition, he said, he had been shown a photograph of exiled former Port Elizabeth community and workers' leader, Thozamile Botha, asleep in his bed in his house in Maseru, which the colonel said, had been taken by one of his agents.

Mr Botha joined the ANC's external mission after fleeing from South Africa following a period in detention and being served with a banning order.

When last heard of Mr Tyhibilika was in Tanzania, back with the PAC there.

Mr Sizamba was sacked as PAC representative in March this year on the orders of the PAC's Dar Es Salaam-based central committee. His sacking and replacement has been the major reason behind fighting between PAC factions in Lesotho.

# Behind the scenes the south

THE South African attack on the ANC in Lesotho and Pretoria's recent blunt warnings to neighbouring black states are flashes from a much broader conflict raging out of sight on the diplomatic, economic and military fronts.

The South African muscle-flexing has sent tremors through the economic foundations in several southern African capitals in an unambiguous warning of the price to be paid by those supporting the African National Congress.

In response to the uproar that followed the Maseru raid, South Africa's Ambassador to the United Nations Mr David Steward, warned Lesotho that if the kingdom continued to "harbour terrorists" then the jobs of its citizens working in the Republic would be placed in jeopardy.

If South Africa could afford to fire the 141 000 Basothos who work, for the most part, on the Reef mines the effect on Lesotho's economy would be disastrous.

Wages earned by the miners comprise 40 percent of Lesotho's gross national product and a huge proportion of the landlocked nation's foreign exchange.

A bizarre tangle of developments over the past fortnight point to the evolution of an increasingly aggressive foreign policy combining liberal use of olive branch, carrot and club.

The bloody attack on the ANC in Lesotho, that left 42 people dead, came within hours of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's meeting with Angolan representatives in Cape Verde from which it was hoped a solution might emerge to the Namibia impasse.

It is a policy in which economics play an increasing role with most of the surrounding nations dependent on South Africa for a large proportion of their imports.

The vulnerability of Zimbabwe, to what Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's Government sees as economic blackmail, was illustrated dramatically by the sabotage of the Beira fuel tank farm from which flows most of Zimbabwe's petrol.

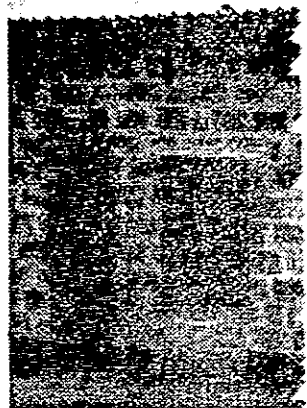
Faced with a fuel crisis over the Christmas holidays, Harare officials may have to come cap in hand to Pretoria for emergency supplies.

Responsibility for the attack was claimed by the anti-Frelimo Mozambique National Resistance, which President Samora Machel's Government says is backed by South Africa.

The SADF has described the claim as "ludicrous".

Mr Mugabe's dilemma is particularly ironic.

His Zanla guerrilla



Aftermath of t  
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# After N the wal

By BRENDAN NICHOLSON: Tribune Africa N

army was housed and supported during the Rhodesian war by Mozambique, which says its economy suffered damage running to several hundred million rand through the sanctions it applied against Ian Smith's Government and in cross-border raids by Rhodesian troops.

For Mugabe to do for the ANC what Mozambique did for him would be to invite damage on a similar scale in Zimbabwe.

Apart from the pressure South Africa can apply to persuade its neighbours not to support guerrilla operations, there is a very real fear in these countries of comparatively small population that any or all of them could be turned into an "African Lebanon" if a conflict in South Africa

spilled over the Republic's borders.

Such a reluctance to become embroiled in an armed conflict may be behind the Swazi Government's crackdown on the ANC which began several weeks before the Maseru raid and which involved the imposition of harsher penalties on anyone caught carrying arms of war.

It is not clear whether the Swazi police operation, mounted early on Thursday to round up the core of the ANC in the Mbabane area, had been planned for some time or was carried out to avoid a repetition of the Maseru raid.

The Under-Secretary in the Deputy Prime Ministers Office, Prince Sulumlo, said the detentions were a precaution against such an attack

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in S. Tribune

19/12/82

**Durban**

POLICE have discovered African National Congress arms caches at two places in the vicinity of Durban.

A police spokesman, Colonel Chris Coetzee, said in a statement in Pretoria yesterday that a man and a woman had been arrested in connection with the discoveries.

The caches contained Russian - manufactured arms, ammunition, mines and detonators as well as a large number of documents detailing ANC plans for acts of sabotage and assassination, Colonel Coetzee said.

The statement said that, in the first cache, police had found AK-47 rifles and ammunition, electrical detonators for Russian TG-50 demolition mines, limpet mines, electrical time mechanisms for bombs, electrical detonators, ordinary detonators, Russian-made hand-grenades and a large number of ANC documents. — Sapa.

# Botha pushes Machel on ANC terror bases

By PETER MANN  
Political Correspondent

THE dramatic border summit between Mozambique and South Africa is part of a major political and diplomatic offensive the Government has launched to deny the African National Congress bases and succour in neighbouring states.

Government sources have also disclosed the talks were arranged before South African troops smashed into Maseru last week and followed negotiations aimed at ending cross-border raids by the ANC in an attempt to bring about peace and stability.

The sources take the line that this week's talks at Komatipoort show South Africa's willingness to negotiate with her neighbours and deny they are a result of the Lesotho raid, but it is clear the Government has warned all its neighbours to control the ANC or face the Maseru mailed fist, where raiders hit ANC targets and killed 42, including women and children.

This tough action has already paid dividends in the reaction of the Swazi Government, which swooped on ANC bases in her territory this week.

At the talks were the Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Hans van Dalsen, senior Defence Force officers and representatives of the Mozambique Government.

Gerald L'Ange, editor of the Tribune's Africa News Service, writes that the top-level meeting came soon after Mr Botha warned Maputo that Pretoria would not tolerate ANC operations across the border.

On October 4 Mr Botha repeated an invitation to Mozambique to hold talks on this subject and on allegations that Mozambique troops have in recent months fired across the border into South Africa.

The South African raid into Lesotho on December 8, which followed a similar raid into Mozambique in 1981, must have left little doubt in neighbouring states that Pretoria is deadly serious when it says it will not tolerate ANC violence from sanctuaries across the border.

The meeting came only a week after the historic meeting between South African and Angolan representatives in the Cape Verde Islands. It was held despite Mozambique's strong voice in the chorus of condemnation now being heard in the United Nations General Assembly of South Africa's alleged attempts to destabilise its neighbours.

Mr Botha's offer came in a statement relating to a Mozambican claim that South African troops were being massed along the border near Ressano Garcia.

Denying the Mozambican claim, Mr Botha reiterated South Africa's desire for peace and stability. He recalled that subversive ANC activities from Mozambique that might necessitate counter-measures had been discussed with the Mozambicans on January 15 and February 27 1980 in Maputo and on December 11 1981 at Komatipoort.

Mr Botha said that this September South Africa sent Mozambique a message through the good offices of another country, indicating that acts of aggression across the border would not be tolerated.

The message carried an indirect threat that South Africa might launch more raids on ANC targets in Mozambique such as the one in January 1981 on Matela, Near Maputo, in which 12 ANC members were killed.

Mr Botha warned that South Africa did not tolerate the operations of the ANC across the border into South Africa from Mozambique.

19/12/82 S. Tribune

ANC <sup>11A</sup>

men to

*S. Times*  
attend

19/12/82  
burial

By NORMAN  
CHANDLER

and NEIL HOOPER

TOP leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) were reported to have arrived in Maseru yesterday for the mass funeral, expected tomorrow, of those killed in the SADF raid.

Tight security — and apparent fears for the safety of the ANC leaders — has prevented disclosure of their names, but it is reliably learned that among them is Mr Oliver Tambo, the organisation's president.

Sources say the gathering at the mass funeral will constitute the biggest meeting of ANC supporters for many years.

Tens of thousands of ANC supporters are expected to attend and many countries will send representatives.

Meanwhile, a Canadian professor researching a book on Lesotho has said that a military coup by the Lesotho Para-Military Force (LPF) is imminent.

It could be triggered off if Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan's government is unable to maintain order after the SADF raid.

The professor's view is supported by South African intelligence reports.

### Incident

Professor Calvin Woodward, of the University of New Brunswick in Canada, who is in South Africa to research his book, told the Sunday Times of the possibility of a military coup after a visit to Lesotho and research work he has been carrying out at the University of South Africa.

"The stage is all set. The Lesotho Para-Military Force is strong in the capital, and there can be a coup if any incident comes up and the Lesotho Government isn't able to cope," Professor Woodward said this week.

A senior South African intelligence official confirmed that he too had received reliable information about a possible coup by the LPF.

He claimed most of the officers of the LPF were disillusioned with Chief Jonathan's leadership and were "tired of fighting with South

Africa

# Inquiry call over SA spy ring

Tribune Bureau

## London Bureau

LONDON: Black nationalist groups in London, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and a growing number of MPS are calling for an immediate inquiry into the smashing of a South African spy ring, allegedly masterminded from the South African embassy by expelled military official Warrant Officer Joseph Klue.

Some of the British based groups hostile to Pretoria are calling for the immediate withdrawal of the South African ambassador to London following the one-day Old Bailey trial in which Peter Caselton, the 38-year-old Zimbabwe pilot named in court as a South African agent, was jailed for four years after pleading guilty to conspiracy to burgle African nationalist offices in London.

Edward Aspinall, the 23-year-old "professional burglar" hired for

the job, was sentenced to 18 months. He pleaded guilty to burglary.

A third man, Swedish journalist Bertil Wedin, is still to stand trial.

The courtroom drama started early on Friday with a subdued Aspinall in grey sweatshirt and jeans pleading not guilty, then being persuaded by his counsel, Mrs Lauree Fleischman, to change the plea to guilty.

Caselton, tieless, but in a neat dark suit, stared impassively ahead for most of the trial.

Roy Amlott, prosecuting, recited a catalogue of offences involving three offices, belonging to the ANC, PAC and Swapo, in which maps, documents, card indices, photographs and, on one occasion, a small amount of cash, were stolen.

The plot to steal documents and other items "of interest to South Africa" came to light when Aspinall

was arrested on a drink-drive charge in Liverpool.

He volunteered information about the burglaries to Liverpool police and the anti-terrorist squad was called in.

Mr Amlott read extracts of Aspinall's statement to the police. This included allegations that:

Warrant Officer Klue, working through Aspinall's mother, had put him in touch with Caselton.

Caselton told him South Africa had vast resources. "Money is no object". He gave Aspinall three jobs, and paid him about R1 000 for each break-in.

Mr Amlott went on to name Caselton as a South African agent working with an associate he called "Arthur Clayton" but whom police had revealed to be Major Craig Williamson of the South African Security Police.

Caselton had an aviation business in the

Isle of Man which had done no business in the UK but which was clearly a front for his operations.

A considerable sum of money — around R120 000 — was paid into Caselton's private account in a Surrey bank. The first payment of R20 000 was made by a "C. M. Williamson" in South Africa.

Mr Amlott said all this proved there was substantial funds available and "the vast majority came either directly or indirectly from South Africa."

As the trial progressed, Aspinall emerged as a witless catspaw in a game of international conspiracy. A ferrety little man, in trouble with the law since the age of 15, he was described by the judge, Mr James Miskin, as "a miserable burglar," a man without "the intelligence to have begun to understand precisely what you were up to" and

the "willing, dishonest tool of others."

Then he told the court: "Those who choose to indulge in political stealing or espionage should know full well that if it is discovered it will be immediately and fully punished."

For Caselton, the punishment was clearly more than he had expected. When the sentence was delivered, he turned a sickly colour and slumped. He left the court chewing nervously at his lower lip.

The four-year sentence spelled the end, for a long time at least, of the dreams of Peter John Caselton.

His plan, it was said, was to take to the sea in his R20 000 yacht waiting for him in Surrey.

It was difficult to imagine, now, that this was the same man of whom Aspinall had said worked for "Boss — and I'm a bit afraid of him."

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He also little resembled a soldier of conviction who, after losing his home, business and wife after independence in Mozambique, took up "the fight against communism."

His counsel submitted that Caselton saw himself involved in a legitimate fight against terrorism.

But for all the drama, legal observers here believe that by pleading guilty, Caselton and Aspinall have succeeded in maintaining a veil of secrecy over the full extent of their activities.

Meanwhile, the remaining mystery is the presence of a balding South African lawyer in summer suit and cowboy boots who watched the proceedings with interest. He refused to identify himself to Pressmen, and the South African Embassy later said it had no representative at the trial.

LONDON: They were bo extrovert and in love with life. To their friends, for African beauty queen McCullough and her husband seemed made for each other.

But within a year their was turned into a violent r

And this week McCullough starts a life se the crime she hoped wo both her emotional and he problems. She hired a hi murder her husband in his

Muriel has been du' kiss of death" murders telephone call she made fr to her husband on the ni death. Knowing the hired bought for R16 000 in a pub — would soon enter through a French wind lock she had smashed, "Goodnight, Darling, don't take your sleeping pills."

Within hours, Bill A was dead.

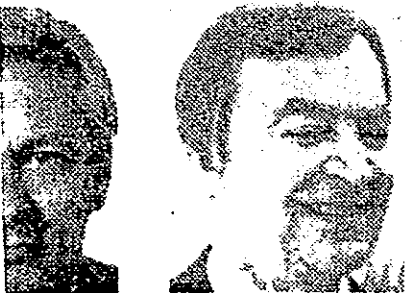
Mrs McCullough Birmingham Crown Court had planned only for her b be beaten up.

This was because McCullough had a hidden s

This calm, prosperous husband in reality had a problem. When drunk, h his wife. She was regular, quently beaten up.

But Mrs McCullough tears when the judge, Caulfield, told her: "If aft upon you by your husband killed in hot blood, no

in the middle...



Plessis, Sanlam chairman (left)

NO DEPOSIT

AN ANC survivor of the Maseru raid entered South Africa this week and gunned down a defector from the organisation in his Soweto home.

The killer was the sole survivor of an ANC assassination squad which was all but wiped out by the South African Defence Force in the raid on ANC targets in Maseru last week.

His victim, who was killed on the Day of the Vow with a Soviet-made AK47, was a former South African Communist Party central committee member, Mr Bartholomew Hlapane.

Mr Hlapane's wife, Matilda, was critically injured in the attack and died later in hospital.

Their 15-year-old daughter, Brenda (known as Pansy), was shot in the neck and is lying paralysed in Baragwanath Hospital.

Mr Hlapane, 64, a former compatriot of Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo and Bram Fischer, was one of several former ANC, SACP and Swapo members who testified in March before the US Senate sub-committee on terrorism hearings, chaired by Senator Jeremiah Denton.

Senator Denton yesterday expressed shock at the news of the deaths of the couple.

"Mr Hlapane's story was told and he has paid the supreme price for his courage and truthfulness," he said.

"It is my fervent hope that the tragic death of Mr Hlapane and his wife will not pass unnoticed, but will strip away from the ANC any vestige of legitimacy and expose its brutally terroristic nature for all the world to see.

"As another witness testified at the hearing, 'One doesn't resign from the organisation; there is only one way out ...'" the senator said.

### Disillusioned

South African Security Branch sources disclosed yesterday that the raid on ANC bases in Maseru last Thursday had been carried out because South Africa knew that an ANC assassination squad, based in Lesotho, was preparing to act against various political targets on Thursday, the Day of the Vow.

The choice of the date, December 16, was significant because it was the 21st anniversary of the foundation of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Hlapane was at the founding meeting of Umkhonto we Sizwe 21 years ago in the Eastern Cape, but, by the mid-1960s, had grown disillusioned with the ANC and defected.

Since then, he has frequently given evidence against the ANC at terrorism trials.



Mr Hlapane outside the White House during his trip to the US

# defector

## Couple gunned down in their Soweto home

was, but before she could answer he had spotted both his father and mother sitting on the bed in their room, and opened fire.

He fired 12 shots in all. Five or six hit her father while her mother was hit twice, in the stomach and breast.

Then the man left.

She immediately telephoned her uncle, Mr George Marumula, who lived nearby.

He took her mother and sister to hospital and then reported the matter to the police.

Mr Marumula said: "When I arrived there were a lot of people there and everyone was crying.

"I went into the bedroom and my brother-in-law was dead on the bed. There was a lot of blood.

### Refused

"My sister was badly injured but still alive. She said: 'Is that you my brother?' That was all she could say.

"I took her and Pansy to hospital, and then reported the matter to the police.

According to the police, Mrs Hlapane died in hospital at about 2am on Friday as she was being taken to the theatre for an emergency operation.

Pansy was shot in the neck and is paralysed.

A police spokesman said yesterday that everything possible was done to provide protection for defectors, but that in the case of Mr Hlapane, he had refused special protection.

# ANC

11A ~~11A~~ S. Times 19/12/82



Beverley, daughter of the murdered couple, with a picture of her mother on her wedding day

In the South African raid on Lesotho, all but one member of the ANC assassination team were killed, and police believed that it was this remaining member who was responsible for the assassination of Mr and Mrs Hlapane, the source said.

