

BLACK POLITICS

1987

JANUARY

# US asks ANC to outline aims for future SA

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Reagan Administration is pressing the African National Congress to reveal its views on how South Africa should look and how it would achieve this goal.

The American Government has also, at a recent high-level meeting with the organisation, tested its reaction to the outcome of the Natal-kwaZulu, Indaba.

Some details of the US attitude towards the ANC, which it decided a few months ago to cautiously start recognising, emerged yesterday in an interview with the State Department's third-ranking official, Mr Michael Armacost.

Mr Armacost visited Southern Africa last month where he met senior ANC representatives in Lusaka. Mr Armacost apparently sought from the ANC its "vision of the future" and its policies of achieving it.

"We have tried to be fairly clear about what the South African Government ought to do," Mr Armacost told *The Washington Post*. He cited the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, other political prisoners, an end to the state of emergency, and a timetable for ending apartheid.

"There is also a responsibility on the part of the black community to spell out its own concept of a future for South Africa that can appeal across racial lines and provide a basis for serious negotiations," he added.

## UNCOMFORTABLE

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, is also likely to push the ANC's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, when they meet in Washington later this month, to state how South Africa should be.

The Reagan Administration seems markedly uncomfortable in its first top-level meetings with the ANC, which will effectively boost the group's status internationally. The State Department is concerned about the ANC's use of violence and the Communist element in its hierarchy.

Mr Armacost said he broached the "Indaba" plan in his meeting with the ANC. He told the organisation's three delegates that Washington found the plan "a rather interesting proposal... which establishes a precedent of one-man, one-vote, while providing other assurances that the rights of minorities would be respected."

Both the goodwill of the Indaba and assurances in the plan's details were essential to overcome a "gulf of mistrust" between blacks and whites in South Africa, he said.

Generally, the ANC representatives "didn't seem too enthusiastic".

The spirit of the Natal-kwaZulu Indaba has found a measure of US approval. Mr Shultz last month described the plan as "controversial in South Africa, as any imaginative compromise might be".

Mr Shultz said the "Indaba" has shown that South Africans are capable of difficult mutual accommodation to advance the cause of racial justice and representative government when they are challenged to do so.

# Black political organisations call for unity of oppressed in 1987

By Mike Tissong and Colleen Ryan

In their New Year messages, various black political organisations called for unity and hoped for a year without inter-party strife.

The Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) said 1987 should be regarded as "the year of unity". The United Democratic Front has committed itself "to building even greater unity".

Azanyu said in a statement: "There can be no victory for the national liberation struggle without a solid unity of the oppressed sections of the population. In our liberation struggle, unity means victory and division means defeat."

The basic differences in the black community were between the Africanists and the Black Consciousness movement on one side and adherents

of the Freedom Charter — UDF — on the other.

"The liberation movement should be vigilant against all divisive tendencies. The oppressed and the exploited must be educated to understand that the victory of any struggle is not the work of a particular individual or group, but the result of a collective effort."

Azanyu also called for unity between the two labour giants, Cusa-Azactu and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. (Cosatu).

The UDF urged all workers to join Cosatu: "This acquired collective strength must increasingly be used to demand among other things better living conditions and political rights."

"We enter 1987 devoid of any illusion as to what this Government can and cannot do... We

do not see any signs that the white minority is ready for a Government based on the will of all the people. We actually expect 1987 to usher in an era of even greater collaboration between the State President and the military."

The UDF said it "must warn the Botha Government that banning the UDF will not solve the crisis. Today, 27 years after the banning of the ANC, Mr P W Botha himself has conceded that the ANC is still very much alive."

"The UDF is still committed to waging a non-violent struggle against apartheid even as the State seems bent on closing every available legal space," the statement added.

The Azanian People's Organisation said it had extended a hand to rival political groups, but had been spurned in favour of violence.

"This year we extend that hand again, not because we are afraid of defending the socialist ideology in the face of this aggression, but because the unity of the oppressed is imperative if we are to realise liberation."

It said pupils should return to school and added that the "anti-Bantu Education protest stands out for the trauma it has brought on the black community in 1986. If it is allowed to continue, it will foster illiteracy and achieve what Verwoerd set out to achieve."

The exiled Black Consciousness Movement urged "solidarity in the ranks of the oppressed".

"All genuine organisations of the people, irrespective of ideological differences, should mobilise against the racist regime. Unity, as a fundamental principle of struggle, should be pursued."

110

W/E ARGUS 3/1/87

# Hendrickse asks PW to 'take risks'

From DALE LAUTENBACH  
Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH.— The 21st Labour Party congress opened in Port Elizabeth under the banner "Now is the time", with a direct challenge to President P W Botha to take the necessary risks along the road of reform.

"Now is the time to unban the ANC, to release Nelson Mandela and other long-term prisoners and to erase the word apartheid from our vocabulary," said the party leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Alan Hendrickse.

"And I say to the State Presi-

dent — now is the time ... laat waai!"

In the spirit of the Labour Party's 21st birthday, the congress opened last night with a festive beating of drums in the street as delegates and party supporters crowded into the Feathermarket Hall.

Small slices of a fruity birthday cake were on offer at the door, young women slunk about in skimpy Labour Party costumes and banners announced "Apartheid Kills", "P W, now is the time" and "Equal rights now".

## "One nation"

Mr Hendrickse reaffirmed the party's commitment to working inside the tricameral system towards a non-racial "one nation, one South Africa".

He called for compromise and negotiation but urged the Government to hasten its reform process. To the State President, he said: "Now is the time to risk."

He praised his party's achievements — including its "key role" in the changes to discriminatory legislation such as pass laws, the amendment of the Black Communities Amendment Act, the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and the Restoration of SA Citizenship Act, among others.

He condemned the "immoral violence" of sanctions.

"For all of us, black and non-black, there must be a greater determination and dedication to the creation of a true South Africa," said Mr Hendrickse.

## "We won't rest"

He set few concrete goals for the Labour Party but reaffirmed the party's position in respect of the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

"We will not rest until these two Acts, especially, have been removed."

Mr Hendrickse quoted at length from both Acts to illustrate their "iniquitous nature".

"I say unequivocally that if a culture has to be protected by legislation, that culture is of no value," he said.



HH Dlamlenze ... serving all interests

# UDF joins back to school call

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE United Democratic Front has echoed the call from other organisations and parents urging pupils to return to classes this year and the demand for the re-opening of all schools.

In a statement released to *City Press* this week, the UDF endorses the decision that all schools be re-opened and pupils return to classes.

The publicity secretary of the UDF, Murphy Morobe, says in the statement that wherever and whenever possible students had to attend school.

"Our children's education must take place with as little disruption as possible.

"The extent to which this will be the case in 1987 will, like last year, depend on the way the Department of Education and Training deals with the well-known demands of pupils and parents concerning the education issue," says Morobe.

The statement warns that the present intransigent attitude of the DET, coupled with the continued detention of pupils did not contribute to a return to "normality" in black education.

"As we urge our children to go back to school, the government should seriously consider the release of children held in detention," says the statement.

The statement also calls for the estab-

lishment of a "truly non-racial and democratic education system for all South Africans".

Meanwhile, as the country reverberates with the "back to school" plea, more than 400 delegates of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa are examining new approaches for change that they believe need be implemented in the South African education system.

The three-day conference - which started on Wednesday - is being held in Bloemfontein and has as its theme "Education for Change". Conference-goers include principals, educationalists and teachers from all over the country.

The general-secretary of Atasa, HH Dlamlenze, said this week all sections of the community were calling for changes in the education system.

"At this conference we are concerning ourselves with plans and strategies which will serve the interests of all sections of the population," said Dlamlenze.

He also revealed that plans were under way to contact teacher organisations of other race groups countrywide in an attempt to work out solutions.

"Our main task is to suggest an education system which will serve the interests of all racial groups in the country," said Dlamlenze.

## East Rand vigilantes on the rampage

# YOUTHS SLAIN

THREE youths were killed at the weekend when vigilantes went on the rampage in Tembisa and Leandra.

The three are Mr Fixon Seakamela Mashakgomo (19), Mr Milchin Macasane and Mr Vusi Power Nkonde.

Mr Nkonde is from Leandra and the others are from Tembisa.

Mr Mashakgomo, a standard 8 pupil at Giyane High School, was allegedly kidnaped, stabbed and hacked with pangas by a group of men on Sunday night.

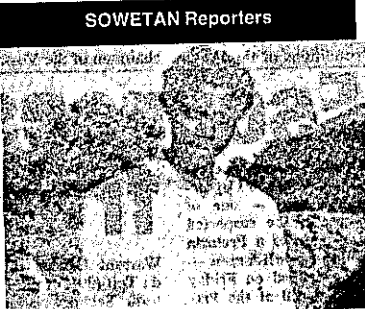
### Attacked

Mr Mashakgomo, who was an official of the Tembisa Student Organisation and the Tembisa Youth Congress, was attacked on his way home from a meeting in the township. This was the second attack on him in two weeks.

Mr Macasane was stabbed and his body later dumped in the veld near Mfeyaneng Section on Friday night.

A former Mamelodi United midfielder, Mr Nkonde was shot and killed during an alleged attack by a group of vigilantes in his Leandra home on Sunday.

According to witnesses, Mr Nkonde's younger brother, Patrick — who is also a soc-



SOWETAN Reporters

FIXON MASHAKGOMO: Student leader killed.

cer player — and a relative were seriously wounded when the vigilantes allegedly opened fire on members of the family on Sunday afternoon.

They were rushed to the Far East Rand Hospital where they are being treated for gunshot wounds, the witnesses said.

Several activists in Tembisa have been attacked and homes destroyed during raids which families said appeared to be a "total onslaught" on youth movements in the area.

Mrs Eaglet Mashakgomo told the *Sowetan* that her son was stabbed and wounded by the

group two weeks ago. He was accused by the men of being one of the "comrades (youths) who caused trouble in the township."

"On Sunday we received a report that he was stabbed and hacked to death. I do not know of any trouble my son caused in the township," Mrs Mashakgomo said.

Her son was detained twice under the emergency regulations in 1985 and 1986, she added.

Mrs Annah Zulu, whose home was stoned, said armed men came to her house and said they wanted her son, Dominico, who is a pupil at Thuto Ke Matla High

School in Tembisa.

"My son was not at home and the group smashed my windows with stones. My other son, Chris, who was inside the house, was assaulted by the men when he told them he did not know where Dominico was," she said.

After the attack on her family, she added, the group left and went to three neighbouring houses where they also stoned and assaulted people. They told the families that they wanted to eradicate all those youths who caused trouble in the township.

Miss Nomsa Stunda said her home was stoned by the group after they demanded to see her brother. The group had told her that her brother was a "troublemaker".

Several youths, who are members of the Tembisa Students Organisation and Youth Congress, said they were living in fear of their lives after the group threatened to attack them.

A police spokesman said that they had not received a report on the incidents and the families should report to the local police station.



Mr EDWARD PERKINS (left) the new US Ambassador to South Africa yesterday paid a brief visit to Vosloorus on the East Rand. He also visited Alexandra Township. In this picture taken in Vosloorus, he is seen with the Reverend Andrew Makhene of the Vosloorus AME church. See story Page 2.

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**R100,000 IN PRIZES**

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# Some ifs: but hope for 1987

CITY PRESS  
4/1/87  
7/1A

In a statement released in Johannesburg this week, the movement stated: "1987 will remain a year of sacrifices in the townships as well as the factories. Our federation reiterates its December stand that all progressive organisations come together to work out a united strategy to win freedom for all the oppressed people in our country."

In its New Year message, the United Democratic Front has resolved to intensify its "struggle against apartheid and exploitation in 1987".

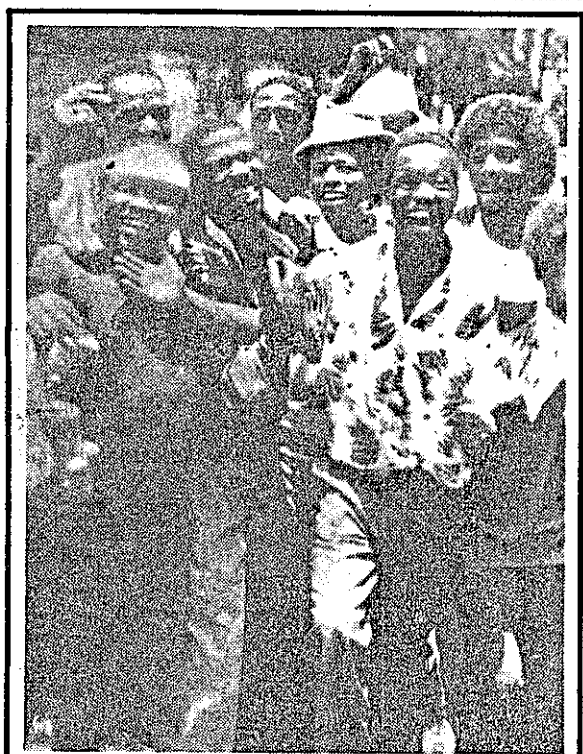
"Two states of emergency and our being declared an affected organisation have failed in laying the UDF to rest. The UDF is still committed to waging a non-violent struggle against apartheid," says the UDF.

The Release Mandela Campaign has reiterated its call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress as a pre-condition for any negotiated political settlement.

Meanwhile, incidents from beyond South Africa's borders also give little hope of a peaceful, prosperous 1987.

The announcement of the withdrawal of the world's largest oil company, Exxo, from South Africa, was bad news for the government, following similar withdrawals by General Motors, IBM and Barclays Bank.

What South Africans believe 1987 holds for them was revealed in a poll conducted by Markinor. According to the poll, only 18 percent of blacks expect 1987 to be better than the past year, compared with 41 percent of whites.



Well-wishers and excited fans were on hand on New Year's Day to wish Ray Phiri (third from left) of the high-flying, chart-topping group Stimela, bon voyage at Fun Valley.

Pic: THEMBA NKOSI

## Holy smoke! No

### By REVELATION NTOULA

AS South Africa enters the new year, messages of goodwill and hope echo from all parts of the country, as indeed from many peace-loving world communities.

However, reflections - particularly from black organisations - on the past year's events, current affairs and future expectations, give little hope for a prosperous and peaceful future for all South Africans, regardless of colour or creed.

With uncertainty clouding the re-opening of black schools on Wednesday, various organisations have warned that the situation could worsen this year if the government did not find an acceptable solution to the education crisis.

A sharp warning to the authorities this week came from the Vaal Students' Congress (Vasco), which has urged the government to release detained pupils and teachers, and to remove troops from the townships to ease tension.

And from the labour front, which was one of the flash points last year with scores of unionists being detained, the Black Consciousness-orientated Cusa-Azactu labour federation sees no change for the better in the new year.

More than 400 delegates assembled in Bloemfontein on Thursday at an annual conference in a bid to work out new angles and strategies to bring about change in the education systems of the country.

In a statement released in Johannesburg this week,

Atasa  
weigh  
it up  
325  
BY SANDILE MEMELA

Yesterday the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, who is charged with administering the regulations, said: "This is a democratic country where parties are allowed to say what they want within the limitations of the law."

The emergency regulations would have to be kept in mind, but he did not believe they would disadvantage opposition parties.

But the leader of the official Opposition, Mr Colin Eg-

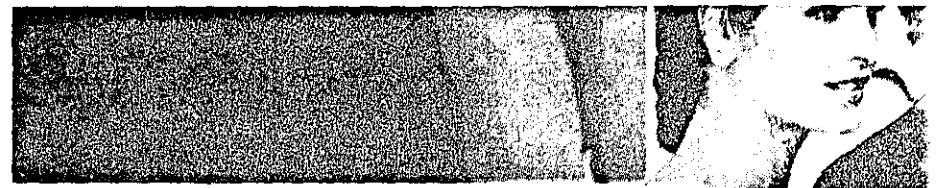
freely while the State propaganda media like the SABC were free selectively to disseminate "facts".

"It is like fighting with one's hands tied behind one's back and the referee biased in favour of the other side."

His party was considering symbolic protests at its public meetings to make audiences aware of the fact that the elections were being held under abnormal conditions.

In government quarters

□ To Page 2



Sonya ... honeymoon plans are secret

The happy couple ...

# Academics cancel talks with ANC

THREE Afrikaans legal academics have postponed a visit to Lusaka to meet the ANC to discuss human rights in post-apartheid South Africa.

They were to meet an ANC delegation in Lusaka tomorrow.

They are professors Henning Viljoen and Johann van der Westhuizen from the University of Pretoria and Professor Derek van der Merwe of the Rand Afrikaans University.

A spokesman for the ANC, Mr Tom Sebina, said from Lusaka yesterday: "We are expecting them at lunchtime

By ANTON STEENKAMP

on Monday."

However, Professor van der Westhuizen said immediately afterwards that the meeting had been postponed owing to "various circumstances". He was not prepared to elaborate.

He added that the academics planned to have talks with the ANC about their views on aspects such as a Bill of Rights, "as part of a research project".

Mr Harald Pakendorf, political ana-

lyst and ex-editor of Die Vaderland, was involved with the planning of the visit.

He has had talks with ANC representatives on previous occasions.

He said that at present it was inopportune for them to go, but this did not mean that the possibility of such a visit was totally excluded.

Speculation that the Government or security authorities had put direct or indirect pressure on the academics not to go through with the visit could not be confirmed or denied.

# Three hurt

By IVOR CREWS

A BLACK woman was seriously hurt and two other black women treated for shock after a bomb blast at the Sanlam Centre in central Johannesburg at 2.25pm yesterday.

Ms Grace Loni sustained severe head injuries, while Ms Mary Mapengo and Ms Miriam Khalo were badly shocked.

Mrs Angela Ross said: "I saw a black woman lying on

the food in t' A had outs' ner stret W seco' sions were Po appa pet r

**BACK NEXT WEEK! Your sparkling MAGAZINE plus CHA**



ence research for the SABC, said yesterday he and his sons were looking in the other direction when the boat hit the bank.

"The first I knew of it was when I felt a bang on my head."

Hermann was flown to the Johannesburg Hospital, while his father and brother drove to the hospital, Dr van Vuuren said.

Dr van Vuuren said the driver of the boat, Johan Herbst, had telephoned to apologise.

● See picture on Page 6.

## Swazis arrest 'ANC 4'

*SMK 5/11/87*  
The Star's Africa News Service  
MBABANE — Four alleged African National Congress members were arrested by Swazi police over the weekend when arms were found in their house, it was confirmed today.

Police sources said six landmines, eight hand grenades, three time bombs and an undisclosed number of other weapons were found in a raid on Saturday morning at a house in the Mbabane suburb of Thembelihle.

A number of arms caches have been found in this area.

# Senior Certificate results

Pretoria Bureau

The results of National Senior Certificate examinations completed this year by 30 609 candidates were released today by the Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly.

Three people obtained five distinctions apiece, seven received four distinctions, while 66 candidates gained two distinctions and 342 obtained one distinction.

However, a department spokesman said it was impossible to say how many people had completed their NSC studies this year, as most candidates took two or three years to write the various subjects needed for the qualification.

The department said the number of candidates this year was 16,25 percent up on the number of people who wrote these exams in 1985.

There was a total of 88 558 registrations for individual subjects — an increase of nearly 17 percent on last year's figure.

These increases were significant "in the light of the fact that about 90 percent of all candidates, the so-called

part-time candidates, are employed on a full-time basis".

The NSC examinations were written at 262 centres across the country. A total of 9 989 candidates wrote in the Cape, 9 456 in the Transvaal, 2 227 in Natal and 939 in the Orange Free State.

In addition, 7 983 people wrote in Namibia, 15 in Canberra, Australia, while others wrote in The Hague, Lisbon, London, Milan, Munich, New York, Paris, Umtata, Washington and Zurich.

Apart from those candidates who are already employed, and therefore registered for less than six subjects, there was also a large number of people who entered for the full curriculum of six or seven subjects.

The department said that among these candidates were a number who suffered from some handicap such as deafness, blindness, epilepsy and cerebral palsy.

● As a service to readers, The Star is running a result phone-in service today, Telephone 633-2523 for your results.

# ANC is 75 years old this month

Love post  
5/1/87  
11A

And is no longer written off as an unsuccessful terror movement

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress — 75 years old this month — is no longer being written off in South Africa as the world's least successful terrorist organisation.

The black nationalist movement, which turned to violence after being banned in 1960, is nowhere near a classic guerilla victory in its fight for majority rule.

But after three years of unprecedented upheavals in South Africa's townships, it has won recognition from the Government as its main enemy and a major security threat.

South African Government sources used to pour scorn on the ANC's guerilla operations and it justified crackdowns on dissent by speaking in general terms of an international, communist-backed "total onslaught" against its rule.

But the Government now frequently names the ANC as its enemy. Imposing emergency rule in June, Pretoria said it was necessary to thwart ANC plans for large-scale unrest.

Stepped up media censorship in December was announced as a measure to counter alleged ANC plans for a "Christmas terror campaign."

A top Government information official explained the link by saying the ANC and its jailed leader Nelson Mandela were receiving more positive publicity than the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Mrs Helen Suzman, opposition spokeswoman on law and order, believes the Government is partly responsible for popularising the ANC, at least in the black townships.



HELEN SUZMAN  
... "harassment"



OLIVER TAMBO  
... on BBC

"The Government is a first-class publicity agent for all organisations strongly opposed to it. The constant harassment of ANC-orientated people and organisations gives the ANC tremendous credibility among blacks."

Support for the ANC, particularly among youths, was fuelled by tough security force reaction in the townships when political protest erupted in 1984.

"Police excesses contributed to keeping emo-

tions at fever pitch. All this has been an incentive to further violence," she said.

The ANC is estimated to have put 10 000 members through training camps, although Western diplomats believe many of these may be refugees who have been given some military training rather than fully effective guerilla fighters.

But the organisation's formal military strength is less relevant since it apparently resolved a long tactical debate by acknowledging it could not expect a military victory against heavily-armed security forces.

Instead, analysts believe the ANC has settled on a mixed strategy of attacks by its guerilla wing *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) backed by militant mass protest.

In the independent Weekly Mail, Mr Craig Williamson, a former police spy who infiltrated the ANC with much success, recently challenged the view that MK, as *Umkhonto we Sizwe* is known, is a dismal failure.

"The correct way to judge MK and its success or failure has nothing to

do with the number of cadres trained, armed, captured or killed, or with the number of bombs exploded or deaths caused by injuries," he says.

"If one defines MK as an organisation of 'political fighters' which aims to increase the degree of popular participation in the 'struggle' to the level at which ANC revolutionary aims become general

aims, then MK has not yet failed. The next 10 years will tell."

Diplomats say emergency censorship has probably helped security forces pick up or eliminate ANC activists.

There has been a significant increase in terror attacks in South Africa in the past year, although analysts are sceptical whether the ANC was capable of generating the degree of violence which Pretoria alleged — and the organisation claimed privately — last June and December.

● To mark the anniversary, the BBC radio programme, *The World This Weekend*, had a lengthy documentary on the organisation. It quoted the leader, Oliver Tambo, and other executive members. — Sapa-Reuter

# Labour leaders paper over cracks of dissent to stay in Parliament

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The Labour Party ended its 21st annual congress at the weekend firmly wedded to its policy of working within the tricameral Parliament as a means of dismantling apartheid.

Stresses within the party caused by doubts as to the value of staying in Parliament and the Cabinet were papered over by the leadership.

Attempts to debate the implications of continuing to participate in Parliament were rejected by the leadership on the basis that to discuss the matter would be an insult to party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Hendrickse, the deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, said, had dealt adequately with the issue in his speech at the opening of the conference.

By refusing to deal with the issue at the congress, the leadership angered a number of its MPs who have become deeply disturbed by what they perceive to be the National Party's manipulation and abuse of Labour's presence in Parliament and the Cabinet.

Their disillusionment arises from the fact that after 27 months of the National Party's "healthy power sharing" constitution:

- President Botha is still unable to give more than one token Cabinet post (without portfolio) to each of the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament.

- Every one of the many new deputy ministers appointed recently by Mr Botha was selected from the National Party.

## Rabie elected deputy chairman

PORT ELIZABETH — The controversial Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, Mr Jac Rabie, was elected national deputy chairman at the national congress at the weekend.

He defeated Mr Abe Williams by a comfortable majority.

Earlier, Mr Rabie

failed in his bid to become national chairman when the Rev Andrew Julies was re-elected.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse was unanimously re-elected.

Others re-elected were: deputy leader Mr Miley Richards, nation-

- The National Party showed its contempt for "healthy power-sharing" last year by ramming two security Bills through Parliament against the express wishes of the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse made no mention of these slights in his opening speech.

At a Press conference at the end of the conference, he opened the way for the Labour Party to stay in the system for longer than the original five years he gave it to demolish apartheid.

Labour, he said at the Press conference, had always said that unless there was an indication of real reform, it would pull out of the tricameral Parliament.

If the end of the process of real reform was in sight but had not been finalised, by which he meant the scrapping of the Population Registration Act, then, he hinted, Labour would stay.

To be sure, the Labour leader did threaten in his speech to the party conference that unless his party's demands that the Group Areas Act be scrapped were met, the party would reconsider its participation in the tricameral system.

At his subsequent Press conference he said there could be no compromise on this. It was something which was evil.

President Botha's failure to make healthy power-sharing meaningful for the coloured and Indian participants has embarrassed the Labour leadership — so rather than allow a public discussion on the merits of further participation, the Labour leadership is obliged to make threats and demands.

al secretary Mr Fred Peters and national treasurer Mr Vernon Sass.

Mr Hendrickse announced that Mr D Roper would be the Labour Party candidate in the by-election in the Transvaal seat of Bosmont on March 4. — Sapa.

# ANC celebrates 75th anniversary this week

LONDON. — In capitals throughout Africa and Europe the African National Congress (ANC) will be celebrating its 75th anniversary this week.

To mark this, the BBC radio programme "The World This Weekend" had a lengthy documentary on the organization.

It quoted the secretary, Mr Oliver Tambo, as well as such executive members as Ms Ruth Mompati and Umkhonto we Sizwe and communist representative Mr Joe Slovo.

It was debated whether young black radicals had not become more extreme than some of the leadership, such as Mr Tambo.

Mr Slovo took a position against communist domination of the ANC.

It was generally agreed that an escalation of violence and the political struggle would escalate.

# Hendrickse — in the swim

by DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff *Abbas 5/1/87 (119)*

**PICTURE** the scene: Sand between your toes, a howling wind and the leader of the Labour Party, Chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives and Cabinet Minister to boot, in natty robe and bathing trunks, about to take the plunge on a whites only beach.

It's often not the thunderous political platform rhetoric, the weighty evidence, or the impressive statistic that really hits home.

Mostly it's a lot plainer than that, the political offensive which lands a convincing and popular punch in the flabby belly of the establishment.

When the Reverend Allan Hendrickse departed from his Labour Party's 21st congress agenda for a simple early morning dip on a Port Elizabeth beach this weekend, he slipped his most confrontational speeches, and made the really significant and roughly reliable political int of the weekend.

Surely, says the reasonable person, what the Labour Party leader has for supper when congress adjourns and what does in the shower the next morning has little but most tenuous psychological impact on the great political manoeuvrings of the day.

But, when Mr Hendrickse strutted across the sand that ordinary, everyday nonetheless "whites only" beach (and his strut was not dignified when you con-

The scene was ludicrous. And the Press was caught with its pants... well... on. We'd come to cover a congress, and here we were in suits and city garb flapping about on a beach in pursuit of the newsmaking event of the day.

The security police were making movies too, the sound man muttering a commentary into a sort of bath sponge he had wrapped around his microphone. And their chief on the spot looked for all the world like a tourist from the northern Transvaal.

**I**F the political arena has been likened to a circus then this was Pepe's most side-splitting sight gag.

Only this wasn't Pepe, and the majority were not at this circus of their own free will. This was the leader of a political party recognised by the Government as legitimate and in having what might have been a private paddle, Mr Hendrickse was breaking the law in most flagrant fashion.

He body surfed and splashed for a bit and then shrugged into his towelling wrap... "I used to swim here as a kid you know... before they moved us to this beach and then that and then the other."

A white PE resident — and the racial discrimination on PE beaches has had emotions running high of late with 18 arrests made on one "white" beach only two days before this Labour Party splash — came out in support and said why hadn't Mr Hendrickse come down for his swim at noon so that more people have witnessed the

leading to the most recent media clampdown.

Mr Hendrickse came back with an outraged denial.

Mr Botha re-affirmed his commitment to the principle of separate residential areas after Mr Hendrickse had taken a hard line on the Group Areas Act in his opening address to congress and, using the congress slogan "now is the time", asserted that the demise of this "iniquitous" legislation was the issue on which his party would not compromise during the forthcoming parliamentary session.

"Yes, in the light of the white election I'm sure Mr Botha must find my stand on the Group Areas Act embarrassing," said Mr Hendrickse. "But I am not a member of the National Party; I don't subscribe to their ideology. And in respect of Group Areas there is no compromise. You can't compromise on an evil. It has to go."

Mr Hendrickse said he was not planning to see Mr Botha on these two issues.