Security Branch sources also disclosed for the first time that the Lesotho Government had been given a few days' advance warning of South Africa's intention to attack the ANC bases in Maseru on Thursday and had

been asked not to interfere. Documents found during the raid showed that the plans included assassination attempts on President Matanzima of Transkei and attacks on targets in Ciskei, Transkei and South Africa, including the Bloemfontein railway station.

The source said that if the South African raid on Lesotho had not been carried out, the number of assassinations on Thursday could have been far higher.

Yesterday, Mr Hlapane's 23-year-old daughter, Beverley, told of the shooting at their home at Rockville, Soweto, on Thursday night.

She said that at about 8.20 somebody knocked on the back door. She asked who it was and the man replied that he was Dan.

She opened the door and he pointed a gun at her (the police have identified it as an AK47) ordered her back inside and told her to put on the dining room lights.

He asked where her father

*is a very interesting and subtle, and a bit of practical. It is a feasible but rather "billy" programme without a clear sequence of theories, and applied economics. The student would be apt to "get lost" in the course. It reflects lack of clarity in his own mind.*

# Maseru raid or slays surviv-



Cape Times 20/12/82 (11A) (SA) (254)

# Tambo in Maseru

Own Correspondent



Mr Oliver Tambo in Maseru yesterday.

MASERU. — The African National Congress chief, Mr Oliver Tambo, arrived in Lesotho yesterday, amid a tight clamp-down on security, to pay tribute to the 30 ANC members killed in the recent South African Defence Force raid.

His appearance at a time when most South African refugees are expecting fresh attacks from across the border came as a complete surprise to all but the highest ranks of local government.

Mr Tambo, probably the man most wanted by the SA security police, sat in the Pitso Stadium with international dignitaries and diplomats.

More than 1 000 people gathered at the stadium as 26 of the 30 coffins were laid out before the podium. ANC supporters stood guard over the coffins throughout the seven-hour ceremony.

Mr Tambo was one of the guest speakers but may not be quoted here.

Proceedings began at the local mortuary in Maseru early yesterday morning when ANC supporters loaded the coffins on to two large trucks bearing the black, green and yellow ANC flag.

Carrying slogans and placards, the group of 200 marchers made their way down Maseru's main street to the Pitso Stadium.

Late yesterday afternoon the proces-

sion moved to a nearby clearing where graves had been dug.

● Sapa reports that King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho said at the funeral that the South African Government was trying to intimidate the Government and people of Lesotho into toeing South Africa's line against the ANC, failing which they would face punitive measures.

The king said these punitive measures would not deter the Lesotho Government from continuing its support for political exiles from South Africa.

King Moshoeshoe said the South African Government had threatened to repatriate Basotho workers employed in South Africa and also to curtail the movement of Basothos over the border.

The Prime Minister, Dr Leabua Jonathan, said one of the reasons for South African aggression into Lesotho was that the Lesotho Government allowed the anti-South African United Nations radio to beam broadcasts to the Southern African region from Lesotho.

The Prime Minister said he had challenged the South African Government to send representatives to Lesotho to point out alleged ANC terrorist training bases in Maseru, but they had not accepted this challenge.

● See leading article, page 12

**THE banned African National Congress (ANC) last night claimed responsibility for four explosions at the Koeberg nuclear power station near Melkbosstrand at the weekend.**

Police investigators have disclosed that the blasts on Saturday afternoon and evening and early on Sunday morning were caused by "explosive devices".

The ANC statement, issued in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, said the sabotage was carried out by a unit of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

The movement said the attack was intended "as a salute to all our fallen heroes and imprisoned comrades, including those buried in Maseru this afternoon". Thirty ANC members killed in last week's SADF raid in Lesotho were buried in Maseru yesterday.

Colonel Chris Coetzee, of the South African Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria, said yesterday that the first explosion had occurred at 3.23 on Saturday afternoon in a nuclear auxiliary building on the site.

## **Boland roadblocks**

A NUMBER of roadblocks were set up and manned by policemen and traffic officers in the Peninsula and the Boland yesterday after the explosions at Koeberg.

A police spokesman said, however, that some of the roadblocks were "routine exercises". Army personnel were not involved, the spokesman said.

More than five hours later, at 8.36pm, a second explosion shook the same building. Two further blasts occurred — one at 11.24 on Saturday night and another at 2.53am on Sunday. Colonel Coetzee could not divulge where these explosions took place.

He said the extent of the damage was still being investigated by Escom, but no one had been injured and there was "no danger" of radio-activity to anyone on the site or to members of the public. Cable trays and other equipment had been damaged.

Colonel Coetzee said a team of police explosives experts was being flown to Cape Town from Pretoria to assist in the investigations. Lieutenant-

General Johann Coetzee, head of the security police, was due to arrive in Cape Town yesterday and was expected to visit the scene.

Brigadier H W Kotze, the Western Cape security police chief, yesterday declined to comment on the sabotage.

"I'm not in a position to do so," he said. "I have been to the site, but Melkbosstrand is not in my division — the Boland security police are handling the investigations."

### **Shut off**

A virtual news blackout was imposed during most of yesterday as local and foreign newsmen tried to ascertain the cause and extent of the explosions. The nuclear plant site was completely shut off to visitors and the press. Senior Escom and police personnel were flown in by helicopter for a meeting at midday.

Mr G F Hellstrom, Escom's Western Cape manager, said yesterday that the damage caused by the blasts was "still being assessed".

Mr Hellstrom said there had been no radio-active material on the site at the time.

Asked whether the explosions had been "large", he said: "As far as I'm concerned, they were small explosions. But what do you call a small explosion? It's relative — and, in any case, I'm not experienced in this field."

### **Foreign agency**

News of the explosions was broken by a foreign news agency with contacts among contractors at the Koeberg site. The South African authorities confirmed there had been several explosions and that nobody had been hurt, but withheld further details until last night.

It is not yet known whether the explosions will affect plans for Koeberg to go on to full power by May or June next year.

● In Paris, a spokesman for Framatome, a major contractor at the R2 300-million complex, said: "It certainly was an attack, an act of sabotage."

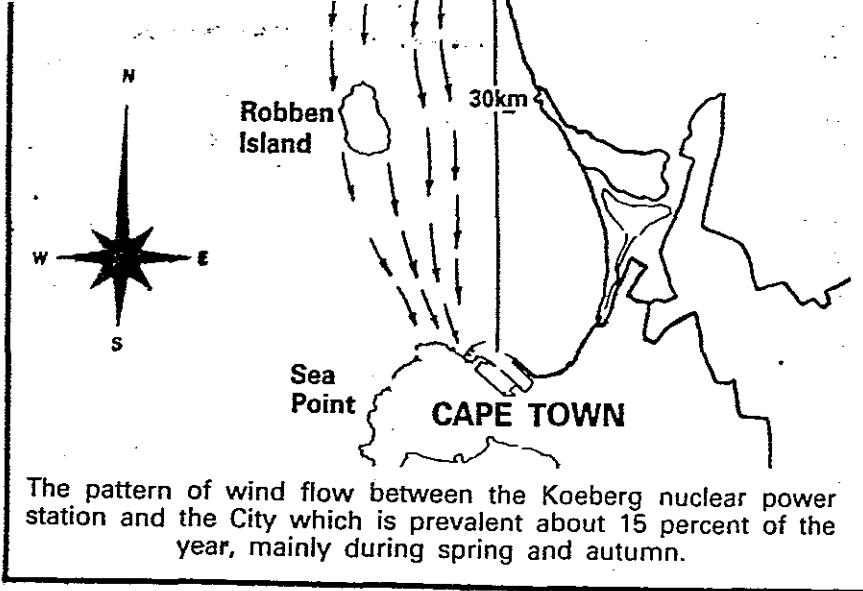
The official, who declined to be named, said one of the reactors had been damaged but since it was not on line there was no possibility of any leakage.

# **4 blasts at Koeberg**

## **ANC claim responsibility**

CAP & TIMES  
20/12/87

55-54-814  
(11A)



# Hulley calls for fail-safe security

*Cape Times 20/12/82*

Staff Reporter

THE latest explosions at the Koeberg nuclear power station were yesterday described as "unacceptable" and "intolerable" by Mr Roger Hulley, the Progressive Federal Party's Western Cape energy spokesman.

Until last night, the authorities had declined to disclose information about the blasts.

"Whether the blasts were caused by sabotage or by an accident arising from negligence or faulty equipment is of secondary importance," Mr Hulley said yesterday.

"That they can happen at all at a nuclear installation so close to Cape Town is intolerable."

Mr Hulley said the public had a right to expect that all of Koeberg's systems would be fail-safe and its security systems impregnable.

"What strengthens my concern is that these blasts follow on another serious incident which occurred on July 18, which is still not fully explained. I have reason to believe that security arrangements at Koeberg could be improved. I wrote to the minister in this connection some three months ago."

He said there should be no switch-on at Koeberg until an independent representative body, such as a parliamentary select committee of local MPs, was fully satisfied that the safety and security arrangements at the plant were fail-safe.

## 'Right to reassurance'

"There is no margin for error in the matter of nuclear safety and the public has the right to total reassurance that they are protected from even a remote danger of a disaster before Koeberg becomes operational," he said.

Dr R J Coogan, Medical Officer of Health for Cape Town, said yesterday that as the power station was not yet "on stream", he did not expect any emission of radioactivity and was therefore "not suprised" that he had not been contacted by Escom.

"Nevertheless, the fact that the blasts have occurred highlights the call for a widespread and comprehensive safety programme well in advance, encompassing all 18 municipalities in the Peninsula area," Dr Coogan said.

The acting chairman of Koeberg Alert, Professor Arnold Abramowitz, asked whether Escom had the ability to "mount the kind of security operation which this giant, and potentially catastrophic, source of power requires".

He said that because of Koeberg's proximity to Cape Town and Atlantis, radioactivity released through a breach of reactor containment could, in the most serious eventuality, kill thousands of ordinary citizens.

"We need an inquiry at the highest possible level into what is going on at Koeberg," Professor Abramowitz said.



Mr Roger Hulley



Professor Abramowitz



Dr R J Coogan

# Lesotho

## intimidated

# says the king

### Solution

King Moshoeshoe said the South African Government had threatened to repatriate Basotho workers employed in South Africa and also curtail the movement of Basotho's over the border into South Africa.

He said the only basis for the solution of South African racial problems was to accept the ANC Freedom Charter which would 'free the Boers from their mental slavery'. The Freedom Charter did not promise to send Afrikaners in South Africa back to Holland.

The Prime Minister, Dr Leabua Jonathan, said one of the reasons for South Africa's aggression into Lesotho was that the Lesotho Government allowed the anti-South African United Nations radio to beam broadcasts to the southern African region from Lesotho. South Africa also detested the flying of the OAU flag in Lesotho.

### Speakers

The Prime Minister said he had challenged the South African Government to send representatives to Lesotho to point out alleged ANC terrorist training bases in Maseru but they had not accepted this challenge.

Other speakers at the funeral were the President of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, the assistant secretary-general of the OAU, Dr Peter Onu, from Addis Ababa, a representative of the UN High Commission for Refugees, Mr Andrew Sokiri, and representatives of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the SRC of the National University of Lesotho and officials of Pan Africanist Congress and senior officials of the four main political parties in Lesotho.

Two young Soweto students who were killed in the raid were buried at another cemetery in Maseru. — (Sapa)

MASERU—King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho said here yesterday that the Government and people of Lesotho were intimidated by the South African Government into toeing South Africa's line against the ANC, failing which they would face punitive measures from South Africa, Sapa's representative in Maseru reported yesterday.

Addressing the funeral service for 27 supporters of the ANC killed in the South African Defence Force raid on Maseru 10 days ago, the King said these punitive measures would not deter the Lesotho Government from continuing its support for political exiles from South Africa.

### Attack

He reaffirmed the Lesotho Government's policy of acceptance of political exiles and said Lesotho would continue to offer accommodation, jobs and educational facilities to refugees from South Africa.

In an attack on South Africa's apartheid policy, King Moshoeshoe said he had 'felt the evil effect of apartheid on Friday on my return from New York where I presented Lesotho's case at the Security Council'.

'I am not a South African but I felt the repugnance of apartheid,' the king said to a loud applause from the crowd.

~~11A~~ 11A Maseru 20/12/82

IIA  
Ex-ANC  
DOM 20/12/82  
man led  
quiet life

By SOPHIE TEMA

AFRICAN National Congress defector Mr Bartholomew Hlapane who was gunned down at his home in Rockville, Soweto, on Thursday night, avoided politics completely and led a quiet life breeding rabbits, family friends said yesterday.

Mr Hlapane, his wife and one of his six daughters, Pansy, were shot by an unknown gunman believed to be a member of an ANC assassination squad.

Mr Hlapane died instantly and his wife Matilda died in hospital the next day.

Their daughter is said to be in a satisfactory condition at Baragwanath Hospital.

Yesterday a close member of the Hlapane family told the Rand Daily of the other side of a man who had once been a comrade of Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer and Joe Slovo.

Mr George Marumula said Mr Hlapane, who was his brother-in-law, lived in a world of his own.

He said: "He never discussed his private life with other people not even with his wife or relatives".

Mr Hlapane was among several people who testified before the US Senate sub-committee on anti-terrorism headed by Republican Senator Jeremiah Denton of Alabama.

Senator Denton said at the weekend that Mr Hlapane had feared his testimony before his sub-committee last spring would endanger his life.

● See Picture —  
Page 2

# Now Mildred is mum to ANC defector orphans

(11A) ~~87A~~ Stan  
20/12/82

By Jon Qwelane

The family of slain African National Congress defector Mr Bartholomew Hlapane now looks to eldest daughter Mildred for assistance because of the six children she is the only one employed.

Miss Hlapane said today that the day before her parents were killed in a spray of automatic rifle bullets, a man had come to their Rockville, Soweto home and told her father his employers wanted him urgently.

The man was not known by any of the family, and Mr Hlapane ordered him to go away.

The following night, December 16, which was also the 21st anniversary of the founding of Umkhonto We Sizwe (the military wing of the ANC), the family was preparing to go to bed when a knock was heard at the back door.

Another of the Hlapane daughters, Beverley, opened the door to a man dressed in camouflage fatigues who identified himself as Dan.

The man brandished an automatic rifle

which has since been identified as an AK-47, and asked to be shown where Mr Hlapane was sleeping.

Beverley pointed at her parents' bedroom.

The man opened fire, drilling a neat pattern of 11 holes in the

shape of the letter Z on the bedroom door.

He then entered the room and more gunfire followed. The man then left.

Mr Hlapane died during the attack and his wife died the following morning.

U/A D. Dispatches  
**Tombstone for  
shot ANC man** 20/12/82

HARARE — A multiracial group of South African exiles unveiled a tombstone yesterday at the grave in Harare of Joe Gqabi, a South African National Congress leader shot dead in Zimbabwe last year.

The ceremony, attended by ANC representatives from Zambia, was held to mark the annual December 16

Heroes' day, which commemorates colleagues who died fighting apartheid.

Mr Gqabi, 51, an ANC representative in Zimbabwe, was shot in his car as he left his home in a Harare suburb in July, 1981.

The Zimbabwe government blamed South African agents for the killing. — SAPA-RNS.







# ANC buries raid d

## Weeping Lesotho King pledges continued aid for SA political exiles

20/12/82

By Jasper Mortimer,  
The Star's Africa News Service

MASERU — Basotho spies in the South African security forces had warned Lesotho that it would be attacked. Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan claimed at yesterday's funeral for 27 ANC members killed in the South African Defence Force raid 10 days ago.

But Chief Jonathan said he did not know the day or the hour of the attack.

More than 10 000 Basotho and South Africans stood for six hours in the sun at Pitso stadium to hear his speech and those of King Moshoeshoe II, ANC president Oliver Tambo, OAU assistant secretary-general Peter Onu, and representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Council of Trade Unions, the UN High Commission for Refugees, and the four Lesotho political parties.

Before the dignitaries lay 27 coffins draped in gold, green and black ANC flags. ANC youths, each with the tricolour ribbons pinned to their khaki shirts, stood at the foot of the coffins. Behind them, other members of the organisation held banners proclaiming, "The blood spilled shall water the

tree of freedom." "Viva Comrade Tambo" and "Our heroes will live forever."

The religious part of the ceremony was punctuated by the singing of Nkosi Sikelele Afrika, shouts of Amandla (power) and Black Power salutes.

The king, who wept during his speech, closed the proceedings by leading the 30-strong diplomatic corps past the open coffins.

Three other South Africans killed in the December 9 raid were buried on Saturday — one in Transkei — as were the 12 Basotho victims who included Miss Matumo Ralebitso (27), daughter of a former Cabinet Minister.

After three hours of speeches by churchmen figures, the sun-weary gathering sprang to life when Oliver Tambo walked to the lectern. The master of ceremonies led 50 to 100 ANC youths in singing "Tambo lead us." Part of the crowd pushed forward.

Lesotho soldiers moved in front of the rostrum when the Prime Minister went forward. He had challenged Pretoria to point out a single ANC base in Lesotho, he said.

"Instead, they replied that we should trade humans. For Lesotho ANC leader



ANC president Oliver Tambo walks past the bodies of the members of his killed in the SADF attack. The coffins are draped in the ANC flags of 9c

Thembi Hani, they would give me a Quisling called Ntsu Mokhehle (the exiled opposition leader). But I am not interested in Quislings," he said.

Basotho spies in the SADF and SAP had passed on the "Boer stratagems," Chief Jonathan said.

"After that statement by Le Grange I knew Lesotho would be attacked. But I did not know the day or the hour," he said, referring to a claim by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, on November 22 that Lesotho was the starting point of an anti-South Africa terror network.

"When the ANC does

to the Afrikaners what the Boers did to the British, the Afrikaners call the ANC 'terrorists' — purely because they are black," he said.

King Moshoeshoe reaffirmed the Lesotho Government's policy of acceptance of political exiles and said Lesotho would continue to offer accommodation, jobs and educational facilities to refugees from South Africa.

In an attack on South Africa's apartheid policy, King Moshoeshoe said he had "felt the evil effect of apartheid on Friday on my return from New York."

The king did not elaborate but this remark caused speculation that he had run into difficulties with officials at Jan Smuts Airport.

"We do not believe apartheid is a (South African) domestic issue," said the King.

"Apartheid will sting every black man regardless of his status."

**X Report restricted**

In terms of the Internal Security Act the speech delivered by the ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo cannot be reported.

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

- invigilator.
- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

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

# raid dead



... walks past the bodies of the members of his organisation who were ...  
The coffins are draped in the ANC flags of gold, green and black.

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King Moshoeshoe re- ...  
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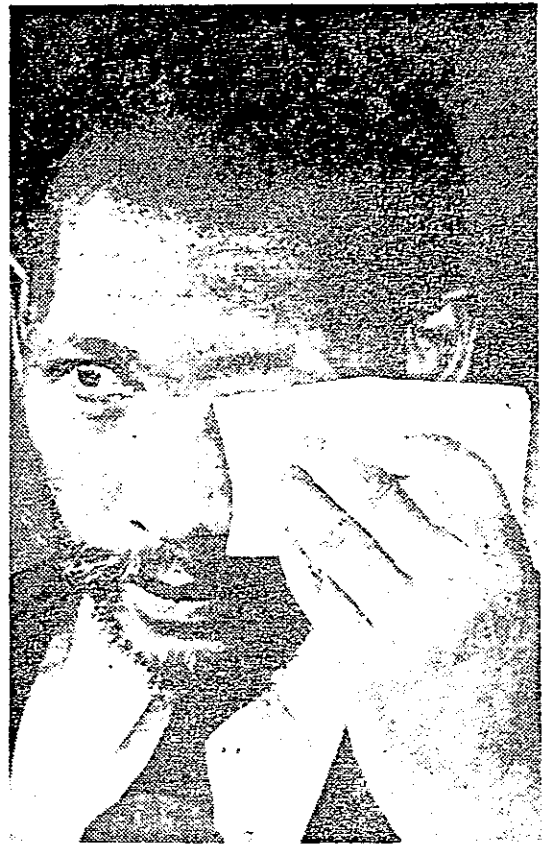
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"We do not believe ...  
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"Apartheid will sting ...  
... every black man regard- ...  
... less of his status."

**X** Report restricted

In terms of the Inter- ...  
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... Tambo cannot be re- ...  
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King Moshoeshoe II dries a tear as his translator ...  
tells the mourners about the Sotho hymn about ...  
reviving the dead.



Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan tells mourners that the "only sin" of the ...  
dead ANC members was to ask for "a place in the sun, freedom in their ...  
own country."

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D. Dispatch  
**4 get** (11A)  
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**identity**

JOHANNESBURG — Four ANC defectors, who had travelled with Mr Bartholemew Hlapane to America in March to testify to a US commission on Soviet influence on terrorist organisations, are living in South Africa under assumed identities.

All expect the ANC to try to hunt them down and assassinate them in the same way Mr Hlapane was shot at his Soweto home by a hit man last week.

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that the surviving witnesses would all be afforded "extra protection," which included further relocation and new identification if required.

A leading member of the commission, Mr Joel Lisker, said from Washington last night that some of the evidence given by the South Africans had proved "extremely damaging to the Soviets".

"I just hope that the other four won't suffer the same fate as Mr Hlapane, who has paid the supreme price for his courageous standpoint."

Mr Hlapane, who helped found the ANC but relinquished his membership in the 1960s, had expected to be "permanently silenced" by his former colleagues in the organisation.

"This was the reason the five who gave information to the commission were all scared to show their faces in the US. This was why they were given 24-hour protection, accommodated secretly and transported by helicopter," Mr Lisker said.

Each witness had realised the dangers they would face on returning to South Africa, but had nevertheless voluntarily chosen to return in preference to remaining overseas, which they could have done had they so wished.

A police spokesman said last night he was aware the lives of the four were endangered and everything possible would be done to provide extra protection.

The witnesses were already under "certain precautionary discipline"

"But you can appreciate the difficulties involved. It's just not practical to guard them around the clock," the spokesman said.

Mr Hlapane had turned away police protection, choosing to live among his people as an ordinary member of the community. — DDC.

See also P17



# Violence follows Maseru attack

By PATRICK LAURENCE and ANN PALMER

IN THE 11 days since the South African Defence Force raid on African National Congress targets in Lesotho, several violent incidents have taken place in South Africa.

Some of these incidents were the work of the ANC, say police.

There have been explosions at two Eskom power stations — the Innerdale sub-station near Vereeniging and, at the weekend, the top security Koeberg nuclear plant near Cape Town.

There was the assassination in his Soweto home on Thursday of Mr Bartholomew Hlapane, an ANC defector and state witness in many political trials.

There has been the discovery of two arms caches near Durban and the arrest of a man in connection with one cache and a woman in connection with the second. In addition, an insurgent has been arrested in the Eastern Transvaal.

Police last night confirmed the Koeberg power station explosions were sabotage. The Innerdale blast has yet to be confirmed as the work of saboteurs, although both stations have been investigated by Security Police.

Together with Sasol petroleum plants and fuel storage depots, Eskom power stations have been a favoured target of ANC saboteurs in the past few years. The blasts at Innerdale and Koeberg are thus consistent with ANC attempts to disrupt the supply of energy on which South African industry depends.

The confirmed strike against Koeberg will clearly have much propaganda value for the ANC, whose campaign of "armed propaganda" received a major boost in June 1980 when saboteurs planted mines at Sasol 1, at Sasolburg.

Police have attributed the killing of Mr Hlapane to the

## ANC is named as murder, sabotage flare

ANC. His wife Matilda was fatally wounded in the hail of AK-47 bullets. His teenage daughter Brenda was shot in the neck. She is in Baragwanath Hospital.

Colonel Chris Coetzee, head of the Police Directorate of Public Relations, said yesterday documents found with the arms caches pointed to a campaign of sabotage and assassination over the Christmas season.

The discovery of caches — which included AK-47 rifles, explosives, Soviet-made mines and grenades — and the documents was further justification for the pre-emptive raid on ANC targets in Maseru by the SA Defence Force, he said.

But Mr Tom Lodge, author of a definitive forthcoming study on the ANC and a defence witness in several security trials, questioned the validity of that deduction.

It could be held that the pre-emptive raid was not really pre-emptive in that it has not forestalled the attacks since then. He was also sceptical about reports that the Hlapane assassination was carried out by the sole survivor of a Lesotho-based assassination squad.

He said the killing did not appear to be the work of a skilled assassin. The killer had fired 12 bullets and "hit two more people (Mrs Hlapane and Miss Hlapane) than he was meant to".

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

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# Ciskei hits at unionists

Labour Reporter

Armed members of the Ciskei police, army and intelligence service raided the homes of trade unionists in Mdantsane township last Thursday.

Trade unions have condemned the raids as provocative and said they were intended to intimidate unionists living in Ciskei.

Ciskei's intelligence service head, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, confirmed that raids were carried out on Thursday.

He said only homes belonging to members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) were raided. "We will raid more Saawu people because Saawu is not a union, it is the ANC," Lieutenant-General Sebe said.

However, unionists said Ciskei forces also raided the homes of union officials of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union and the General Workers' Union.

The general secretary of the AFCWU, Mr Jan Theron, said heavily armed police had seized documents from one home.

"We view this action by the Ciskei authorities as terrorism," Mr Theron said.

## ANC on the run

# Swazi dragnet

(U) By HOWARD BARRELL (11A)

MBABANE. — Swaziland police were yesterday hunting ANC members who slipped through a net apparently intended to put the core of the organisation in the country out of action.

*Sowetan 20/12/82*  
The Commissioner of Police, Mr Titus Msibi, said 25 ANC members were detained in a widespread operation that began early at the weekend.

Another police source said a number of other ANC members escaped after having apparently been tipped off about the raid and fled from their homes.

The number of ANC members detained in the operation had earlier been put at about 100. About 300 ANC members are believed to have been living in Swaziland.

Police were reported to have carried arms and teargas as they swooped on listed ANC residences. However, the police source said none had resisted arrest.

Those detained are believed to be held in a former refugee camp near the University of Lesotho at Malkerns near here.

Observers said the scope of the police operation indicated that it was intended to pull in the main body of ANC militants in Swaziland.

The official spokesman for the Swazi nation, Dr George Msibi, denied that the detentions had any direct link with the South African raid on ANC premises in Lesotho last week, or that it had resulted from any pressure "from outside".

He said the Government had held talks with ANC leaders in Swazi-

land and warned them to avoid activities that were causing problems and endangering the country but these warnings had been ignored.

He declined to say on what charges the ANC members were being held or how long they might be detained.

It is believed, however, that the men are being held under a law empowering the police to detain persons for up to 60 days without trial and providing for the 60-day periods to be repeated indefinitely.

The office of the Deputy Prime Minister, which is supposed to be in charge of refugee affairs in Swaziland, has refused to comment on the detentions.

The local representative of the UN High Commission for refugees, Mr A Bronse, said he did not know the number or identifies of those detained.

A source close to the ANC said the raids began at dawn in Mbabane, Manzini and a residential area between the two towns. — SANS.

# 'Unite' call <sup>(FIA)</sup> at memorial <sup>E. Post</sup> gathering <sup>20/12/82</sup>

By JIMMY MATYU

AT a three-hour memorial service in Kwazakele yesterday for the victims of those killed in the recent South African Defence Force raid in Maseru, the head of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, called on blacks to re-dedicate themselves to "the struggle for total liberation".

He also called on people to adopt a personal vow that "the struggle is my life".

Mr Godolozzi told about 500 mourners at the new Daku Hall that the raid was "deplorable and uncalled for".

Mr Godolozzi called on all relevant organisations to form a united front and to draw a blueprint to accelerate the pace for a peaceful and bloodless change in the country.

He said South Africa was for all those who lived in it, and he believed the ANC would be willing to avoid bloodshed in the country if the South African "racist regime" was prepared to meet the true leaders of the blacks for talks for a peaceful change.

"Why we are here today and not at the beach like other people is because of the apartheid system. If there was no apartheid in this country, no lives would have been lost in Maseru through the unwarranted action of the SADF," he said.

He criticised the statements by the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party condoning the SADF strike.

Mr Godolozzi said he was not surprised that the Commander-in-Chief of State Security in Ciskei, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, whom he described as a puppet of the South African Government, should echo his "master's voice" by saying he was happy and jubilant, while many so-called homeland leaders condemned the raid.

Police in camouflage uniform manned a roadblock at the main entrance into New Brighton in Ferguson Road while a number of shops closed during the period of the service.

There were no incidents.



# DRAMA AFTER ANC KILLING

11A  
Sowetan  
20/12/82



DEAD: Mr Hlapane (centre) pictured with some of the witnesses who testified before the Denton Commission in Washington. Second from the right is Miss N Kave, who defected from the ANC earlier this year and second from the left is Lieutenant Adriano Bomba, who defected from the Mozambican Air Force last year.

**THE FIVE daughters of the former ANC and South African Communist Party member who was assassinated with his wife at his Soweto home seem resigned to the fate that has overcome their family.**

An atmosphere of calm and relaxation prevailed at their home in Rockville where they carried on with their normal chores as if nothing had happened. The sixth daughter, Brenda, is paralysed at Baragwanath Hospital and the sisters told The SOWETAN yesterday that her

**By SAM MABE**

condition was improving.

They also said they did not know in which ward she was being kept because she was moved to a private ward after a number of journalists had tried to take photographs of her.

Mr Bartholomew Hlapane (64) and his wife, Matilda (53), were gunned down with a Soviet-made AK-47 rifle on Thursday night. Police are reported as saying Mr Hlapane's killing is the work of the ANC's "assassination

squad" based in Mafikeng.

A police spokesman, Colonel Chris Coetzee, is reported as saying that Mr Hlapane had been on the ANC death list for a long time and that he had been aware that the ANC were after him.

His killing, was an apparent retaliation for the South African Defence Force raid on "ANC bases" in Maseru more than a week ago.

Mr Hlapane was a high-ranking official of the ANC and the South

African Communist Party. He defected from the two organisations in the '60s and had subsequently testified as a State witness in a number of political trials, including Rivonia Trial.

Earlier this year, he was invited to the US to testify before the Denton Commission on Soviet, East German and Cuban involvement in "terrorism" in southern Africa.

This, police are reported to have said, could also have had a bearing on Mr Hlapane's killing. He testified before the commis-

sion knowing that he was marked for assassination but had refused police offers for resettlement or to be "re-identified".

According to one of Mr Hlapane's daughters, Beverly (23), a total of 24 bullets were found scattered on the floor in her father's bedroom.

She said she would not be able to identify the man who identified himself as Dan when he arrived at her home at about 8.30 on Thursday evening.

In 1979, another former member of the ANC, Mr Abe Mthembu, who also became a State witness in two major trials, including the Rivonia Trial, was also gunned down by an unknown man at his Dube home.

The funeral of the Hlapanes will be on Wednesday this week at 3pm and the couple will be buried at Doornkop Cemetery.

# Four ANC defectors in SA face assassination

20/12/82  
S.P. ST  
S.A. 11A

JOHANNESBURG — Four African National Congress defectors, who had gone with Mr Bartholemew Hlapane to America in March to testify to a US commission on Soviet influence on terrorist organisations, are living in South Africa under assumed identities.

All expect the ANC to try to hunt them down and assassinate them in the same way Mr Hlapane was gunned down at his Soweto home last week.

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that the surviving witnesses would all be afforded "extra protection", which included further relocation and new identification if required.

A leading member of the commission, Mr Joel Lisker, said from Washington last night that some of the evidence given by the South Africans had proved "extremely damaging to the Soviets".

Mr Hlapane had expected to be "permanently silenced" by his former colleagues in the organisation.

"This was the reason the five who gave information to the commission were all scared to show their faces in the US. This was why they were given 24-hour protection, accommodated secretly and transported by helicopter," Mr Lisker said.

A police spokesman said Mr Hlabane's murder — his wife, Matilda, also died in

the same burst of automatic fire from an AK47 assault rifle while they sat in the lounge of their Soweto home — could have been triggered by the publication last week of the report of the commission to which he had testified.

He did not believe it was in retaliation against the South African Defence Force's recent raid into Lesotho, but knew the security police believed the shooting had been the work of a Lesotho-based "assassination squad" of the ANC.

Mr Hlapane's daughter unsuspectingly opened the door to the man who killed her father and mother.

Miss Beverley Hlapane, 23, said last night she had

opened the door to a man dressed in green. He pointed an AK-47 rifle at her and demanded to know where her parents were.

The man entered the room where Miss Hlapane's parents were and started shooting at them, she said.

The South African Council of Churches today expressed its abhorrence at the assassination of Mr and Mrs Hlapane.

In a statement, the SACC general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, also called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to charge detained members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or release them — Sapa

By CHRIS MARAIS

**MASERU** — A mountain breeze glides through the Malutis — it catches the cadence of women singing in harmony at their chores.

Saturday, December 18, 10.30am.

The same breath of wind bares a dirge from the hilltop thatch village of Maqoala, an ancient sorrow-song that fills the mountains near Mohale's Hoek with the experience of Greece.

Sefate Jafeta was buried there with his wife and four-year-old son at the weekend. They were three of the 12 Lesotho nationals killed more than 10 days ago in the SA Defence Force raid on Maseru.

Sefate, a training director for a Maseru development company, was in his early thirties. His wife, Mateboho, was 28.

The all-night wake is over. Old men and women, eyes swollen from tears at the vigil, sit under tents and breathe heavily in the shade.

The Roman Catholic priest in crisp white robes takes up dull copper chalice and makes communion gestures. There is a quiet rustle as a man removes her family prayer book from a plastic packet.

The priest's chants are drowned as a government helicopter drones on through a mountain and sweeps down through the valley.