"If he wants to see me it must be at his initiative."

**B**UT whether the two thrash the points out behind closed doors or not, and no matter where the absolute truth might be found between accusation and denial, it's Mr Hendrickse's swim that Labour delegates and supporters are going to hold dear as their memento of the 1987 congress.

"We must go to the beach if only to write our names in the sand," was the view of one supporter overheard on a PE hotel staircase.

said no complaints had been received by the local police.

So it all went off quite swimmingly.

**C**ONGRESS business more particular to the agenda saw through a number of predictable motions.

The delegates backed the party's anti-sanctions stand and the Natal-Kwazulu Indaba came in for praise as an effective move along the road to the non-racial geographic federation the Labour Party has set as its goal.

More interestingly, and with particular relevance to the Western Cape, Mr Hendrickse broadened the scope of a motion calling for under-utilised (i.e. white) teacher-training facilities to be thrown open to other groups.

(Will this man sink or swim?, they mused.)

Mr Hendrickse in baring his chest, arms and legs to world cameras, was effectively exposing a very weak spot in the Separate Amenities Act and, by implication, the vulnerable underbelly of this act's big brother, the Group Areas Act.

He said all education facilities should be thrown open.

"And university administration should be the authorities to determine admission at their universities and not the Minister of Education in the House of Assembly," said Mr Hendrickse with congress concurring enthusiastically.

On the white election issue, Mr Hendrickse said he had "no problem", though he anticipated that the first three months or so of the parliamentary session beginning at the end of the month would be a period of limbo for the Labour Party while the National Party did everything possible to keep any changes in respect of Group Areas legislation at bay... and in so doing the wolves at the rightwing door.

He answered in his most serious tone (and that's a tone he has taped): "I have congress business."

**A**ND so to congress business. It produced a little fracas between the State President Mr PW Botha and Mr Hendrickse with accusations going this way and that.

Mr Botha said Mr Hendrickse as Cabinet Minister had been party to decisions

If though, the three houses in the tricameral parliament were holding a general election now, it would be logical to assume that the LP ticket would be one seeking to scrap the Group Areas Act, while the NP ticket would be conciliatory to the right and hold Group Areas aloft as something not to be tumbled.

In an election of this nature, the LP would not rank as an opposition party of course but in some weird and constitutionally wonderful way be on the "same side" as the National Party.

The parallels between a ludicrous but undeniably significant Labour Party swim session and an election of this nature might be as close as one wave following another.

"They say the water turned black where you swam," was an in-party joke at breakfast.

And where, by the way, was the local Herstigte Nasionale Party, whose supporters had threatened to patrol the beachfront after Mr Hendrickse invited his entire audience at the opening of the congress to join him for this swim?

The HNP said they would report any "law-breakers". But regional news services

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# Botha and Hendrickse collide

## Political Staff and Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Rev Allan Hendrickse are on a collision course over the emergency press restrictions, with the Labour Party leader stating bluntly yesterday that it was up to Mr Botha to initiate discussions on the issue.

The two leaders are also at loggerheads over the Group Areas Act.

The disagreement over press curbs stems from objections voiced by Mr Hendrickse when he opened the 21st annual congress of the Labour Party on Friday night.

This prompted speculation that the State President might eventually dismiss Mr Hendrickse from the cabinet unless they resolved the argument.

Reacting to a statement from Mr Botha in which he asked why Mr Hendrickse had not protested to the cabinet when he heard about the curbs, the Labour Party leader said it was "absolutely false" to say he had been at the cabinet meeting when the curbs

were approved.

When it was pointed out to Mr Hendrickse that the State President had not stated he was at the cabinet meeting, the Labour Party leader responded that he stood by what he had said.

And, he elaborated later, there had not been a cabinet meeting since the introduction of the latest regulations at which he might have raised the issue.

Yesterday, the Labour Party leader told a press conference that he was not planning to see the State President, adding "any meeting must take place at his initiative".

In terms of the constitution, the State President is bound to name one member of the Ministers' Council to the cabinet. This would allow him to sack Mr Hendrickse and appoint another member of the council.

In November, 1984 Mr Botha fired the Minister of the Budget in the House of Delegates for breaching cabinet confidentiality at a public meeting in Port Elizabeth.

There is also deadlock over the Group

Areas Act.

Mr Hendrickse threatened during the weekend to review participation in the tri-cameral Parliament if the Group Areas Act was not repealed, with Mr Botha immediately replying that the principle of separate residential areas would not be surrendered.

Asked at yesterday's press briefing whether he saw this as the final word on the subject, Mr Hendrickse expressed the hope that the State President's statement had been made in the light of the coming election.

He said Mr Botha had at one time stated that coloured people would never sit in Parliament, but this had happened.

"I don't believe that 'never-nevers' mean never," he added.

Turning to his acknowledgment that the Labour Party had requested that group areas for coloured people be proclaimed "through force of circumstance and not of choice" because it was the only way to get more land, Mr Hendrickse denied this had

involved the removal of other people.

Asked about his Party's original decision at Eshowe to participate in the tri-cameral Parliament for a trial period of five years, the Labour Party leader said the party would withdraw unless there was an "indication" that apartheid was being scrapped

And that, he spelled out, meant that the whole "process of reform" had to be finalized, including the repeal of the Population Registration Act, which would mean that all apartheid legislation would disappear.

Mr Hendrickse added, however, that he did not expect any real progress to be made during the first three months of this year.

● The controversial Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, Mr Jac Rabie, finally achieved election as a national office-bearer when he was elected national deputy-chairman, defeating Mr Abe Williams by a comfortable majority.

● See "NP 'committed' to Group Areas", page 7

JOHANNESBURG. — About 2 000 people attended a funeral at the weekend for a 22-year-old black militant killed in what appeared to be a family feud of Christmas slayings in Soweto.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, attended the funeral service at the dead man's home and the graveside ceremony that followed at Avalon Cemetery. "Comrades", or young militants, chanted slogans in praise of the ANC, Mr Mandela and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, saying: "The country must be liberated."

There was no violence or police action, according to a witness, but some of the militants hijacked 13 cars and three vans to travel from the funeral service to the

# Rumours trigger fears after 'necklace' burials

CANC 7/1/88 5/1/88  
11/1/88

cemetery.

Mrs Mandela said she had asked the family to hold the funeral on Saturday, rather than on Sunday as they had planned, in an effort to lower tension in the township. Rumours and different versions of the events surrounding the three deaths have led to expectation of more violence, township residents said.

The community residents say Mr Philip Meja Mothoa, 22, known as a "comrade", was stabbed and burned to death on

Christmas Eve in the Mofula section of Soweto. He was killed in the "necklace" method.

First reports in the community were that a rival faction of "comrades" had killed Mr Mothoa, believing him to be a police informer, residents said.

But on Christmas Day Mr Mothoa's stepmother was also necklaced after returning from a holiday. Residents said his friends went hunting for her, saying she had hired a gang of thugs to kill her son out of family

jealousy and that the killers had merely masqueraded as a rival gang of "comrades". They say the woman was taken in a car to the site where her son had died and was necklaced.

Also on Christmas Day, Mr Bongani Molefe, one of the men rumoured to be responsible for Mr Mothoa's death, was necklaced, residents say.

Mr Mothoa's father declined to talk about the deaths, and some radicals have suggested he may be a target, too.

None of the deaths was mentioned in the government Bureau for Information's daily unrest reports. These reports, based on information the police give the bureau, are the only official source of information on unrest under the state of emergency decrees. Sapa-AP

## East Rand vigilantes on the rampage

# YOUTHS SLAIN

THREE youths were killed at the weekend when vigilantes went on the rampage in Tembisa and Leandra.

The three are Mr Fixon Seakamela Mashakgomo (19), Mr Milchin Macasane and Mr Vusi Power Nkonde.

Mr Nkonde is from Leandra and the others are from Tembisa.

Mr Mashakgomo, a standard 8 pupil at Giyane High School, was allegedly kidnaped, stabbed and hacked with pangas by a group of men on Sunday night.

### Attacked

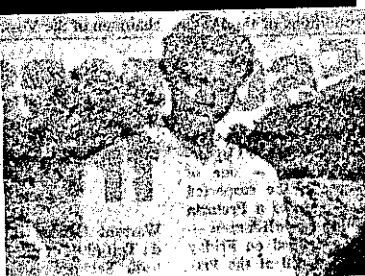
Mr Mashakgomo, who was an official of the Tembisa Student Organisation and the Tembisa Youth Congress, was attacked on his way home from a meeting in the township. This was the second attack on him in two weeks.

Mr Macasane was stabbed and his body later dumped in the veld near Mfeyaneng Section on Friday night.

A former Mamelodi United midfielder, Mr Nkonde was shot and killed during an alleged attack by a group of vigilantes in his Leandra home on Sunday.

According to witnesses, Mr Nkonde's younger brother, Patrick — who is also a soccer player — and a relative were seriously wounded when the vigilantes allegedly opened fire on members of the family on Sunday afternoon.

SOWETAN Reporters



FIXON MASHAKGOMO: Student leader killed.

They were rushed to the Far East Rand Hospital where they are being treated for gunshot wounds, the witnesses said.

Several activists in Tembisa have been attacked and homes destroyed during raids which families said appeared to be a "total onslaught" on youth movements in the area.

Mrs Eaglet Mashakgomo told the *Sowetan* that her son was stabbed and wounded by the

Handwritten notes: "11A", "Sowetan", "6/1/87"

School in Tembisa.

"My son was not at home and the group smashed my windows with stones. My other son, Chris, who was inside the house, was assaulted by the men when he told them he did not know where Dominico was," she said.

After the attack on her family, she added, the group left and went to three neighbouring houses where they also stoned and assaulted people. They told the families that they wanted to eradicate all those youths who caused trouble in the township.

Miss Nomsa Stunda said her home was stoned by the group after they demanded to see her brother. The group had told her that her brother was a "troublemaker".

Several youths, who are members of the Tembisa Students Organisation and Youth Congress, said they were living in fear of their lives after the group threatened to attack them.

A police spokesman said that they had not received a report on the incidents and the families should report to the local police station.

group two weeks ago. He was accused by the men of being one of the "comrades (youths) who caused trouble in the township."

"On Sunday we received a report that he was stabbed and hacked to death. I do not know of any trouble my son caused in the township," Mrs Mashakgomo said.

Her son was detained twice under the emergency regulations in 1985 and 1986, she added.

Mrs Annah Zulu, whose home was stoned, said armed men came to her house and said they wanted her son, Dominico, who is a pupil at Thuto Ke Matla High



Mr EDWARD PERKINS (left) the new US Ambassador to South Africa yesterday paid a brief visit to Vosloorus on the East Rand. He also visited Alexandra Township. In this picture taken in Vosloorus, he is seen with the Reverend Andrew Makhene of the Vosloorus AME church. See story Page 2.

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**R100,000 IN PRIZES**  
 IT'S Swop-A-Stamp time again!  
**R100 000 in prizes must be won in this great, fun contest. See pages 10, 11, 12 and 18**



## Swazi cops arrest 'ANC 4'

6/18/87  
SOWETAN  
MBABANE — Swazi police have arrested four people they say are members of the African National Congress after finding arms at their house, police sources said.

The arrests were made on Saturday when police raided a house in Thembelihle, a suburb in Swaziland's capital Mbabane, they said.

The sources added that police uncovered six landmines, eight handgrenades, three time bombs, ammunition and a Soviet-made automatic pistol.

Last week, a Mbabane court fined an ANC member 500 dollars (about R1 100) for illegally possessing arms of war.

11A  
Swaziland has a non-aggression pact with South Africa designed to curb activities of the ANC.

Hundreds of ANC supporters have been rounded up in Swaziland in the past four years and deported after being accused of either having arms of war or entering the country illegally. — Sapa-Reuter.



"If one group of people are allowed to swim off what was meant to be a whites-only beach there is no justification to charge or fine another group on a previous occasion or any other group on a subsequent occasion," says Mr. Peter Soal. DAVID BRAUN of the Political Staff reports.

# Beach apartheid has come to an end, says the PFP

ARGUS 6/1/87 11A 282

BEACH apartheid in South Africa came to an end with the weekend plunge into a white section of the ocean by Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister the Rev Allan Hendrickse and his supporters, the Progressive Federal Party says.

Mr Peter Soal, Information spokesman for the PFP, said: "This is an end to beach apartheid. Whether the Administrator of the Cape allows Port Elizabeth beaches to be used by all races is irrelevant, as indeed it would be along the entire South African coastline."

Mr Soal said that if one group of people were allowed to swim off what was meant to be a whites-only beach then there was no justification to charge or fine another group on a previous occasion or any other group on a subsequent occasion.

PFP spokesman on Law and Order Mrs Helen Suzman said the fact that Mr Hendrickse and his supporters were allowed to swim at a whites-only beach highlighted the selectivity of the Government's victims.

She called for the immediate refunding of fines paid by blacks for swimming at Port Elizabeth's white beaches last week and for the de-

struction of any official records of these offences.

"The State President has himself said the Separate Amenities Act must go. He should not now hold back because of the election, but have the guts to do what is right and get rid of this law," Mrs Suzman said.

A spokesman for the Cape Administration, which is responsible for administering segregated beaches in the province in terms of the Separate Amenities Act, said today that the Act was still officially in force.

"If people felt aggrieved at the terms of the Act being flouted, it was for them to go to the Police and ask them to take action. It was up to the Police to decide whether anything should be done.

"As far as we are concerned Mr Hendrickse's use of the white beach in Port Elizabeth has not changed the application of the Act," he said.

The spokesman pointed out that it was well known that the President's Council was investigating the provisions of the Separate Amenities Act, but until such time that an official decision was taken to amend or repeal the law it still applied.



Cabinet Minister the Rev Allan Hendrickse, right, and his son, Mr Peter Hendrickse, take the plunge in the "whites-only" King's beach in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

# Hendrickse threatened with election

GOVERNMENT has made a veiled threat to Labour Party (LP) leader and Cabinet Minister without portfolio Allan Hendrickse to stop embarrassing government or face a general election for the House of Representatives.

Hendrickse was not available for comment yesterday, but a senior LP MP told *Business Day* last night: "We got the message yesterday: stop criticising the Group Areas Act and other government

MAX DU PREEZ

actions, or President P W Botha will disband Parliament and all three houses will have to go to the polls. In fact, one senior Nat MP pleaded with us to stop rocking the boat until after the election."

According to NP sources, Botha was "furious" with Hendrickse after the swimming demonstration at Port Elizabeth's King's Beach in front of several in-

ternational TV cameras.

Associates of Hendrickse said there was "considerable pressure" on him to resign as Cabinet Minister.

□ Port Elizabeth police yesterday confirmed that they were investigating complaints lodged by the public.

This includes a complaint made yesterday morning by the regional organiser of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Attie Looock.

6/11/87 Bus day

6/1/87  
Group  
wants to  
'disband'  
UDF, (11A)  
Azapo EVB  
Post

Post Reporter

THE African Persons' Concerned Committee — launched on Sunday in Kwanobuhle, Uitenhage — has pledged to "disband all political organisations in the township", including the United Democratic Front and Azapo.

A spokesman, Mr Joseph Maliwa, of Khayelitsha township on the outskirts of Kwanobuhle, told the Evening Post today the establishment of the committee was a spontaneous reaction by "concerned" members of the community who were "tired of the intimidation of 'comrades' holding the township to ransom".

The APCC was not a political organisation, he said, and had no connection with the Azanian Youth Unity group. When formed on Sunday, it "decided to disband all organisations", including the UDF and Azapo.

The steering committee was worried about social order in the township and was opposed to any boycott action because this led to "intimidation and lowering of morals" and a situation where children no longer abided by the authority of their elders.

Asked what steps the APCC would take to combat apartheid, Mr Maliwa said it was "going to come out clearly at a proposed meeting on Saturday what the people's stand would be". A programme would be decided on.

He said the committee was awaiting permission to hold a meeting at Kwanobuhle Stadium at which all would be welcome.

11/11/87

# Sweden to increase ANC aid

STOCKHOLM. — Sweden intends to increase sharply its support for the ANC in the next fiscal year, a government official said yesterday.

In its 1987 budget, which will be unveiled next week, the social democratic government proposes raising its "humanitarian support" for the African National Congress to 57 million Swedish kronor (R18.5 million) from this year's 43 million kronor. The 32 percent increase will reportedly make Sweden one of the world's largest contributors to the ANC,

whose leader Mr Nelson Mandela has been imprisoned since 1963.

"We want to show the importance of the struggle against apartheid," the Minister of Foreign Aid, Ms Lena Hjelm-Wallen, was quoted as saying by the national news agency, Tidningarnas Telegrambyra.

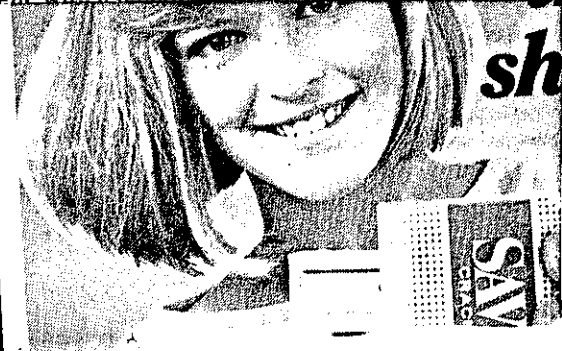
The Swedish government advocates an international trade embargo against the Pretoria government. But as the United Nations has failed to take action, pressure has increased for Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's government to introduce a sepa-

rate Swedish embargo which, proponents argue, would work as a lead to the rest of the world.

"Obviously, we are disappointed that sanctions have not been decided yet, but the world has not yet made up its mind," said Ms Hjelm-Wallen.

She said increased support for the ANC was part of a new package of increased help to Southern Africa. But she declined to specify how much assistance would be proposed in the new budget, which will take effect on July 1. — Sapa-AP

## Ex-Swapo official dies



# Stuttafords

CLAREMONT — 9.00am to 5.30pm.  
CITY — 7.30am to 5.30pm.

# The Freedom Charter: Policy basis of the ANC

CARL TUNIB 6/18/75 (11A)

## Preamble

WE, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white, together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this *Freedom Charter*. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

## The people shall govern

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which makes laws.

All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country.

The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex.

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

## Groups shall have equal rights

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

## Wealth shared

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

**THE African National Congress (ANC) turns 75 years old this week. The Freedom Charter, the policy basis of the ANC, both unites and divides millions of South Africans. It unites the "charterist" organizations which adhere to it and divides them from other black organizations who object in particular to its inclusion of whites. There has in the past been discussion in the Cape Times columns about the charter's economic implications. As a contribution to the public debate, the Cape Times publishes in full the charter as adopted by the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955.**

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the people's well-being;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

## The land shall be shared

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with agriculture;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

## Equality before the law

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All the laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

## All shall enjoy equal human rights

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize, to meet together, to pub-

lish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

## There shall be work and security

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognize the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

## Doors of learning shall be opened

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and tech-

nical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a state education plan; Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

## Houses, security and comfort

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

## Peace and friendship

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland (now Lesotho and Botswana) and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self government shall be recognized, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty."

# Mozambique to expel top ANC man

7/11/87 NIM  
LIR

MAPUTO—Six officials of the African National Congress will be withdrawn from Mozambique this week after South Africa demanded they be expelled, Government sources said yesterday.

They said ANC leader Oliver Tambo, who visited Maputo last week, had discussed this with Govern-

ment officials and agreed the six should leave for their own safety.

The sources said the six included the ANC's chief representative in Mozambique, Jacob Zuma, who spent some years on Robben Island.

Others in the group were political activist and former Robben Island detainee Indress Naidoo, who wrote a best-selling book, *Island in Chains*, about his experiences, and a white woman, Sue Rabkin, who was also once jailed for her political activities.

## Threat

Mrs Rabkin is the widow of South African journalist David Rabkin who was killed in a car crash in Angola two years ago.

The sources said South Africa, which signed a non-aggression pact with Mozambique in 1984, had told Mozambique the six had to go because they were a threat to its security.

Mozambique expelled hundreds of ANC members following the signing of the Nkomati peace pact but has since charged that Pretoria was flouting the accord by continuing to back MNR rebels.

Pretoria has said its aid to the insurgents was only technical, and aimed at starting negotiations between the Government and the rebels. — (Sapa-Reuter)

# Application challenging emergency regulations postponed

7/1/87  
STAT  
11A

DURBAN — An urgent application in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday challenging the Government's latest emergency regulations was adjourned to January 29.

The application is being brought by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) against the State President, the Government, the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police.

UDF executive chairman Mr Curnick Ndhlovu, and Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the RMC, asked in papers that all the regulations promulgated on December 11 be declared null and void, alternatively, that key sections be declared unlawful.

The application was provisionally set down for January 29 and 30 for hearing by a Full Bench, and to allow the respondents time to file affidavits.

In his founding affidavit, Mr Ndhlovu said the UDF sought an order declaring the December 11 regulations to be of no force and effect. Alternatively, the UDF challenged the validity of regulations 3(1), 4(1), 5, 7; the definition of "security action" in 1(1); the definition of "subversive statement" in 1(1) and regulation 1(2).

He said the applicants considered it "fundamental that they should have the right to be vigorously critical of (the Government's) policies and to organise and conscientise public opinion against such

policies without the inhibitions sought to be prescribed.

"It is the belief of the applicants that the present state of unrest and tension will continue in the country and that the state of emergency will not be terminated unless and until (the Government) radically changes and amends its present policies and permits those who disagree with such policies to make manifest their views in terms of structures which are legitimate and credible."

The regulations contained provisions which were "void for vagueness in that no ascertainable meaning can be given to them", Mr Ndhlovu submitted.

An attorney for the applicants, Mr Amichand Soman, said in a supporting affidavit that the regulations constituted "serious invasions into the applicants' right of free expression and comment", and that they impeded their activities and publications.

Mr Mokoena said in his affidavit that the RMC and its supporters believed there could be no lasting peace or reconciliation in South Africa until and unless the socio-political causes which gave rise to conflict were addressed.

"The effect of the regulations has been substantially to paralyse many of the activities of (the RMC), which has prepared literature and statements which cannot be distributed if the regulations are indeed valid," he said. — Sapa.



# Stability is ANC's strength — Times

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The African National Congress's long and relatively stable history is one of its most important strengths, and has been crucial in making it the centre of political gravity for South Africa's blacks.

This is one of the points made in a major article in *The Times* today marking the organisation's 75th birthday this week. It is headlined: "One man, one vote, one ANC".

The author, George Brock, says when other organisations have been weakened or destroyed by the debilitating rivalries which flourish in the inactivity of exile, the ANC has held together.

The ANC's actual support is impossible to measure with any accuracy. But it is beyond question that the last few years have seen an upturn in its fortunes, taking it to a peak of influence and activity it has not enjoyed since the 1950s.

Its greatest coup, he thinks, was the visit by a group of powerful white businessmen to Lusaka in September 1985.

## MEETINGS

It was only one of a string of meetings between its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and businessmen in Europe and the United States.

And the corporate ambassadors have been followed at a distance by the British and American Governments, who have dropped their insistence that the ANC renounce violence before talks.

Brock says the ANC faces two serious problems in its push for support outside black South Africa.

First, it has failed to condemn the anarchic cruelty of the "comrades" in the townships and the civilian casualties in bombings. Second, its leadership overlaps with the hierarchy of the South African Communist Party and many of Umkhonto we Sizwe's weapons are from the Soviet Union.

It is plainly absurd to picture the ANC as a purely Christian democratic organisation, he says. But nor is it a certainty that communists would automatically seize power from their more moderate colleagues once the first phase of a nationalist victory was achieved.

He thinks these questions of the future eventually boil down to a view of the mind of one 68-year-old man, Nelson Mandela, whose image dominates the entire ANC.

"His views — apparently moderate ones — on these questions are likely to prevail if he ever gets out of jail."

11A 2 7/1/87 STAT

By Rich Mkhondo

One of the last two Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) prisoners jailed for life 24 years ago has been on a hunger strike at Diepkloof Prison for a month and is in poor health, say sources close to the family. Jeff Masemola of At-

# PAC life prisoner said to be on hunger strike

terigeville, who with John Nkosi declined President Botha's conditional release offer 11 months ago is said to have been on a hunger strike since the first week in December. Four

other PAC prisoners accepted the offer, which was conditional on their rejecting violence.

Prisons Service spokesman Colonel A E van Vuuren said: "Yes, he is on a hunger strike, but he

takes food and liquid occasionally. Allegations that he is seriously ill are not true. This looks like an attempt to get publicity. We provided Mr Masemola with three meals a day."

Masemola's family have been allowed to visit him today.

Masemola, John Nkosi and the the now-freed Dimake Malepe, Phillimon Tefu, Isaac Mthimnye and Samuel Chibane,

were sentenced in June 1963, the year before Nelson Mandela and other top ANC figures were jailed for life.

Masemola was a teacher and the others students when they were found

guilty of planning an insurrection.

According to the Institute of Race Relations, at least 22 people are still serving life sentences. Two are members of PAC, 19 are ANC members and the other is a person convicted for espionage.



# Ribeiro killings: Robey still missing from home

By Rob Nuttall

An ex-Rhodesian soldier linked to a vehicle apparently used by men

at school his occupation was listed simply as "soldier". His wife told reporters

ily was on holiday on the Natal coast.

Police have repeatedly refused to divulge any in-

7/1/87 STAT

7/1/87  
BUS DAY  
TVA

# Govt challenged over Mandela

GOVERNMENT should release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman said in a New Year statement issued yesterday.

He said the institute was not reiterating its earlier calls for the release of political prisoners as a sop to Western opinion, but because it was necessary for SA's internal politics.

This was especially so if there was to be any chance of getting fully representative constitutional negotiations with black leaders off the ground.

"The government is known to be worried that Mr Mandela's release might precipitate violence. Obviously it would generate such excitement that there would be a risk of a spillover into violence. However, bold

ALAN FINE

moves in politics are seldom without risk, and Mr Mandela's release has become a necessary symbolic political act.

"It is also precisely the kind of gesture that the government should make in response to the widespread calls from black political organisations for children to go back to school. These calls have been made without preconditions, which is all the more reason for such a gesture.

"Moreover, since the government's own figures claim that political violence has greatly diminished, it should feel confident that it can release Mr Mandela from a position of strength, and not because its back is to the wall," Kane-Berman said.

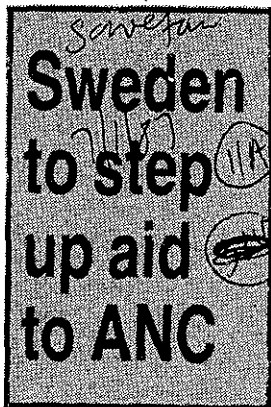
STOCKHOLM — Sweden intends to sharply increase its support next fiscal year for the African National Congress, a government official said on Monday.

In its 1987 budget, which will be unveiled next week, the Social Democratic government proposes raising its "humanitarian support" for the ANC to R19 million.

The 32 percent increase will reportedly make Sweden one of the world's largest contributors to the ANC, whose leader Nelson Mandela has been imprisoned since 1963.

### **Struggle**

"We want to show the importance of the struggle against apartheid," Minister of Foreign Aid Ms. Lena Hjelm-Wallen was quoted as saying by the



national news agency *Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå*.

The Swedish government advocates an international trade embargo against the white minority regime in Pretoria.

But as the United Nations has failed to take action, pressure has increased for Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's government to introduce a separate

Swedish embargo, which, proponents argue, would work as a lead to the rest of the world.

"Obviously we are disappointed that sanctions have not been decided yet, but the world has not yet made up its mind," said Ms. Hjelm-Wallen.

### **Help**

She said increased support for the ANC was part of a new package of increased help to Southern Africa. But she declined to specify how much assistance will be proposed in the budget, which takes effect on July 1.

Last year, neutral Sweden gave a total of R66 million to the ANC, humanitarian organizations inside South Africa and the Frontline States. — Sapa-AP.

# No reaction from Maputo over expulsion claims

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — The Mozambican authorities were today silent on reports that they had agreed to expel six African National Congress (ANC) officials from Maputo after South Africa demanded their expulsion.

There has been no official reaction or comment to the reports.

Among those to be expelled is the ANC's chief representative in Mozambique, Mr Jacob Zuma, but it is not clear whether the ANC's offices in Maputo will be closed.

When Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord with South Africa, in 1984, hundreds of ANC members were expelled but it was agreed the ANC could keep a small representation in the Mozambican capital.

On Monday Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano told foreign diplomats there was a possibility that South Africa could attack Mozambique within two weeks.

"We shall not rise to any provocation," Mr Chissano told the diplomats.

The SADF denied Mr Chissano's claims, describing them as "a propaganda ploy".

However, observers in Maputo now believe Mr Chissano could have been referring to demands by the South African Government to expel the ANC members or face retaliation.

The ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, visited Maputo last week and is reported to have agreed the six ANC members should leave for their own safety.

Other ANC members to be expelled are said to include Mr Indress Naidoo, a former Robben Island detainee, and Mrs Sue Rabkin.

# Collective action in the struggle for

## liberation

# Black SA students in the States unite

SOWETAN 7/1/87

11A



gle and as servants of the people, preparing themselves to assume meaningful roles in a post-apartheid society."

The inaugural conference also sends a strong message to other activists in the country and elsewhere that South Africans opposed to racism and exploitation can unite and effect joint ventures

despite their differences, according to the statement.

It also noted that the success of this organisation depends on the co-operation of all parties involved.

### Aims

Among the aims and objectives of Saasm are, to keep South African students organised for purposes of collective

action, to maintain and promote unity among the students regardless of affiliation or preference of the liberation movements or political organisations involved in the struggle. To foster and maintain normal and fraternal relations between "refugees" and "returnees", those who will in due course return to

South Africa and to prepare for the current struggle by developing manpower — technical or otherwise for post-apartheid society.

Saasm added that: "We know that we owe this as a duty to the people in our country, who have been able to organise under the most dangerous and difficult circumstances."



SELLO RABOTHATA ... the writer.

**OUR MAN** in the United States, SELLO RABOTHATA is doing a six-month stint at an American newspaper. His duties for the *Sowetan* while he is abroad include having a look at developments within the refugee community. In this article he reports on the formation of a student organisation for all exiled South Africans, whatever their political affiliation. He filed this report from Nashville, Tennessee.

tary general; former executive member of Sasco Dumisani Mahlasela as publicity and information director, and PAC member who is studying for a doctorate in law, Moyisi Majeke as treasurer.

More than 300 students, political and apolitical, exiles and returnees enthusiastically participated in deliberations and unanimously adopted a constitution. Freedom songs were sung and voting for office bearers took place across political affiliations.

The name of the organisation was decided by vote in a bid to satisfy all political ideologies and as a sign of dedication to the spirit of unity.

A statement was released at the end of the conference which said: "Black South Africans here see themselves as part of the liberation strug-

A historic event, with far reaching implications for the black liberation struggle in South Africa, took place with the formation of a national students body in Nashville, Tennessee, in the United States of America at the weekend.

The organisation of all black South African students studying at institutions in North America, irrespective of political persuasion, marked a milestone in the history of the country.

It was also the first time that members of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and exponents of the black consciousness movement came together and formally launched a united body.

### Elected

The organisation is called the South African/Azanian Students Movement (Saasm).

Elected to the first office are former president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) Saths Cooper as president; former chief delegate of the ANC's Mission to the United Nations, David Ndaba as deputy president; former secretary of the South African Students Committee (Sasco) in Washington DC, Ms Itumeleng Mokate as secre-

**T**HE African National Congress, 75 years old tomorrow, is no longer being written off in South Africa as "the world's least successful terrorist organisation."

The black nationalist movement, which turned to violence after it was banned in 1960, is nowhere near a classic guerilla victory in its fight for majority rule.

But after three years of unprecedented black revolt in South Africa's townships, it has won recognition from the Government as its main enemy and a major security threat.

Political analysts say this has in turn helped the outlawed ANC boost its overt political support in the townships — an increasingly important goal since it accepted how South African conditions impede conventional guerilla warfare.

South African Government sources used to pour scorn on the ANC's guerilla operations and it justified crackdowns on dissent by speaking in general terms of an international, communist-backed "total onslaught" against its rule.

But the Government now frequently names the ANC as its enemy. Imposing emergency rule in June, Pretoria said it was necessary to thwart ANC plans for large-scale unrest.

Stepped up media censorship in December was announced as a measure to counter to alleged ANC plans for a Christmas "terror campaign".

A top Government information official explained the link by saying that the ANC and its jailed leader Nelson Mandela were receiving more positive publicity than the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Mrs Helen Suzman, opposition spokeswoman on law and order, believes the Government is itself partly responsible for popularising the ANC, at least in the black townships.

"The Government is a first-class publicity agent for all organisations strongly opposed to it. The constant harassment of ANC-orientated people and organisations gives the ANC tremendous credibility among blacks," she said.

### Youths

Support for the ANC — especially among youths — was fuelled by tough security force reaction in the townships when political protest erupted in 1984, Mrs Suzman said.

"The police excesses contributed all the time to keeping emotions at fever pitch . . . all this has been an incentive to further violence."



Mr OLIVER TAMBO . . . ANC CHIEF



Albert Luthuli . . . former ANC leader.

# The ANC 75 years later...

7/1/87  
VIA  
Sawetun

## FOCUS

By Sapa-Reuter

An estimated 500 guerillas infiltrated into the townships are able to tap a reservoir of anti-government hostility among youths eager to be recruited either for training outside the country or to be taught very rudimentary tactics at home.

The ANC is estimated to have put 10 000 members through its training camps, although Western diplomats believe many of these may

merely be refugees who have been given some military training rather than fully effective guerilla fighters.

But the organisation's formal military strength is less relevant since it apparently resolved a long tactical debate by acknowledging that it could not expect a military victory against heavily armed security forces.

Instead analysts believe the ANC has settled on a mixed strategy

with the number of bombs exploded or deaths and injuries caused," Williamson wrote.

"If one defines MK as an organisation of "political fighters" which aims to increase the degree of popular participation in the "struggle" to the level at which ANC revolutionary aims become general aims, then MK has not yet failed. The next 10 years will tell," he concluded.

and December.

They also question how far the ANC is in control of militant township youths. But one Western diplomat said: "I suspect that what they can't control they can inspire."

### Diplomats

Diplomats say emergency censorship has probably helped the security forces to pick up or eliminate ANC activists.

"It's certainly enabled them to move faster, more effectively and silently," said one source. "It's kept the lid on."

There has been a significant increase in que-



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6g Pith Glue Stick

School Cases 25 cm 35 cm 40 cm

Denim School Satchel

Link-up with PFP is denied

# LP won't ask Hendrickse to quit Cabinet

7/11/87  
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THE ruling party in the House of Representatives, the Labour Party (LP), has no intention of withdrawing from Parliament during the coming session nor of asking leader Allan Hendrickse to quit the Cabinet.

This was explained by a senior LP spokesman yesterday, who said the party did not see Hendrickse as being co-responsible for Cabinet decisions, as he was not a member of the National Party.

"The whole idea of us being a junior partner of government is absolute nonsense," he said. "According to the new constitution, Cabinet Ministers may distance themselves from Cabinet decisions they do not agree with.

"We view our leader's Cabinet position as a valuable opportunity to make inputs and influence events, rather than being co-responsible for everything the Nats do," he said.

Both the LP and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) yesterday played down the idea of a formal alliance in the near future, although they indicated they were determined

**MAX DU PREEZ**  
Political Correspondent

to increase their co-operation in the joint standing committees to block certain legislation in Parliament.

Elements in both parties have proposed a LP/PFP alliance for some time now, and there has been speculation that LP leader Allan Hendrickse's apparent new strong opposition to government in recent weeks could revive the idea.

There has been some conflict in the PFP between those who want to move closer to the LP and those who want closer ties with the UDF.

Meanwhile, one of the founder members of the Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates, Pat Poovalingam, has accused party leader Dr J N Reddy of not consulting the party before agreeing to not call for a general election for Indians.

Poovalingam, MP for Reservoir Hills and former national chairman of Solidarity, said Reddy's statement had taken him by surprise.

● See Comment Page 4



"When other organisations have been weakened or destroyed by the debilitating rivalries which flourish in the inactivity of exile, the ANC has held together." The Argus Foreign Service reports from London on a major review by The Times marking the ANC's 75th birthday this week.

# 'Stable history of the ANC is one of its strengths'

**T**HE African National Congress's long and relatively stable history is one of its most important strengths and has been crucial in making it the centre of political gravity for South Africa's 18-million blacks.

This is one of the points made in a major article in The Times today marking the organisation's 75th birthday this week. It is headlined: One man, one vote, one ANC.

The author, George Brock, says that when other organisations have been weakened or destroyed by the debilitating rivalries which flourish in the inactivity of exile, the ANC has held together.

The organisation's actual support is impossible to measure with any accuracy in present conditions. But it is beyond question that the last few years have seen an upturn in its fortunes, taking it to a peak of influence and activity it has not enjoyed since the 1950s.

Its greatest symbolic coup, he thinks, was the visit by a group of powerful white businessmen to Lusaka in September, 1985.

**I**t was only one of a string of meetings between its president, Oliver Tambo, and businessmen in Europe and the United States. And the corporate ambassadors

have been followed at a distance by the British and American governments, who have dropped their insistence that the ANC renounce violence before talks.

Brock says the ANC faces two serious problems in its push for support outside black South Africa.

First, it has failed to condemn the anarchic cruelty of the 'Comrades' in the townships and the civilian casualties in bombings. Second, its leadership overlaps with the hierarchy of the South African Communist Party and many of Umkhonto we Siswe's weapons are from the Soviet Union.

It is plainly absurd to picture the ANC as a purely Christian democratic organisation, he says. But nor is it a certainty that Communists would automatically seize power from their more moderate colleagues once the first phase of a nationalist victory was achieved.

**H**e thinks these questions of the future eventually boil down to a view of the mind of one 68-year-old man: Nelson Mandela, whose image dominates the entire ANC.

"His views — apparently moderate ones — on these questions are likely to prevail if he ever gets out of jail."

# Kwanobuhle battles not unrest police

SOUTH AFRICA

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Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Police and the Bureau for Information have stated that fighting that broke out between residents of Kwanobuhle this weekend was "not unrest related".

This follows three days of endeavouring to get official government confirmation by the press on what had happened in the Uitenhage township on Sunday.

The PFP MP for Walmer, Mr Andrew Savage, who interviewed some of the victims and visited the area, said the impression he gained was that it was a "Crossroads, witdoek-type" situation.

Two people have been killed, seven injured and the furniture from eight houses taken outside and burnt in the violence. At the time of going to press, no further incidents had been reported.

The head of Operation Real South Africa, Mr Rory Riordan, who has monitored the situation since trouble erupted on Sunday, said UDF activists had borne the brunt of the attacks.

Residents told him that over 1 000 Azanian Youth Union supporters had moved through the township beating people from the UDF-affiliated Uitenhage Residents Civic Organization (Ureco) and the Uitenhage Youth Congress (Uiyco). Also involved in the march had been a new organization called the African Persons' Con-

cerned Committee (APCC).

According to a statement released yesterday by Major Eddie Everson, an SAP liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, the reason for the march by about 1 500 people through the streets of Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township at 4am on Sunday was that "the marchers wanted a return to normality and a return of the children to school".

He said the incident had "nothing to do with the unrest whatsoever".

Major Everson said the group of about 1 500 people had marched through the streets "calmly". They had tried "to get hold of the troublemakers, removed the furniture from specific houses and set it alight". Houses had been left "untouched".

When the group had encountered an opposing band of men, the two "thrashed it out" and "the youngsters fled into neighbouring koppies". Police then dispersed the group. This was four hours after the march had started, he said.

He said police had known of the group's aims after rounding the group together at about 8am.

They left after police had told the group that they were breaking the law and steps would be taken unless they stopped their nonsense.

Major Everson said police had not been able to put a stop to the violence earlier because the group was large and operating over a wide area.

Chissano claims SA was ready to strike

# Maputo expels top ANC officials

GHC Tionis 7/1/87 (11/18)

## Mother's plea Jermain killer says she wants to

**Staff Reporters**  
THE mother of the condemned Mitchells Plain killer Sandra Smith has vowed to fight to save her daughter from the gallows.  
In an interview, Mrs Jacoby Esau said she would make "every effort" to save her daughter's life.  
Yesterday, counsel for Sandra Smith, 23, and her teenage lover Yassiem Harris, lodged applications for leave to appeal against their convictions for murdering 16-year-old Mitchell's Plain schoolgirl, Jermaine Abrahams.  
Both Mrs Esau and Sandra Smith's husband, Phillip, are hoping that she will be granted a reprieve. They both hope to give evidence in mitigation.  
A tearful Mrs Esau said she had visited her daughter at Pollsmoor several times as had Mr Smith. Sandra was determined to live and had not ac-

From Page 1

neighbouring states but not at the cost of the safety of all its peoples. The safety of all South Africans is threatened by terrorists which some of these states harbour and actively support.  
"The statement by Mr Chissano is no more than an attempt to convince the international community that Mozambique's internal problems are not of their own making," he said.  
"He is obviously trying to lay the blame for Mozambique's failed system at South Africa's door. This is a much-used propaganda ploy which to date has fooled only the naive and the gullible," the spokesman said.  
Mozambique expelled hundreds of ANC members after it signed the 1984 Nkomati non-aggression pact with the Republic but has since charged Pretoria of flouting it by supporting anti-Frelimo MNR rebels. Pretoria claimed its aid to the insurgents was "technical" which aimed at starting negotiations between the government and the rebels.

**JOHN BATTERSBY** reports from London that the ANC is expected to set out its policy on a wide range of issues when it celebrates its 75th anniversary tomorrow.  
Africa's oldest nationalist movement is preparing for its biggest public celebration ever to mark its formation on January 8, 1912.  
The celebrations will be held at the ANC's 25 foreign missions.  
The major event will be the address by exiled ANC President Mr Oliver Tambo in Lusaka which is expected to spell out in detail the organization's position on conditions for negotiations; its attitude to minority guarantees and its commitment to a multi-party system.  
In London the ANC is holding a public rally at the Camden Centre where a leading ANC theoretician and executive member, Mr Pallo Jordan, will be delivering the keynote address on behalf of the ANC leadership.  
Mr Tambo is also expected to spell out the ANC's response to the proposals of the Natal Indaba for power-sharing in Natal; deal with the education crisis and the position of black youth in South Africa.

He will also elaborate on the theme of the ANC's 75th year marked by the slogan, Forward to people's power.  
The major policy statement will add flesh to the bones of the less specific Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955 which sets out the ANC principles and guidelines for a non-racial South Africa.  
The ANC's 75th anniversary follows two years of unprecedented resistance and turmoil in South Africa's black townships and some major international diplomatic breakthroughs for the ANC.  
While the ANC will be at pains to project the image of an organization closer to the goal of mounting an insurrection in South Africa, there is limited evidence that the ANC's armed struggle presents any serious military threat to the South African security machine. — Staff Reporter and Sapa-Reuters

the gallows



hells Plain murderess baby Matthew in the te yesterday. Picture: RICHARD BELL

**MAPUTO.**— Six top-ranking African National Congress (ANC) officials have been expelled from Mozambique after Pretoria threatened to attack the country, government sources said yesterday.

The expulsions took place after the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, held discussions with officials during his visit here last week and agreed that the six should leave for their own safety, government sources in Maputo said.  
The six included the ANC's chief representative in Mozambique, Mr Jacob Zuma, who spent some years on Robben Island.  
Others in the group were political activist and former Robben Island detainee Mr Indress Naidoo, who wrote a best-selling book, "Island in Chains", about his experiences on the island; and a white woman, Mrs Sue Rabkin, who was also once jailed in South Africa for ANC activities.  
Mrs Rabkin is the widow of South African journalist Mr David Rabkin who was killed in a car crash in Angola in 1985.  
In Oslo, Norway's NRK state television reported that Pretoria put its demands to Maputo last week which were accompanied by unspecified threats if Mozambique did not expel the officials.  
Quoting unnamed sources, the report said the expulsions would take place by January 12. Mozambique feared a military attack on a port or power installations if it did not agree to Pretoria's demands, it added.  
Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano told diplomats on Monday that "South Africa might strike directly within the next fortnight".  
He said this when he received Belgium's new Ambassador to Mozambique, Mr Michael Geuens, and later at a New Year reception for diplomats from the Soviet Union, China, France, the United States and Britain.  
The Frelimo leader said his country "shall be able to ensure that these threats are not put into practice".  
"We shall do everything to see there is no disturbance and we shall not rise to any provocation," he added.  
An SADF spokesman in Pretoria said South Africa's position regarding Mozambique was a matter of public record.  
"South Africa and the Defence Force wish to live in peace with all

To Page 2

Tu re Staff ARCHBISHOP Tutu has f on the reb cricketers current t home coun the rebels' tralians to lot as they Archbish that any s tained link be treated His attac scribed yes the South / Joe Pamer publicity". "Innocent here to pri game like targets for. The arch with mild cricket cap players red The Deaf Reverend I glican Chul on the spo bers of the their own t "I person leap in the when I hel Newlands, was only if boycott the sport in thi

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BUS DAY

# Afrikaans Press, *Citizen* reject pro-ANC advert

AFRIKAANS newspapers and the pro-government *The Citizen* have rejected an advertisement calling for the ANC to be unbanned on the occasion of its 75th anniversary today.

However, the advert has been booked to appear in 20 other newspapers, at a cost to the UDF of R120 000.

The full-page advert, demanding "Unban the ANC" and "Let the ANC Speak for Itself", appears in *Business Day* and 11 other English dailies nationwide, as well as the Natal-based *Ilanga*.

It features a photograph of external president Oliver Tambo and a blank representation of Nelson Mandela. The advert quotes Mandela's statement from the dock in 1964.

The advert is issued by the UDF, the National Education Crisis Committee and the SA Council of

PATRICK BULGER

Churches, and is supported by political and non-political groupings ranging from the Black Sash to the National Soccer League and the National Taverners' Association.

Both major Afrikaans publishing houses, Perskor and Nasionale Pers, turned it down. Editors Johnny Johnson of *The Citizen* and Gert Kotze of *Die Vaderland* refused to give reasons for their decision.

Attorney Krish Naidoo, who was commissioned to place the advert, said he was disappointed by the editors' decision as he wanted the message to reach platteland Afrikaners. □ The Detainees' Parents Support Committee says it monitored 253 detentions last month. A total of 145 detainees were under 18, while 57 people were released in December.

CAF Times 8/1/87

# Afrikaans media ban ANC ad

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaans newspapers and the pro-government Citizen have rejected an advertisement calling for the ANC, on its 75th anniversary today, to be unbanned.

It has been booked to appear in 20 other newspapers, however, at a total cost to the UDF of R120 000.

The full-page advertisement, demanding "Unban the ANC" and "Let the ANC Speak for Itself", appears in the Cape Times and 11 other English-language dailies nation-wide, as well as the Natal-based Ilanga. It features a photograph of the veteran exiled president Mr Oliver Tambo, and a blank representation of Mr Nelson Mandela, whose statement from the dock in 1964 it quotes.

In terms of the Prisons Act, a photograph of Mr Mandela cannot be published. For this reason, a graphic depicting Mr Mandela has been used in the advertisement.

The advertisement is issued by the UDF, the NECC and the SACC, and supported by political and non-political groupings ranging from the Black Sash to the National Soccer League and the National Taverners' Association of SA.

## Refused to give reasons

Both major Afrikaans publishing houses, Perskor and Nasionale Pers, turned it down.

Perskor newspaper editors Mr M A "Johnny" Johnson of the Citizen and Mr Gert Kotze of Vaderland yesterday declined to give reasons for their decision to reject the advertisement.

Johannesburg attorney Mr Krish Naidoo, who was commissioned to place the advertisement, said he was "disappointed" by their decision as he particularly wanted the message to reach platteland Afrikaners. "In a couple of months' time they will be exercising their vote. They are the people who can move the government," he said.

Mr Naidoo said a Nasionale Pers advertising representative had told him their newspapers did not carry "political advertisements". Spokesmen for the group, however, said they were unaware of the attorney's approach.

Mr Naidoo said it was hoped the advertisement would prompt a wide range of other groups to call for the unbanning of the ANC.

The advertisement calls on the government to let the ANC speak for itself. It says that 27 years after the ANC's banning the organization continues to be supported by many South Africans and is recognized internationally.

"These and many other factors clearly show that there can be no solution to this country's problems without the participation of the ANC," it says.

## Ceremony in Harare

It has been supported by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the Black Sash, the National Soccer League, the Health Workers' Association, the Call of Islam, the Release Mandela Committee, the SA National Students' Council, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, the SA Rugby Union, the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, the Federation of Transvaal Women, the Democratic Lawyers' Association, the National Medical and Dental Association, the National Taverners' Association of SA and the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce and Industry, an affiliate of Nafcoc.

Sapa reports from Harare that the ANC will commemorate its 75th anniversary at a ceremony to be held at Mbare today.

But the main spotlight will fall on the ANC headquarters in Lusaka where Mr Tambo will deliver what is expected to be his most important public speech.

Expectations are that Mr Tambo will redefine the ANC's objectives, spell out its terms for negotiations and endorse a return to school by black students, while recommitting the ANC to a people's uprising against apartheid.

UPI reports that the Soviet Union yesterday expressed its support for the ANC on its 75th anniversary and said the armed struggle against apartheid in South Africa had entered a new phase.

Own Correspondent

CAF 1/18/87

# Tutu denies 'poison whites' claim

MELBOURNE. — The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, has denied allegations made here that he "encouraged blacks to poison white South Africans with arsenic".

"Do you think I got the Nobel peace price for advocating violence?" he said yesterday in reply to the allegation made by Mr Bruce Ruxton, president of the Returned Services League, in Victoria.

Mr Ruxton, who had earlier been condemned by the press for saying Archbishop

Tutu supported terrorism, yesterday said Archbishop Tutu was nothing more than a "modern-day witchdoctor dressed up in the garb of a churchman".

He claimed that not only did Archbishop Tutu openly support the African National Congress, which was committed to the violent overthrow of the South African government, but said he had a tape-recording in which Archbishop Tutu exhorted black domestic workers to poison white families.

Mr Ruxton was referring to a 60-minute tape titled "South Africa — time out for realism" which was distributed in New York.

Archbishop Tutu said Mr Ruxton had quoted out of context.

"What I said was that in a civil war, an outright civil war, you don't need conventional weapons, and many white homes have got black servants."

Said Mr Ruxton: "I don't believe the majority of Australians expect a man of the

cloth to support the sort of thuggery, looting and murder that is being perpetrated in South Africa by Soviet-backed so-called national liberation groups like the ANC."

With front-page newspaper headlines blazing "Ruxton stirs church fury" and "Tutu denies poison claim", the issue has created a controversy which a local ANC spokesman said had been deliberately provoked to focus public attention away from the message Archbishop Tutu was spreading about events in South Africa.

# RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

*"The People Shall Govern"*



## NEW YEAR MESSAGE TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

11A  
8/1/87  
Sawetfan

### INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history of mankind, there are only seven internationally recognized acts of admiration or miracles known as the SEVEN WONDERS OF THE WORLD, namely, the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus; the Statue of Zues at Olympia; the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Pharos Light House at Alexandria; Egyptian Pyramids and the Hanging Gardens of Babylon.

However, the Nationalist government, through its oppressive rule, hopes to create the eighth wonder of the world! History abounds with clear evidence that oppression has never triumphed especially when practiced by a minority over a majority. In our case, the minority, white, and colonialist regime hopes to impose its will over the vast, freedom-loving majority until the cows come home.

### 1. WHAT THE RMC STANDS FOR

THE RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN is a campaign that involves all peace-and-freedom-loving people of SA regardless of race, colour, sex, age or creed, who cherish a vision of a non-racial democratic SA. More Specifically, the RMC calls, demands and works for:

- 1.1 The unconditional release of the people's leader, Nelson Mandela, and all other convicted political prisoners.
- 1.2 The unconditional and safe return of all exiles.
- 1.3 The unconditional unbanning of all people's movements, notably the African National Congress.
- 1.4 The abolition of all unjust and repressive laws.
- 1.5 The propagation of the Freedom Charter.
- 1.6 The creation of a progressive mental climate.

### 2. THE RMC AND THE EDUCATION CRISIS

Like all freedom-loving South Africans, the RMC is deeply concerned about the crisis in education.

- 2.1 We support the call by parents, students, teachers and workers for students to go back to school.
- 2.2 We deplore the recently promulgated regulations which can only destroy the pedagogical atmosphere that is normally expected to prevail.
- 2.3 We fully support the democratic demands of students, and the call for the army to pull out of our townships.

### 3. THE RMC AND THE WORKERS

3.1 The RMC recognises the workers as the backbone of the South African economy and the bitter struggle to rid the economy of exploitation.

- 3.2 We fully support the democratic demands made by the workers and Cosatu's call of "One industry, one union"
- 3.3 We commend the support shown by the broader community to worker programmes and urge for more support.

### 4. "THE STATE OF EMERGENCY"

The invocation of the State of Emergency, barely three months after the lifting of the previous one is nothing but an eyewash calculated to placate the right wing, to give the governments "moderate collaborators false assurance" and most importantly to counter the evergrowing democratic movement for change in South Africa.

Consequently the RMC joins the loud voices which are calling for: The immediate lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of all convicted political prisoners, and the unmuzzling of the Press.

### 5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the RMC wishes to remind P W Botha and his Nationalist cabal that it was the SA Government through B J Vorster which in the early seventies urged the then-Rhodesian government of Ian Smith to release genuine popular political leaders such as Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe in order to avert the deepening of the crisis in that country. Why is the advice no longer suitable to the advisor? What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

The Release Mandela Campaign warns that unless the democratic demands by the struggling masses of South Africa and supported by the entire progressive international community are met, conflict will escalate and no-one else but the intransigent and self righteous, Pretoria regime will be held responsible for plunging the country into troubled waters and shall accordingly be judged by history.

*"There shall be houses, security and comfort"* — The Freedom Charter, June 26, 1955.

the case.

Police deaths arrested



• VLOK

POLICE yesterday arrested a suspected terrorist in connection with the killing of two policemen in Wiepe, Northern Transvaal.

The man's arrest and detention came five days after a police hunt for the suspect had been called off and 12 days after the Day of Goodwill shootings.

Police say they also seized an AK-47 rifle and ammunition.

Security forces shot it out with four alleged insurgents, killing three and arresting a fourth who escaped while being taken to jail on December 26. Warrant Officer T J Gerber and Sergeant J M Nel were killed when the man escaped.

Police said the search was called off last Friday after no trace of the man could be found.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday: "During the investigation, police, assisted by other units of the security forces, received exceptional co-operation from all members of the public." — Sapa.

LONDON — Britain is stepping up its efforts to help wean the Frontline states away from economic dependence on SA.

This has emerged during a six-day visit to Nigeria by Lynda Chalker, Junior Minister of State in the Foreign Office, where she has been having talks with the Nigerian Head of State, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida.

It was believed Chalker was informed of Nigeria's plans to assemble an international defence force to guard the Beira corridor — Zimbabwe's most viable alternative trade route to the sea.

Foreign Office sources yesterday confirmed that foreign policy in the region was "switching to a broader approach" and that the Frontline states would be "the focus in the future".

They said British foreign policy was "developing as circumstances changed" but it was "unlikely" Britain would take part in an international defence force at this stage.

Britain has increased aid to the Frontline states through the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) as well as stepping up its military aid to Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

As well, Britain is considering the sale of more sophisticated weaponry to Zimbabwe but strictly on a commercial basis.

UK Frontline

20/11/79



# Despite Azapo's slings, a glimmer of peace

11A

On the surface, the anti-UDF talk at Azapo's annual congress was as hostile as ever. But behind it all, there were tentative nods towards peace. MIKE LOEWE reports from Port Elizabeth

DESPITE stinging criticism of the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) emerged from its seventh annual congress at the weekend having tentatively drawn the black consciousness movement closer to the UDF's activities.

Azapo resolved to:

- Conditionally support the UDF's call for a Christmas against the Emergency.

- Work with the National Education Crisis Committee to resolve the black schools crisis.

- Hold peace talks with the UDF about political violence between supporters of both organisations.

But these signs of conciliation were not in evidence in the opening speech by publicity secretary Muntu Myeza.

The UDF was waging a concerted campaign against Azapo, as were other forces, he alleged, with the aim of "wiping Azapo off the face of the earth."



Giving the black consciousness view: Nkosi Molala, new Azapo president, addresses the organisation Picture: Chris Qwazi

while intimating that workers had been able to "move forward collectively". Unity in the liberation movement would have to be based on a common programme of action to unite peasants, workers and students, he said.

Mndaweni told the *Weekly Mail* discussions with UDF leaders had "gone well".

Both Azapo's manifesto and the Freedom Charter had been analysed and a consensus based on an "objective and scientific assessment" reached.

In his speech, however, Mndaweni slammed the clergy, an unspecified "people's organisation" and liberal bodies for failing to speak out against black political violence.

"A few lone voices speak out. They are silenced quickly, with a necklace," he said.

attempting to overthrow popular, revolutionary governments by direct intervention, or training and arming bands of thugs.

It was seen as being under pressure from international sanctions, resisted internally by extra-parliamentary and anti-apartheid forces, assailed incessantly by the "never-ending struggle of the black working class, bludgeoned by the anti-Bantu Education campaign, cajoled by a wide spectrum of white liberals to reform apartheid, strongly warned by an admixture of white rightwingers not to reform and confronted by a deliberately low-pitched armed offensive".

In such circumstances South Africa had chosen "the only path totalitarian regimes know and understand — brutal and overt aggression and repression".

whimper."

The congress was held quietly in Port Elizabeth at the weekend because of the repressive political climate, according to Myeza.

He said a total of 168 delegates and supporters from 87 branches had attended. At times, about 400 people were seen gathered in the Moslem Movement Hall.

Myeza said Port Elizabeth had been

chosen to mark the 10th anniversary of the death of black consciousness founder Steve Biko.