Sefate settles on a knoll nearby. Lesotho's Minister of the Interior and Chieftanship Affairs, Chief Sekhonyana, has

# Songs fill the hills as Jafeta 3 are buried



The village pitches in — friends and relatives of the Jafeta family fill the graves after a moving ceremony in the Maluti mountains of Lesotho.

Picture: RAYMOND PRESTON

scribable, and other politicians.

The service continues. A local choir sings at intervals, led by a matriach in black who fills her heaving lungs and leads with a trilling soprano.

Men on horseback arrive, dismount and draw pipes from the folds of the blankets that they wear. Dogs that wander too close to the offal pots return to their trees in pain from whistling sjamboks.

Sefate Jafeta was a mission schoolboy who rose to be the pride of the district. He completed a B-Comm degree in Nigeria and married Mateboho when he returned.

He landed a good job in Maseru. Teboho was born to the popular young couple and the Jafetas were settled in the suburb of Tello Phalang.

Women carry pots of beer down to the diggers. The

graves are dug so that the two long ones will flank a tiny one.

The diggers have to prise the rocks from the ground — there is no topsoil to make the task easier.

As the sun grows and beer-drum level goes down, they become more energetic and soon there is a gathering of men down at the graves, giving expert advice to the toiling diggers.

By midday, flies and heat

have set a number of mourners snoring. The torpor continues — as do the elegies.

A man stood outside the Jafetas door, watching the camouflaged figures firing, firing and firing into the room.

"Why do you kill innocent people he asked?" The man said there was no reply — the figures just moved on.

Police in plain clothes stroll through the crowd, in control. Two army signallers

sit on a nearby rise, watching.

An old M'dala with a Maletese Cross on his blanket stumbled up, his feet bound in plaited cloth. It is his opinion that the graves are too deep.

"Teboho was playing at a friend's house on the afternoon before the attack" an acquaintance of the Jafetas remembered. "Mateboho had to drag him away crying, because he wanted to sleep over — instead he died in a bullet-riddled cot."

The minister talking to the crowd about the Ma-boer and Pretoria. He blamed other Basothos for selling their souls by leading the South African soldiers to the homes of the ANC refugees.

The crowd rumbles like a fruit fly in a jam jar. Grief is everywhere, even in this tucked away little hamlet where half of the kids never saw a white man until today.

The politicians leave Maqoala to its sadness. The helicopter sends horses galloping down through the meadow in a frenzy.

Sefate's brothers hoist the coffins high and carry them to the holes in the ground.

While they lower the small white coffin of the child Teboho, the singing reaches high pitch.

Each villager takes a turn to pitch some rubble on to the coffin. A man stands in each hole placing the rocks carefully so as not to splinter the coffin wood.

Sefate's parents stand at a distance. Their sorrow is mute. The wind has at last died down.

A C Christie	10.00	in loving memory of L B and B M	10.00	United Auction	in loving memory
N Alhadeff	100.00	Mr & Mrs J B Sutherland	100.00	Mrs E M Dodd	E Vigheno and P C
E L Goldbeck	115.42	Estete late S P Lee	115.42	F S E T	Mrs E C Green
Doc and Joe	10.00	Dr F L Fabio	100.00	R Adan	D G L Ferris
H V Madsen	25.00	C M Foster	10.00	Anonymous	To the happy memory
Mrs J D Howso	30.00	ones Berry & Doug	30.00	M E B	Grandma and Grand
M E B	2.00	In loving memory of dear ones	18.00	P Mackowen	18.00
R S W	100.00	R K Paul	100.00	Jean Sinder	100.00
Anonymous	100.00	Anonymous	100.00	H B Horrett	60.00
H B Horrett	60.00	M M Heath	25.00	In memory of my dearest wife	Daphne from
M M Heath	25.00	Morris	20.00	From the four of us	K C Whiteside
K C Whiteside	500.00	W S	20.00	in memory of my wife	Gwen
W S	20.00	H J	60.00	Mrs L Sawtelle	100.00
Mrs L Sawtelle	100.00	Anonymous	30.00	Vai and Rhona	20.00
Anonymous	30.00	P J Coenbrander	20.00	A M Dyer	20.00
Vai and Rhona	20.00	Mrs D M Patterson	10.00	Mr & Mrs W N Halliday	30.00
P J Coenbrander	20.00	C L Rivett-Carnac	50.00	V H Visser	30.00
A M Dyer	20.00	E Ghuckman	10.00	C E M Sandwell	10.00
Mrs D M Patterson	10.00	R P Provis	50.00	Harry Goldberg	50.00
Mr & Mrs W N Halliday	30.00	Mr & Mrs W W Lance	50.00	Fred Mel Investments	10.00
C L Rivett-Carnac	50.00	Rosebaum	10.00	F D Shaul	10.00
V H Visser	30.00	J Sutherland	10.00	Stephen Pryke	10.00
E Ghuckman	10.00	C M Vaessoner	10.00	J L Pool	50.00
C E M Sandwell	10.00	W F Matschmann	10.00	Mrs H Schwarz	20.00
R P Provis	50.00	M M Watchurst	15.00	Mrs S Joffe	5.00
Harry Goldberg	50.00	Jan Wilis	5.00	Women's Civic Society	10.00
Mr & Mrs W W Lance	50.00	H Koppel	10.00	H Koppel	10.00
Fred Mel Investments	10.00	Mason Furnishers (Pty) Ltd	10.00	In memory of Daisy Rodda	10.00
Rosebaum	10.00	Fo Harry from End	10.00	W G Hancock	26.00
F D Shaul	10.00	Miss E A Ramsbottom	10.00	The Balfours Foundation	200.00
J Sutherland	10.00	T M Ziegler	10.00	S Mulliquist	10.00
Stephen Pryke	10.00	Anonymous	10.00	J S Hill	10.00
C M Vaessoner	10.00	C Wesley	10.00	TOTAL TO DATE	

## METRO MAIL

### A loss-making year for three city departments

THREE departments of Johannesburg City Council are expected to make a loss this financial year. The council's "Vade-Mecum 1982" publication shows that of the six trading departments only the transport department operated at a loss during the 1981, 82 financial year. Transport showed a deficit of R10 605 390. Surpluses of the other departments were: electricity — R14 810 752, gas — R2 880 784, market — R684 136, Rand Airport — R57 221, and water — R928 467. However,

their memories. She says: "Now that the Year of the Aged is ending and the centenary of Johannesburg is fast approaching, what better way is there to mark that event than to gather the memories into some permanent form." Mrs Howard is asking people to write to her at Box 781572, Sandton 2146, and tell her what they remember of the "good old days". What is more, they need not put a stamp on the envelopes. She will pay the postage and gladly return the documents or photographs, provided the senders put their addresses on the letters.

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Mail Reporter  
E is lots for children to  
Johannesburg today —  
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Centre — Space-age Christmas  
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stamps in his fancy tale cassette

# COMPLETE KITCHEN CLEARANCE SALE

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# ANC wants to 'win' not mutilate bod

21/12/82

(11A) (S.A.) RDM

THE primary aim of the African National Congress — in its the campaign of industrial sabotage, attacks on police stations and assassinations of "collaborators" — is to build up popular support among blacks rather than terrorise the community in general and whites in particular, Mr Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, says.

In a careful analysis of the ANC's underground war from 1976 to 1982, Mr Lodge lists 150 cases of ANC-inspired or instigated violence and labels it the "most sustained and, in terms of scale, the most impressive organised violent rebellion in post-war South Africa".

Mr Lodge's list includes all but the most recent ANC strikes, of which the hit-and-run attack on soldiers and police in the small Transvaal border town of Tonga, the assassination in Soweto of the ANC defector, Mr Bartholomew Hlapane, and the sabotaging of the Koeberg nuclear power station are the most important.

He groups his list of 150 incidents into the following categories:

- Sabotage of railway communications (33 incidents).
- Sabotage of industrial installations (25).
- Assassinations and attacks on individuals (35).
- Shoot-outs with police or soldiers (19).
- Bombs in public places (15).
- Attacks on administrative buildings (14).
- Assaults on police stations (13).

**TOM LODGE**, author of a forthcoming definitive study on black politics, recently presented a paper on the ANC to the African Studies Association in Washington. Political Editor **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports

● Assaults on military targets (3).

A feature of the ANC rebellion has been its relative restraint, Mr Lodge says.

With one or two exceptions, ANC fighters have shunned indiscriminate terrorism, and the campaign "does not appear to have been intended to inflict heavy loss of life".

But, Mr Lodge cautions, there is a minority faction within the ANC which favours use of naked terror, epitomised by the placing of explosives in crowded public places.

The issue of selective violence against wholesale terrorism was debated in the ANC last year, with proponents of controlled violence carrying the day, Mr Lodge says.

In a verbal postscript to his paper, Mr Lodge adds that the impact of the South African commando raid on ANC exiles in Maseru, Lesotho, is likely to strengthen the hand of the faction pressing for attacks on "soft" civilian targets.

(Where, one is compelled to ask, does sabotage of a nuclear power station fit in on the continuum separating limited violence against se-

lected targets from unmitigated terror attacks on civilians? It is per definition an act which can have unforeseen and disastrous consequences for civilians).

Most ANC fighters are trained in Angola, and their attacks point to the "professionalism, expertise and courage of the insurgents"... units of which are now active in South Africa for increasingly long periods.

One insurgent, Mr Lodge notes, entered South Africa in April 1979 and, before his capture some 21 months later, was involved in attacks on three police stations — Moroka, Orlando and Wonderboom — as well as in the limpet mining of a power station in Pretoria.

The main objective of the ANC, however, is political rather than military: the building up of political support through "armed propaganda," which may be defined as attacks designed to impress the black people at large with the ANC's viability as a resistance movement.

As Mr Lodge puts it: "The principle intended function of these attacks has been propagandist.

"The majority have had as

their immediate audience the African community, and the targets have often been institutions and individuals who are popularly disliked."

The aim is to revitalise the ANC as a popular, though underground, political movement inside South Africa.

"As attacks become more frequent, and the organisational structures within the country responsible for military activity become more elaborate and permanent, the ANC's degree of success in establishing a clandestine political organisation will be vital in ensuring civilian support for the guerrillas."

The ANC does not, however, rely solely on "armed propaganda" to build up political support.

It has its own, internally-orientated operation for political mobilisation.

Mr Lodge, who thinks the ANC political drive may be less well established than its military thrust, identifies three inter-related facets to the ANC's internal political activities:

- Influencing unbanned mass organisations judged to be potentially sympathetic.
- Creation of ANC cells to undertake political work.



**A damaged petrol depot: evidence of the ANC stratae dramatically visible acts**

● Political subversion of the state apparatus.

According to Mr Lodge, organisations which the ANC has tried to use for its own ends include the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association (Pebeo), Inkatha, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fofsatu) and the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu).

Of Cosas, he says: "(It) had as its founding president, Ephraim Mogale, who at the time of the inception of the new organisation in 1979 was an active ANC member."

Mr Mogale has since been jailed for furthering the aims of the ANC... but Cosas

# to 'win minds, RDM 21/12/82 tilate bodies'

ive study on black politics,  
African Studies Association  
AURENCE reports

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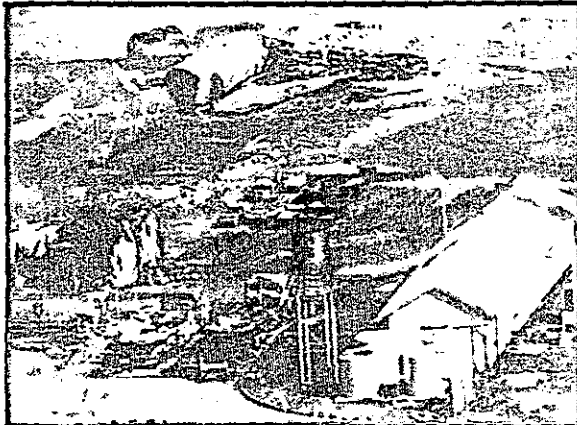
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A damaged petrol depot at Paulpietersburg ... evidence of the ANC strategy of winning support by dramatically visible acts of sabotage.

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According to Mr Lodge, organisations which the ANC has tried to use for its own ends include the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association (Pebco), Inkatha, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fofsatu) and the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu).

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continues to operate as a force in black secondary schools and to pursue an ideological line at variance with the black solidarity advocated by the black consciousness movement.

Of Pebco, Mr Lodge says: "The political inclinations of its charismatic leader, Thozamile Botha, become clear when he announced his membership of the ANC in Maseru after leaving South Africa."

Mr Botha, it may be added, escaped death when South African commandos raided Maseru recently.

On Inkatha, Mr Lodge recalls the November 1979 meeting in London between the Inkatha and ANC presidents, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

and Mr Oliver Tambo, and the subsequent fall out between the two organisations.

Referring to the present public antipathy between the two organisations, Mr Lodge adds:

"But both sides may find it tactically expedient to attempt to resume contact."

On Fofsatu, Mr Lodge draws attention to an ANC cadres' report which accuses Fofsatu of trying to usurp the role of the Sactu, the ANC-linked trade union ... but which recognises Fofsatu as a force to be reckoned with and urges that steps be taken to "conscientise" its members with the correct line of thought.

Of Saawu, Mr Lodge says its outlook is much closer to that of Sactu, but he rejects the view that it is a front organisation for the ANC.

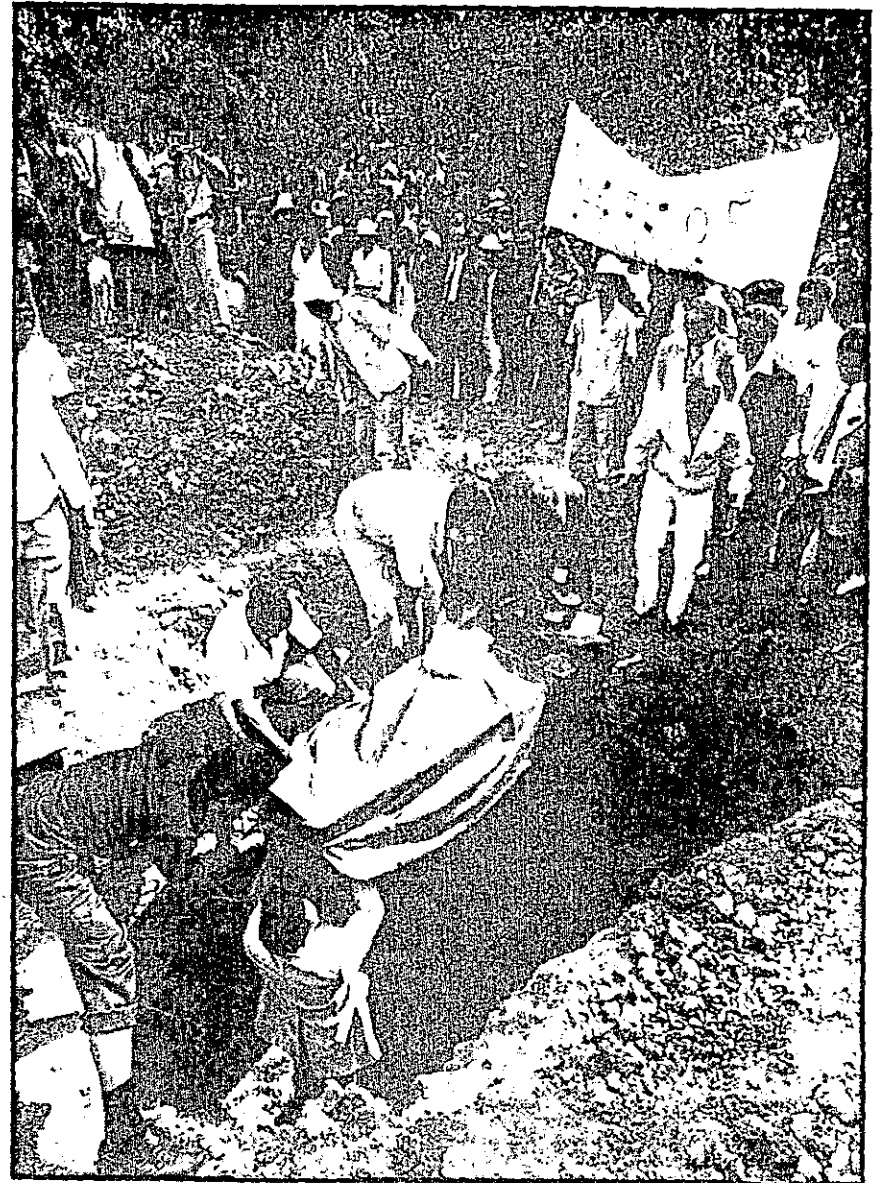
"Saawu's ideological orientation more likely reflects a groundswell of popular sentiment than any conspiratorial manoeuvres by clandestine ANC agents.

"It is based, after all, in one of the main centres of ANC support during the 1950s ... East London."

Estimating the success of armed propaganda and internal politicising, Mr Lodge says:

"A series of opinion polls and surveys have borne witness to the ANC's rising popularity among urban black South Africans, as have the massively attended funerals of ANC activists and veterans."