Port Elizabeth was also chosen, he said, because the Azapo/UDF feud had "reached its peak" in the city's townships.

Much of the movement's media publications had been confiscated in a raid on Azapo offices the day before congress. — East Cape News Agency



"If our homes are attacked, and our lives threatened, we will defend ourselves with whatever means are commensurate with the attack," he said to cheers from the audience.

The UDF's attack on Azapo came about after a string of UDF campaigns had failed dismally, claimed Myeza — particularly the planned march to Pollsmoor Prison as part of a call for the release of Nelson Mandela. He likened the march to a "suicide mission", inviting violence and loss of life. Azapo wanted its members to realise their goals in their lifetime and would steer clear of such actions, he said.

"Now that their (the UDF's) 'million dollar' and 'stop harassing our mother' campaigns and all the others have failed, they have decided to make Azapo their campaign. They should listen to the voice of wisdom; like all the other campaigns have failed, so will this one fail," he said.

He dismissed with contempt suggestions that Azapo had reached its apotheosis. "Some organisations say they have 4-million members, some say they have 6-million Zulus. If you take those 4-million and the 6-million together, what remains is Azapo."

Myeza ended on what he regarded as a "benevolent" note, saying conflict between organisations of the oppressed did not need to be antagonistic. Azapo knew its strength and the UDF's weaknesses so well that the movement was able to "be magnanimous, and have an open-door policy. We are prepared to speak to the UDF and their half-penny affiliates, but they must have a mandate from within a federated body."

In a six-page "state of the nation" address, the acting president of Azapo, Nkosi Molala, presented an overview of the struggle for "global socialism" against "international imperialism".

South Africa was seen as a regional imperial power in the process of destabilising its neighbours and

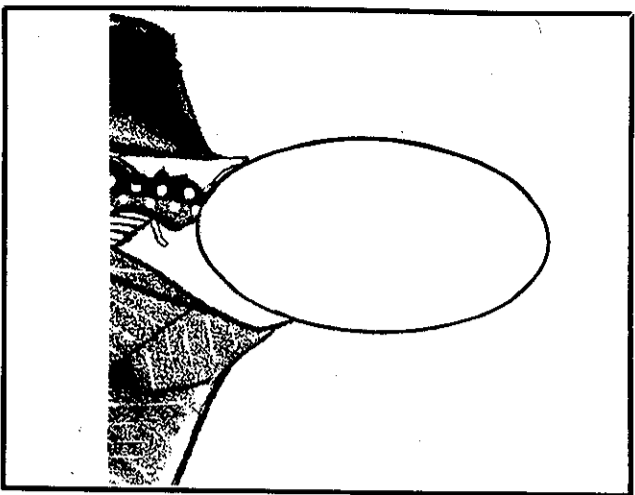
Criticising last week's announced press curbs, he said: "The recently imposed press restrictions on resistance-related activities is a plot calculated not only to make people sleep through the revolution, but also to be able to abduct and kill political opponents without anybody raising a

On the second day of the congress, Council of Unions of South Africa/Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Cusa/Azactu) president James Mndaweni called for the black consciousness movement to join in principled, united action with the UDF and Cosatu.

Mndaweni viewed the formation of his federation and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) as important gains for the anti-apartheid movement.

And he slammed internal political feuding between the UDF and Azapo

ADVERTISEMENT



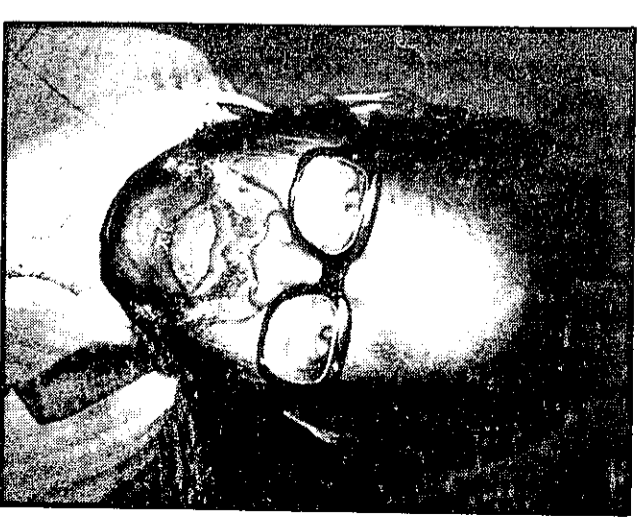
NELSON MANDELA

# 75 YEARS OF

# THE ANC

## 8 JANUARY 1912 — 8 JANUARY 1987

DD 11/A  
7/1/87



OLIVER TAMBO

The Bureau for Information and the SABC have recently bombarded the people of South Africa with distortions about the ANC.

On the occasion of the ANC's 75th Anniversary we demand of the government:

# LET THE ANC SPEAK FOR ITSELF

"The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed by the South Africa Act . . . . For 37 years until 1949 — it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could advance gradually to full political rights. But White governments remained unmoved . . . ." — **NELSON MANDELA EVIDENCE WHILE ON TRIAL — APRIL 1964.**

"Who will deny that 30 years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past 30 years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all." — **ANC PRESIDENT CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI — 1950s.**

## **IN 1960 THE ANC WAS BANNED**

The ANC embarked on its present struggle only after all else had failed and when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to it.

## **TODAY — 27 YEARS AFTER ITS BANNING:**

- \* The ANC continues to be supported by many South Africans, both black and white.
- \* The ANC is internationally recognised and has offices in over 39 countries around the world.
- \* The ANC is a signatory to the Geneva Convention.

These and many other factors clearly show that there can be no solution to this country's problems without the participation of the ANC.

We, the undersigned organisations, therefore say:

# UNBANNED THE ANNC

AND OTHER BANNED ORGANISATIONS

Issued by:

United Democratic Front (UDF)  
National Education Crisis Committee (NECC)  
South African Council of Churches (SACC)

Supported by:

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)  
Black Sash  
National Soccer League (NSL)  
Health Workers Association (HWA)  
Call of Islam  
Release Mandela Committee (RMC)  
South African National Students Council (SANSCO)  
Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses (TIC and NIC)  
South African Rugby Union (SARU)  
Transvaal Anti PC Committee  
Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW)  
Democratic Lawyers Association (DLA)  
National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA)  
National Taverners Association of South Africa  
Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SOUTACOC) — an  
affiliate of NAFCCO

/o Khotso House  
12 De Villiers Street  
JOHANNESBURG

# ANC talks 'weaken SACP'

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

Washington

The interests of the South African Communist Party (SACP) are being served by the South African Government's inflexible attitude towards talks with the outlawed African National Congress, claims a new United States Intelligence report.

It says a decision by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC could shatter the SACP because "serious policy differences could surface within the ANC".

The report contains information pooled from all of America's intelligence agencies. It found that about half the ANC's executive were known or suspected communists.

The 11-page study was sent in two versions, classified and declassified, to the US Congress yesterday after lawmakers ordered it in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 - the legislation containing tough economic sanctions on South Africa.

It is likely to have far-reaching effects, serving as a guideline on American policy towards black movements in southern Africa fighting apartheid.

Probing communist infiltration in black anti-apartheid groups, the report said the SACP lacked a mass following but had exercised "considerable influence" through its alliance with the ANC.

The report noted that known or suspected communists also dominated the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). But SACP membership was not conclusive in several cases.

"SACP interests are served by an inflexible South African attitude towards negotiations with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments, and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on South Africa."

The report added that the ANC was "deeply beholden" to the SACP and the Soviet Union, as well as to the Soviet-backed MPLA regime in Angola for its arms and military training.

Serious policy differences could emerge in the ANC if Pretoria reconsidered its stand on negotiations with the ANC, or if ANC relations with Western countries continued to improve.

8/1/87  
WA  
STAR

## Call for movement to be unbanned

Political Reporter

The United Democratic Front and other anti-apartheid organisations today placed full-page advertisements in many of the country's newspapers calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress on its 75th anniversary.

The advertisement, published in The Star, was placed in 22 newspapers on behalf of the UDF, the National Education Crisis Committee and the South African Council of Churches.

It appeals to the Government to "let the ANC speak for itself".

Attorney Mr Krish Naidoo, who was commissioned to place the advertisement, said the cost was about R120 000, which was shared by the organisations issuing it and many of those supporting the call.

The advertisement was refused by all the Afrikaans newspapers and one English daily, The Citizen, he said.

Some of the newspapers in which it will appear are The Star, Sowetan, City Press, Ranga, Natal Mercury, Daily News, EP Herald, Evening Post, Cape Times, The Argus, Diamond Fields Advertiser, Natal Witness, Business Day, Pretoria News, Daily Dispatch, New Nation, Weekly Mail, Sunday Times, The Sunday Tribune and The Sunday Star.

"The internal stability of the ANC and its main political tendency will be shaped by the extent to which Pretoria tests - or fails to test - its shaky cohesion. If the South African Government pursues a purely repressive policy, the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks."

The SACP had been alarmed in 1984/5 at rumours of the South African Government putting out feelers to elements of the ANC. The communists had been genuinely concerned that a more flexible Pretoria approach could find a favourable reception in certain parts of the ANC.

The SACP appeared to have little or no influence on political and labour groups inside South Africa. This lack of support gave non-communist ANC leaders considerable counter-leverage against SACP efforts to dominate the group.

Referring to the United Democratic Front - held by the South African Government to be a front for the ANC - the report found there was "little reliable evidence on the extent of SACP influence within the UDF".

It said a number of UDF officials had long-standing ANC affiliations, but the UDF contained an even wider range of views than the ANC.

"To the extent that a generalisation can be made, the influence of the UDF in the ANC tends to weaken SACP influence," the report said.

• See Page 13.

Sydney  
award for  
Mandela

# The ANC 75 years later

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MELBOURNE

Jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela will tomorrow become the first individual to be granted the freedom and the key of the city of Sydney.

The award will be accepted on Mandela's behalf by Mr Eddie Funde, the representative in Australia of the African National Congress.

The ceremony will be held during a special meeting of Sydney City Council.

The South African consulate in Sydney refused to comment on the award, merely saying Mandela had been convicted in an open court of planning the violent overthrow of the State.

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The oldest surviving political movement in Southern Africa, the African National Congress, celebrates its 75th anniversary today.

After three-quarters of a century, the ANC's international stature is growing, while it continues to be regarded as an evil by the South African Government.

Two significant documents published last year give opposing accounts of the ANC story.

The first was the publication of "Mission to South Africa", the report of the visit to South Africa of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which boosted the international standing of the ANC by saying its leaders stood out for their "reasonableness, absence of rancour and readiness to find negotiated solutions".

The EPG report said: "There can be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without the ANC, the breadth of its support is incontestable, and this support is growing."

The second, "Talking with the ANC", was published by the Bureau for Information. It said the ANC had a formal alliance with the SA Communist Party and that "both are committed to the violent overthrow of the present system of government for the purpose of seiz-

ing total power... the Government has made it clear that it will negotiate only with South Africans who renounce violence.

While both these documents focus on the ANC, in 1987 the power struggle in South Africa cannot simply be explained as a clash between the ANC and the Government.

The exiled Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) is a rival to the ANC. After nine months of existence, the PAC was banned in 1960 along with the ANC.

Black consciousness adherents are also strongly critical of the ANC.

The ANC, originally called the South African Native National Congress, was formed in 1912. Its first major struggle was its opposition to the 1913 Natives Land Act, which consolidated white possession of land.

Black rights dwindled in South Africa with the passing of legislation such as the 1936 Land Act, but the ANC continued to operate within the political system.

The National Party victory in South Africa in 1948 further eroded black rights.

Black opposition continued, and in 1952 the African National Congress and the SA Indian Congress launched a national passive resistance campaign.

The Government took tough measures to end the campaign, and charged 20 of its lead-

ers in the Transvaal under the newly enacted Communism Act.

In 1955, the ANC helped organise the Congress of the People with the Indian National Congress of SA, the Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats. This culminated in the holding of a Freedom Congress in Kiptown in 1955, which drew up the Freedom Charter as the blueprint for a non-racial South Africa.

Of significance was the charter's call for the "sharing" of the national wealth.

In 1956, the Government arrested 156 members of the Freedom Congress, who were charged with treason. The trial dragged on for five years before they were acquitted.

A group of Africanists then broke away from the ANC and formed the Pan-Africanist Congress under the leadership of Mr Robert Sobukwe.

Resistance continued in the 1960s. For the Government, the crisis point came after police shot dead 69 protesters outside the Sharpeville police station.

Countrywide demonstrations were held and both movements declared March 28 a day of mourning. On the same day the Government banned the ANC and PAC and two days later declared a state of emergency.

In 1961, ANC leaders such as Nelson Mande-

la formed a guerilla wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

The PAC also formed a guerilla group, Pogo.

In 1963, the Government notched up a major security success with the arrest of the ANC leadership in Rivonia, Johannesburg.

At his trial in 1964, several articles in Mandela's handwriting were submitted to the court, including one titled "How to be a good communist".

After the Soweto riots in 1976, many young blacks fled the country and joined the ANC or PAC. In 1977 the Government outlawed black consciousness organisations and banned many activists.

Continuous unrest in South Africa in the last 10 years has brought world attention to the sub-continent. Increasingly, the international community, white businessmen and politicians in South Africa have called for the unbanning of the ANC.

A major coup for the ANC was the visit to Lusaka by a group of white businessmen and Afrikaner students in 1985.

In "Talking with the ANC", the Government said the Communist Party's influence on the ANC had grown steadily. It identified 23 out of 30 members of the ANC executive in 1985 as being members or supporters of the SACP.

CONT. →

# Challenge to exiled old guard of ANC

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star's Africa News Service

The African National Congress celebrates its 75th anniversary today with what must be both satisfaction and apprehension among its leaders.

The leaders, mostly members of the "old guard" are pleased that it has survived hard in-fighting between the South African nationalist movements and gone on to become the most widely supported and influential of them since it was formed in Bloemfontein on January 8 1912.

But the old guard, including the president, Mr Oliver Tambo, are believed to be nervous about the growing challenge to their relative moderation by younger, more radical elements.

The ANC leadership believes the organisation has reached the highest point yet in its struggle against apartheid and white supremacy in South Africa. Its support among black South Africans appears to be greater than at any time in the past and its efforts to win international recognition have been given a major boost by recent meetings with top American and British Government officials.

At the same time the exiled leadership is having difficulty curbing the militancy of the young radicals within its ranks and imposing its policies and timetables on militants in South Africa, who operate under the ANC banner even if not always members.

But if the organisation runs with the radicals it runs the risk of alienating the black moderates and the whites, whose support the present ANC leadership regards as important

Opponents do not believe the ANC will establish a democratic system in the Western sense and claim ANC victory would result in a one-party, probably communist, totalitarian state.

They point to the strong influence of the SA Communist Party (SACP), whose members comprise a relatively large proportion of the ANC executive.

Mr Tambo says he is not a communist. Other executives deny that the organisation is dominated by the SACP but are vague about its influence.

The South African Government, under growing international pressure to negotiate with the ANC, has insisted it first renounce violence, something the ANC leadership considers impossible.

In addition to cracking down on ANC insurgency from neighbouring countries, the Government has launched a strong political attack apparently aimed at discrediting the ANC.

Efforts by the old guard to limit the insurgency to "hard" official targets are being challenged by the radicals.

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# Mozambique is silent

MAPUTO — The Mozambican authorities were yesterday silent on reports that they had agreed to expel six African National Congress officials from Maputo after South Africa demanded their expulsion.

There has been no official reaction or comment.

Among those to be expelled is the ANC's chief representative in

## on ANC 6

Mozambique, Jacob Zuma, but it is not clear if the ANC's offices in Maputo will be closed.

When Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord with South Africa in 1984, hundreds of ANC members were expelled but it was agreed that the ANC could

keep a small representation in the Mozambican capital.

On Monday President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique told foreign diplomats it was possible that South Africa could attack Mozambique within two weeks.

"We shall not rise to any provocation," Mr Chissano told the diplomats.

The SADF denied Mr Chissano's claims, describing them as "a propaganda ploy".

However, observers here now believe that Mr Chissano could have been referring to demands by the South African Government to expel ANC members or face retaliation.

The ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo, visited Maputo last week and is reported to have agreed that the six ANC members should leave for their own safety.

Others to be expelled are said to include Mr Indress Naidoo, a former Robben Island detainee, and Ms Sue Rabkin.

Mr Naidoo is known to have been in Mozambique for about 10 years. — *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

• The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has confirmed that South Africa recently approached the Mozambican Government on the presence of six ANC members in Maputo, SABC radio news reported.

# Questions left in the trail of the two

THE abduction by South African Security Forces of two Swiss nationals from Swaziland has left a trail of unanswered questions and raised doubts about the accuracy of South African intelligence on the activities of the African National Congress in neighbouring states.

South Africa's admission that its forces abducted the Swiss nationals last Friday raised the presumption in diplomatic circles that it was responsible for the kidnapping of three more people — two of them South African refugees — from Swaziland and, by implication, the death of two people, one a 13-year-old boy, during the raid.

The most important unanswered question concerned the non-aggression agreement between South Africa and Swaziland, signed secretly in February 1982 and formally acknowledged in March 1984.

If, as averred by Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, South African intelligence had reason to believe that the abducted Swiss

nationals, Daniel Schneider and Corinne Bischoff, were involved in activities which threatened South Africa's security, why did Pretoria not evoke the non-aggression pact?

The security treaty prohibits Swaziland from allowing its territory to be used for guerrilla attacks on South Africa and, further, commits Swaziland to take steps to counter any bid by anyone to plan subversive action against South Africa from its soil.

Could South Africa have called on Swaziland police to take prompt action under the treaty? The question was put to the Department of Foreign Affairs. A spokesman replied: "It was considered to be inappropriate in the specific circumstances." He did not elaborate.

Professor John Barratt of the Institute of International Affairs offered an explanation: "I assume the Department of Foreign Affairs did not know about the raid."

His view is shared by many observers, who contend that the raid

**The more we are told about the case of the abducted Swiss pair, the more puzzling it becomes. PATRICK LAURENCE reports**

was carried out by one of the branches of the Security Forces — the SA Defence Force is the prime suspect, following unrefuted claims by the abductees — who only later informed Foreign Affairs of it as a *fait accompli*.

Barratt warned that the kidnapping would undermine, if not destroy, the credibility of non-aggression agreements with South Africa. Where the pacts were designed to prevent strikes by South African commandos, last week's raid into Swaziland showed that they offered no protection, Barratt argued.

"They (the Botha government) can now forget about persuading Botswana or any other country to sign a security agreement," he said.

The second question relates to a visit

by Schneider and Bischoff to South Africa less than a week before the raid. If they were a major threat to South Africa, if their presence in Swaziland put South African lives at jeopardy, why were they not detained while in South Africa?

Assuming that they were ANC agents — an assumption which they have vigorously denied — were they deliberately allowed to visit South Africa with impunity, or was South African intelligence not aware at that stage, a bare four days before the raid, of their suspected ANC links?

Were they, alternatively, genuinely innocent and was their later arrest in Swaziland a case of faulty intelligence and mistaken identify?

As one diplomat observed: "There have been cases of faulty intelligence before."

One of the men abducted at the same time as the Swiss couple, Danger Nyoni, appears to have been mistaken for someone else. He was released after being reportedly detained in Middelburg.

The error (his release must be seen as an admission of that) cost him dearly. His 13-year-old son, Dumisane, was killed during the raid.

A further unsolved question focuses on the corporate identity of the abductors.

The kidnapped Swiss couple made two observations in interviews after they were released following strong protests from the Swiss and Swazi governments. Firstly, they said they were kidnapped from Swaziland by soldiers, who handed them over for interrogation to another set of people in Pretoria. Secondly, their interrogators, who were presumably Security Police, seemed unprepared for their task, asking them what they had done to cause their abduction.

The SADF declined to comment on the allegation, made in a BBC interview, that the abductors were soldiers. "The Defence Force has nothing to add to the statements already made on the subject," a representative said.

But, extrapolating from the

# Coasting the black political waves

As the first Emergency ended, black political groups loudly and confidently bounced back. But the heady days ended with the second, far harsher Emergency in June. SHAUN JOHNSON reports

EVERY now and then a political commentator comes up with a phrase that really means something, captures complexity and simply rings true.

Historian Colin Bundy of the University of Cape Town achieved this in an extraordinarily prescient piece of political prediction written at the end of last year. South Africa's is a "switchback crisis", he said.

Fluctuation is the structural feature of our times, punctuated by the upward swoops and downward plunges of the fairground roller-coaster.

Confronting the interwoven fabric of capitalist economics and racial politics, he implicitly pooch-pooched the claims of apostles of both reform and revolution, who predicted linear progress for themselves in the coming year.

To read Bundy's piece in the last days of 1986 is to arm oneself with some understanding of the wildly fluctuating fortunes of black resistance politics in the extraordinary year now ending.

Bundy's focus was primarily economic. But his scenario holds for and highlights the astounding victories and defeats of resistance organisations in 1986. For theirs has indeed been a bone-jarring journey of declivity and ascent.

The year began in the declining days of Emergency I. Having recovered from the initial shock of the gravity of the government's decision, resistance groups were bouncing back.

The case can be put even more strongly: organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF), although they had suffered detentions and restrictions, were cautiously cock-a-hoop. They felt that the behemoth had hurled its might against them, and lost. Their organisation was largely intact, and, so the argument ran, activists had matured under Emergency I.

The lifting of the Emergency in February gave credence to their confidence. It ushered in a period — only three months long, but pivotal nevertheless — of bellicose and public resistance.

This was encapsulated in the myriad youth organisations which spanned the country. They turned funerals into stunning displays of political theatre, they built people's parks in dusty townships, they took journalists on tours of "liberated zones", displaying all the assurance of Jonas Savimbi. But this was Alexandra, not Jamba, and a phalanx of Casspirs stood a stone's throw away. No matter, said the youths, freedom is near.

One event which captured the soaring confidence of the resistance movement was the inaugural — and only — full gathering of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) in Durban in April. Those who were there will not lightly forget the defiance and resolve of the streams of delegates from every nook and cranny of the country.

The issue was education, and its import unified resistance. The naive (or romantic) observer could have been forgiven for believing he was witnessing an unstoppable force making ready for a final assault.

And the ringing rigour of the keynote speech supported this. The moment is not yet, said NECC member and newspaper editor Zwelakhe Sisulu, but this is the



Rivals at rest: School children and lounging soldiers

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Altrapix

moment before the moment.

How things changed on the morning of June 12. The country had long been bracing itself for the tenth anniversary of Soweto '76. Students, parents, teachers and workers in multifarious structures from Paarl to Potgietersrus has been planning ways of marking the anniversary — attending to local minutiae, and preparing their people.

They were pre-empted by Emergency II, which was entirely different in form and ferocity to Emergency I. Referring to the press, the Bureau for Information's initial public face, Dave Steward, warned: "We're not kidding". The Security Police clearly were not kidding either. Detention sweeps were nothing if not comprehensive, the Security Force presence in the townships and even cities was unprecedented, and overt resistance activity was stubbed out with vigour and attention to detail.

One corollary was the escalation of intercommunal conflict in the face of a seemingly impregnable state. Another was the debilitating legislation which followed — such as the declaration of the UDF as an "affected organisation", barring it from getting overseas funding.

A pall descended, replacing what had been called the "liberation mania" which had swept the townships. The stadium in Alexandra, which had been regarded as part of a "liberated zone", was transformed overnight into a military staging post. The auguries could not have been clearer.

The state, let it be said, proved its point. And it did so without mobilising even a fraction of its repressive capacity. It showed that if it wanted to, it could put a stop to widespread public resistance of the form that had characterised populist campaigns. But could it actually destroy the structures that gave birth to that resistance and usher in another decade of silence, reminiscent of the 1960s?

This was the challenge which fell to the resistance organisations: they had to prove they could adapt to new conditions and survive. There was no question that they had been hurt. Public pronouncements aside, leaders admitted this freely. But despite the damage inflicted on community structures — in some cases three or four layers of leadership were removed — they could point to residual rebuilding, a sign that many

structures enjoyed grassroots support rather than being mere top-down impositions of regional or national leadership.

It took some months for the first tentative signs of such resurgence to emerge. But emerge they did. And with the release of many detainees, a new and striking factor asserted itself. In many cases, the very leaders themselves who had spoken in sanguine terms about their immediate political potential now talked of protracted struggle, of shifting from the drama of the mass funeral, of the unglamorous task of localised, painstaking organisation.

The apparent lack of success of the campaign for National United Action, as against the clear recuperation of community structures, underlines the tactical shift.

Slowly but surely youth congresses, action committees and civic associations stirred once more. Many of the militant youths were coming out of a period of shock, and the result was a new pragmatism and a long view. Many came to terms with the possibility of having to operate "from underground" indefinitely.

There were other encouraging factors for the extra-parliamentary organisations. Court decisions — most notably the Tsenoli judgement — provided respite, albeit brief, from the tide of restrictive legislation. The unexpected popular defeat of KwaNdebele's "independence" renewed faith in mass resistance.

And, to a lesser extent, the fact that some leaders had escaped detention and could continue to issue statements on behalf of their beleaguered organisations provided some feeling of continuity between the two halves of the year.

This, broadly, remains the position as the year ends. The stuffing may be knocked out of the extra-parliamentary groups, but the residue remains — to the extent that campaigns can still be embarked upon, and the survival of structures counted upon.

It is a switchback crisis, and sooner or later the lever will be pulled the other way. Things may never again be the same as they were before June 12, but we can be equally certain that they won't stay as they are now.

# Into Vorster's stormy night

TEN years ago former Prime Minister BJ Vorster warned in his New Year message: "The storm has not yet struck. We are only experiencing the whirlwinds that go before it."

Today, looking back on 1986 and ahead to 1987, only an incurable optimist would conclude that the storm has passed and the country is now merely being buffeted by its dying winds.

At the start of the year South Africa was under a partial State of Emergency. As 1986 drew to a close, the country had been under a full State of Emergency for more than six months — the first since the Sharpeville crisis of 1960 — and new curbs were placed on the press in a bid to halt what Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe described as "revolutionary forces".

The guerrilla war, which started again in 1976 after the hiatus in the African National Congress's "armed struggle" in the late 1960s and early 1970s, gained further momentum during 1986.

As outgoing Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange noted, during the 10 months ending on October 31 there had been more than 200 guerrilla attacks, considerably more than the some 130 known attacks for the whole of last year.

A particular feature of South Africa's undeclared war in 1986 was the growing number of land mine attacks. Where hardly more than a year ago land mine attacks were unheard of in South Africa, they have since become a dreaded part of life in the frontier areas.

A land mine blast was, incidentally, the immediate trigger to the renewed tension between South Africa and

Last year was the season of dire forecasts; this year, all too many of them proved correct. Sanctions became a reality, bomb blasts became commonplace, the partial State of Emergency became a full one.

PATRICK LAURENCE reports

Mozambique which preceded the death of President Samora Machel in an air crash on October 19.

But, if the ANC stepped up its attacks during what it designated the "Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe", the security forces reported a high rate of success in either killing or capturing guerrillas.

The year witnessed the execution of three captured guerrillas for murder. One was the young man, Andrew Zondo, convicted of murdering five people killed in a limpet mine explosion at Amanzimtoti late last year.

The security forces unquestionably achieved a major success — and perhaps even a strategic advance — when a South African blockade of Lesotho helped precipitate the coup which toppled the pro-ANC government of Leabua Jonathan.

The trial and conviction for treason of Marion Sparg — the first white woman to be trained as a fighter for Umkhonto we Sizwe — provided evidence that Lesotho under Jonathan had indeed served as a staging post for ANC guerrillas.

The setbacks suffered by the ANC were reportedly acknowledged by ANC president Oliver Tambo in a declaration entitled "1987: What is to be done". Distributed to ANC command centres in October, the statement — which appears to be



Aftermath: Wreckage of a truck after yet another landmine blast

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In it Tambo reportedly said: "In the last two-and-half years we have suffered serious reverses in Mozambique, then in Swaziland, and recently in Lesotho — as well as Botswana." Acknowledging that the

"enemy has gained ground at our expense", the document quoted Tambo as concluding: "We have been forced to withdraw many people, dismantle machineries and re-think our plans and programmes."

On the internal front, the declaration of a State of Emergency appears to have slowed down the wave of violence which, starting in the Vaal

Triangle townships in September, 1984, swept across most of the country.