There has been a steady influx of recruits into its training camps by black refugees from South Africa, some of whom have shown themselves to be attracted to rather



The coffin of an ANC member — killed in the raid by South African commandos — is lowered into a grave at Maseru. Picture: RAYMOND PRESTON

er than repelled by the ANC's Marxist outlook.

Mr Lodge quotes a black student leader as saying:

"The Matanzimas and Sebes taught us it was not a black and white thing. It was not only whites exploiting and

oppressing us. "We looked for an explanation and found it in a class analysis of society."

(2/3) (UA) ROM  
21/12/82

# Tearful reunion as Saso 6 freed

## Mall Correspondent

DURBAN. — In a dramatic and emotional reunion at Durban's King Edward Hospital yesterday, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, who was released from Robben Island, saw his daughter for the first time.

He is one of six former leaders of the banned South African Students Organisation (Saso) and the Black People's Convention (BPC) released from jail yesterday after completing six-year sentences.

Six-year-old Mangi Mokoape, who is in hospital recuperating from a mild convulsion, was born shortly after her father was sentenced to a six-year jail term after being convicted under the Terrorism Act.

Dr Mokoape, 34, former branch chairman of the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) in Durban, and Mr Saths Cooper, 32, the organisation's former public relations officer, who was also convicted under the Terrorism Act were both released from the Central Prison in Durban yesterday.

There were emotional scenes outside the prison as the Mr Cooper and Dr Mokoape, smartly dressed and beaming with excitement gave black power salutes as they were reunited with their families and friends in a crowd of nearly 100.

Dr Mokoape immediately set off to the hospital to visit Mangi.

Both men said their detention would not deter them from their struggle for freedom. "We come back stronger than ever to carry on the fight," they added before being whisked away by anxious family members.

Also released were Mr Muntu Lindane Myeza, Mr Mosioua Lekota, Mr Nkwenkwe Nkomo and Mr Phandelani Nefolovhodwe.

Mr Myeza and Mr Nkomo were released from the Leeuwkop Prison, near Bryanston, shortly after 9am. After a brief and emotional reunion with their families, they went home to Soweto and Daveyton respectively.

Looking fit Mr Myeza, a one time South African amateur boxing champion, said he was still committed to the same ideals of the black consciousness philosophy and the liberation struggle.

Mr Nkomo, 30, a former private teacher, said the ideals that they stood for and for which they gave their lives, had not died. He described his release as relative freedom.

Mr Nkomo said the only single event which shook his "comrades" on Robben Island was the death in detention of black consciousness leader, Steve Biko.

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# Mengistu urges ANC support 11A

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HARARE — The visiting Ethiopian head of state, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, yesterday called on all African countries to "gang up" with the African National Congress and Swapo and intensify the "liberation struggle" against the South African Government.

Addressing a rally about 100 km north-west of here on the third day of his five-day state visit, Colonel Mengistu ruled out hope of an independent settlement in Namibia and South Africa and urged Swapo and the ANC to intensify the war.

He said it was only through a protracted war that independence would come to the two territories adding: "Until such a time the struggle will continue."

The Ethiopian President, who was accompanied by the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, said until "the racist regime" was dismantled and its policies destroyed there could be no talk of negotiation.

Already events had proved that "the Pretoria regime" was not serious about negotiations, nor about granting independence to the people of the region peacefully.

He said the people of South Africa and Namibia would have to get their independence in the same way Zimbabweans got theirs two years ago.

"It is therefore important for Africa to join hands with these two liberation movements and fight a bitter war against the Boers," he said. — SAPA.

*Reading the book...  
in the book - ...  
Reading the book...  
on the ...*

# Lesotho's lifelines are held firmly in South Africa's hands

By Jasper Mortimer,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

If South Africa had applied economic sanctions against Lesotho, it could have forced the Maseru Government to eliminate the alleged ANC bases, says Professor Gavin Maasdorp of the University of Natal Economic Research Unit.

The professor, who is regarded as an expert on Southern African economic relations, says the sanctions could have included:

- Stopping the flow of goods into Lesotho — 95 percent of Lesotho's imports come from South Africa.

- Cutting off the electricity and oil supplied to Lesotho — all of Lesotho's power and fuel comes from South Africa.

- Refusing to remit the earnings of Lesotho migrants on South African mines which account for about 40 percent of Lesotho's gross national product.

- Refusing to market Lesotho's wool and mohair — the country's prime export goods.

The sanctions could have been applied selectively. For instance, Professor Maasdorp believes that had they been tried, Pretoria would not have cut off Lesotho's food

# Sanctions 'would see ANC out'

11A (254) 157 Star 2/12/82

initially out of humanitarian considerations.

He thought sanctions would have "fairly quickly" made Lesotho implement the kind of crackdown on the ANC that Swaziland is now carrying out.

The Swazis have been detaining ANC members, confiscating weapons and charging some members with illegal possession of firearms.

Asked why Pretoria had not used sanctions against Lesotho, Professor Maasdorp said: "They would have been a more drawn out option and have required the co-ordination of several government departments. But they would have avoided the loss of lives.

"Possibly Pretoria

chose the military option because it was a faster method and a more visible deterrent to South Africa's other neighbours.

"I think South Africa would hesitate to resort to sanctions as it has often fought hard against them being applied to itself.

Professor John Barratt of the Institute of International Affairs pointed out that sanctions would have given the ANC members the chance to slip away.

"It's quite possible that Pretoria did not merely want the alleged ANC bases closed down, but in fact wanted to remove the ANC members without allowing them to go elsewhere.

"Selective sanctions

such as cutting off power supplies for a week might have succeeded in forcing the closure of the alleged bases.

"But I don't think it would have satisfied what I believe was South Africa's main concern, which was to quickly eliminate the ANC members in Lesotho."

Both professors stressed they were not in favour of economic blockades or military attacks, but preferred diplomatic negotiations.

Professor Barratt said negotiations could be re-inforced by economic measures that would include incentives.

"One has got to offer the other country incentives. With Lesotho this could have meant

speeding up the Highlands water project or increased agricultural aid. And one could use the threat of sanctions alongside the incentives.

"Military attack should be the last resort," he said.

Professor Maasdorp said it was likely Pretoria had been using the kaNgwane-Ingwavuma land deal as an anti-ANC lever on Swaziland in the same way that sanctions could have been used against Lesotho.

Lesotho's only counter to wide-ranging sanctions would be an airlift along the lines of that in Berlin.

"It's very expensive to airlift oil and there's no way you can airlift electricity."

It was unlikely that Lesotho would retaliate by withdrawing from the water project as it stood to gain substantial amounts of badly needed income from this scheme.

"One should remember," said Professor Barratt "that one cannot solve the problem by playing with levers — economic or military. The basic cause of South Africa's problem is that its system is not acceptable to the majority of people. If one uses the levers, one may get rid of the symptoms but not the problem."



11A 244 76 251  
The Yard  
Star 21/12/82  
looks at  
black plots

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Scotland Yard is "assessing" information on the alleged plans of black nationalist movements to launch terrorist attacks on South Africa.

Informed sources here say the information is so "sketchy" there are unlikely to be any dramatic developments.

The evidence is said to cover the activities in Britain of officials of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation.

A London barrister, Mr Edward Lawson, confirmed yesterday that the police had been given "the broad outline of information at our disposal." He said detailed evidence had not yet been passed on.

#### FOUR YEARS

Mr Lawson, who acted for Peter Caselton, jailed for four years last week after admitting involvement in a series of burglaries at ANC, PAC and Swapo offices in London, made the offer of assistance during his Old Bailey plea in mitigation for Caselton.

He refused to name the mysterious South African lawyer who was present during court proceedings and who, he said, was prepared to help the British police.

The man, who was dressed in a lightweight suit and cowboy-style boots, refused to speak to reporters at the Old Bailey.

"I am not authorised to reveal his identity or what his business was," said Mr Lawson. "In fact I am not prepared to say anything at all about him."

Detective Chief Inspector Hilton Cole, who led police investigations into the case involving Caselton and Londoner Edward Aspinall, jailed for 18 months for burglary, said that "certain documents" had been handed to him by Mr Lawson after the trial.

#### ASSESSING DOCUMENTS

"Those documents are now being assessed," Chief Inspector Cole said.

The Foreign Office confirmed the South African ambassador in London, Mr Marais Steyn, had discussions with one of its senior officials on Friday — the day Caselton and Aspinall were sentenced — but declined to give further details.

"Because the ambassador did not see one of our Ministers, we are not in a position to state whether or not he was summoned for talks or what was discussed. We can confirm only that he went to see a senior official," a Foreign Office Press spokesman said.

The South African Embassy refused to confirm or deny that Mr Steyn had been to the Foreign Office. It said: "The embassy has continuous liaison with the Foreign Office and it is not our practice to discuss it with the media."

An embassy spokesman said they had no knowledge of a South African lawyer at the Caselton-Aspinall trial.

"It is news to us. If there was such a person he was not representing the embassy or the government."

Court evidence that a former embassy official, Warrant Officer Joe Klue, had directed the two men's operations has led the Anti-Apartheid Movement to claim the embassy is harbouring a "web of spies."

It claims they cannot operate without the knowledge of the ambassador.

A Labour Party MP, Mr Robert Hughes, who is AAM chairman, has written to the Foreign Secretary, Mr Francis Pym, and the Home Secretary, Mr William Whitelaw, demanding that Mr Steyn be withdrawn.

# General Sebe: ANC plotted to take over C'kei

(11A) (105) E. Post  
21/12/82

By KEITH ROSS

EAST LONDON — Maseru-based terrorists plotted to take over Ciskei and use it as a base from which to launch attacks on the rest of Southern Africa, the Commander-in-Chief of Ciskei's security services, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, said yesterday.

Gen Sebe told the Evening Post the African National Congress was now "thinking big".

"The ANC has big plans in blueprint," he said, "but they will bring them about over my dead body."

Gen Sebe said he believed the South African Defence Force's attack on ANC bases in Maseru should have been launched sooner.

"It was long overdue," he said. "Most of the assassins escaped and are now lying low in South Africa."

He said his intelligence

reports agreed with those of the SADF that the ANC was planning large-scale terrorism during the Christmas period.

"The only difference is that the SADF believes only one assassin escaped and killed Mr Bartholomew Hlapane," he said. "Many escaped and they are now lying low, waiting to kill innocent souls."

Gen Sebe said his men were more than a match for the ANC.

"We have got to make sacrifices in our fight against the ANC," he said. "But my men are willing. They are well motivated and well trained."

"We can match them. We are terrorists, too. The only difference is that we are Government terrorists."

He said the ANC was not yet able to operate openly in its bid to take over Ciskei. They were working through front organisations.

## Tambo speaks to massive funeral crowd

11A  
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107  
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MASERU - Nearly 10 000 people, shouting "Amandla Ngawethu" ("power to the people"), attended the funeral here on Sunday of 27 members of the African National Congress (ANC), gunned down in the South African attack against the nationalist movement on December 9.

accident in the shooting were buried on Saturday.

The ceremony on Sunday took place on a football pitch in Maseru.

reaffirmed their determination to continue giving shelter to political refugees fleeing South Africa, despite threats by Pretoria economic retaliation against the little state.

### NEW YORK

King Moshoeshoe II, who had just returned from New York where he won a unanimous condemnation of the South African raid from the United Nations Security Council, attended the ceremony, accompanied by his Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan.

Organisation of African Unity (OAU) assistant secretary-general, Peter Onu, who also attended, hailed the courage of a country which gave sanctuary to South African political refugees, and denounced Pretoria's "state terrorism".

### MASSACRE

The orators spoke for nearly four hours. Most attacked the "massacre of innocent civilians" or, like the representatives of the South African Council of Trade Unions (Sactu, close to the ANC) or the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), declared that the fight against apartheid continued.

The speaker to receive the most applause was ANC president Oliver Tambo.

The crowd, making the clenched-fist salute, chanted the name of Tambo and those of the historic ANC leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, both serving life sentences in South Africa.

### AMBASSADOR

Among those present at the ceremony were the US and West German ambassadors and the British High Commissioner.

The 27 coffins, draped in the ANC colours of yellow, green and black, were later taken by truck to be laid in a communal tomb on a plot of land where an inscribed memorial is to be erected to all those who died in the attack. — AFP

## for SA political exile

By Jasper Mortimer, The Star's Africa News Service

MASERU — Basotho spies in the South African security forces had warned Lesotho that it would be attacked. Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan claimed at yesterday's funeral for 27 ANC members killed in the South African Defence Force raid 10 days ago.

But Chief Jonathan said he did not know the day or the hour of the attack.

More than 10 000 Basotho and South Africans stood for six hours in the sun at Pitso stadium to hear his speech and those of King Moshoeshoe II, ANC president Oliver Tambo, OAU assistant secretary-general Peter Onu, and representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Council of Trade Unions, the UN High Commission for Refugees, and the four Lesotho political parties.

Before the dignitaries lay 27 coffins draped in gold, green and black ANC flags. ANC youths, each with the tricolour ribbons pinned to their khaki shirts, stood at the foot of the coffins. Behind them, other members of the organisation held banners proclaiming, "The blood spilled shall water the

tree of freedom," "Comrade Tambo" "Our heroes will forever."

The religious part of the ceremony punctuated by the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika, shouts Amandla (power) Black Power salutes

The king, who during his speech closed the proceedings by leading 30-strong diplomatic corps past the coffins.

Three other South Africans killed in the December 9 raid were buried on Saturday — one in Transkei — as were the 12 Basotho victims who included Miss Matumo Ralebitso (27), daughter of a former Cabinet Minister.

After three hours of speeches by churchmen figures, the sun-weary gathering sprang to life when Oliver Tambo walked to the lectern. The master of ceremonies led 50 to 100 ANC youths in singing "Tambo lead us." Part of the crowd pushed forward.

Lesotho soldiers moved in front of the rostrum when the Prime Minister went forward. He had challenged Pretoria to point out a single ANC base in Lesotho, he said.

"Instead, they replied that we should trade humans. For Lesotho ANC leader

Forty-two people, 30 of them members of the outlawed ANC, died in a lightning pre-dawn raid on residences used by the ANC in Maseru.

Three ANC members and 2 other victims — including five women and two children — killed by



ANC president Oliver Tambo walks past killed in the SADF attack. The coffins

Thembi Hani, they would give me a Quisling called Ntsu Mokhehle (the exiled opposition leader). But I am not interested in Quislings," he said.

Basotho spies in the SADF and SAP had passed on the "Boer stratagems," Chief Jonathan said.

"After that statement by Le Grange I knew Lesotho would be attacked. But I did not know the day or the hour," he said, referring to a claim by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, on November 25 that Lesotho was the starting point of an anti-South Africa terror network.

"When the ANC does

to the Afrikaner, the Boers did British, the Afrikaners call the ANC 'terrorists' — because they are he said.

King Moshoeshoe II affirmed Lesotho Government policy of accepting political exiles as Lesotho would continue to offer accommodation, jobs and training facilities for refugees from Africa.

In an attack on South Africa's apartheid policy, King Moshoeshoe said he "felt the evil effect of apartheid on Friday return from New York."

underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.

- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
- Do not write in the left hand margin.

- No part of an answer book...
- All answer books must be...

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

# Six acquitted on charges of damaging cells

S. Post Post Reporter 2/12/82

FOUR men and two youths who allegedly scrawled freedom-fighting slogans on the walls of platteland police cells were acquitted on charges of malicious damage to State property by the Port Elizabeth Regional Court today.

Thamsanqa Ntshabe, 24, Mongamele Kondlo, 18, Sithembele Gomo, 18, Zimesele Maqunqu 19, and two youths, all of New Brighton, were charged with damaging police cells at the Jansenville police station between August 20 and September 11. Damage estimated at R52 was caused to the cells.

Initial charges of kidnapping and assault were withdrawn. They were initially charged with kidnapping and assaulting Mr George Befile between August 14 and 16.

They had attended the funeral of Mr Robert Sobukwe in Graaff-Reinet and allegedly kidnapped Mr Befile, saying they would kill him if he did not take them to and from Graaff-Reinet to attend the funeral.

The men appeared in court today on charges of malicious damage to the police cells at Jansenville police station.

Photographic evidence showed that slogans were scratched on the walls of the cells. Slogans such as "We want liberty", "Freedom", "Long live PAC" and "Long Live PRO" depicted on the cell walls were allegedly scrawled by the accused.

All six were acquitted of the charges today.

Mr J D Robinson was on the Bench. Mr A T Kilian appeared for the State.

# Judge to confer man he jailed

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Justice Hiemstra who sentenced a Tembisa man to 12 years imprisonment 19 years ago under the Sabotage Act is to confer a Bachelor of Arts degree on him next year.

Mr Vusindlu Kanyakomusha Nkumane, who majored in economics and sociology, will have the degree conferred on him by Mr Justice V. G. Hiemstra, Chancellor of the University of South Africa who found him guilty of

conspiring to possess dangerous weapons and explosives.