The Institute of Race Relations — which meticulously records and correlates all reported deaths in politically-motivated violence — found the daily death rate fell sharply after the imposition of a national State

●Continued overleaf



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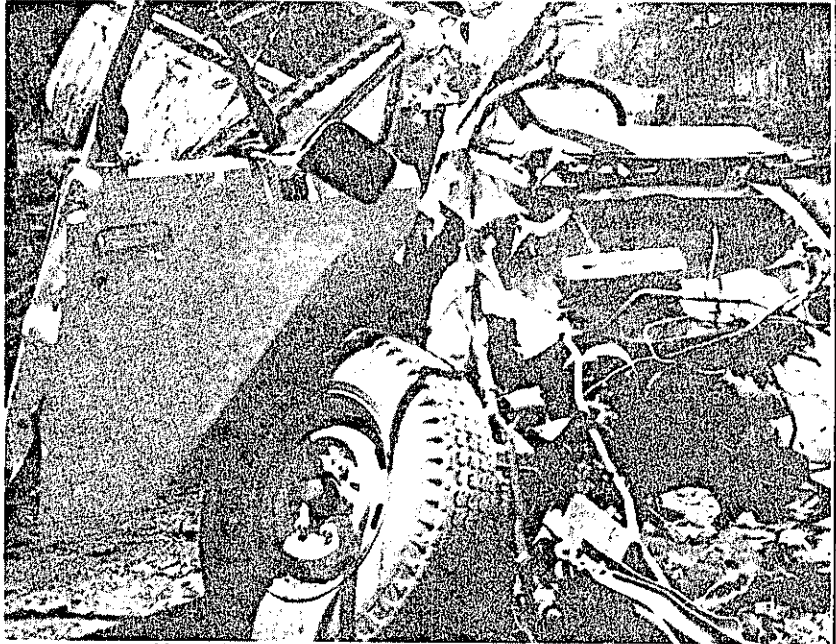
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●Continued overleaf

P.T.O.

# Govt no longer scornful of ANC's guerilla capabilities

Cape Times 8/18/7  
11A

THE African National Congress (ANC), 75 years old today, is no longer being written off in South Africa as "the world's least successful terrorist organization".

The black nationalist movement, which turned to violence after it was banned in 1960, is nowhere near a classic guerilla victory in its fight for majority rule.

## Analysts

But after three years of unprecedented black revolt in South Africa's townships, it has won recognition from the government as its main enemy and a major security threat.

Political analysts say this has in turn helped the outlawed ANC boost its overt political support in the townships — an increasingly important goal since it has accepted how South African conditions impede conventional guerilla warfare.

## Unrest

South African government sources used to pour scorn on the ANC's guerilla operations and it justified crackdowns on dissent by speaking in general terms of an international, communist-backed "total onslaught" against its rule.

But the government now frequently names the ANC as its enemy.

Imposing emergency rule in June, Pretoria said it was necessary to thwart ANC plans for large-scale unrest.

## 'Publicity'

Stepped up media censorship in December was announced as a measure to counter to alleged ANC plans for a Christmas "terror campaign".

A top government information official explained the link by saying that the ANC and its jailed leader Nelson Mandela were receiving more positive publicity than the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Helen Suzman, opposition spokeswoman on law and order, believes

ON the 75th anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress (ANC) a correspondent of Reuters news agency, RUTH PITCHFORD, gives an assessment of the ANC and its role in the South African situation.



Mr Craig Williamson



Mrs Helen Suzman

the government is itself partly responsible for popularizing the ANC, at least in the black townships.

"The government is a first-class publicity agent for all organizations strongly opposed to it.

"The constant harassment of ANC-orientated people and organizations gives the ANC tremendous credibility among blacks," she said.

## 'Violence'

Support for the ANC — especially among youths — was fuelled by tough security force reaction in the townships when political protest erupted in 1984, Mrs Suzman said.

"The police excesses contributed all the time to keeping emotions at fever pitch ... all this has been an incentive to further violence."

## Military

An estimated 500 guerillas have infiltrated the townships and are able to tap a reservoir of anti-government hostility among youths eager to be recruited either for training outside the country or to be taught very rudimentary tactics at home.

The ANC is estimated to have put 10 000 members through its training camps, although Western diplomats believe many of these may merely be refugees who have

been given some military training rather than fully effective guerilla fighters.

But the organization's formal military strength is less relevant since it apparently resolved a long tactical debate by acknowledging that it could not expect a military victory against heavily armed security forces.

## Infiltrated

Instead analysts believe the ANC has settled on a mixed strategy of attacks by its guerilla wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) backed by militant mass protest, both violent and peaceful, and aimed ultimately at ex-

erting enough pressure to force the government to negotiate or fall.

In a recent article in the independent Weekly Mail, Craig Williamson, a former police spy who successfully infiltrated the ANC, challenged the view that MK, as Umkhonto we Sizwe is known, is a dismal failure.

## 'Fighters'

"The correct way to judge MK and its success or failure ... has nothing to do with the number of cadres trained, armed, captured or killed ... or with the number of bombs exploded or deaths and injuries caused," Williamson wrote.

"If one defines MK as an organization of 'political fighters' which aims to increase the degree of popular participation in the 'struggle' to the level at which ANC revolutionary aims become general aims, then MK has not yet failed.

"The next 10 years will tell," he concluded.

Diplomats say emergency censorship has probably helped the security forces to pick up or eliminate ANC activists.

## Attacks

"It's certainly enabled them to move faster, more effectively and silently," said one source. "It's kept the lid on."

There has been a significant increase in guerilla attacks in South Africa in the past year, although analysts are sceptical whether the ANC was capable of generating quite the degree of violence which Pretoria alleged — and the organization claimed privately — last June and December.

They also question how far the ANC is in control of militant township youths.

But one Western diplomat said: "I suspect that what they can't control they can inspire." — Sapa-Reuter

### Spectrum

—“A decision by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC could shatter the organisation”, says a US intelligence report. ALAN DUNN of the Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington

# ‘SACP served by Govt attitude to talks with ANC’

**S**OUTH African Communist Party interests are served by the Government's inflexible attitude on talks with the outlawed African National Congress, a new United States intelligence report charges.

A decision by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC could shatter the organisation, it says, where “serious policy differences could surface within the ANC.”

The report, a pool of information from all America's intelligence agencies, found that about half of the ANC's executive were known or suspected communists.

The 11-page study was sent in two versions, classified and declassified, to the US Cor-

gress yesterday after lawmakers ordered it in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, the legislation containing tough economic sanctions against South Africa.

It is likely to have far-reaching effects, serving as a guideline on US policy towards black movements in Southern Africa fighting apartheid. It may also partly explain why the Reagan Administration has in recent months decided to start recognising the ANC through high-level meetings with its officials.

Probing communist infiltration in black anti-apartheid groups, the report said the SACP lacked a mass following but had exercised “con-

siderable influence” through its alliance with the ANC.

“The SACP continues to view its historical alliance with the ANC as its main hope for winning power in South Africa,” it added.

Sketching the historical ties between the SACP and ANC, the report noted strong communist influence in the ANC. It estimated that roughly 15 of the 30-man ANC executive were communist.

Known or suspected communists dominated the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). But SACP membership was not conclusive in several cases.

“SACP interests are served

by an inflexible South African attitude toward negotiations with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on South Africa.”

The report said the ANC was “deeply beholden” to the SACP and the Soviet-backed MPLA regime in Angola for its arms and military training. This had made possible an upsurge in guerrilla activity in recent years, boosting the ANC's prestige in South Africa.

Dependence on Moscow for military aid would continue to entrench SACP influence in the ANC. Serious policy differ-

ences could emerge in the ANC if Pretoria reconsidered its stand on negotiations with it or if ANC relations with Western countries continued to improve.

“The internal stability of the ANC and its main political tendency will be shaped by the extent to which Pretoria tests — or fails to test — its shaky cohesion. If the South African Government pursues a purely repressive policy, the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks,” the report said.

The SACP had been alarmed in 1984/5 at rumours of the South African Government putting out feelers to elements of the ANC. The com-

munist had been genuinely concerned that a more flexible Pretoria approach could find a favourable reception in certain parts of the ANC.

The SACP appeared to have little or no influence on political and labour groups inside South Africa. This lack of support gave non-communist ANC leaders considerable counter-leverage against SACP efforts to dominate the group.

On the United Democratic Front, held by the South African Government to be a front for the ANC, the report found there was “little reliable evidence on the extent of SACP influence within the UDF”.

A number of UDF officials

had long-standing ANC affiliations. But the UDF contained an even wider range of views than the ANC, which was a foil to SACP ambitions.

“To the extent that a generalisation can be made, the influence of the UDF in the ANC tends to weaken SACP influence,” it said.

The ANC and SACP were also “far” from being in a position to control the growing political and trade union activity in South Africa.

The report dismissed accusations that the SACP had a “hidden agenda” behind its opportunistic alliance with the ANC. “The SACP has made little effort to hide the fact that its ultimate goal is a Marxist-Leninist state”.

*Mcus 8/1/87 (11/1/87) [Signature]*

CAPE TOWN 8/11/87

# Attacks on Inkatha: 2 die

**Own Correspondent**  
**DURBAN.** — Two Inkatha members have died in the past few days following petrol-bomb attacks on their homes in KwaMakuta township, near Isipingo, and at Umlazi, Durban.

The houses of four other Inkatha members in KwaMakuta, including that of the Mayor, Mr Jerome Shabalala, have been petrol-bombed.

A statement from Brigadier S M Mathe, the Deputy Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, alleged that the attacks had been made by members of the United Democratic Front.

The statement said Mr B M Dlamini, an Inkatha member and a councillor

in KwaMakuta, died on Sunday after receiving severe burns following a petrol-bomb attack on his home.

Mrs Sylvia Ntshangase had died instantly after her home in Umlazi was petrol-bombed on Monday.

The statement said her husband, Mr Hamilton Ntshangase, had been injured and admitted to hospital with serious burns.

The statement also said the "inyosi" (praise singer) of the Chief Minister, Mr Ephraim Buthelezi, had been shot, again allegedly by members of the UDF, and his house petrol-bombed.

Brigadier Mathe said he understood the object of the attack was to "eliminate" Mr Buthelezi because he was closely related to Chief Buthelezi.



# SA asked <sup>ONE TIME</sup> for ANC <sup>8/1/87</sup> removals <sup>11/2</sup>

MAPUTO. — Six members of the African National Congress are leaving the country after what sources here say were threats against their lives from South African authorities.

In South Africa Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued a statement in Pretoria saying the government had recently asked the Mozambican government that the six ANC members in Maputo "be removed from Mozambique immediately".

President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique referred to apparent threats at a New Year's reception for diplomats, when he said South Africa might launch a direct attack on Mozambique in the next two weeks, but steps had been taken to prevent it.

Mr Botha's statement said "the South African government would have no choice but to take steps to avert the threat if the Mozambican government did not see its way clear to remove the threat".

Sources in Maputo said the six ANC members who will leave the country include five who work in the ANC office in Maputo. They are chief representative Mr Jacob Zuma, also a member of the ANC executive committee headquartered in Lusaka, Mr Keith Mokoape, in charge of youth and information affairs, Mr Bobby Pillay, the ANC's finance officer in Maputo, Mr Indres Naidoo, an ANC public relations officer, and Ms Sue Rabkin, who dealt with welfare matters. The sixth person, Mr Mohamed Timol, is not a member of the ANC office staff. He was identified by the sources as a South African married to a Mozambican woman.

Mr Zuma and Mr Naidoo were once imprisoned at Robben Island in South Africa in connection with anti-government activity and Mr Naidoo wrote a book about his experience, "Island in Chains".

Mr Botha said the ANC members had supplied weapons and explosives to an ANC committee in Swaziland. — Sapa-AP

Lusaka's Mulungushi hall and conference centre to celebrate the ANC's anniversary.

In his speech to the meeting, Tambo predicted massive demonstrations against the forthcoming white election.

Kaunda told the meeting he regarded the ANC as the "legitimate representative of all the people of South Africa". Addressing a press conference at midday, Tambo told about 60 foreign journalists he believed whites had been "misled" into believing there was any future for white minority domination in South Africa.

He made it clear that it was the ANC's "earnest wish" to create a society in which the colour of a person's skin did not matter.

Tambo repeated the movement's rejection of the targeting of civilians in military actions by the ANC.

He also indicated that the ANC had never been in favour of necklacing but had been reluctant to condemn those who felt themselves compelled to use this method.

Tambo also indicated that the ANC still stood by its call for a blanket academic and cultural boycott of South Africa. But this was being reconsidered.



After months of boycotts and shut-outs, it's peace in the classrooms ... for the moment. None of which is of much comfort to these Soweto toddlers, facing their first terrifying day in the big world of school

Picture: SANTU MOFOKENG, Afrapix

## Police probe into 'unban ANC' adverts

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

POLICE are investigating "possible contraventions of the law" in a United Democratic Front advertisement calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress.

The advert appeared this week in a number of newspapers, including the *Weekly Mail*.

Police said in a statement late yesterday that they had opened a docket following "numerous complaints" from various parts of the country.

The docket is to be forwarded to the attorney-general as soon as possible.

The *Weekly Mail* has been advised by its lawyers that the advert, which appears on pages 14 and 15, does not contravene any law.

Meanwhile, lawyers believe that

new Emergency restrictions on the *Weekly Mail* and four other newspapers were issued in a bid to circumvent court action.

The new orders, issued by the Commissioner of Police in the final week of last year, prohibit the publication of any comment, report, pamphlet or advertisement or any news in connection with any of four specific campaigns.

These are the Campaign for National United Action, the Campaign for National Unity, Christmas against the Emergency and Christmas of Concern.

The order was served on *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber as well

as the editors of the *Sowetan* and *City Press*. Orders were also served on sub-editors at *New Nation*, whose editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, is in detention.

The orders were issued as previous restrictions on these newspapers were being challenged in the Rand Supreme Court.

The *Weekly Mail* was proceeding with a case that had been ruled by the court not to be a matter of urgency. The *Argus* Company was contesting the *Sowetan* restriction on the basis that the order was *inter alia* "void for vagueness".

Lawyers believe the new order, issued the day after the matter had been postponed in the Supreme Court, was designed to counter this legal

attack. The *Weekly Mail's* lawyers are considering an attack on the new restriction order.

● *Business Day* journalist Siphon Ngebo is still being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Security Police held him at his office two weeks ago, shortly after he had written an account of the workings of street committees.

● *Cape Times* journalist Tony Weaver has been summoned to appear in court to face four charges under Section 27(b) of the Police Act. The charges relate to reports of a shoot-out between police and alleged ANC members in Guguletu township last year.

He is due to appear on February 9.

THE CONTENTS OF THIS NEWSPAPER HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED IN TERMS OF THE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

9/1/87

# Police take over ANC man's funeral

251 1107

By MONO BADELA

WHILE mourners were attending the funeral of slain ANC guerrilla Livingstone Ntlokwana, 25, in Port Elizabeth's Zwide township at the weekend police took over the burial - reducing it to a shambles.

Of more than 2 000 mourners at the Sisonke Presbyterian Church, fewer than 100 mourners managed to reach the cemetery to bury him. Eyewitnesses said the funeral procession which went to the cemetery was led by a Casspir, followed by the hearse, a family car and several police and army vehicles.

Earlier, police, accompanied by blue overalled "kits-kops" ("instant"

or hastily-trained constables) and Ibhayi municipal police, broke up the funeral service, entering the church and chasing mourners out. Scores were beaten and others loaded into huge yellow police trucks and driven away. There was no unrest.

Such direct intervention by Security Forces would never have been possible in the Port Elizabeth townships when Ntlokwana, a former Ndzonelelo high school student leader, left to train as a guerrilla in 1981. Just 12 months ago, 80 000 mourners ignored police restrictions

to bury ANC guerrilla Thanduxolo Mbethe, gunned down in a shootout with police in Kwazakele. A street in New Brighton has been renamed after him.

But five years of almost continuous conflict and confrontation have taken their toll on the area.

When he left in 1981, Ntlokwana, of Makana Street, Zwide, was Port Elizabeth branch chairman of the now-banned Congress of SA Students (Cosas). A security policeman is reported to have told Ntlokwana's parents that Ntlokwana was killed in a shootout with Security Forces when he and three other guerrillas were

confronted at a roadblock in the Northern Transvaal. He told them their son was "a very brave man". Ntlokwana had a bullet wound on the left side of his body.

The family were to have seen civil rights lawyers in PE this week to lodge a formal complaint to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok about Security Force action at the funeral.

●Although the reporting of certain Security Force actions is forbidden under Emergency regulations, the *Weekly Mail* is able to report this incident because the actions of the Security Forces at the funeral do not constitute "security action". — TOPS

# A PFP prognosis of a cloudier future

MORE repression. More destabilisation. More oppression. They're all possible — and all highly likely in the next few months.

In a chilling forecast of the year ahead, Rory Riordan, director of the Progressive Federal Party's Operation Outreach in the Eastern Cape, predicts:

- The banning of "the popular political structure" such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and affiliates like the PE Black Civic Organisation.

- The outlawing of all boycotts — described by Riordan as "the peaceful techniques of these political bodies".

- The banning of popular leaders such as the Eastern Cape's Edgar Ngoyi and Mkhuseleli Jack.

- The introduction of less-trained, less-disciplined law enforcement troops in the townships, with a more arbitrary and vigorous approach.

"If 1986 seemed heavy in repression, 1987 is set to be devastating," says Riordan. "And it will fall essentially in the black community."

One of the main reasons for this is the government's desire to make its regional service councils work — in

9/11/87 WEEKLY PLAN IWA  
A PFP-run 'think-tank' predicts the banning of the UDF, yet more Crossroads scenarios, and more disinformation

particular, the black town councils.

"And here is the seed of the political disaster that 1987 looks like becoming," says Riordan.

He forecasts a major increase in what he calls the "Crossroads option" — the destabilisation of black communities opposing apartheid structures.

These communities are likely to be uprooted *en masse* and "dropped down again somewhere else".

"This is devastating to the economy of the people moved, to their morale and to their popular political organisations," Riordan says. "Many years will pass before such a community again becomes a threat to imposed political structures."

He also forecasts the creation and manipulation of factions in the townships, saying: "Organisations willing to oppose the UDF popular movements will become mysteriously wealthy. They will obtain arms that will make their small numbers comparatively potent, and they and

their possessions will be well protected."

Other individuals and organisations helping to prop up apartheid will also benefit materially, according to Riordan. Townships accepting apartheid structures will be blessed with new roads, schools and taps, and those opposing will not.

Town councils are expected to receive healthy injections of capital, as will the people who work for them. The quid pro quo for holding such a job, says Riordan, is "the internalisation and regurgitation of the Department of Information line — and this line only".

This line will also be the one fed to this country's inhabitants, he predicts, making 1987 The Year of Disinformation — particularly for white South Africans.

The white election later this year will only add to that, featuring "careful state manipulation of non-events into big voter war cries".

The SABC's "grovelling to the government" combined with increasingly severe press curbs will even further restrict the information available to voters, says Riordan.

"Military zones will spread and the

difficulty of access to monitors from the press, liberal organisations and the outside world will increase," he says. "Thus, whole areas can become dark to the world, and repression and destabilisation can take place unnoticed."

The good news? There's very little, according to Riordan.

President PW Botha seems sure to quit, he says, but there's always the possibility that he will be replaced by his "enormously ambitious lieutenant", Chris Heunis.

The one glimmer of brightness, he says, lies in the hope that "those educated South Africans who are not going to emigrate may well get sick of a government whose press curbs shocked the HNP, and whose idea of a solution for South Africa is a longer-barrelled field gun".

- Riordan, who delivered his prognosis at a closed seminar last month, has spent the last few years monitoring political developments in the Eastern Cape.

He has worked closely with communities opposing forced removal, such as New Brighton and Langa.

of people... into late sleepers because



# Upset over ANC honour

Mercury Correspondent

**MELBOURNE—The African National Congress again recaptured front-page news throughout Australia yesterday when two white demonstrators were forcibly ejected from a ceremony in Sydney to honour Nelson Mandela and visiting Archbishop Desmond Tutu reaffirmed his support for the banned movement.**

The Sydney incident was shown on prime-time television when two men, believed to be expatriate South Africans, heckled the ANC's representative in Australia, Eddie Funde, when he rose to accept a citation naming Nelson Mandela a freeman of the city.

'Shame, Sydney, shame,' was the chant of one demonstrator before he was grabbed and hustled from the City Hall.

Another, who wore a clerical collar, said Mandela was a terrorist who did not deserve the honour.

Meanwhile, in the church city of Ballarat, 120 km outside of Melbourne, Archbishop Tutu confirmed his personal commitment to non-violence.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner said he regretted the ANC's political objective was no longer attainable by

working within the system.

Asked at a Press conference if he had formal links to the ANC, the archbishop denied ties with any political group.

'I am not ashamed of being associated with the ANC. I support the ANC in its goals for setting up a non-racial, democratic and just South Africa.'

He said he condemned the violent methods forced upon the ANC by the Botha Government's refusal to negotiate a just political system and equally condemned the violence of apartheid.

'I am very deeply concerned for everybody in our country,' he said after warning of the possibility of civil war.

'An all-out civil war is the last thing that anyone would wish on people that they love. You see, I am archbishop, not of blacks, but of all Anglicans in southern Africa, and my flock is black and white.'

Archbishop Tutu said he was often accused by young blacks of 'standing in the way of the revolution' in his efforts to persuade white South Africans that their best efforts were served by the immediate dismantling of apartheid.

'There is no question at all that South Africa is going to be free for black and white and that in time we will have a black state president. And it could happen even this year. I'm not saying that it will happen — it could.'

Archbishop Tutu appealed to whites: 'For your own sake, join the winning side. Align yourselves with justice, with righteousness, with goodness.'

Sydney—South African-born actor Christopher Short, representing the Federated Christian Church of Australia, is removed from a ceremony giving former African National Congress president Nelson Mandela the Freedom of Sydney award. — (Reuter)

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# Weekly Mail appears with blank pages instead of ads

9/11/67 By Jo-Anne Richards

The *Weekly Mail* appeared today with a double-page blank space in place of an advertisement calling for the unbanning of the ANC, which appeared in several newspapers yesterday.

Orders restricting the publishing of the advertisement were gazetted late last night in terms of the Public Safety Act.

The co-editor of the *Weekly Mail*, Mr Irwin Manoim, said today the newspaper had no choice but to leave two pages blank.

The newspaper's attorneys had come to an arrangement with the senior Springs Security Police officer, a Major Zaayman, about the blank space, he said.

The use of blank spaces or blacked-out sections is a contravention of the Press restrictions issued under the state of emergency.

Mr Manoim said Major Zaayman first telephoned the offices at about 9 pm, just as the newspaper had been sent to the printer.

"He warned us that the orders would be gazetted, and he was giving us fair warning. He said the basis of the order would be to prevent the publication of the ad and he said we had better pull the ad out or he would take the paper.

"We had the printers standing by while we tried to obtain legal advice and a copy of the gazette.

"At about 11 pm Major Zaayman phoned again and read the gazette out over the phone. Then our lawyers came to an arrangement with him — we had no option but to leave the pages blank."

**This newspaper may have been cen**

# UDF unions have more might than muscle, report shows

By Alan Dunn,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Worker unions linked to the United Democratic Front (UDF) appeared to have disproportionate say in the country's largest labour umbrella, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), according to a US intelligence report.

This was the finding of American agencies probing communist infiltration and

strengths in black organisations fighting apartheid.

But a report published here this week, examining SA Communist Party (SACP) links with the African National Congress (ANC), the UDF and labour unions, noted that communist sway was limited mainly to the ANC: "The SACP appears to have little or no influence on political and labour groups inside South Africa."

The communist-allied South

African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) had disapproved of black unions registering when they were legalised, it said, and black unions now participated fully in the industrial relations system.

About 19 of Cosatu's 33 unions, constituting about 10 percent of the membership, were closely linked to the UDF and "heavily staffed with ANC sympathisers". The so-called UDF unions were widely considered to be a

possible conduit for Sactu influence in Cosatu.

"At present, these UDF unions appear to have influence within Cosatu disproportionate to their membership strengths," the report said.

Observers divided Cosatu into two factions: one favouring independence and worker activity above political activism, the other wanting close ties with the UDF and exile movements, it said.

"Radical UDF elements, possibly in concert with the SACP or Sactu, have put pressure on Cosatu executive members to take positions more extreme than they might prefer."

Powerful moderating forces, including the fear of police repression and the fear that overly radical union activities could threaten their economic gains, would continue to weigh against Cosatu's links with the ANC.

The report found "strong" SACP influence in the ANC, with about half of the 30-man executive committee known or suspected communists.

## Communist influence limited, say US agents

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — United States intelligence agencies have found little reliable evidence on the extent of communist influence in the United Democratic Front.

"This is largely due to the disparate and fragmented nature of the UDF, which has been further disrupted by thousands of detentions since its founding," said an American Government report.

A number of well-known UDF officials had long-standing affiliations with the African National Congress, it said.

A clandestine network of the South African Communist Party, probably of "modest dimensions", varied in influence on UDF groups from

place to place. So did ANC influence.

"But, in general, the UDF is characterised by an even wider range of views than the ANC," it said.

Indians and coloureds prominent in UDF organisations in Natal and the Western Cape appeared "in many instances" to have links with SACP-orientated groups that played important roles in their communities before the ANC was banned.

"SACP influence is probably higher among these groups than elsewhere," the study said, adding that the UDF's influence in the ANC tended to weaken any sway which the SA Communist Party had in the organisation.

F. W. M. M. 9/1/87  
BLACK SCHOOLS (11/18) (11/18)

## Back in business

As the *FM* went to press, all indications were that black schools were going to reopen with near record attendance figures.

Department of Education and Training (DET) chief spokesman Job Schoeman says the fact that all black political organisations, including the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) are backing the return to school augurs well for the beginning of the school year.

Schoeman reckons the total number of pupils going back to schools falling under the DET will be around 1,8m, of whom 60 000-70 000 will be new pupils. However, countrywide, and taking into account schools in all the homelands, the new intake will be closer to 300 000.

Says Schoeman: "To meet the needs of these pupils we need at least 300 big new schools and have to train 8 000-10 000 new teachers each year. There are 55 training colleges throughout the land to meet these training demands."

Referring to the 10 schools in Soweto and the 21 in the eastern Cape that were closed last year as a result of turmoil, Schoeman says they will hopefully reopen in the next couple of weeks. He says the department is

calling on parents of children at the affected schools to arrange meetings with the assistant directors of education (formerly school inspectors) to help open school doors.

But he adds that two conditions will have to be met first. The parents will have to show their commitment to getting the schools reopened, and they will have to accept responsibility for their children's behaviour.

Despite pressures for a black school and exam boycott last year, the great majority of pupils did not heed the call. ■



HAROLD MACMILLAN

## A study in power

Harold Macmillan stood second only to Winston Churchill as one of the great Tory icons of 20th Century Britain. Churchill represented indomitable defiance and ultimate victory in war. The unflappable, witty and, above all, stylish "Supermac," beloved by Fleet Street cartoonists, symbolised success in peace.

Under Macmillan's premiership, Britain recovered from the bruises inflicted by the Suez debacle and finally from post-war austerity to move into an era of virtually full employment, rising living standards and optimism which peaked during the swinging Sixties. Next to his prophetic "wind of change" speech in SA, Macmillan was best remembered for telling Britons: "You've never had it so good."

Unlike Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, he was a true "one nation" Conservative leader. So much so that, when once teased with the comment that he had been the best Socialist premier Britain ever had, Macmillan riposted: "No, you are quite wrong — the only one."

Although Macmillan was only six weeks short of his 92nd birthday, his death last week leaves a political gap. For after eschewing (apart from the Order of Merit) the honours normally due to an ex-premier, Macmillan made something of a political



Supermac and Queen



The old lion at 85

comeback at 90 — he accepted an earldom to use the House of Lords as a forum from which to raise incisive questions about the state of the nation, as the Tories' elder statesman.

While he admired Thatcher's qualities as a leader, Macmillan's horror of mass unemployment, derived from the Great Depression, made him doubt her direction. Praise of Macmillan became an oblique tool with which "wet" Cabinet ministers criticised Thatcher.

Macmillan cloaked his steel in velvet. Surveying the portraits of earlier Tory premiers in the Carlton Club, Macmillan told an audience: "Some would have loved her. Some would have hated her... They would all have been surprised." And he wounded Thatcher with his "selling the family silver" comment on her cherished privatisation programme.

His urbanity and charm covered a toughness forged in adversity and even pain. Macmillan's family were poor Scottish crofters until his grandfather founded a fortune via the publishing house which bears his name. At Eton, Macmillan was a shy, weak boy who was taken out of school early because of fears for his health. But he broke off a brilliant progress at Balliol, Oxford, to bluff the army eyesight test and volunteer for the Grenadier Guards in World War I.

His bravery on the Somme became a watchword in his regiment. He was wounded three times — twice almost fatally. The last time he was found lying in a shellhole reading a classical Greek text.

After completing his studies (earning a

First in Moderations), Macmillan became aide-de-camp to the Governor General of Canada, the Duke of Devonshire — whose daughter, Lady Dorothy Cavendish, he married. Back in England, his connections and ability took him into politics and he was elected MP for Stockton-on-Tees in 1924.

Neither his marriage nor his political career proved an easy road. After nine years, Lady Dorothy fell in love with Bob (later Lord) Boothby, a fellow MP and friend. Macmillan, a religious man who was nearly converted to Roman Catholicism at Oxford by the philosopher-priest Ronald Knox, would have nothing to do with divorce and stoically weathered his wife's long-standing affair. They had two daughters and a son.

In parliament, the plight of the unemployed — he developed a deep respect for the ordinary working man in the trenches of the Somme — saw Macmillan leading a young ginger group of MPs agitating for Keynesian-type economic intervention, even before Keynes himself became fashionable. Critical pamphlets, and books such as *The Middle Way*, denied him government office. Nor was he helped by joining Churchill in recognising the peril of Hitler and demanding early rearmament.

Like Churchill, it was World War II and the fall of Joseph Chamberlain which started Macmillan's ascendancy.

Indeed, once when Macmillan begged leave to go to bed instead of having another brandy and talking about Hitler, Churchill challenged him.

"What's wrong Harold, don't you disapprove of Hitler?" queried the PM.

Macmillan replied: "Well, not entirely. After all, he did make you prime minister and me a parliamentary under-secretary. No other power on earth could have achieved that."

Appointed Minister Resident in North Africa, Macmillan finally achieved Cabinet rank in 1942. There he played a valuable diplomatic role, liaising with General Dwight Eisenhower, the US commander, and the Free French forces; and, after the allied invasion of Italy, in the whole Mediterranean war theatre.

Recently, Macmillan had to endure a painful revival of the controversy over his order, in May 1945, for the forced repatriation of 40 000 Cossacks and White Russians who had either sided with the Germans or been captured. Thousands were executed



Ambitions at 20

Graeme Pope-Ellis, who has overall lead in the Duzi canoe marathon.

# Hendrickse faces icy caucus talks

*w/c ARGUS*  
*24/11/87*  
*11A*

LABOUR Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse needs a lifeboat to save his fast-sinking image after his humble apology to President P W Botha for his dip in a "whites-only" section of the sea.

## Summit on mountain's problems

Environment Reporter

CONSERVATIONISTS and officials concerned with the management of Table Mountain meet on Monday to discuss control measures and future public use of the mountain.

The summit was called by Minister of Environment Affairs Mr John Wiley following last month's blaze which destroyed nearly 400ha of fynbos and 50ha of plantation.

The meeting will consider control and protection measures for the entire Peninsula mountain chain, as well as public access.

A report will be presented by Dr Douglas Hey, chairman of the Cape Peninsula Nature Area Management Committee who several years ago formed a one-man committee to inquire into the control and management of the mountain chain.

The meeting will also consider a full report on fires in Peninsula mountains over the past 10 years.

But he can only expect an icy reception at the party's forthcoming caucus meeting, where the issue will probably be high on the agenda.

Labour Party MPs expressed disgust at his lack of defiance in the face of President Botha's ultimatum to him to apologise or bear the full brunt of his wrath.

"If I were in his shoes I would never have apologised," said Border MP Mr Peter Mopp.

### "Despicable"

"I find it despicable that a man of his strength and calibre buckled under the President's bullying."

Mr Winston Jasson, chairman of the party's Queenstown branch, agreed.

"We support the decision taken by the parliamentary caucus to ask Mr Hendrickse not to apologise but to face whatever steps the State President may have taken.

"As far as we are concerned Mr Hendrickse apologised in his personal capacity and not on behalf of the party, and de-

By MARK STANSFIELD  
Weekend Argus Reporter

viated from caucus and congress decisions.

"The apology is an embarrassment to the party."

"We do not need to apologise for our God-given human right to swim in the sea. The Labour Party is not part of the National Party.

"The issue will be dealt with at the executive meeting of the branch tomorrow."

Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, said the matter would probably be dealt with at the caucus meeting on Tuesday.

### Support

Support for Mr Hendrickse came from Dr I Essop, MP for Griqualand West — who also took a dip in the sea.

"I back him 100 percent," he said.

"As leader he has a mandate to do whatever he feels is best for the party.

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**COMMENT**

**W**E hope the tragic story of a 10-year-old girl who was electrocuted by a partly complete security fence at the Westville Prison, Durban, will be read by many people, especially because this country is paranoid about building fences.

The story of young Nomkhosi Mbatha goes straight to the heart and touches on a typical South African issue that is most upsetting.

A prison warden, who did his best to get her to hospital, found her trapped by the electric power in the wires. Nomkhosi died before she reached the hospital.

South Africa is such an insecure, tense and paranoid country that fences are built all over the place. Fences are built round townships. Fences are found near places of recreation like swimming pools and parks. There are massive fences at the borders.

Part of the intention is security, but the basic force is an almost Freudian attitude to build fences around people — to separate them.

While it is normal to have strict security round prisons, we take strong exception to having live wires that lead to such tragic accidents, near townships.

There are other excellent ways in which prisons can and have been guarded, particularly in a crazy country such as this.

In the final analysis, we are a nation of fences. That is hardly surprising.

The guiding politics in this land was and still is to fence people into separate sections.

The Westville Prison department has expressed its sympathy. That is not good enough. We know nothing will compensate the family for the loss of their child. But an example should be set by disciplining whoever was so negligent.

**L**USAKA — The African National Congress has reiterated a willingness to participate in a negotiated solution in the country. And it has joined the call for children to return to school and end the class boycott in South Africa.

In a statement issued to mark the ANC's 75th anniversary, the organisation's national executive committee reiterated its commitment to "seize any opportunity that may arise to participate in a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country" with the specific aim of creating a "democratic, non-racial and united South Africa".

"Let those in our country who in the face of our mounting offensive, have started talking about negotiating, commit themselves publicly to this perspective".

The statement is a reiteration of a previous willingness to negotiate but it appears to have slightly but significantly softened the ANC's terms for negotiations.

Previously it had insisted as preconditions that the negotiations be aimed at handing over power "to the people".

Many whites, the statement said, were feeling their way towards acceptance of the inevitability of a non-racial order.

**Democratic**

It said the ANC "must pay the greatest possible attention" to the role of whites in the democratic revolution.

Whites must learn that it was not democracy that threatened their survival but racist tyranny.

The present crisis in South Africa demanded that whites make a clean break with the past and "unequivocally reject the ruling group as being unrepresentative of them".

The statement called on blacks and whites to "come together in a massive democratic coalition".

The statement rejected any ethnic distinction between South Africans.

It supported the guaranteeing of the freedoms of speech, assembly, association, lan-

**ANC 'still willing to negotiate'**

By GERALD L'ANGE  
SOWETAN Africa  
News Service

guage, religion, the Press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial.

The statement committed the ANC to an economic policy of ensuring that the wealth of the country increased and was equitably shared by all.

**Tribute**

The ANC national executive made a point of paying a special tribute to the late President Samora Machel of Mozambique and promised to erect a monument on the spot where he died in a plane crash.

The interests of the South African Communist Party (SACP) are being served by the South African Government's inflexible attitude towards talks with

the outlawed African National Congress, claims a new United States Intelligence report.

It says a decision by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC could shatter the SACP because "serious policy differences could surface within the ANC".

The report contains information pooled from all of America's intelligence agencies. It found that about half the ANC's executive were known or suspected communists.

**Sanctions**

The 11-page study was sent in two versions, classified and de-classified, to the US Congress on Wednesday after lawmakers ordered it in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 — the legislation containing tough economic sanctions against South Africa.

It is likely to have far-reaching effects, serving as a guideline on

American policy towards black movements in southern Africa fighting apartheid.

Probing communist infiltration in black anti-apartheid groups, the report said the SACP lacked a mass following but had exercised "considerable influence" through its alliance with the ANC.

**Military**

The report noted that known or suspected communists also dominated the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). But SACP membership was not conclusive in several cases.

"SACP interests are served by an inflexible South African attitude towards negotiations with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on South Africa".

The report added that the ANC was "deeply beholden" to the SACP and the Soviet Union, as well as to the Soviet-backed MPLA regime in

**FOCUS**

*Smogden*  
9/11/87  
11A



Mr OLIVER Tambo ... ANC leader.

Angola for its arms and military training.

Serious policy differences could emerge in the ANC if Pretoria reconsidered its stand on negotiations with the ANC, or if ANC relations with Western countries continued to improve.

"The internal stability of the ANC and its main political tendency will be shaped by the extent which Pretoria tests — or fails to test — its shaky cohesion. If the South African Government pursues a purely repressive policy, the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks".

**Let's we forget**

THE Sowetan today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:

- Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the *New Nation*, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 28 days;
- Mxolisi Jackson Fuzile, *Veritas News Agency*, who has been detained under the emergency regulations for 211 days;
- Phila Ngumbwa, *Veritas News Agency*, 211 days;
- Brian Sokutu Eastern Cape freelance journalist, 211 days;
- Sipho Ngcobo, *Business Day*, detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for 11 days; and
- Clive Stuurman of *Saamstaan* in Oudtshoorn, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 211 days today.

**The Media Council**

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news-

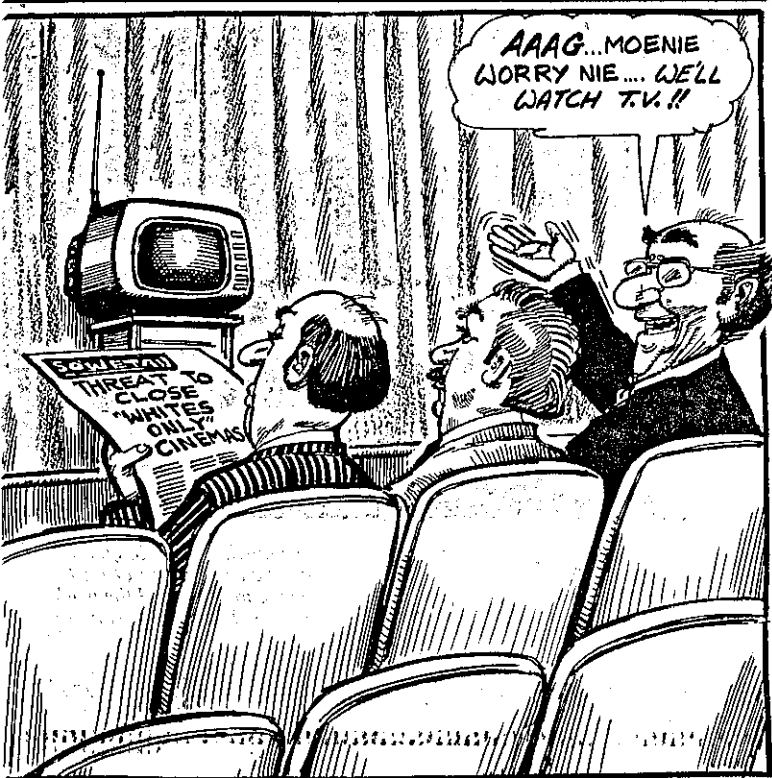
media directly. Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, P.O. Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 46-7317. Inquiries are welcomed.

Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.



# Yes, it's all normal on the ANC front

weektime

Jan. 1987

By JO-ANN BEKKER

BUREAU for Information chief Stoffel van der Merwe was surprised at the outrage levelled at the government's recent press curbs on African National Congress reports.

"We are just bringing things back to normal," he told a face-three-members-of-the press session on SABC-TV this week.

And he was right. For years, as Van der Merwe pointed out, there were virtually no reports on the ANC's policies or views.

The latest restrictions — barring newspaper editors from publishing any report or advertisement which improves the public image of a banned organisation or explains its strategies — enforces what was until very recently the status quo.

Researchers who have sifted through newspaper archives point out that through the almost 50 years the ANC was a legal organisation, it was given no more than a mention in the inside pages of white-owned newspapers, which treated black political organisations with condescending amusement.

It was only in 1959 that the *Rand Daily Mail* became the first paper to appoint a specialist journalist, Benjamin Pogrand, to cover black politics. And his reports received little prominence, even during the national campaign against the pass laws.

Analysts say the first time ANC leader Nelson Mandela became a media personality in white newspapers was when he stood trial for treason in the Sixties and was depicted as public enemy number one.

From the mid-Sixties to the Seventies there was no coverage of the then outlawed ANC or Pan-Africanist Congress, beyond occasional references to unspecified Moscow-controlled "terrorist organisations".

The freeze on independent reports on the ANC thawed less than three years ago when *Beeld* columnist Piet Muller took a cue from the government's reformist tone and headed off to meet the exiled organisation.

A subsequent business outing to Lusaka, led by Anglo America's Gavin Relly, caused a media sensation and soon pilgrimages to meet the ANC by Afrikaans and English church representatives, students and homeland leaders became regular news items.

White newspapers' attitudes towards the ANC and its guerrilla war had not changed, however. What had changed was they ceased to represent the organisation as a band of faceless monsters.

While little of substance was reported from the discussions, readers learnt for the first time that ANC executive member Thabo Mbeki smoked a pipe and had a sense of humour.

## That baffling blank centre

WEEKLY MAIL readers may have been bewildered by the blank centrespread in last week's issue, particularly as a front-page report said the newspaper had been advised by its lawyers that "the advertisement which appears (on the middle pages) does not contravene any law".

The advert calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress was legal when the proof pages were completed at 7pm and sent to the printers. But by midnight a new Emergency order had been gazetted banning any newspaper report or advert which promoted a banned organisation or explained its strategies.

The Mail was telephoned by the Security Police at 9pm and informed of the midnight Gazette which would make the advert illegal. A Major Zaiman warned a confiscation order had been prepared and said police were ready to seize copies of the newspaper if they contained the advert.

The printing presses were put on hold for several hours while legal advice was sought. Finally, the Mail decided it had no option but to withdraw the advert.

The Security Police gave permission for the centre pages to remain blank, although the Emergency press curbs prohibit newspapers from carrying any "blank space, obliteration or deletion" to indicate where reports have been censored.

*Cape Times* editor Tony Heard took the demystification process one step further by publishing a full transcript of ANC president Oliver Tambo's views on present and future ANC policy. Heard was let off lightly after charges against him were switched to his newspaper company, South African Associated Newspapers (Saan), who paid a R300 admission of guilt fine.

Political observers believe the reasons for the government's greater leniency was its tentative efforts to appease the outside world by unbanning the ANC and freeing political prisoners. But reform hardened into repression as Pretoria thumbed its nose at the West and settled down to endure sanctions from abroad and political turmoil at home.

Last Friday saw the latest show of government *kragdadigheid* in response to a United Democratic Front "Unban the ANC" advertisement which was carried in 11 newspapers. The authorities apparently decided the unveiling of the ANC had gone far enough and introduced the latest press curbs restricting reports of banned organisation.

Jan. 1987

# SAP probes pro-ANC ad

Business Day Reporter

POLICE have opened a docket into possible contraventions relating to an advertisement, headlined "75 years of the ANC", which appeared in some newspapers yesterday.

The Police public relations directorate in Pretoria said the docket had been opened after "numerous complaints" from various parts of SA. The docket was being forwarded to the Attorney-General for his consideration.

The department was unable to say what action, if any, would be taken, and whether it would be against the advertisers or the publishers.

The advert, calling for the ANC's unbanning, was published in some English-language newspapers to mark the organisation's 75th anniversary.

Lawyers believe the only possible infringement attaching to publication of the advert is the Internal Security Act restriction on the advancement of the aims of a banned organisation.

Afrikaans-language newspapers and *The Citizen* rejected the advert, which accused the Bureau for Information and the SABC of bombarding the people of South Africa with distortions and untruths about the ANC.

It was issued by the UDF, the National

Education Crisis Committee and the SA Council of Churches.

Fifteen other organisations supported it, including the Congress of SA Trade Unions, Black Sash, National Soccer League, Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, SA Rugby Union and National Medical and Dental Association.

A silhouette of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela and a photograph of ANC president Oliver Tambo appear in the advert.

It quotes Mandela as stating, during his trial in April 1964: "The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed by the South Africa Act... For 37 years until 1949 it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle."

"It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could advance gradually to full political rights. But white governments remained unmoved."

11/8

643  
583  
60



The African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo at a news conference in Lusaka yesterday to mark the ANC's 75th anniversary.

## London rally hails 'Violence won't work'

Jan 19 87

By Michael Morris, The Star Bureau

LONDON — About 1 000 people gathered in London last night for the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress (ANC), cheering speakers who extolled the "struggle for freedom" in South Africa.

Supporters who packed the Camden Centre in north London — in the heart of one of the city's most strongly anti-apartheid boroughs — were welcomed by the ANC's chief representative in London, Mr Solly Smith.

Speeches by Labour MP Mr Bob Hughes, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement; Mr Jim Slater, president of the National Union of Seamen; Mr Zola Zembe, UK and European representative of Sactu; and Mr Shapua Kaukungua, Swapo's chief representative in Western Europe, were interspersed with readings of poetry and freedom songs by the ANC choir.

The main speaker was ANC executive committee member Mr Pallo Jordan.

Among the audience were the high commissioners and embassy representatives of several African, Caribbean and European countries and the United States, several Euro and British MPs — including the Tory parliamentarians Mr Hugh Dykes and Mr Tim Rathbone who are founder members of the Conservatives for Fundamental Change group in the Commons.

Messages of solidarity read out at the rally included those from Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock, supporters in Vietnam, a group of Turkish political prisoners and Cosatu.

**The Star Bureau**  
LONDON — The British newspaper, *The Independent*, claimed today that last year's contacts between business leaders and the ANC were almost certainly more to the ANC's liking than Press pictures of black bodies or bomb-blasted white children.

All "liberation movements" tended to advance with the rifle in one hand and the olive branch in the other, said the paper. In South Africa the reality of power combined with common morality to insist that the ANC should use the absolute minimum of violence.

The paper said violence would not bring down the South African Government and that should be enough to counsel caution to the supposedly moderate men who direct the ANC's military wing.

# THE KILLING FIELDS

**FEAR stalked the streets of Natal's coastal townships this week as controversy over the cold-blooded massacre of 12 church members in KwaMakhutha, near Amanzimtoti, grew.**

In a new development, residents said another body was found near the scene of the attack yesterday morning, and surviving family members said Victor Ntuli - thought to have been the target of the attack - was led away in handcuffs by Amanzimtoti police from his bullet-riddled house.

Durban Police PRO Major Charl du Toit confirmed that Ntuli was picked up for questioning, but said they were still investigating the other claim.

Confirming the shootings, the Bureau for Information said 100 AK47 shells were found outside the house and the police had not ruled out the possibility that the attackers were "terrorists".

Reverend Willie Ntuli and 11 others, all members of the Twelve Apostolic Church, were gunned down in the early hours on Wednesday at Ntuli's house.

Several of the victims were children between three and seven years of age and five women were killed.

Two other victims, Nomfundo Thusini and her sister Nombuso, were taken to King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban.

Annah Khumalo, one of the survivors who hid in a wardrobe with her toddler, said they had a church prayer meeting earlier in the house and had decided that some of those attending who stay in Lamontville and other townships, should stay over because it was late. "At about 2.30am we were awoken by loud shots and the attackers forced the dining room door open," said Khumalo.

Among those who stormed into the house, was one who spoke "fanakalo" and angrily shouted "ihula msindo" during the pandemonium, but Khumalo said she could hear that Zulu was foreign to him.

"I looked through the window and saw a white mini bus, then heard shooting inside the house. I picked up my baby and ran into an adjacent room, where I hid in a wardrobe. They shot under the bed and killed those hiding there. Luckily for me they did not think of opening the wardrobe."

Khumalo, supported by other relatives, said Ntuli had no political affiliations but was a deeply religious man. However, his son Victor was a member of the UDF-affiliated KwaMakhutha Youth League.

They believed the attack was directed at him and his organisation, following several death threats received by the family. Neighbours said the attackers

drove off in a white mini bus after the massacre, which took

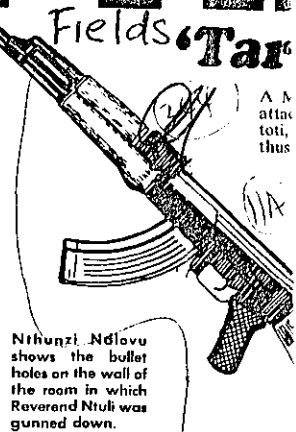
between five and 10 minutes.

Durban UDF spokesman Joseph Gumbi blamed the attack on vigilantes and said it was part of continuing political clashes between the two bodies - UDF and the vigilantes - in the township.

Gumbi said Ntuli's son Victor was probably the main target but had gone into hiding after several attempts on his life during the past few months. He was not at home at the time of the attack.

"According to the reports we have received from the area, there is no doubt that the attack was staged by the notorious vigilantes."

"A fortnight ago Nhlanya Mkhize, a friend of Victor's who was also a member of the KwaMakhutha Youth League, was hacked and shot to death by the same vigi-



Nthunzi Ndlovu shows the bullet holes on the wall of the room in which Reverend Ntuli was gunned down.



Ndlovu stands outside the hut in which the seven children were massacred. On the chair is a bloodstained children's book.

## Report: S'BU MNGADI

lantes. Victor, fearing for his life, decided to go into hiding," said Gumbi.

● The names of the deceased are: Willie Ntuli, 50, Pumelele Ndlovu, 22, Isabel Kubheka, 50, Jabu Ndlovu, 17, Nombuso Ndwalane, 50, Nomusa Ndwalane, Jabu Gumede, Bassie Thusini, 3, Vukile Thusini, 5, Fanele Thusini, 4, Phumzile Thusini, 7, and Nunu Ntuli, 7.

● Sapa reports that Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was "shocked" by the dimensions which violence between the ANC/UDF alliance and Inkatha was assuming.

Buthelezi said he was saying this on the assumption that "the reported tragedy in KwaMakhutha was probably a continuation of the clashes that have been going on for some time

in this township". He added that it was clear that this violence was bound to lead to counter-violence and the whole bloodbath could go on indefinitely unless ANC President Oliver Tambo put a stop to these attacks.

"Inkatha is committed to non-violence and peaceful change in SA."

KwaMakhutha Youth League members refuted an earlier report by a Durban-based newspaper that they were leaving the township. They said they were keeping a low profile but would definitely not leave the township because they believed that the attacks on them were masterminded somewhere outside the township.

● Meanwhile, police announced they have launched a massive dragnet for the killers.

## Massacre of 12 has international repercussions

CP Correspondent

THE Kwamakhutha massacre will have international repercussions.

The US State Department, horrified at the killings, has asked its embassy to investigate and submit an urgent report.

The incident has caused unusual international interest because of next Monday's meeting in Washington between US Secretary of State George Shultz and African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo.

Much attention has been focused on the victims' political affiliations, with the Bureau for Information having created the

impression the killings were inspired by the ANC.

If this were so, it would be a drawback for the US summit between Shultz and Tambo. But the SA government would benefit in many ways - it would be a blow to the closer relations being formed between the US and the ANC, it would be a personal blow to Shultz, whom the US government particularly dislikes at the moment over his new attitude to Pretoria and it will have the added bonus of further smearing the ANC.

Both Schultz and Tambo have much at stake - Schultz is risking a rightwing back-

lash by pushing ahead with the talks. He has read the signs and believes the ANC will be a political factor to be reckoned with in any permanent solution for SA. So he wants to acknowledge and protect future US interests in a "liberated SA".

For Tambo the talks mark the start of a new level of international acceptability and formal recognition by the Western superpower - recognition given already by the US to Kwazulu leader Chief MG Buthelezi, but long refused the ANC.

But while William Ntuli, 50, whose home was attacked, was politically neutral or allied to the United Democratic Front,

the killers' identities are in doubt.

The UDF and neighbours and relatives who escaped the slaughter say Ntuli's son, Victor, was a staunch activist of the UDF-affiliated Kwamakhutha Youth League.

Recently he narrowly escaped death at the hands of anti-UDF attackers and a co-member of the KMYL was killed a fortnight ago by anti-UDF vigilantes.

Fearing for his life, Victor Ntuli has not been living at home since then.

The UDF says the killers were aiming at Victor Ntuli, the KMYL and the UDF, and were "enemies" of the UDF.

## 'Witdoek' the rampa

CP Correspondent

TWO Port Elizabeth Youth Congress members and a railway worker died in New Brighton on Sunday when a band of over 60 vigilantes ran amok in PE townships.

They attacked suspected UDF supporters with various weapons, including pangas, axes and guns.

Three people were also abducted in the hit-and-run attacks which started early on Sunday morning, setting off a chaotic and massive turmoil among residents.

Peveco members Molly Maja and Mzikayise Tshabalala, of Boastville and both in their 20s, and Thembike Gode, a railway worker from Red Location, were killed outside their homes in the early hours of Sunday.

Residents and family of the dead ac-

## Willem won't retire

A FRERE Hospital worker has refused to accept retirement because he says he cannot survive on his pension.

Midas Willem, 65, despite 32 years of continuous service, has remained a casual worker and is still at his post despite being told to retire.

"It's a disgrace that I'm still a casual worker," said Willem.

He said he had been given forms to sign at the end of last year informing him that he was to retire.

"They were going to pay me R175 a month. They told me there was no gratuity. I refused to sign the forms."

He added he could not afford to retire, as he is married with children at school.

"I would like to retire, but only if matters are settled my way," he said.

Willem started work at the hospital in 1954.

The medical superintendent of Frere Hospital, Dr Hall, said it was a Cape Provincial Administration regulation that anyone who was 65 years old had to

at Mani, 40 meters  
on terror charges

(11A)

# ON TERROR charges

Weekend Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The general secretary of the United Democratic Front's border region, the Rev Arnold Stofile, has appeared in court here with four others on charges of terrorism.

## Swazis raid 'safehouse'

MANZINI. — Swaziland police have raided an alleged African National Congress "safehouse" in Manzini, police sources said.

Witnesses said policemen surrounded the house and ordered the occupants out.

Shots were fired from inside the building and the police retaliated.

It is not known if there were casualties. — Sapa.

On trial with Mr Stofile are Mr Mzwakhe Nelson Ndlela, Mr Linda Michael Stofile, Mr Mveleli Gladwell Gqibitole and Miss Nomvuyiso Stofile.

After a brief appearance in the Mdantsane Regional Court when the charge sheet was read to the accused, the case was referred to the Bisho Supreme Court for trial on March 16.

The charge sheet contains a list of seven alleged co-conspirators.

Among them is Steve Tshwete, a former president of the Border region of the UDF and now in exile, Charles Nqakula, a prominent former journalist and also now in exile, Pierre André Albertini, a French citizen who is still being held in Ciskei police detention, and Lucille Meyer, the administrative secretary of the UDF in the Border and who was detained by Ciskei police this week.

According to a schedule attached to the charge sheet, Mr Stofile is alleged to have made contact with the ANC in Lusaka, using Mr Albertini as a courier.

He is alleged to have received large sums of money from Mr Nqakula, allegedly identified as an ANC operative, and to have arranged with Mr Albertini to buy a car and have it fitted with a false compartment to smuggle arms.

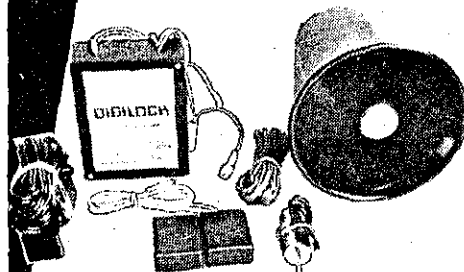
In August 1986, Mr Albertini is alleged to have brought back weapons from Botswana in this way, including AK47 rifles, Makarov pistols and limpet mines.

Mr Stofile, a theology lecturer at the University of Fort Hare, is also alleged to have arranged accommodation with some of the other accused for Mr Ndlela.

Mr Ndlela is accused of having left the country and receiving military training under the ANC, and to have trained various of the other accused.

# Security MS

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9/1/87

ESOM STATE

By Gerald L'Ange,  
The Star's Africa News Service

# The Perm sends its congratulations

LUSAKA — A congratulatory message from Mr Bob Tucker, head of the Permanent Building Society, was among telegrams and letters from bodies in several countries read at the ANC's 75th anniversary celebrations in Lusaka yesterday.

While armed Zambian soldiers watched from the balcony inside the Mulungushi Hall, a birthday cake iced in the African National Congress colours of black, yellow and

green was carried in to the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

A choir in green and black uniforms sang as Mr Tambo received the cake. Through a thicket of TV cameras President Kenneth Kaunda could be seen beaming and waving the white handkerchief that has become his personal symbol.

The presentation of the cake was a light moment in an oth-

erwise serious celebration of the organisation's 75th anniversary.

The highlights were speeches by Mr Tambo and President Kaunda and a news conference by the ANC leader for the large contingent of foreign journalists who came to Lusaka to cover the event. Mr Tambo's remarks cannot be published in South Africa because he is banned.

Security was tight and ANC officials suggested they half expected some sort of attack from South Africa, with the entire ANC hierarchy gathered in the hall and forming a tempting target.

The journalists and members of the public were searched before being allowed into the hall.

Midway through the ceremonies the sound of two explo-

sions came into the hall from somewhere outside. Curious glances were exchanged but the proceedings continued uninterrupted.

Later, official sources said the explosions came from army field guns practising a 21-gun salute for the coming opening of Parliament.

Top officials of Swapo and the OAU Liberation Committee also spoke at the celebration.

Other messages of congratulation came from organisations in several countries, including the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, the World Council of Churches, the central committees of the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China, President Fidel Castro of Cuba, Australian trade unions, Socialist International, the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid and King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho.

Members of the local diplomatic corps attended.