Mr Nkumane, now a field interviewer doing oral history with the University of the Witwatersrand, matriculated from the Killnerton Training Institution in 1962

He was arrested on April 5, 1963 and imprisoned with seven other members of the banned PAC for periods ranging from 10 to 20 years.

While on Robben Island Mr Nkumane made himself an unusual musical instrument — a saxophone made out of plastic, copper and driftwood washed ashore on the island from the sea. He later discovered he had designed a tenor wind instrument.

After his release from prison in 1975 he worked as an apprentice violin repairer and in 1979 registered with Unisa for his BA studies. He later joined Wits. — DDC.

Now that the immediate trauma of the South African raid into Maseru has subsided and the picture of that night of death has started to acquire a perspective that only time can give it, South Africans, whether they are supporters or opponents of the Government, would do well to ponder deeply about the event and its implications for the future of our country and its people.

We would be wrong if we saw the Maseru raid in isolation. We would be terribly wrong if we evaluated its importance merely in immediate stated security terms. For the Maseru raid has wider implications for the future: wider implications of staggering dimensions.

These implications reach outwards to have a bearing on South Africa's international relationships, on regional and even global military strategy and on the prospects for a settlement in Namibia.

The implications reach inwards to affect our race relations and our national priorities and the prospects of solving the fundamental political issues inside our country.

The international community, albeit reluctantly, has come to acknowledge if not the general principle, then at least the harsh reality of preventive or retaliatory strikes against targets in cases where international boundaries are used as screens behind which to launch terror attacks in neighbouring countries.

Such strikes have become a feature in regions of the world where because of the nature of the internal issues the conflict and strife generated by these issues has spilt over international boundaries.

# SA has a choice and a challenge

Colin Eglin, MP, national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, examines the implications of the Maseru raid.

This in turn has resulted in the countries in such regions becoming enmeshed in a spiral of increasing violence and counter-violence with internal issues becoming more and more internationalised and the region as a whole becoming increasingly infected by a process of destabilisation.

Our region, Southern Africa, is such a region. Our country, South Africa, is such a country.

No doubt we can persuade ourselves, if we so wish, that the primary causes of the problem of increasing violence and destabilisation are to be found beyond the borders of South Africa.

We can point to the sustained international hostility towards South Africa. We can point to double standards. We can point to the intrigue of those outside our borders who stand to gain from instability and violence here in Southern Africa.

We can respond to these external factors by tightening our security network, by increasing our military might, by mobilising our young men, and by occasionally knocking the hell out of targets in neighbouring states when the heads of our security apparatus believe that these targets are being used as bases



Eglin . . . "Treat all with dignity."

for terror attacks on South Africa.

But if this is our total response to the situation that is developing then we in South Africa are dooming ourselves to a future of increasing violence, increasing destabilisation and, what is more, to a future of increasing division and polarisation and bitterness.

Let us make no mistake about this. The events that led to the Maseru raid were internal as well as external. We have to deal with the external forces. But even more so we have to deal with the internal factors.

Why have young black South Africans left the country in such numbers?

Why are they now working from outside to overthrow the estab-

lished system inside our country?

Why is there such significant support inside South Africa for their objectives although not for their methods?

Having finished pointing the finger of blame outwards and starting to look inwards, we will find events such as the shootings at Sharpeville in 1961 and at Soweto in 1976, and the death of Steve Biko and the banning or detention without trial of many black leaders.

We will find policies that have resulted in:

- The denial of fundamental human and political rights.
- The hurt of apartheid.
- The deprivations of discrimination.
- The harassment of the pass laws.
- The human trauma of evictions and relocations.
- The anger at the loss of citizenship.

We will find that these things have fuelled the fires of political militance while frustration, and at times despair, have helped to steer them towards violence.

We cannot call back or wipe out the past. But we can do something about the future.

We can commit ourselves to get rid of discrimination.

We can commit our-

selves to the principle of citizenship and citizenship rights for all South Africans.

We can commit ourselves to a South Africa in which every man, woman and child is treated as a human being with dignity.

We can, and should, commit ourselves to the task of hammering out new political dispensation through which all the citizens of our country can have a say in the government that rules over them.

Or, we can continue as we have been doing. With apartheid. With discrimination. With the denial of basic human rights. With the exclusion of black South Africans from our political system.

If we decide to carry on as before, our future will be marked not only by terror attacks within our borders, not only by retaliatory raids across our borders, but by increasing racial polarisation and the steady sapping of our energies and resources and hopes for the future.

I refuse to believe that this ugly pattern is the inevitable pattern for the days and years ahead.

I believe that we South Africans, with our drive, our initiative and our basic commonsense, can do better.

Yes, the Maseru raid has wider implications for the future. These implications pose to every South African both a choice and a challenge.

3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

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

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

Lesotho  
raid to  
be probed

Star

The Star Bureau  
NEW YORK — One of the top officials of the United Nations, Mr Abdulrahim Abby Farah, has been chosen to head a team to investigate the South African raid into neighbouring Lesotho earlier this month.

The team is expected to leave for Lesotho in the second half of January.

Mr Farah is UN Under-Secretary-General for special political questions.

UN sources said today that Mr Farah, who is a Somali, would conduct an on-the-spot survey of the damage done to houses during the attack.

He would also assess how Lesotho's economy had been affected by the attack and how the country's economy might suffer as a result of strained relations with South Africa.

Mr Farah's main task, however, would be to assess how the UN High Commissioner for Refugees could "ensure the welfare of refugees in Lesotho".

11A (103) (430) D-Dispatch 22/12/82

# Travel issue cleared

EAST LONDON — A misunderstanding between members of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services (CCIS) and relatives of Dr Bantwini Ngcipe, one of the people killed in the South African Defence Force raid on Maseru on December 9, probably led to the denial of passports for the people concerned, the Commander-in-Chief of State Security in Ciskei, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, said yesterday.

Members of the Ngcipe, Tesana and Dillima families, who wanted

to travel to Lesotho to identify Dr Ngcipe's body, could not proceed last Friday because officers of the CCIS would not give clearance for the issue of their travel documents.

Mrs Mavis Tesana, who was with Mrs Thembisa Ngcipe and other relatives, said they had been told Ciskei had nothing to do with Lesotho.

Commenting on this General Sebe said: "Good enough, we have nothing to do with Lesotho. They do not recognise us and we do not recognise them but

this should not deny the people concerned — or any other Ciskeians for that matter — their right to have travel documents.

He said if there had been no misunderstanding between the people concerned and the officers who handled the matter there would have been no problem.

The Ngcipe family later decided against travelling to Lesotho for the funeral after failing to get travel documents.





# Lesotho call for removal of refugees

MASERU — The leader of Lesotho's opposition United Democratic Party, Mr C. D. Mofeli, yesterday called for the removal of all South African political refugees from Lesotho to other countries in the interest of Lesotho's national security.

He said the UDP fully endorsed the presentation by King Moshoeshoe II to the United Nations security council on the South African raid into Maseru, but "the question of granting political asylum to South African refugees to harm Lesotho's own national security is a concept we do not endorse at all."

"To us Lesotho's exclusive security comes first and everything else comes after that."

It was in the interests of both Lesotho and the refugees themselves that they be moved to other countries.

He said he was mystified by the disclosure by the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, at the funeral of the victims of the raid that he

knew in advance that Maseru would be attacked.

Mr Mofeli said he failed to see what good had come out of the Prime Minister's "indifference" as he had ignored the matter.

"Unless and until the Prime Minister can show the benefit that has resulted from his indifference, one has no option but to discern complete negligence of duty that amounts to abdication of responsibility."

In his view, Chief Jonathan should have acted swiftly "to offset the imminent attack through a vehement diplomatic initiative," because Chief Jonathan maintained telephone diplomacy with Pretoria. Lesotho and South Africa had both to act with restraint and not allow relations between them to deteriorate further.

Mr Mofeli appealed to South African authorities not to punish innocent Basotho mineworkers by repatriating them over South Africa's quarrel with Lesotho.

He also appealed to Western countries with diplomatic missions in Lesotho to assist by acting as intermediaries "between the quarrelling neighbours and restore mutual trust."

● In Johannesburg the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in Southern Africa said Actions such as the South African Defence Force raid in Maseru would not solve the country's problems.

In a statement following a meeting of its executive committee the alliance said:

"The executive expresses its shock at and its abhorrence and condemnation of the recent SADF raid into Maseru in which South African refugees and Basotho citizens were killed, many of them in their sleep."

"We wish to make it abundantly clear to the whites of South Africa that such actions will not solve the problems facing our country."

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~~ST~~ (11A)  
**Indian ban  
on Swaziland**  
D. Dispatch 23/12/81

India has slapped an unexpected ban on its artists performing in Swaziland — mainly before South African audiences — because of the South African raid on the African National Congress in Lesotho recently and the subsequent Swazi police swoop on ANC members.

And the latest "casualty" is the Bombay singing idol Babla whose eagerly-awaited concert, scheduled for opening at the Royal Swazi Spa's Cinelux Theatre on Christmas Eve, has been cancelled because of the ban.

Mr E. E. Ameen, a senior spokesman for the Pietermaritzburg-based show — promoting group, Sahara Stage Promotions, said yesterday his agent in Bombay had given him the "shock" news in an urgent telephone call.

The Indian Government, he said, had suddenly withdrawn travel documents needed for the singer and his troupe of 20 artistes and musicians to visit Swaziland, through Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport.

"My agent said the Indian Government was very angry at the South African raid on the ANC in Maseru and the crackdown on ANC members by the police in Swaziland.

"Apparently India, which is under pressure from the ANC and the Afro-Asian group to isolate South Africa because of its race policies, is now also taking a strong line against Swaziland.

"India seems to be afraid there will be unrest in Swaziland because of its actions against the ANC and is concerned about the safety of their nationals visiting the kingdom," he said.

Mr Ameen said the promoters had decided to cancel the three concerts scheduled for the Christmas weekend and refund all ticket monies.

The concerts had been fully booked by fans from Natal and Transvaal.



# HILAPANE BURIED

11A (11A) (11A)

Sowetan 23/12/82

ay last respects to ex-ANC  
ie and his wife, Mathilda.

ABOUT 300 people yesterday attended the funeral service of the murdered ex-African National Congress member, Mr Bartholomew Hlapane, and his wife, at the Doornkop cemetery in Soweto.

Mr Hlapane and his wife, Mathilda, who were allegedly killed by an ANC "assassination squad" member, were buried one on top of the other in a quiet mid-week funeral. One of their daughters, Brenda, who was also shot during the attack at the Hlapane's home in Rockville, is paralysed at the Baragwanath Hospital.

The two hour service was conducted by the Reverend Stephen Ditjoe of the St John's Faith Mission in South Africa. There were no political speeches made and no mention was made of how the couple died in a hail of AK-47 bullets last Thursday evening.

The service at the house started at 2pm and proceeded to the cemetery at 3pm. After family members and relatives had performed the customary soil-throwing into the grave, two of the couple's nieces, Moshidi and Diana Montsho collapsed. After being revived, they cried hysterically.

Mr Hlapane (64) and his wife, Mathilda (53) were, according to Colonel Chris Coetzee, on the ANC death

By SELLO  
RABOTHATA

list for a long time. He said Mr Hlapane had been aware that the ANC were after him. His killing was an apparent retaliation for the South African Defence Force raid on "ANC bases" in Maseru more than a week ago.

Mr Hlapane was once a high ranking official of the ANC and the South African Communist Party. He defected from the two organisations in the 60's and subsequently testified in a number of political trials, including the Rivonia trial. Earlier this year he was invited to the United States to testify before the Denton Commission on Soviet, East German and Cuban involvement in "terrorism" in Southern Africa.

According to one of the Hlapane's daughters, Beverly, a total of 24 bullets were found scattered on the floor in her father's bedroom. She said she would not be able to identify the man, who identified himself as Dan when he arrived at her home at about 8.30 on Thursday evening.

Freedom Charter would 'free the Boers from their mental slavery'. The Freedom Charter did not promise to send Afrikaners in South Africa back to Holland.

The Prime Minister, Dr Leabua Jonathan, said one of the reasons for South Africa's aggression into Lesotho was that the Lesotho Government allowed the anti-South African United Nations radio to beam broadcasts to the southern African region from Lesotho. South Africa also detested the flying of the OAU flag in Lesotho.

## Speakers

The Prime Minister said he had challenged the South African Government to send representatives to Lesotho to point out alleged ANC terrorist training bases in Maseru but they had not accepted this challenge.

Other speakers at the funeral were the President of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, the assistant secretary-general of the OAU, Dr Peter Onu, from Addis Ababa, a representative of the UN High Commission for Refugees, Mr Andrew Sekiri and representatives of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the SRC of the National University of Lesotho and officials of Pan Africanist Congress and senior officials of the four main political parties in Lesotho.

Two young Soweto students who were killed in the raid were buried at another cemetery in Maseru. — (Sapa)



**COLLAPSED:** The two Hlapane nieces, Diana (left) and Moshidi (right) who collapsed at the Doornkop Cemetery yesterday.

Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

# ANC exiles are held to 'protect them'

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Political Editor

AFRICAN National Congress exiles in Swaziland were detained to protect them from attack by an unidentified third party, the Swaziland Government said in a statement published in Mbabane yesterday.

The statement referred to the danger of an attack on the exiles "from outside our borders" — which observers interpreted as an allusion to South Africa, sparked by the attack by South African commandos on ANC targets in Lesotho a fortnight ago.

The internees, however, are understood to feel that by concentrating them at the Mawelawela refugee camp between Mbabane and Manzini, the Swazi authorities have made them more — not less — vulnerable to attack.

The Swaziland Government statement described the detention of the exiles as "protective custody" and gave the official number of internees as 27.

Police were still searching for more ANC exiles, but the total number in need of "protective custody" was unlikely to exceed 50, the statement added.

Rejecting earlier news reports on the

detentions as "inaccurate", the statement said: "The position is that, after receipt of information ... that certain members of the refugee community in Swaziland were in danger of imminent attack from outside our borders, Her Majesty's Government had to take immediate measures to ensure the security and safety of the refugees concerned."

According to reports reaching South Africa from the Mawelawela camp, some of the internees have signed "voluntary deportation" forms and have been given UN passports permitting them to travel to Maputo in Mozambique.

Their first preference is to remain in Swaziland without any restrictions, but rather than be confined to the Mawelawela camp, they are said to have opted to leave for Mozambique.

These reports are confirmed by a BBC reporter Ms Jan Parry, who was given permission to visit the camp by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, which is responsible for control of refugees in Swaziland.

Neither the Deputy Prime Minister, Senator Ben Nsibandze, nor the Permanent Secretary in his department, Mr A

R Shabangu, could be contacted for comment yesterday.

The detention of the ANC men came in the wake of the South African Defence Force raid into Lesotho, but even before that Swaziland's rulers were signalling a tougher attitude toward ANC exiles.

Last month the Swaziland Prime Minister Prince Mabandla Dlamini warned that political activities in Swaziland were forbidden and that he would, if necessary, invoke the powers of Detention Order Number 1 of 1978.

He said: "Swaziland cannot afford to allow its territory to be used as a springboard for launching armed attacks against other states. It will not be in its interests to allow itself to be used as a battleground for other people's wars."

Later the Swaziland Arms and Ammunition Act was amended in a special session of parliament to make possession of even the smallest part of a military weapon an offence punishable by a fine of up to R5 000 or imprisonment for up to 10 years.

Swaziland has been named by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, as a conduit for ANC insurgents moving to and from Mozambique to South Africa.

## Dockside workers to get increases

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The wages of more than 5 000 stevedores will rise next year after negotiations between the General Workers Union (GWU) and SA Stevedores Ltd.

The new agreements were negotiated separately by workers' committees at four ports — Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban — and cover virtually the entire black workforce in the industry, most of whom belong to the GWU.

According to a GWU statement yesterday, the weekly guaranteed wage will rise 18% in Cape Town, 19% in Port Elizabeth, 28% in East London and 17% in Durban. The Durban agreement follows an interim wage increase of 25% negotiated in the port in September, soon after the union won recognition there.

The inclusion of the Durban agreement means that the unregistered GWU has become the first union to bargain industry-wide wage increases outside an industrial council.

The union statement said the 1983 agreement also increased bonuses and special cargo handling allowances and included agreements designed to raise productivity.

Wages negotiated for other categories of workers in the

## Police renew activity at Crossroads camp

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Crossroads squatter camp residents were uneasy yesterday at renewed police activity in the area and the continuous presence of several police vans and at least two armoured personnel carriers.

Yesterday police vans were seen stationed at several of the squatter camp's access roads, and many others roamed freely through the dusty township. Many of the vans were loaded with uniformed personnel.

Dr Ivan Toms, in charge of the Empilisweni Clinic at Crossroads, said yesterday that as far as he knew no

arrests had been made, but residents felt "threatened and spooked" by the police presence.

The chairman of the Crossroads Residents Committee, Mrs Regina Ntontana, said yesterday that police had raided homes and some shops, and liquor and dagga had been confiscated.

"Where they didn't find any dagga or liquor, they messed around with the peoples' belongings," she said.

Dr Toms said that on Tuesday police had stopped him while he was walking with two white friends outside the clinic.

They were asked to pro-

duce permits and Dr Toms said that he was the doctor in charge of the clinic. As Crossroads is a "non-proclaimed area", Dr Toms explained, he didn't need a permit to be in the area. He was still required to see the police officer in charge of the men.

"One of them asked me if I wasn't afraid to walk in such a 'dangerous' area, and it seemed as if he was the one who was afraid," he said.

Captain Jan Calitz, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said: "It is merely a routine crime prevention operation." He denied it was a pass law offence clampdown to help WCAB officials.

## Two robbers grab R5 000

By JOHN MOJAPELO

Pretoria Bureau

TWO robbers netted a total of more than R5 000 at two different building society agencies and a third would-be robber was arrested minutes after an attempted robbery at another building society agency this week.

Major W J du Plessis, of the Police Directorate of Public Relations, said the robberies took place on Tuesday.

The first took place at the

A teller, Mrs D Muller, was robbed of R3 977 in cash. A white man walked into the office. He threatened to shoot her and demanded money.

Three hours later in Brakpan, a teller at the SA Permanent Building Society in Voortrekker Road was robbed of R1 230 by a robber who escaped on a motorcycle.

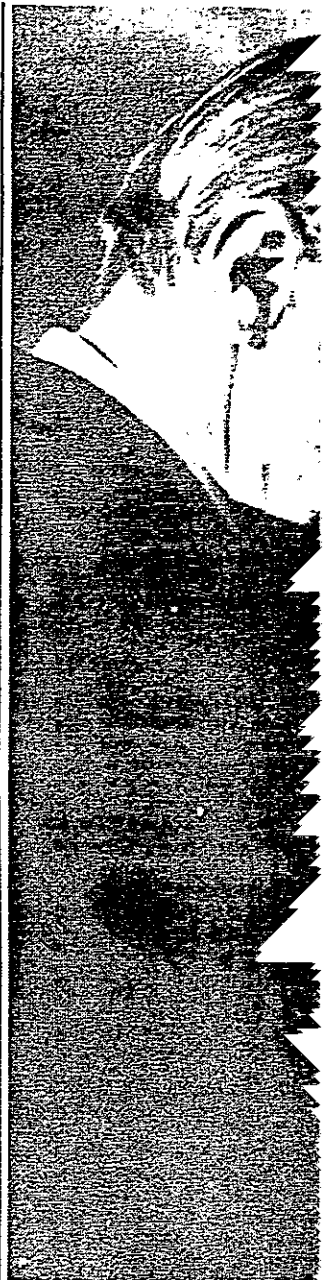
A Mrs Van Rooyen told the police a white man walked into the agency's office, produced a firearm and demanded money.

tempted to hold up a Roodepoort building society agency.

Mrs Elizabeth Prinsloo, 25, was alone in the agency in Ontdekkers Road, Delarey, when a white man walked in. He handed her a note telling her to hand over R3 000.

The would-be robber got cold feet when Mrs Prinsloo told him she was going to fetch the money from the back.

An eye-witness screamed for help when the man ran out. Constable P. Renterbach



The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Portuguese Ambassador to

## Officials right, Minister wrong

By MAURITZ MOOLMAN

TEST results on pesticides in food released by the Department of Health have proved officials in the Department of Agriculture right and their Minister, Mr Greyling Wentzel, wrong.

Mr Wentzel's speech on the incidence of pesticides in agricultural products was ripped from a departmental information sheet in October because officials felt he made too strong statements which could damage exports.

The Director of Consumer Goods of the Department of Health, Dr Nic Gilliland, said yesterday that of 298 tests on



# ANC MEN PLACED IN 'PROTECTIVE CUSTODY'

(11A) ~~3/2~~  
Sowetan  
24/12/82

MBABANE. — Twenty-seven members of the African National Congress (ANC) in exile in Swaziland have been placed in "protective custody", the Swazi Government has announced here, denying reports that 100 members of the outlawed South African organisation had been arrested.

Alluding to the December 9 raid into Lesotho by South African troops against the ANC, in which 42 people were killed, the statement spoke of the possibility of an attack "from outside our borders". The Kingdom of Swaziland is situated between South Africa and Mozambique.

The Government's statement said that police were still seeking ANC members in exile in Swaziland, but that the total number to be detained should not exceed 50.

The people detained by the Swazi police have been gathered in a refugee camp at Mawelewela, between Mbabane and Manzini, which according to some observers in Swaziland leaves them even more vulnerable to a South African commando attack like the one into Lesotho.

Thirty ANC members living in Maseru, capital of Lesotho, were killed when some 200 South African troops stormed into the enclave, which is entirely surrounded by South Africa.

According to some Press reports, people held

at the Mawelewela camp have signed a "voluntary deportation" document and received a United Nations passport allowing them to go to Mozambique.

The measures against the ANC in Swaziland were taken well before the Lesothan raid. Since the death of King Sobhuza last August, the authorities have considerably reinforced their legal arsenal aimed at people possessing arms of war and explosives.

Swaziland recently brought back into force a law authorising preventive detention for up to 60 days, with the declared aim of fighting "terrorist actions" on its territory.

The Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, said that Swaziland "cannot afford to allow its territory to be used as a springboard for launching armed attacks against other states".

"It will not be in its interests to allow itself to be used as a battleground for other people's wars," he said.

A few weeks ago South African Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange accused Swaziland of allowing itself to serve "as a conduit for ANC insurgents moving to and from Mozambique". — AFP.

# Labour <sup>(11A)</sup> wrangle: <sup>Star</sup> split likely <sup>27/12/82</sup>

By Eugene Saldanha

The coloured Labour Party, plagued by internal wrangling over the Government's constitutional proposals, could be heading for a split at the party's coming annual congress in Eshowe next month.

In recent months, after party leader the Rev Alan Hendrickse declared a policy of negotiation instead of confrontation, dissent from the Transvaal has thrown the party into disarray, say political observers.

The Eshowe conference will be opened by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, who observers say has been pressing the Labour Party to reject the proposals. The Labour Party and Indian Reformed Party are members of the South African Black Alliance, of which Chief Buthelezi is chairman.

## DETAINED

The Transvaal faction, which always has been opposed to a policy of negotiation, is expected to oppose the party's participation in any deal the Government proposes for the coloured people.

Mr Miley Richards, deputy leader of the party, and executive member Mr Mohammed Dangor, who were detained under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act, are expected to lead the Transvaal opposition.

Both are members of the Johannesburg Coloured Management Committee, which is the only coloured management committee in the country that does belong to any of the conservative provincial associations of management committees.

## FIREBRANDS

The Natal Labour Party strongman Mr Norman Middleton, whose support for the Inkatha movement is common knowledge because of his close ties with Chief Buthelezi, has declared his opposition to any Labour Party involvement in the constitutional setup.

Mr Hendrickse, the man in the middle who recently conferred with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, will have to deal with the conservative Cape faction, led by Mr Carter Ebrahim and Mr David Curry, and the Transvaal firebrands.

Mr Curry, who heads the Cape Association of Management Committees, an organisation which has close ties with white local authorities and municipalities, has indicated qualified support for a new constitutional dispensation.

## ALLIANCE

Mr Curry in the past has mentioned the party's destruction of the Coloured Representative Council as an example of effective opposition by "working within the system."

The party's youth wing — led by former detainees Charles Radcliffe and Peter Hendrickse — is expected to form a loose alliance with the Transvaal faction in opposing acceptance of the constitutional deal.

A senior member of the party said this week: "Eshowe will probably be the most important congress in the history of the Labour Party. It will determine the party's place in the ever-changing scenario of South African politics, in which the politics of the left is gaining ground."



## Man on theft charge found shot

PRETORIA — A Pretoria North man arrested in connection with car thefts was found dead in his bathroom after excusing himself from a questioning session to go to the toilet.

A police spokesman said Mr Petrus Jurgens Heynes, 33, of Winternes Plots, was arrested by Captain J Jones, of Pretoria's motor vehicle theft unit, at about noon yesterday.

Mr Heynes took Capt Jones to a plot in Pretoria North where he showed him two caravans, a lorry, motorcycle and four other vehicles that had been reported stolen.

While being questioned by Captain Jones, Mr Heynes allegedly said he had to answer an urgent call of nature. Shortly afterwards a shot was heard and he was found dead in the bathroom with a bullet wound in the head. A 9mm pistol was found near his body.

In another incident, Mr Paulus Khoza, 33, of no no fixed address, was found hanged in a police cell at Erasmia in Pretoria yesterday.

A police spokesman said he was arrested on Christmas Day in connection with a robbery at Wierda Bridge, Pretoria, in early December.

Yesterday at 12.10pm the cell he was being detained in was visited and everything was in order, but when the cell was revisited at 12.30pm Mr Khoza was found hanging by his shoelaces from the cell bars. He was already dead.

A post-mortem will be held soon. — Sapa

## Top PE filly is Vaal entry

Racing Editor

BLUE NILE, Port Elizabeth's champion four-year-

# Changes probed at 'momentous' Cope congress

By BRIAN POTTINGER  
Political Correspondent

THE Congress of the People (Cope) met at Knysna today for an annual conference which its leader, President's Councillor Mr Lofty Adams, described as "momentous".

The 220 delegates of the socio-political organisation formed in Cape Town two years ago will discuss the latest President Council's proposals, racial discrimination, terrorism and the position of the the Griqua people.

Mr Adams said today the two reports of the PC would be considered, with particular attention being given to the racial implications of the separate chambers and the racially discriminatory issues which will still remain in the wider society.

Only after considering these aspects would the conference take a decision on whether to participate in the proposed new dispensation or go onto a public platform and oppose it.

The conference would also be asked to ratify the decision of the Cope executive to reject the idea of a homeland for the Griqua people.

In a statement issued last night, via Sapa, Mr Dawood

Adams, the organisation's national secretary, warned against blindly accepting the new proposals.

"As things stand now, apartheid remains entrenched and there is no talk of phasing this out. We find this position untenable and see no purpose in going into an ethnic parliament while apartheid remains on the law books of our country.

"It must also be borne in mind that no provision has been made for an enforceable Bill of Rights, and in the absence of this we have to carefully examine the checks and balances in the proposed system to assess exactly how much protection it affords us.

"We cannot just blindly accept the package the Government has prepared for us without making sure that it affords us sufficient protection against executive encroachment. We cannot afford to sell our birthright for the sake of sitting in an ethnic parliament.

"Conference will therefore decide whether we accept or reject the proposals. We may even have to embark on a programme advocating public rejection. This will to a very large degree depend on the

Government's reaction.

"We are concerned, too, that the Government remains adamant on the issue of black exclusion. We can perhaps understand this attitude but should point out that providing third tier or local authority perks to urban blacks will have the effect of building up a groundswell of further justified political demands and expectations. By refusing to face up to the facts we are only creating more problems which will ultimately have to be solved.

"Another subject which will come up for discussion is the increasing wave of urban terrorism. Is this increasing spate of urban terrorist attacks a reflection of the political situation? Is there a parallel between the ANC, the ANB and the Bader Meinhoff gang and the Red Brigades?"

"Conference will thoroughly examine this whole issue to determine whether urban terrorism as we experience it — from the Left and the Right — is a symptom of the country's political ills. In other words, if we effect a cure for the political ill, will we be able to put a stop to urban terrorism?" the statement said.

## Park fencing considered as blacks move in

Post Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG — The Johannesburg Municipality is considering fencing off its parks and recreational areas and charging entrance fees because of the large influx of blacks on public holidays.

Mr Danie Malan, MPC and chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's Management Committee, said the possibility was un-

to take a decent, objective and responsible attitude in this matter."

He said the council had appealed to the Department of Co-operation and Development for help.

He added: "Fencing in parks is not the real solution to the problem — trouble is usually caused by people who have been drinking and this leads to all sorts of problems. Such

## Woman dies from gunshot wound

DURBAN — A 32-year-old Transvaal woman died in a Durban hospital yesterday after being shot in the head at a Natal South Coast caravan park.

Police identified her as Mrs R van Vollenstein, of Vereeniging.

It is understood that Mrs Van Vollenstein had an argument with her husband, Mr J J P van Vollenstein, at the Umtwalumi Caravan

Sax

Mr VUSINDLU  
fr

## Trad in se to bl

Post Report.  
MANY traders r sell on credit to bl live in homelands ing to the latest e Free Market.

In an article ca are a consur consumerism for Adam Smith sa were two kinds of pricing, "equally ble to those who understand them"

The first took th higher basic pr

# Adams resigns as Cope leader

*Adams resigns 29/12/81* 117

KNYSNA. — Mr Lofty Adams, a member of the President's Council, yesterday announced his resignation as leader of the Congress of the People (Cope) at the party's conference in Knysna.

Mr Adams said his work was building up in the President's Council.

Mr Peter Marais of Cape Town was elected the new leader, with Mr E M S le Fleur of Knysna as the new national chair-

man and Mr M L Finn of Natal as the new national vice-chairman.

The conference resolved that Cope would withhold a decision on the constitutional proposals until the party's national directorate had discussed fully objections raised by delegates.

After his election, the new party leader said Cope favoured complete non-racialism. — Sapa

(11A) 29/12/82  
RSM

# Labour Party faces important decision

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Political Reporter

THE coloured Labour Party (LP) faces one of its most important decisions next week when delegates to its annual congress in Eshowe will be asked to adopt a stand on the Government's new constitutional plan.

The decision will be crucial not only to the LP, but also to the National Party. Most observers regard LP support for the "reforms" as the very least the Government needs to lend even the scantest respectability to the plan.

The situation within the LP seems confused. Senior party officials are clearly divided on what attitude to adopt.

Some of the more militant officials have advocated total rejection, but others, including the LP leader, the Rev Allen Hendrickse, apparently favour qualified re-

jection linked to continued negotiation with the Government to improve the plan.

Some observers believe the moderates will triumph at Eshowe and that a motion will be adopted rejecting the constitutional plan in principle, but supporting the Government's move towards "reform". The motion is also likely to urge greater LP participation in negotiations towards a "better deal".

However this, in effect, is already in practice. Mr Hendrickse and his lieutenants are engaged in negotiations with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, obviously aimed at attempting to satisfy at least the moderates in the LP.

Motions along these lines were adopted earlier this year at the congresses of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac),

which represents about 150 coloured management committees in the Cape, and the Transvaal Association of Management Committees which represents about 19 Transvaal coloured management committees.

Assomac unanimously rejected the constitutional plan in principle because it entrenched apartheid and because the financial implications for local government were still undetermined. But it supported the Government's "reform" efforts and, by implication, agreed to continue negotiating.

The Assomac motion was however a compromise after an earlier motion by militant members calling for total rejection was amended to avoid a serious rift in the association. It seems possible that a similar situation may arise at Eshowe.

● See Page 9

29/12/87 ROM

# Swazi soldiers in armed border clash

11A

Political Reporter

A GROUP of armed men — believed to be members of the African National Congress — clashed with a Swazi Defence Force patrol on Swaziland's north-eastern border with Mozambique last week.

Details could not be obtained from official sources in Mbabane yesterday, but it is understood that at least one Swazi soldier was either killed or seriously wounded.

The incident occurred near Lomahasha border post when armed men apparently crossed into Swaziland from Mozambique. Some observers believe they may have been ANC cadres on their

way to South Africa.

The clash is likely to lead to a greater deterioration in relations between the ANC and the Swazi government which are at an all time low after the detention of 27 senior ANC members by Swazi authorities this month.

In recent months the Swazi government has become increasingly hostile to ANC activities in the country — particularly since the South African Defence Force raid on houses occupied by members of the ANC in Maseru. The clash could indicate Swaziland has decided to prevent armed ANC members moving into Swaziland from Mozambique.

## Chiefs reject 'independence'

CAPE TOWN 30/12/87 Own Correspondent (11)

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, and the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Chief Cedric Phatudi, have issued a statement saying they will never accept "so-called independence" for their homelands.

The two leaders met at a Durban hotel yesterday at the invitation of Dr Phatudi.

Their statement said the two men discussed the dangers which appeared to be looming as a result of blacks being put into "cold storage" as far as the government's constitutional proposals were concerned.

The two leaders repeated their commitment to one undivided South Africa.

# Cope calls for action against right wing

CAPK Times 30/12/82 (114)

KNYSNA — A resolution adopted here by the national conference of Cope (Congress of the People) yesterday urged the government to declare undesirable organizations all ultra-rightwing groups whose actions constituted or could pose a threat to racial harmony and stability in South Africa.

After lengthy discussions on a variety of subjects relating to the coloured people, further resolutions were formulated:

● That local authorities be prevented from summarily evicting people whose rentals have fallen

into arrears but that a period of grace of three months be granted for the settlement of accounts.

● That the conference seek an interview with the ministers of Internal Affairs, Health and Welfare and of Finance to strive for parity in all pensions.