## THE ANC CELEBRATES ITS 75th ANNIVERSARY THIS WEEK

## A growing boldness

A new confidence was evident in Lusaka this week as ANC leaders talked of making a 'vital breakthrough' this year. HOWARD BARRELL reports

"Not at all," said one ANC military source. "It is remarkable that we have survived, let alone brought about a situation where the apartheid state is in deep crisis, the masses are in the ascendancy and the ANC is more powerful than ever before."

The organisation considers that the state it is attempting to overthrow is a stronger and more sophisticated indigenous power bloc than any national liberation movement has ever seriously attempted to dislodge in the modern period.

Among others, the power of the

French *pieds-noirs* in Algeria, the French and US-backed governments in Vietnam, the colonial Portuguese administrations in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, as well as the Smith government in one-time Rhodesia were all considerably weaker regimes than is the South African government.

Representatives of the organisation are not particularly forthcoming on the specifics of the breakthrough they believe they have scored. But an ANC military source said in an interview this week that 10 years after the Soweto uprising and three years of insurrectionary tactics later, the organisation had brought matters to the point where "our assessment is that we can see the proto-revolutionary organs of people's power emerging". The ANC's concern was to help

people "consolidate and extend their control over their own affairs", he added.

He predicted the more formal development of what he termed "people's self-defence militias" in both urban and rural black areas. The ANC foresaw both a defensive and an offensive role for these militias in confrontations with the state, as well as a high degree of specialisation among different units of the militias. In some areas, he added, the beginnings of these militias had been established with Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas involved in training and organising.

This strategic perspective and phase has, according to ANC sources, been made possible only by what has gone before: a slow process of building and rebuilding, the construction of what one source called "the political army of the revolution", and the 1977-83 period of armed propaganda designed to develop a combativeness among a broad spread of people.

confirmed this aggressive outlook.

ANC sources in Lusaka said this week they believe they have made "a vital breakthrough", comparing its importance to that scored by Zanu in the mid-1970s in its war against Ian Smith's Rhodesian government.

And they consider that if they and their supporters succeed in fully understanding its different elements and acting appropriately, then a "rapid advance" is possible.

These sources said they saw no cause for embarrassment in the fact that 75 years after African chiefs, intellectuals, peasants and workers gathered in Bloemfontein in 1912 to form what was originally called the Native National Congress, the ANC should still be struggling for the political kingdom.

THE African National Congress, which celebrated its 75th anniversary yesterday, has declared the next 12 months "The Year of Advance to People's Power".

The new slogan reflects the ANC's assessment that the time is ripe to escalate dramatically its offensive of the past three years. This offensive has aimed to destroy structures of state administration and replace them with what one senior ANC tactician called in an interview in Lusaka this week "organs of people's self-rule".

This source said his movement ruled out any retreat of the kind which occurred in the early 1960s, when state security forces smashed much of the ANC's internal organisation. The period then and the current situation were radically different, he argued. The present was characterised by a "spirit of hot engagement".

The text of the ANC National Executive Committee's annual new year address, delivered over all five Radio Freedom stations last night,

## A 75-year thorn in the flesh of white power

A YEAR ago, African National Congress president Oliver Tambo set his outlawed movement the task of further activating its underground army, Umkhonto weSizwe, and of "drawing in millions of our people into combat".

Today, on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC, not even the most assiduous ANC propagandist could claim Tambo's task has been fulfilled.

ANC guerrillas launched more than 200 attacks last year, considerably more than the 136 carried out in 1985 and more than four times as many as the total for 1984.

But, against that, the movement suffered major losses, with — according to the Pretoria-based Institute of Strategic Studies — 160 guerrillas either killed or captured by security forces.

Moreover, a shadow was cast across the ANC on the eve of the 75th anniversary of its foundation in Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912: six of its officials were expelled from Mozambique on Wednesday at the behest of the South Africa government, while the new Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, announced the capture of the suspected ANC guerrilla who killed two policemen on Boxing Day.

According to an apparently authentic document, entitled "1987: What is to be done?" and distributed by Vlok, Tambo conceded that the

How does one describe a 75 year struggle which shows no signs of ending? As a tragic and bloody failure? Or as a triumph against all odds? PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the 75th anniversary of the ANC

ANC had not fulfilled the objectives it set itself a year ago.

"At the beginning (of 1986), in the January 8 statement, we set out the tasks we had to achieve in the area of armed struggle," Tambo said last October.

"Nine months on, it is clear that, despite all our efforts, we have not come anywhere near the achievement of the objectives we set ourselves."

Tambo went on, according to the document released by Vlok, to admit failure to build up links between small cells of trained guerrillas and large numbers of discontented black youths.

The objective, as Tambo made clear in his January 8 statement last year, was to transform the low-key guerrilla war into a popular insurrection or people's war.

The movement suffered a further blow in 1986 when the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan in neighbouring Lesotho was toppled on January 20 and replaced by a military government more sympathetic to South Africa's white rulers.

The Pretoria government also pressured another neighbouring state,



Botswana, into expelling the ANC mission — having already signed non-aggression pacts with both Mozambique and Swaziland.

As Tambo acknowledged in his assessment of what has to be done in 1987: "In the last two-and-a-half years we have suffered serious reverses in Mozambique, then in Swaziland and recently in Lesotho as well as Botswana."

In his January 8 statement last year Tambo contended: "... Strategically the enemy is on the defensive."

mourners gathered in Duncan Village to bury 19 people killed in confrontations with police. He went into exile shortly afterwards and, he said, "immediately joined the ANC external mission", leaving on an extensive Scandinavian tour.

"I told people there about the persecution of progressive forces, particularly the UDF, in our country," he said.

In March 1985, he addressed a session of the United Nations Committee against Apartheid, and travelled to West Germany with ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He said this week the anniversary celebration would take place in scores of countries worldwide. Heads of state and government, including some royal families, would be involved in the Scandinavian countries, India, Zambia and elsewhere.

He expected people in South Africa to mark the event "in a way appropriate to the conditions inside".

Conceding that "the oppressors" might launch counter offensives to gain "tactical advantages", he concluded: "Thus the central task facing the entire democratic movement is that we retain the (strategic) initiative until we have emancipated our country."

Any assessment of the ANC on its 75th anniversary must therefore confront the question: has it retained the strategic initiative, even if it has lost ground tactically?

It is difficult to answer, partly because ANC setbacks have to be measured by those suffered by the government. There is the start of international sanctions campaign, the outflow of white emigrants despairing of the future, and the continuing problems of unemployment and inflation.

But there is no doubt that the momentum of guerrilla activity has increased since 1976, the first year of black student revolt, rising from a mere four then to more than 200 last year.

There have been fall-offs, as in 1984 when South Africa signed the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, thus depriving ANC guerrillas of an important external base. In that year the number of attacks fell to 44, compared to 56 the year before. But the overall trend is up.

While South African security forces have undoubtedly intercepted and killed or captured many guerrillas, there is no evidence that the flow of recruits has dried up. Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, has estimated that 40 to 50 guerrillas are entering the country each month, exceeding the number captured or shot dead by police.

Moreover there is no evidence to show that the ANC has lost its position as the pre-eminent national movement

of resistance. However much Pretoria may castigate it as a "terrorist and communist-dominated movement", it remains — according to a wide range of opinion polls — the most widely backed black nationalist organisation.

Founded 75 years ago by essentially elitist black leaders, its aspirations during the first three decades of its existence were largely bourgeois and certainly non-violent.

Later, with the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944, it rejected the "language of supplication" and sought to mobilise the masses for a militant but non-violent campaign against minority white rule, as manifest by the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

It only turned to armed struggle after it was banned in April 1960 in the wake of the Sharpeville shootings on March 21, when 69 black people were killed by police gunfire.

It survived first the arrest and imprisonment of most of its national leaders in 1963-64 and then a period in exile when South Africa was surrounded by hostile white-controlled regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia.

It endured setbacks and survived to fight another day, as it did after the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984 which saw the sudden, almost calamitous expulsion of its guerrillas.

If the ANC has not been able to ignite a people's war involving "millions" as a prelude to overthrow of the South African state, the government seems powerless to destroy its old adversary.

Its ability to endure for 75 years is proof of that — and of its political stamina and determination.

● Oliver Tambo is banned and may not be quoted. All quotes in this article are from excerpts of his speeches released by government officials.

## From the Ciskei to Lusaka

STEVE TSHWETE, former president of the United Democratic Front Border region and in exile since October 1984, has re-emerged as the head of the ANC committee organising the worldwide celebrations of the movement's 75th anniversary.

Tshwete said in an interview in Lusaka this week he was not surprised at being given the task, as he had been a member of the ANC in the late 1950s; had spent 15 years on Robben Island for ANC activities; and had been in the prison leadership of the outlawed movement.

ANC sources disclosed this week that Tshwete was not yet a member of the organisation's National Executive Committee. But observers believe he is showing a distinct upward mobility in the movement.

After his release from Robben Island in 1979, Tshwete was banished for two years to a small town in Ciskei. When elected Border UDF president in 1983, Tshwete was in detention



Steve Tshwete ... months in hiding

Picture: VUYI MBALO, Afrapix

in Ciskei. And when he was re-elected to the post a year later, he was under a banishment order — also in Ciskei.

In 1984, he moved underground to evade police. His last public appearance inside the country came when he emerged dramatically from hiding to address thousands of

# Shots fired at Azasm men

WEDNESDAY'S return to school by thousands of pupils took an ugly turn when the Azanian Students Movement claimed yesterday that its members were being forced out of school by activists from a rival organisation.

Several members of Azasm have said they narrowly escaped death when shots were fired at them by a group of youths in Dlamini township, Soweto, on Wednesday.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, Azasm's vice-president, Mr Thami Hlekiso, said their members have been threatened with death and barred from attending classes.

"We see this as a total onslaught on our members and organisation by some elements," Mr Hlekiso said.

In a separate incident, Mr Thami Mcerwa, who is the former president of Azasm, said

By SOWETAN Reporter

he narrowly escaped death when a group of youths fired six shots at him in Dlamini yesterday.

Running

Mr Mcerwa, who is attached to the legal unit of Cusa-Azactu, said he managed to escape by running away. He did not know the cause of the attack, but thought it was a continuation of the in-fighting between political groups.

A Soweto pupil Mzamadoda Gondile said he was missed by four bullets fired by youths trav-

elling in a kombi. He thought the attack was aimed at destroying Azasm members because of their earlier call for a return to school.

• The Bureau for Information in Pretoria yesterday said isolated incidents of stoning and petrol bomb attacks as well as two shooting incidents during which no one was injured, were the only unrest-related incidents reported on Wednesday.

• The Bureau also said on 12 December, 1986 the Circuit Court in Colesberg passed sentence on two men and a youth on charges originating from an incident

on October 2, 1985 when a black woman was killed by being stoned and set alight.

Paul Tefo Setlaba (22), was sentenced to death on the charge of murder and two years' imprisonment, of which one year was suspended for five years, on the charge of public violence.

Elias Kelen (18), was sentenced to 17 years' imprisonment for the murder and two years on the charge of public violence. The 16-year-old youth was sentenced to 17 years' imprisonment for the murder and 2 years for the public violence.

# ANC tells cadres to spare civilians

BW DAY 9/1/87

11A

MAX DU PREEZ

LUSAKA — The ANC yesterday called on its armed forces not to attack any civilians, black or white.

The call was made in a statement marking the organisation's 75th birthday.

The full implications of the move were not immediately apparent. A year ago the ANC warned that, while it would not deliberately attack civilians, they were bound to be "caught in the crossfire" and its leaders refused to condemn the Amanzimtoti bomb attack.

It was not clear last night whether the ANC still expected civilians to be "caught in the crossfire" or whether it intended its cadres to ensure that civilians were not injured.

The exact words of the statement were: "It (the ANC's armed wing) must continue to distinguish itself from the apartheid death forces by the bravery of its combatants, its devotion to the cause of liberation and peace and its refusal to act against civilians, both black and white."

There was, however, no indication that the ANC was abandoning either its objective of "people's war", or its plan to make SA "ungovernable". On the contrary, it declared 1987 the Year of Advance to People's Power and spelt out steps to be taken to achieve that end.

But it did say "the need for us to take up arms will never transform us into prisoners of the idea of violence, slaves to the goddess of war".

The ANC would seize any opportunity for negotiations, but government had to make the first moves. The release of detainees and prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC were still preconditions.

In what was seen as an attempt to

□ A LARGE crowd gathered in Lusaka to commemorate the African National Congress' 75th anniversary yesterday were surprised to hear a message of congratulations from a top SA businessman read out loud.

□ SA Perm's Bob Tucker sent a telex message to the ANC's National Executive with his "best wishes" to the movement.

□ Among other messages read were those from Lesotho's Military Council, the World Council of Churches, the PLO and the Communist Party's of the Soviet Union, China and Australia.

curb anarchic violence in the townships, the ANC urged the youth to return to school and warned the so-called "young lions" not to act against the interests of the community at large, especially as far as people's courts and the education crisis were concerned.

The ANC indicated the controversial cultural and academic boycott of SA was now being reconsidered. Like the violence of the past year, the academic boycott has drawn considerable criticism of the ANC abroad.

The ANC repeated last year's call for white support, saying white South Africans should become "new Voortrekkers" and join black South Africans in their rejection of apartheid through the ANC.

Diplomats and observers discerned a more conciliatory tone than that of the statement made on January 8 last year. The softer tone was seen as a response to the new Western willingness to recognise the ANC conditionally. In the view of the ANC, the statement will provide

● To Page 2



# ANC call to spare civilians

BW DAY 9/1/87

11A

US Secretary of State George Schulz with all the answers he expects from ANC president Oliver Tambo when they meet later this month.

There is one exception: the US insistence that the ANC distance itself from the SA Communist Party is seen as "a non-starter".

□ Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday appealed to white South Africans to join the ANC en masse.

Kaunda was speaking at the ceremony to commemorate the anniversary of the ANC, whom he called the "legitimate representatives of all the people of SA".

He said the struggle in SA was not only on behalf of the oppressed, but also the oppressor. Whites should stop believing

government that there would be a communist takeover or persecution of whites once the blacks took over government. Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's position in Zimbabwe was a good example of what happened to whites after liberation, he said.

← ● From Page 1

Nowhere in Africa did black liberation movements take revenge on whites. "How magnanimous is the tolerance of the black man," he declared.

Referring to Zambia and other neighbouring states, Kaunda said there should be maximum vigilance against SA-supported groups such as Unita in Angola, the MNR in Mozambique, Super-Zapu in Zimbabwe and the rebels in Zambia.

In a sharply worded attack on the SA government, Kaunda repeated that all-out economic sanctions and foreign pressure were the only ways SA could peacefully move to a democracy.

He praised the ANC's decision yesterday to grant amnesty to all those who had tried to infiltrate the ANC on Pretoria's behalf.

Kaunda invited leaders from the East and West to come to Southern Africa to discuss how apartheid in SA could be brought to an end.

# ANC pledges on civilian targets

CAH Times 9/11/87  
114

From MAX DU PREEZ

**LUSAKA.** — The outlawed and exiled African National Congress yesterday undertook not to attack black or white civilians in South Africa.

Gazette  
CAH Times 9/11/87  
to ban  
ANC ad  
'expected'

**PRETORIA.** — Government sources here said they expected an extraordinary edition of the Government Gazette to be published last night in reaction to the advertisement calling for the unbanning of the ANC published yesterday by newspapers countrywide.

Government bodies in Pretoria confirmed last night that they were standing by to be in-formed.

It was expected that the advertisement, published in the 75th anniversary of the ANC's formation, would be printed in similar advertisements, which would be printed in terms of the Public Safety Act.

Police announced yesterday that they were investigating the possibility that the advertisement broke the law.

This is in contrast to last year's threat to include soft targets and the inevitability of civilian casualties. By last night it was still unclear whether the new move represented a fundamental shift in policy.

In a major statement released here to commemorate the movement's 75th anniversary, an appeal was also made to white South Africans to become "new Vooortekkers" and join black South Africans in their rejection of apartheid through the ANC.

The movement said it would seize any opportunity to participate in a negotiated settlement but the government would have to make the first move. The release of detainees and prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC were still pre-conditions.

At the same time the organization's national executive declared 1987 the "Year of Advance to People's Power" with a call to "destroy, govern, build" alternative structures set up and extend the power of street committees.

Organizations such as the UDF, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the National Education and the National Education Committee broke the law.

From Page 1

CAH Times 9/11/87  
ANC 114

campaign were embraced and praised in a far more open and direct way than before.

Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda, members of his cabinet and diplomats from Western and Eastern bloc countries attended the celebrations.

Our correspondent reports that in London most serious newspapers, the BBC and independent radio and television all noted the 75th anniversary of the ANC in a way which they would not have done in the past.

During the past year the profile of the ANC has imprinted itself on the consciousness of the public both here and in Western Europe far more than in the 10 years preceding it. Observers pointed out that it was extraordinary for a guerrilla movement to achieve such prominence.

Most serious newspapers carried lengthy interviews with the president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo.

The Daily Telegraph estimated that the ANC now had some 8 000 trained soldiers in camps in Zambia and Angola and 2 000 underground in South Africa.

The Financial Times carried a report under the headline: "Time on the ANC's side as Pretoria runs out of options."

The article made the point that, ironically, Pretoria's insistence that the black revolt was not domestically generated but a product of manipulation by outside

"communists, agitators and terrorists" automatically bestowed on the ANC and its military wing a functional role far in excess of reality.

In Lusaka the ANC expressed its concern with the sharp divisions among black nationalists in South Africa and the wild and unco-ordinated actions of the "young lions" in the townships.

The youth were asked to act in a disciplined way "as distinct from militant but unco-ordinated actions by different groups at different times and places". They were warned not to act against the interests of the community at large.

The youth were advised to go back to school this year "as a revolutionary act which puts us in a better position further to advance the struggle for a people's education".

The statement was likely to have been influenced by the new Western willingness to conditionally recognize the ANC. One top ANC leader said that all the answers the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, was expecting from the ANC when he meets Mr Tambo at the end of this month, were contained in the statement.

Previous references to nationalization were dropped. About the economy the organization said the wealth of the country would be increased significantly and continuously and they would see to it that it was shared equitably by all people "to ensure their material and spiritual upliftment".



Mr Bob Tucker

Perm's M.D. sends his best wishes

**LUSAKA.** — The managing director of the SA Perm, Mr Bob Tucker, has sent a message of congratulations to the ANC.

Members of the ANC, gathered here to commemorate the movement's 75th anniversary yesterday, were surprised when the message from Mr Tucker was read out.

Mr Tucker sent a telex message to the ANC's national executive with his "best wishes" to the movement.

Cape Times 9/1/87 (KA)

# PFP backs UDF 'unban ANC' call

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party last night backed the call to unban the ANC after police announced they had opened a docket into possible contraventions of the law by the publication of an advertisement calling for the lifting of the ban on the ANC.

"If they want to prosecute the press, they had better keep an eye on us," PFP Law and Order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe said. "We will continue to make that same plea for the unbanning of the ANC in the forthcoming Parliamentary session and during the election campaign."

"We also know that a lot of Nationalists, a number of them in Parliament, agree with this call."

"We are saddled with a paranoic government which can no longer rule this country other than by the most brutally oppressive laws."

He said this after the police publication relations directorate in Pretoria issued a statement saying that a docket had been opened after the publication in a number of major newspapers. The statement said the docket had been opened following "numerous complaints". A spokesman for the directorate would not say how many people had complained or in which areas of the country the complaints had been lodged.

Meanwhile, another advertisement, this time from the Release Mandela Campaign, has been placed in newspapers today. It also calls for the unbanning of political organizations and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

It sets out the aims of the Release Mandela Campaign and says: "History abounds with clear evidence that oppression has never triumphed, especially when practised by a minority."

"In our case the minority regime hopes to impose its will over the vast, freedom-loving majority until the cows come home."

It says the RMC involves all "freedom-loving people of South Africa", regardless of colour or race.

It calls for the release of Mr Mandela and all other political prisoners, the return of all exiles, the unbanning of "all people's movements, notably the African National Congress", the abolition of "all unjust and repressive laws" and "the propagation of the Freedom Charter".

The RMC also warns of "conflict" unless the "democratic demands made by the struggling masses of South Africa" are met.

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## Unban the ANC, say 60% in survey

By CHRIS BATEMAN

FEAR, rejection of violence and calls for a more objective picture of the African National Congress greeted a random Cape Times street survey conducted in the city on the organization's 75th anniversary yesterday.

Of the people interviewed, 60% felt the ANC should be unbanned and many were initially reluctant to talk. Several people insisted on anonymity, while others demanded that the survey team first show them proof of identification.

All black people approached declined interviews.

Here is a sample of some of the reactions:

Mr Morris Galp: "If they want terrorism bugged them, they'll get it back."

Ms Louise Pughe-Parry: "Unban. Probably be a lot better. They wouldn't be so violent."

A visitor, Mrs Mathilda Liebenberg: "I'm not against them but I'm scared of them. Yes, they should be unbanned."

Miss Lara Doo: "Nobody actually knows what they are about. Right now we've got a very biased picture. You never hear what the ANC has to say about the ANC."

A businessman who insisted on anonymity: "Unban. I don't admire some of the things they do but I understand why they do them. They'll be the government one day."

Mr Bobby Coles: "They'd probably be about the same good as the Nats or whatever, but should be unbanned."

An attorney who declined to be

named: "I think the ANC is the government in exile. Unban."

Miss Karen Dekker: "Definitely unban. I'm not keen on all the violence and heroism that's going around. I dunno, maybe it's a way to get things changed in this country."

Miss Esther Woodgate: "Banned, I mean they are running us down to such a point..."

Tokai woman: "I don't think they should be unbanned. I'm totally against it."

Gardens woman: "The way they go about it with violence and that, it's out completely and they won't achieve anything that way."

Mrs Rhoda Dawson: "I'm against violence in any form and I'm a believer in Jesus Christ who exhorts us to pray for the leaders of the land."

New curbs follow row over adverts in daily newspapers

# ANC: Press clamp

McGraw 9/11/87

11/11/87

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —

New curbs have been imposed on the media. This clamp follows the publishing in many newspapers yesterday of advertisements calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress.

The row over the advertisements, placed by organisations headed by the United Democratic Front, the National Education Crisis Committee and the South African Council of Churches, has been followed by:

- Government orders restricting reporting on banned organisations;
- A police investigation into possible contraventions of the law by the publishing of the advertisements, placed under the heading: 75 Years of the ANC.

Three policemen came to the offices of The Argus today with a search warrant and left with documents and printing plates. Security police also called on the editor of The Daily News in Durban, Mr Michael Green, and left with documents.

And it emerged yesterday that even statements by the Bureau for Information are not exempt from stringent laws curbing the Press which were introduced last month.

A bureau statement said clearance should be obtained from the Inter-Departmental Press Liaison Centre.

The orders restricting reporting on banned organisations were gazetted at midnight last night. The Commissioner of Police issued them in terms of the Public Safety Act.

The orders prohibit publication of an advertisement or report calculated to improve or promote the public image or esteem of banned organisations.

Mr Paul Jenkins, a media lawyer, said today: "Once again the Government has demonstrated its fear of a free Press. It has responded to yesterday's advertisements in most of the country's English daily newspapers, calling for the unbanning of the ANC, with restrictive police orders which go beyond the pale."

"Not only do the two police orders, issued at the 11th hour (Turn to Page 3, Col 6)

Full text

NO person who holds office as an editor of a newspaper, magazine or other periodical or who otherwise has control over the matter which may be published in that periodical or which may be distributed in or as an addendum to such a periodical, shall allow, permit or direct, or authorise any other person to allow, to permit or to direct, the publication in that periodical or the distribution in or as an addendum to that publication of any advertisement or report calculated — (a) to improve or to promote the public image or esteem of an organisation which is an unlawful organisation under the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982) — or (b) to commend, to defend, to explain or to justify any action, policy or strategy of such an organisation, of assistance against or subversion of the authority of the State.

This order shall apply to the Republic, including any territory declared under section 26 of the International States Constitution, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971), to be a self-governing territory.

Press reports, ads

last night, make it virtually impossible to publish any news of the ANC and other banned organisations at all, but the orders are so widely framed as to be virtually unintelligible.

"The restrictions contained in the Internal Security Act which prohibited the objects of a banned organisation are now virtually redundant after these new orders.

"As a result of the new police order, it will be considered to be a subversive statement to encourage or invite members of the public to support an unlawful organisation.

"In addition no newspaper may improve or promote the public image or esteem of a banned organisation.

"We will consider as a matter of urgency whether the order is not so wide and far-reaching as to render it invalid and beyond the powers conferred upon the Commissioner of Police.

"If we reach this view, an urgent application to court to have the order set aside is a distinct possibility."

In a statement, the police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said a docket about the publishing of the advertisements had been opened after "numerous" complaints were made to police throughout the country. It said that when completed the docket would be forwarded to the Attorney-General for his decision as soon as possible.

Info singer

hurt by <sup>CAP Times</sup>  
9/1/87

petrol bomb

By ANDREW DONALDSON

ABIGAIL KHUBEKA — one of the musicians who took part in the controversial Bureau for Information song, "Together We Will Build a Brighter Future" — was injured in a petrol-bomb attack on her Soweto home on Wednesday night.

Miss Khubeka, 40, suffered injuries to her hands caused by flying slivers of glass and was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital, the Bureau said yesterday.

Her condition was "stable", a hospital spokeswoman said last night.

Two bedrooms and the dining room of her Orlando Road home were extensively damaged.

Miss Khubeka was last year ousted from the judges' panel of the R1.5-million Shell Road to Fame Contest as organizers feared the controversy surrounding the Info song would hamper the intentions of the contest — to audition for black musical talent in townships around the country.

The Bureau said there were "allegations" that Wednesday's attack was made "in view of the fact that Miss Khubeka was one of the artists who participated in the recording of the song ... with the

purpose of promoting peace and co-operation between the peoples of South Africa".

As one of the song's lead singers, Miss Khubeka has featured prominently in the frequently televised video recording of "Together We Will Build A Brighter Future".





Wet's wonderful: Allan Hendrickse in his moment of seaside glory Picture: CHRIS QWAZI, Echn

# Labour's lekker feeling

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party (LP) and cabinet minister without portfolio, proved himself to be a troublesome government ally during the party's 21st Annual Congress in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

Although Hendrickse was unflinching on the issue of the LP's participation in the tri-cameral government — a moratorium of a year was placed on even discussing the issue — he used the congress as a platform to generate waves of protest against the retention the Group Areas, Separate Amenities and Population Registration acts.

Hendrickse's much publicised plunge against apartheid off the whites-only Kings Beach on Sunday brought the rapid warning to "stop rocking the boat" or face a general election from fellow cabinet ministers, according to LP officials. The election threat was scoffed at by a top party spokesman who said, "I don't fear an election. I'd love it."

From the opening moment of the congress, the LP signalled that it was to be a major showpiece for the 3 000 delegates and party faithful.

The band struck up the party anthem "Labour is Lekker" as a bevy of teenage girls in yellow chiffon swim suits preceded the procession of somewhat portly LP ministers and dignitaries to their seats onstage.

There was a sense of bristling pride among congressites as they listened eagerly to LP ministers extol the gains forged in government — especially in opening up opportunities for them in education, employment and business fields.

At one point ministers who had been appointed recently to whites-only regional councils were asked to stand amidst loud applause.

No splits in the party were in evidence and party officials confided that press speculation on the topic had them baffled.

WEEKLY MAIL 9/11/87

Their leader may have embarrassed his NP allies with his unscheduled beach visit, but Labour's party faithful were in no mood to rock the boat at the annual congress, reports MIKE LOEWE

The leader of the "Young Turks" — the faction rumoured to be pushing for a parliamentary pull-out — told Weekly Mail that he had been "quite happy" when his motion calling for the party to withdraw from government was struck from the agenda in mid-congress.

He denied that pressure had been brought to bear by the party hierarchy, or by his father, Allan Hendrickse (Snr).

Allan Hendrickse (Jnr), MP for Addo and LP press liaison officer, said in an interview after the congress that speculation on party splits were "nonsense".

He was happy with his father's opening threat that "unless the National Party meet our party's demands for the scrapping of the Group Areas, then certainly this party will review its participation in the present dispensation".

Hendrickse Jnr said the issue would be debated at the next Congress in December.

However, he said he and most Labourites remained "unhappy and frustrated" with the pace of reform. He had already called for PW Botha to resign.

"In the motion I was saying, 'It's no use; let's get out'. But I was happy with the ultimatum given to PW by the leader on Friday night," he said.

He said that none of the motions passed had been controversial as they had been discussed at regional level.

A motion on education called for under-utilised whites-only teacher training colleges to be opened to all. Admission to universities had also to

be controlled by the institutions concerned and not the government. The Congress called for a 20 percent salary increase for teachers in category A, the lowest category, and for equal expenditure per pupil regardless of race.

Anti-apartheid economic sanctions were slammed as "an act of violence" against the country.

Coca-Cola, Kodak and Bata companies were condemned for withdrawing from South Africa in a manner which aimed at increasing profits through expensive franchising.