● That a number of acts administered by the Department of Internal Affairs be updated and upgraded such as the Aged Persons Act (No 81 of 1967), the War Veterans Pension Act (Act 25 of 1968), the Disability Grants Act (Act 27 of 1968) and the Childrens Act (Act 33 of 1960). — Sapa

30/12/87  
**Swazi  
ANC  
men  
clash**

By CHRIS FREIMOND

A SPOKESMAN for the Swaziland Defence Force yesterday confirmed Swazi troops were involved in two shooting incidents on the Mozambique border earlier this month with suspected members of the African National Congress. But he denied anyone had been injured. It was initially believed one Swazi soldier was either killed or seriously wounded.

The spokesman said the first incident was on December 18. An army patrol detained two men late at night near Lomahasha on the Mozambique border.

They were taken to the local police station where one pulled out a firearm and fired three shots at the patrol. He and his companion fled across the border into Mozambique.

The second incident was on Tuesday last week when two men — believed to have been the same men involved in the first shooting — were challenged by a patrol near Maphiveni, about 20km from Lomahasha.

One of the men again drew a pistol and fired at the patrol before the two escaped. They are believed to have fled to Mozambique.

The defence force spokesman said a Swazi military patrol was fired on by unknown gunmen in the same area in October last year.

The latest clashes are seen in the light of deteriorating relations between the ANC and the Swazi Government.

Earlier this month 27 senior members of the ANC were detained by the Swazi authorities in an action apparently aimed at curbing their activities in the country.

The Swazi Government has never been particularly favourable to ANC activities in the country. This attitude seems to have hardened in recent months — specially since the South African Defence Force raid on houses occupied by members of the ANC in Maseru.

# Told to pay up <sup>E. Post</sup> or leave home <sup>(11A)</sup>

Post Reporter 30/12/80

THE chairman of the Zwide Residents' Association, Mr Wilberforce May, who has not paid his rent since 1980 when the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) launched a rent boycott, now faces eviction.

He also faces legal action by the East Cape Administration Board (Ecab) if he does not pay arrears for "interest and redemption" of R764,55 and for service charges of R496,56 by January 14.

Mr May, who supports the six other people living in his Zwide home despite the fact that he is unemployed, said he had written to the Community Council in October offering to resume home payments of R64 a month.

He claimed the council had written him a note asking him to see an Ecab official about the matter.

Mr May said an official had agreed that he could make monthly payments.

He said he then received a letter signed by Ecab's chief director, Mr Louis Koch, saying that unless he paid the outstanding "interest and redemption" and services money, he would have to vacate the premises by January 14.

Mr Koch said today board officials did not enter into verbal agreements with tenants.

He would not comment on why Mr May had not been threatened with eviction before despite not having paid instalments on his home for more than two years.

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ALTHOUGH Government optimists have set January 1984 as the target date for implementation of the constitutional proposals and the installation of South Africa's first executive President, there are already doubts in Government circles whether this is either possible or desirable.

Some Nationalist politicians are already expressing private doubts whether the new deal will get off the ground at all, conceding that it would be counter-productive to ram the plan through against the will of most coloureds.

There is also an acute awareness in senior Government circles that to hold elections for coloureds at a time of economic recession could be disastrous.

And, as the election of the coloured and Indian chambers is a pre-requisite for electing the President it therefore seems unlikely that elections will be held next year.

The Government still has to convince the Labour Party to participate in the new dispensation.

Without it elections would be universally regarded as a total farce and the disastrously low poll in last year's elections for the South African Indian Council is still fresh in the Government's memory.

But even the Labour Party has minimal support among urban coloureds and even with their participation the percentage poll could be pitifully low — some observers believe as little as 10% of registered voters.

In the populated areas of the Cape Peninsula political consciousness manifests itself at a grassroots level where a plethora of civic associations, trade unions, and community organisations are building up a formidable potential for political mobilisation.

In a recent survey — conducted in September — Professor Lawrence Schlemmer found that 70% of urban coloureds were in favour of advising coloured political groupings to co-operate with the Government's constitutional proposals with a view to improving them.

Prof Schlemmer, who is attached to the University of Natal's Research Institute for Applied Social Sciences, found that 20% of the 250 respondents approached would advise parties to have nothing to do with the proposals.

He found that 31% would advise that parties should try to improve the proposals before they participate, while 39% would advise them to participate in the new dispensation with a view to improving them.

Only 2% said they would advise parties to support the proposals unconditionally and 8% said that they did not know.

Asked how they would vote, however, if the propos-

39 (11A) ROOM  
30/12/82  
**Reform:  
coloured  
opinion**

**'The politics of refusal, at this point in history, is the only dignified way of dealing with this Government.'**

**— Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.**

TO implement its constitutional proposals the Government will have to hold elections in the coloured and Indian communities. This could create difficulties, Political Correspondent JOHN BATTERSBY suggests in this second report in his three-part series.



**PROF R VAN DER ROSS**  
Conditional support

als were put to them in a referendum, 57% said they would vote against them, 25% would vote in favour and 19% did not know which way they would vote.

Prof Schlemmer said he regarded the sample as scientifically representative of urban coloureds in the Cape Peninsula.

He said that while 57% of respondents would reject the proposals at a referendum it was fair to assume that most of the 39% who would advise parties to participate in the new dispensation with a view to improving it would participate if elections were held for a coloured chamber of Parliament.

While Prof Schlemmer's survey is the only scientific study undertaken so far of the coloured community's response to the Government's initiative, it is regarded as

highly optimistic by many leading figures and community organisers in the Cape's coloured areas.

Prof Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape who is relatively sympathetic towards the proposals, said he would regard a 25% poll as optimistic based on the plan in its present form.

He said he did not think a large stay-away would be caused so much by boycott action as by a general scepticism, lack of understanding and clarity, and peoples' unfamiliarity with the process.

He conceded, however, that the community and civic organisations would play a part in any stay-away.

"Time will tell whether the political parties will be able to crack that," Prof Van der Ross said.

He said he could see the plan getting off the ground albeit to a very shaky start.

"Progress will depend on confidence built up by the working of the committee system, the fruits of legislation, and the resolution of deadlocks," he said.

"However, I would conditionally support the Government proposals because they do offer some opportunity for people other than whites to have some input into the law-making system," he said.

"I do not believe that the NP Government could have gone much further at this stage," he said.

Prof Van der Ross said that while he did not think it was realistic to set the inclusion of blacks as a precondition for accepting the proposals, a step to include blacks would dramatically improve



**Dr Boesak ... proposals are "totally unacceptable"**

the acceptability of the proposals among coloureds.

However, Dr Alan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said the Government's proposals were totally unacceptable because they not only entrenched apartheid at every level but also represented a sharp departure from the democratic foundations of the constitutional framework which South Africa had had up to now.

"They are the product of an undemocratic and racial institution (the President's Council) and cannot begin to provide the basis for negotiation," he said.

"The Government must prepare itself for a massive rejection from the vast majority of people.

"I predict that not a single leader of any repute will allow himself or herself to be drawn into this system. The Government will have to

scrape the bottom of the barrel and will have to ram their plans down our throats," Dr Boesak said.

"The politics of refusal at this point in history is the only dignified way of dealing with this Government," he said.

Dr Boesak also predicted, however, that the new system would get off the ground because the Government would "use all the power at its disposal to make it work".

Prof Jakes Gerwel, head of the department of Afrikaans-Nederlands at the University of the Western Cape, said he could not see the Government proposals as a starting point on the road to a more democratic society.

"They remain an attempt by the ruling elite to broaden the base of minority rule which will entrench the societal conflict between black and non-black," he said.

Prof Gerwel said if it came to elections he would expect a repeat of the Coloured Representative Council elections which produced about a 15% poll.

He said while the proposals were not a significant talking point in the community at present they could become a big issue if elections were held.

"The holding of elections is not so easy to ignore and the campaign by those working against participation in an election could become acrimonious," he said.

Prof Gerwel said he believed the Labour Party would participate in the new dispensation and that it would be forced through without majority support as the CRC had been.



**PROF JAKES GERWEL**  
Plans entrench conflict



# Ciskei in 'raids on ANC'

CAP & TIMES  
31/12/82  
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Staff Reporter

ARMED troops of the Ciskei para-military forces swooped on homes in Mdantsane township near East London early yesterday, detaining one man, questioning at least three others and seizing an undisclosed quantity of literature.

The commander-general of Ciskeian State Security, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, confirmed that an official of the Border Council of Churches, Mr Mzwandile Msoki, had been detained in the lam raids.

## People questioned

He alleged the raids were aimed at "ANC cells" and was "not prepared to give details" beyond that "a number of homes were raided and many people questioned".

Mr Msoki was previously detained in June this year, and was later released without being charged.

The East London branch secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Bonisile Norushe, said yesterday that he was woken about lam by a hammering on his door.

"A jeep-load of soldiers in military uniform surrounded my house and entered. They questioned me, my mother and Ms

Zodwa Mapela of the United Women's Organization, demanding to know what organizations we belonged to, and insisting I was a member of the ANC."

The general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Jan Theron, said yesterday that it seemed as if Ciskei was "intent on conducting a reign of terror against trade unions".

"Statements by Lieutenant-General Sebe that the unions are ANC front organizations are utterly ludicrous smears and without any truth," he said.

## Cheap labour

The union would consider "any means we have to expose the actions of Ciskei against the unions, including approaching international finance which Sebe is trying to attract through his offers of cheap labour".

Mr Norushe was released from prison in April this year after 12 months' imprisonment for refusing to give evidence in a security trial.

Before his imprisonment he was detained for more than six months under Section six of the Terrorism Act, detained for almost a month in June this year, and his house was raided this month.

# ANC picked 1982 targets with care

Star  
11A  
31/12/82

By Trevor Jones

There was a marked drop in the number of sabotage acts in South Africa in 1982 but the African National Congress managed to continue its strategy of "armed propaganda" — most notably at the Koeberg nuclear power station.

From a peak of 55 in 1981, the number of attacks dropped to 23 in 1982. However it was also the year in which two of the most significant attacks took place, the bombing of the President's Council building in Cape Town and the attack on Koeberg.

## ASPECTS

These were the most spectacular attacks since the raids on Sasol installations at Secunda and Sasolburg in June 1980.

The armed propaganda tactic has involved attacks on economic targets such as rail depots, power stations and pipelines, and on targets symbolising white authority such as the President's Council building and various administration board offices.

A further aspect of the strategy is the selective assassination of people deemed to be traitors, such as the killing of ANC defector Mr Bartholomew Hlapani and his wife Mathilda a few weeks ago.

This policy has been seen as an attempt by the ANC to advertise its viability as a resistance movement.

In the wake of the SADF raid in Maseru, fears were expressed

that the ANC would switch its attention to soft targets such as shopping centres.

It was also reported that the ANC is divided over which tactic to pursue following the Maseru raid.

Professor John Barratt of the Institute of International Affairs said the ANC would run the risk of losing support internationally if it followed the "soft target" option.

## ACTION

He said the ANC's strategy was receiving a lot of approval internationally. The organisation would tend to lose support if tactics were changed drastically, and could even lose recognition by blacks.

"It may take a long time for them to achieve their objectives by sticking to hard targets, but from their point of view this has been the most productive course of action," he said.

Professor Barratt added that the drop in the number of attacks could be attributed to more effective police action. However, the ANC seemed to be going for fewer targets with higher priority.

Apart from the two Cane attacks, acts of sabotage in 1982 have been concentrated in the Transvaal and Natal, both of which adjoin Swaziland.

There were at least three gunbattles between police and insurgents in this area.

The 1982 attacks include:

● January 6: West

Rand Administration Board offices in Orlando East blasted.

● March 20: Commissioner's court in Cape Town's Langa township bombed.

● April 25: Explosion on a water pipeline over the Umlaas River in Natal.

● May 21: Offices of the Port Natal Administration Board in Pinetown blasted.

● May 24: Explosion at township office in Lamontville near Durban.

● May 25: Water reservoir main at Cherterville in Durban blown up.

● May 28: Several explosions damage petrol storage tanks at Hectorspruit in the Eastern Transvaal.

● June 2: Large attack at Paulpietersburg in Natal. Four bombs explode at a nearby mine, one at a fuel depot and one at a station.

● June 3: Two electricity pylons over a railway line at Dube in Soweto blown up.

● June 4: A bomb in a lift of the President's Council building in Cape Town kills a young engineering student, Michael Younghusband.

● June 6: Blast damages a grain silo at Vryheid in Natal.

● June 19: Bomb explodes under a passenger train near Waterval-Onder in the Eastern Transvaal, injuring the driver and his assistant.

● June 28: A series of bombs explode at Scheepersnek in Northern Natal, damaging an oil pipeline.

● July 5: Water pipeline near Dunottar on the East Rand blasted.

● July 28: A bomb explodes in a telephone booth outside Port Elizabeth's new law courts.

● November 8: Five explosions at a petrol depot at Mkuze on the Natal north coast.

● December 18: Four explosions rock the Koeberg nuclear power station, forcing the commissioning of certain sections to be delayed.





# Motlana slams increases

By SINNAH KUNENE

THE president of the Black Housewives' League, Sally Motlana, has deplored the Government's move to increase the prices of various basic commodities during the first quarter of next year.

It was recently reported in an afternoon newspaper that there would be a 7,5 percent increase on deodorants; 10 percent on toilet soap; 7 percent on soap powder; 20 percent on canned goods; 7 percent on biscuits; 10 percent on paper products; 10 percent on kitchen and household cleaners; 10 percent on tinned dog food and 5 percent on tea.

Another increase of between 10 and 15 percent is expected on the price of sugar, which will consequently bring about a soaring price increase in things like cold drinks, biscuits, etc.

According to economists, the price hike results from the increase in electricity and rail tariffs.

Also, maize is said to be going up next year, which could cause a further hike in dairy products.

A furious Mrs Motlana told **The SOWETAN WOMAN**: "One stops thinking with annoyance, especially with some of us who deal with plights like transit camp inmates who would not know where their next meal will come from. It is shocking and disgusting to increase the prices of essential things like soap."

Mrs Motlana's women's league has "adopted" the inmates of two Naledi Houses, numbers 726 and 1799A. These comprise of sickly pensioners and the disabled who have lost contact with their next of kin. Most of them are ex-patients from the hospital near New Canada.

The inmates are also under the care of West Rand Administration Board social worker, Mr Ben Ntoso, who helps them with applications for pension or dis-



Women gather to provide for community

## A stokvel for a noble purpose

WHEN women put their heads together to start an organisation, their priority is for the needs of their families.

Bearing names such as stokvels and burial societies the groups aim at giving its financial backing to members to improve their lifestyle.

But for many such organisations, their prime concern is the welfare of the community. This is the reason why the classy Ladies' Night Stokvel, which boasts prominent Soweto she-beeners, have decided on an annual fund-raising for charity organisations.

"We only started at the beginning of this year, but we felt we

lala, Thembane Madi, MatiaPadi, Diputo Matia Padi, Diputo Kolokoti Alcock, Mammono Lukhele and Matilda Kubeka.

The 12-member group donated R30 each towards the fund-raising gala night fashion show recently held at the Pelican Night Club. About R2 400 was collected. This included donations from the Lulaman Hair Salon in Dube and some clothing shops in the city.

### Ladies

According to Irene, the Ladies' Night Stokvel members meet every alternate Wednesday

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The inmates are also under the care of West Rand Administration Board social worker, Mr Ben Nteso, who helps them with applications for pension or disability grants and food rations.

• An inmate at 1799A, Ms Martha Radebe, recently died in hospital. According to Mrs Motlana she would probably get a pauper's funeral as there are no funds to bury her. The South African Council of Churches may not at this stage offer any assistance as investigations are continuing, says Mrs Motlana.



Popular Soweto shebeener and member of the Ladies Night Stokvel, Ms Irene Mothel (left).

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Bearing names such as stokvels and burial societies the groups aim at giving its financial backing to members to improve their lifestyle.

But for many such organisations, their prime concern is the welfare of the community. This is the reason why the classy Ladies' Night Stokvel, which boasts prominent Soweto shebeeners, have decided on an annual fund-raising for charity organisations.

"We only started at the beginning of this year, but we felt we should close our books for the year with a focus on the needs of the community. Our first target became the senior citizens, as 1982 has been declared the Year of the Aged," says the Ladies' spokesperson, Ms Irene Mothel of Orlando East.

Other members are: Beryl Khambule (chairperson), Martha Rasedumo (deputy), Sophie Sojane, Madu Tshaba-

lala, Thembane Madi, Matia Padi, Diputo Matia Padi, Diputo Kolokoti Alcock, Mammono Lukhele and Matilda Kubeka.

The 12-member group donated R30 each towards the fund-raising gala night fashion show recently held at the Pelican Night Club. About R2 400 was collected. This included donations from the Lulaman Hair Salon in Dube and some clothing shops in the city.

## Ladies

According to Irene, the Ladies' Night Stokvel members meet every alternate Wednesday and the hostess has to prepare a traditional meal comprising of "pap and mogodu".

"We realised that many people have abandoned this traditional dish, maybe because of the easy-to-cook Western dishes. Well, some people would only have tripe when there is a traditional feast. I for one always opt for sour porridge and tripe at such occasions," says Irene.