The party condemned as "hypocritical" firms who used political reasons to "disguise financial failure". The companies were requested to provide housing and recreational facilities to deprived communities.

A motion on unemployment called on the state to embark upon a Public Works Programme similar to the programme that solved the poor white problem of the 1930's.

A motion dealing with coloured farmers called for their right to buy farmland. Where the territory was suitable, the congress called for small subsidised plots near to cities to be opened up for coloured agriculture.

Legal impediments barring coloured businessmen free access to the market place were slammed and the congress called on established business and Chambers of Commerce for assistance.

The congress congratulated the party for its role in the Kwazulu/Natal Indaba. This was in line with the LP's policy of a future geographical, federal South African structure. Towards this end the Congress called on the government to abandon the structure of "modified apartheid" and to speed up reform. It said the tricameral parliament had never fulfilled the aspirations of the party and the rest of South Africa. — East Cape News Agency.

# A hot-and-cold call from ANC



Oliver Tambo

On the banned movement's 75th anniversary:

- Whites urged to oppose racism
- Warnings of stepped-up war

WEEKLY MAIL 9/11/87 (11A)

By HOWARD BARRELL  
in Lusaka

THE African National Congress has issued a strong appeal to whites to abandon apartheid and join their black compatriots in a fight for a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

As the banned ANC marked its 75th anniversary at a ceremony in Lusaka yesterday, the movement announced an amnesty for all state security agents it had captured infiltrating its membership.

The ANC also invited back into its ranks those people it had previously expelled — provided they recanted. These moves have been presented by the ANC as part of its drive to build maximum unity in its struggle against apartheid.

Last night, the movement's five Radio Freedom stations began broadcasting the annual new year's address of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC).

The NEC statement calls on whites to "make a clean break with the past and themselves declare war on racism as the enemy of all the people of our country."

"The call of the day is that both black and white should come together in a massive democratic coalition to oppose the racists and to struggle side by side, as equals, for the birth of the new South Africa."

But this conciliatory call was offset by a highly aggressive ANC commitment to step up its military assault against the government.

This, according to ANC sources, is the key to the declaration of 1987 as the "Year of Advance to People's Power".

Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and other top Zambian government officials joined Tambo, scores of diplomats and journalists, and hundreds of ANC members at Lusaka's Mulungushi hall and conference centre to celebrate the ANC's anniversary.

In his speech to the meeting, Tambo predicted massive demonstrations against the forthcoming white election.

Kaunda told the meeting he regarded the ANC as the "legitimate representative of all the people of South Africa". Addressing a press conference at midday, Tambo told about 60 foreign journalists he believed whites had been "misted" into believing there was any future for white minority domination in South Africa.

He made it clear that it was the ANC's "earnest wish" to create a society in which the colour of a person's skin did not matter.

Tambo repeated the movement's rejection of the targeting of civilians in military actions by the ANC.

He also indicated that the ANC had never been in favour of necklacing but had been reluctant to condemn those who felt themselves compelled to use this method.

Tambo also indicated that the ANC still stood by its call for a blanket academic and cultural boycott of South Africa. But this was being reconsidered.



After months of boycotts and shut-outs, it's peace in the classrooms ... for the moment. None of which is of much comfort to these Soweto toddlers, facing their first terrifying day in the big world of school

Picture: SANTU MOFOKENG, Atrapix

## Police probe into 'unban ANC' adverts

POLICE are investigating "possible contraventions of the law" in a United Democratic Front advertisement calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress.

The advert appeared this week in a number of newspapers, including the *Weekly Mail*.

Police said in a statement late yesterday that they had opened a docket following "numerous complaints" from various parts of the country.

The docket is to be forwarded to the attorney-general as soon as possible.

The *Weekly Mail* has been advised by its lawyers that the advert, which appears on pages 14 and 15, does not contravene any law.

Meanwhile, lawyers believe that

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER  
new Emergency restrictions on the *Weekly Mail* and four other newspapers were issued in a bid to circumvent court action.

The new orders, issued by the Commissioner of Police in the final week of last year, prohibit the publication of any comment, report, pamphlet or advertisement or any news in connection with any of four specific campaigns.

These are the Campaign for National United Action, the Campaign for National Unity, Christmas against the Emergency and Christmas of Concern.

The order was served on *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber as well

as the editors of the *Sowetan* and *City Press*. Orders were also served on sub-editors at *New Nation*, whose editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, is in detention.

The orders were issued as previous restrictions on these newspapers were being challenged in the Rand Supreme Court.

The *Weekly Mail* was proceeding with a case that had been ruled by the court not to be a matter of urgency. The *Argus* Company was contesting the *Sowetan* restriction on the basis that the order was *inter alia* "void for vagueness".

Lawyers believe the new order, issued the day after the matter had been postponed in the Supreme Court, was designed to counter this legal

attack. The *Weekly Mail's* lawyers are considering an attack on the new restriction order.

● *Business Day* journalist Siphon Ngcobo is still being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Security Police held him at his office two weeks ago, shortly after he had written an account of the workings of street committees.

● *Cape Times* journalist Tony Weaver has been summoned to appear in court to face four charges under Section 27(b) of the Police Act. The charges relate to reports of a shoot-out between police and alleged ANC members in Guguletu township last year.

He is due to appear on February 9.

THE CONTENTS OF THIS NEWSPAPER HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED IN TERMS OF THE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

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ANC talks <sup>w/EPsk</sup>  
10/1/87 (11A)  
confirmed by  
Barclays Bank

LONDON — Barclays Bank which pulled out of South Africa in November, today confirmed a Press report that it held several meetings with leaders of the African National Congress (ANC).

A Barclays spokesman said: "Whilst we had an interest in Barclays National Bank in South Africa, we did have the occasional meeting with members of the ANC.

"However, those meetings were prior to November 24 when we made our announcement that we were leaving South Africa.

"It is unlikely that any other meetings will take place because we do not now have any involvement in South Africa."

The Independent newspaper reported today that Barclays was anxious to protect £766 million (about R2,4 billion) owed to the bank in South Africa by persuading a possible future ANC Government to honour the debt.

Barclays is unable to get this money back to Britain because of the Pretoria Government's freeze on debt repayments.

The spokesman confirmed the figure was the outstanding debt in South Africa and said Barclays wanted the money back as quickly as possible.

"The reason for those meetings was simply to make contact with all those groups who could play a part in the future of the country," he said.

The spokesman said the first meeting between the bank and the ANC took place in 1985 in Lusaka and other meetings had been held since then in London with ANC leader Oliver Tambo.

"Those meetings were private, rather than secret."

Barclays chairman Sir Timothy Bevan, who announced the decision last November to sell the bank's 40,4% holding in Barclays Bank South Africa, said the move was prompted mainly by commercial considerations.

Bevan said Barclays's involvement in South Africa had cost it business. — Sapa-Reuter

CMT  
T.M.K.S

# I didn't send ANC a telex, says Tucker



Mr Bob Tucker

Staff Reporters

MR Bob Tucker, managing director of the South African Permanent Building Society, yesterday denied that he had sent the ANC's national executive his "best wishes" in a telexed message.

He said no telex had been sent either by himself or the SA Perm.

Newspaper reports that he had sent the message had arisen "from the fact that I was included in a personal message sent by a friend in America, the text of which I have not seen", Mr Tucker said.

"I wish to state clearly that the Perm is not a political organization and at no stage would they ever consider sending any such greeting.

"I am personally apolitical and could not under any circumstances support any political party or group which had violence as a plank in its platform," Mr Tucker said.

10/11/87 (11P)

# Western diplomats at ANC London rally

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — West Germany and the United States headed a list of Western diplomats who attended a public rally to mark the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress here.

More than 1 200 people packed the Camden Centre in north London on Thursday night to hear an ANC executive member, Mr Pallo Jordan, deliver the keynote address.

Although the British government was not formally represented at the rally, several Tory MPs — including Mr Hugh Dykes and Mr Timothy Rathbone — attended.

A Foreign Office spokesman said there was "no need" for a British government presence at the rally.

"That would have implied that we accorded the ANC a formal diplomatic status which is not the case," the spokesman said.

Although guest speakers from support groups such as Swapo, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) and British trade unions indulged in predictable revolutionary rhetoric, the keynote ANC speech and tone of the meeting were qualitatively different from previous ANC rallies.

Significantly, there was no mention of the South African Communist Party (SACP) by any of the speakers and no SACP banners or literature were displayed in the hall.

The rally contrasted sharply with the 65th anniversary of the SACP last year when the main theme at a public rally was the inseparable bond between the ANC and the SACP.

□ The South African Embassy in London yesterday issued a statement on the ANC's 75th anniversary following widespread and sympathetic coverage of the banned organization in the media here.

The statement noted that it was "most unfortunate that a movement which was supposedly established for peaceful negotiation has become a militant organization committed to terrorist violence".

The statement accused the ANC of being "little more than a front for the SACP and its avowed Stalinist views".

"In contrast to the SA government the ANC has rejected the concept of power-sharing in South Africa and has instead called for a transfer of power from the present government's hands into those of the ANC itself," the statement said.

# Storm over Tutu sweeps other news off front pages in Aussie

W/L ARGUS 10/11/87

## Weekend Argus Foreign Service

MELBOURNE.— Archbishop Desmond Tutu has swept most other news off the front pages of Australian papers in the stormy first week of his tour.

And it seems that even more controversy is to come with a protest rally against his visit being mounted in Adelaide, South Australia, on Monday.

Members of the Bible Presbyterian Church have accused him of being "a false prophet and a deceiver" and announced they would mass outside the church where he is to speak on Monday night.

### Shouting

A spokesman said the church believed Archbishop Tutu promoted violence rather than opposed it and that he did not speak for the majority of black South Africans.

This week the Archbishop touched a shouting match in Melbourne following the claims of Victorian Returned Servicemen's League president, Mr Bruce Ruxton.

Mr Ruxton alleged the Archbishop was a witchdoctor and that he had incited blacks to poison white families with arsenic.

This led two black South Africans to confront Mr Ruxton in his Melbourne office and a 20-minute shouting match ensued.

Mr Ruxton, whose extreme right-wing views are not taken seriously in Australia, threatened to call the police if the two, from the African Community Centre, did not leave. Later police posted a watch on Mr Ruxton's suburban home.

### Reassure

Victoria's Prime Minister, Mr John Cain, was quick to reassure Archbishop Tutu that he should realise that few people took any notice of Mr Ruxton's statements.

However, public calls to the Melbourne media showed that

few people took the middle ground in the matter. Newspapers and radio stations were deluged with calls which were evenly balanced for and against the Archbishop.

His visit together with the immense publicity it is receiving and the resulting rows are strongly polarising public opinion in Australia on the South Africa question.

It is also opening up new issues and re-opening old ones. For instance, waterside workers in Sydney imposed a ban on the clearance of South African commercial cargo until next Monday.

● Shock new gag on Press forbids vital details about ANC to the public

● Opposition MPs fear blanket curbs will hit white election debate

# SILENCED

11/18/87  
SUNTIMES

Penny's plunger!



By LESTER VENTER and CAS ST LEGER  
**NEW Press gag laws have virtually banished the African National Congress from public debate in South Africa.**  
 Legal experts said yesterday that even factual information about the banned organisation's activities and strategies was now largely beyond the reach of the media, and, by law, it will henceforth be concealed from the local public.

Already there are signs of division on the wisdom of imposing such a complete gag, with even some Government-supporting observers privately calling them counter-productive.

Critics said South Africans would be deprived of information many would regard as essential for planning their private lives or formulating their political positions. Rumour, they added, could become rife.

On legal advice, reports by a Sunday Times reporter on the ANC's 75th anniversary celebrations in Lusaka this week have been severely curtailed to expunge all news about its future strategies within and outside South Africa.

Opposition politicians and academics warn that the gags ordered by the Commissioner of Police on Thursday night will make effective debate during the coming election impossible.

And scores of proposed books and academic articles on the ANC could fall foul of the comprehensive gag.

## Clauses

Even quotations from Government-owned media publications such as "Talking with the ANC" could be contravened.

Key clauses in the new regulations — which prevent explanations of ANC strategy or reports "improving" its image — mean that only derogatory things about the ANC can be safely published.

The new clamp, apparently spurred by an advertisement in South African newspapers calling for the unbanning of the ANC, comes in the same week as two important developments:

- The ANC celebrated its 75th anniversary in Lusaka with a high-profile jamboree attended by scores of foreign diplomats and journalists.

- A United States State Department report on the ANC confirmed a strong communist representation in the organisation, but warned that the continuing refusal of the South African Government to talk to the organisation simply strengthened the hands of the banned South African Communist Party.

- Barclays Bank, one of Britain's leading commercial banks which pulled out of South Africa in November, has been holding secret talks with the

## Newspapers go to law

THE two major English-language newspaper groups are to challenge in court the Government's latest gag on publishing news or comment on the African National Congress.

The challenge by South African Associated Newspapers and the Argus Group was launched yesterday. Papers were served on the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the South African Police.

The application asks the court to declare the order, issued on Thursday by the commissioner, to be void.

The main grounds are that the order is vague, extends beyond the powers conferred on the commissioner and is grossly unreasonable.

Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times, said the sweeping and restrictive nature of the order and notice made the proper performance of his duties virtually impossible.

"There are now vast areas of activity which are of crucial public importance, and which we believe readers will regard as essential in the planning of their private lives, about which they can no longer be informed."

Mr Rex Gibson, acting editor of the Star, said the notice imposed almost total censorship on the publication of any statements relating to an unlawful organisation.



Swedish blonde, Inga Hansen — former fiancée of Guy Aubert

The 'ambassador' and the blondes: Page 5

Wounded cop hero drives to safety

P.T.O.

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● Barclays Bank, one of Britain's leading commercial banks which pulled out of South Africa in November, has been holding secret talks with the ANC.

Mr Peter Leslie, chief general manager of Barclays, confirmed the meetings had taken place at a senior level.

And there is speculation in financial quarters that the discussions focused on the question of guarantees about the R2-billion owed to the bank by its former associate in South Africa.

## Challenge

The Press gags — the most draconian yet imposed — are to be challenged in court next week by South African Associated Newspapers and the Argus Group.

The challenge will rest on the grounds that the regulations are vague, go beyond the powers conferred on the commissioner and are unreasonable.

This weekend, political parties were carefully assessing the implications of the ban.

In the Progressive Federal Party, Official Opposition in the House of Assembly, there is confusion about how the ban will affect the party's campaign if the court challenge fails.

One of the party's planks in the election is a call for the unbanning of the ANC and negotiations with it. Under the new regulation this could be considered "improving" the image of the organisation and would not be publishable.

Election pamphlets already in the process of being printed will have to be pulled back.

But Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Deputy Minister of Information, yesterday denied that the bans would seriously affect the political process. He conceded that the measures could be re-examined and, if needed, adjustments made.

The Sunday Times, in common with other newspapers, has been hit in its coverage of the ANC's anniversary in Zambia.

Reporter Stephan Terblanche, in Lusaka since Wednesday, cannot report far-reaching decisions by ANC president Oliver Tambo and the national executive

□ To Page 2

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

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11A  
11/1/87  
SUN  
TIMES

## Wounded cop hero drives to safety

By SYBRAND MOSTERT

A WOUNDED policeman drove a burning patrol car carrying one dead and one injured colleague to the safety of a police station after a hand grenade attack.

The policemen were patrolling in Guguletu, near Cape Town, when the grenade was thrown through a window.

Constable Gysbert Jacobus Labuschagne, 20, was killed in the blast. Warrant Officer H C J Barnard and Reservist Constable G V Langford were injured by shrapnel, according to the Bureau of Information.

Flames enveloped the car after the blast. Warrant Officer Barnard drove the burning car — with three tyres punctured — to the Guguletu police station.

Constable Labuschagne died before he could reach hospital. Warrant Officer Barnard and Reservist Constable Langford are in a satisfactory condition.

A large-scale police search was launched but no arrests have been made.

● In Chesterville, Durban, two policemen broke down the door of a petrol-bombed house to save a child who would otherwise have died in the flames.

● Community leader shot — page 2

## g' dress

neck. I have never been a risqué dresser. But you please everybody."

ny's critics also faced the fiercer of Johannesburg's fashion police. Following the SABC's wop policy, several designers dressed the show's presenters in turn — and received "plugs".

## Exclusive

er Soldatos, Greta Abraham, Marianne Fassler, Elzbieta Werth and her prize-winning sister, Gaby, and Anneline have all contributed exclusive clothes to Sundowner.

ny's controversial dress was an exclusive "one-off" made by de Fredericksz, highly rated in the Sunday Times annual Best Dressed Women list.

s the fifth dress of mine that I have worn on the show," she said.

s certainly not revealing compared with Princess Di's celebrated black ball gown."

said Penny's dress would cost about R500.

Penny played it much safer on Friday — her moderately low-cut dress and trim jacket was less revealing.

## DEYSEL



11/11/77 SUN TIMES 11/11/77

# Press gagged on ANC

□ From Page 1

committee — particularly on the crucial issues of violence, negotiation, relations with domestic resistance groups, sanctions, international support for the ANC and the role of whites.

The sudden Government crackdown, which saw police delivering official notices at midnight on Thursday to a number of South African newspapers, has meanwhile been opposed from an unexpected source.

Mr Russel Crystal, conservative student leader and now executive director of the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation, expressed regret at the "over-hasty" banning of the United Democratic Front advertisement on the ANC.

"This will naturally have the negative effect of curtailing discussion about the true

facts regarding ANC terror," he said in a statement yesterday.

"For too long organisations such as the ANC and UDF have been able to successfully hide their real intentions behind the Government's information blackout, enabling them to project a false aura of reasonableness and legitimacy," Mr Crystal said.

The IFF has, meanwhile, withdrawn a proposed counter-advertisement attacking the ANC ad.

International response to the move has been hostile. British and United States newspapers published front-page stories — with the Times of London claiming the move had every appearance of a last-minute scramble by the Government to suppress mention of the ANC save for its own commentary.

The new restrictions were gazetted after the advertisement celebrating the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress appeared in South African newspapers.

The Star and Business Day were among the major newspapers which carried it on Thursday prior to the banning. It had been booked to appear in The Sunday Times, Sunday Tribune and Sunday Star today.

The appeal was supported, according to the advertisement, by 15 organisations.

Orders issued by the Commissioner of Police in terms of the Public Safety Act, restricting newspapers from reporting on or publishing advertisements about aspects of banned organisations, were gazetted at midnight on Thursday.

## 'Complaints'

A police investigation into possible contraventions of the law by the publication of the advertisements was also launched on Thursday.

The Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said the docket had been opened after "numerous complaints" from various parts of South Africa and the docket would be forwarded to the Attorney General for his consideration.

During the week, a Warrant Officer Cilliers of the SAP called in at the offices of the Sunday Times and asked for all documentation relating to the ANC advertisement.

Policemen made similar calls at other newspaper offices throughout the country.



11/18 +  
11A SUNTIMES

# ANC less confident away from cameras

STEPHAN TERBLANCHE  
Lusaka

THE ANC played host to a large number of diplomats and representatives of organisations from around the world in Lusaka this week as the organisation celebrated its 75th anniversary.

Among those who attended the colourful ANC gathering in Lusaka's Mulungushi Hall were diplomats from the United States, the Soviet

Sunday Times reporter Stephan Terblanche this week spent four days with the ANC in Lusaka at a critical conference. The following is all that can be legally published of two lengthy reports he filed. New Press gag laws forbid publication of anything that improves the

public image or esteem of a banned organisation or commends, defends, explains or justifies any action, policy or strategy of a banned organisation in resistance to, or subversion against, the authority of the State

bloc, Scandinavia and from European countries.

There were also representatives from organisations such as the PLO and SWAPO and messages from numer-

ous communist and socialist parties around the world, including one from Cuba's Fidel Castro.

Away from the cameras and the self-assured rhetoric,

several leading figures in the movement privately conceded that the so-called liberation struggle could continue for a long time.

And while the ANC publicly maintains there could be no negotiations with Pretoria, individuals in the organisations displayed willingness to negotiate privately with Afrikaners, and the business community in particular, in an effort to find common ground and to accommodate the views and interests of others.

This is somewhat in contrast with the publicly spelt out position of absolutely no deviation from its set course.

In Lusaka all seemed far removed from the daily agonies inside South Africa. The ANC leaders present included Mac Maharaj, Thabo Mbeki, director of information, Joe Slovo, chief military strategist and SA Communist Party chairman, Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto We Sizwe, and Mr Tambo himself.

The soft-spoken and friendly Mr Slovo, the well-travelled, eloquent Mr Mbeki and the intense Mr Maharaj did not seem to fit the faces of those behind the bomb and landmine explosions, the stonings and the necklacing.

## Control

But another prominent spokesman of the ANC — who also belongs to the Communist Party — reaffirmed his party's commitment to a communist state. There were no guarantees put forward that the communists would not take control of the ANC.

Simultaneously with Thursday's gathering in Lusaka, ANC leaders were addressing celebratory meetings in other countries in Africa, Europe and North America.

Among the dignitaries present in Lusaka was President Kenneth Kaunda, who scathingly attacked Pretoria and joined the cry for more sanctions.

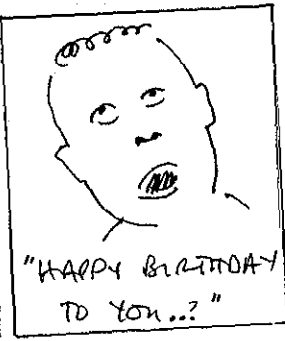
## Escalation

And yet the ANC firmly committed itself to an escalated campaign of violence, though it stopped short of condoning the barbaric method of "necklacing" people to death.

In private interviews, away from the cameras, a less confident ANC emerged. While there is much optimism among its members — fed largely by the unrest of recent years and the growing isolation of South Africa — they are hesitant to predict future developments.

There are divergent views within the organisation about the future role of the Communist Party.

One spokesman said the ANC does not envisage a communist state and has a political programme that aims at full democracy and a moderately socialist economy. He said the SACP would compete independently in an election and did not dictate policy to the ANC.



# Author owns up on Mandela speech

By JEREMY BROOKS  
London

NELSON MANDELA'S famous speech, delivered from the dock at the end of his trial, was "partly edited and rewritten" by a British journalist, then based in Johannesburg.

In making the disclosure, Anthony Sampson, former editor of Drum magazine and a noted author, now living in London, dispelled years of conjecture that he was, in fact, the man who wrote the entire speech.

"I would love to take credit for the whole thing, but I can't," he said.

Mr Sampson said how he came to pen the writing of the

He was covering Rivonia trial, in v

dela and his co-accused were convicted of treason, as a correspondent for the Observer in London.

Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Before that, however, he delivered his now famous address from the dock after his conviction. It made headlines across the world.

"I knew Nelson," recalled Mr Sampson. "Near the end

of the trial he saw me in the gallery and obviously recognised me.

"I involuntarily gave him a small salute — as one friend to another. That caused quite a stir at the time.

"I was taken out of the court and interrogated by police, who accused me of trying to communicate with the prisoner."

That evening Mr Sampson was contacted by Braam Fischer, Mandela's counsel and later leader of the South African Communist Party.

Mr Fischer told him that

he had been expressly requested by Mandela to help him with the speech.

"He obviously wanted it to be perfect — to have a major international impact.

"I sat down with the first part later that night and did a bit of rewriting and editing.

"The work was obviously a joint effort by all the accused ... and probably their attorneys as well."

The section he dealt with, said Mr Sampson, covered Mandela's early years and described how he became involved in politics.

"It was fascinating to me. His prime motivation lay not in any communist affiliations, but in his family.

"He spoke with pride about the deeds of his forebears and his elders."

Mr Sampson, educated at Oxford, numbers among his publications — many of them on South African politics — the highly acclaimed "Seven Sisters".

The book is an authoritative profile on the world's major oil companies and how they operate.

SUNDAY 11/11/87

Peter  
in Mar  
renewal

ANC members and supporters in South Africa and abroad celebrated the outlawed ANC movement's 75th anniversary this week.

Former United Democratic Front Border President Steve Tshwete, who went into exile in October 1984, re-emerged at the celebrations.

The mood in Lusaka this week was festive - though there was tight security.

Tshwete told *City Press* this week that the ANC's 75th anniversary was being celebrated by ANC members and solidarity organisations in scores of countries.

Heads of state - including some royal families - would be involved in the celebrations in Scandinavia, India, Zambia and other countries, Tshwete said.

Inside the country, Tshwete said, he expected people would celebrate the occasion in a way which was appropriate to the present circumstances of emergency regulations.

# ANC celebrates its 75th anniversary

ANC President Oliver Tambo addressed a Press conference in the Zambian capital yesterday. And last night a cultural event was scheduled at an undisclosed venue in Lusaka.

Celebrations are expected to continue over the weekend.

ANC sources said it was "remarkable" that the outlawed movement had managed to survive 75 years of confrontation with white rule in South Africa - "let alone bring about a situation where the apartheid state is in deep crisis, the masses are in the ascendancy and the ANC is more powerful than at any time in its 75 years," according to one source.

A major feature of the

celebrations in Lusaka is a recollection of the ANC's past "heroes" - from its founding leaders such as Reverend John Dube, Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, Sol Plaatjie to Nelson Mandela.

A central message to emerge has also been the need for unity between all black people and anti-apartheid forces - an echo of the call made by Seme when he delivered the keynote address in 1912 at the Bloemfontein meeting of African Chiefs, intellectuals, workers and peasants that resulted in the formation of what was then known as the Native National Congress.

The ANC remains intent on keeping unified within its ranks both the nationalist and socialist tributaries of SA black politics which are encapsulated in the alliance with the SA Communist Party and the SA Congress of Trade Unions which the ANC leads.

The ANC is also determined to win as many whites as possible over to its side and to render as isolated as possible the die-hard supporters of apartheid.

Meanwhile, the United Democratic Front said it reiterated the call for the unbanning of the ANC and

other banned organisations.

"It is significant that as we celebrate this historic movement in our history, the UDF - itself born of that great tradition of Congress - is also today faced with what the ANC faced at the hands of the successive white governments until it was banned in the 1960s," a UDF statement said.

The statement added: "We know that the State considers us to be a front for the ANC. But that is the State's problem and not ours. Our recognition of this anniversary is nothing more than a recognition of a milestone in our people's long history of resistance against white domination and capitalist super-exploitation."

The UDF said it believed the SA government, "like all such repressive states, will sooner or later have to come to terms with the fact that there can be no solution of this country's problems without the active participation of the ANC. And that is a plain cold fact".

To mark this day, the UDF said it had taken out adverts in almost all the major newspapers countrywide between 8 and 11 January.

Last month the govern-  
ment admitted that 256

On Christmas Eve 21  
people - mostly kids - were

a national picture.

The DPSC said some of

tion, the number of chil-  
dren being detained "actu-  
ally increased markedly".

59% of the total.

# SA students find unity in the US

By KHULU SIBIYA

THE formation of a historical political organisation by SA students in the United States this week has been described as a "new dawn" that would have far-reaching implications for the black struggle in a post-apartheid South Africa.

US political analysts see the coming together of members of the rival African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation or Black Consciousness Movement of Azania as a long-awaited goal.

They said after many years of bickering dating back to 1959 when the

late Mangaliso Sobukwe and others pulled out of the ANC to form the PAC because of a different ideology, a new era has finally dawned in SA.

The SA/Azanian Students' Movement was formed at a two-day conference in Nashville, Tennessee, by 300 students, some of whom are in exile.

"This is a historic moment for all of us," said newly elected SAASM president Saths Cooper, who was once also Azapo president.

"People of one political persuasion will now speak with one voice."

Cooper, who is studying at Boston University, said SAASM must be seen as a unifying factor.

"The coming together will prepare us for development in a future society."

In a message to activists in SA and other countries, the conference said South African students opposed racism and exploitation. They were united in this despite political differences.

The SAASM deputy president is David Ndaba, a medical student in Natal before he fled SA during the 1976 Soweto uprising. Ndaba served as the ANC mission to the United Nations for four years.

Other office bearers are secretary general Itumeleng Mokati, treasurer Moyise Matjeke and information director Dumisani Mahlasela.

"But we must stress that these figures are necessarily partial as they represent only those cases which have passed through our hands," said DPSC.

The DPSC also released the following figures of detainees reported to its office last month:

Detainees aged 12 - 1; aged 13 - 1; aged 14 - 15; aged 15 - 32; aged 16 - 33; aged 17 - 30.

Detainees aged 18 - 33; aged 19 - 25; aged 20 and over - 57; and 26 others whose ages are unknown.

In all, said the DPSC, 253 people were detained in December.

**Dispatch Correspondent**  
LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed that the vast majority of black and white South Africans were decent people who were crying out for a non-racial, democratic system of government.

Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, made his views known in a letter to The Sunday Telegraph.

The letter contained an attack on a recent leading article in that newspaper in which its editor, Mr Peregrine Worsthorpe, suggested that fascism might solve South Africa's race problems.

Chief Buthelezi strongly attacks this view and claims that it ranks as one of the "most appalling" at-

# Buthelezi slams editor's fascism proposal

DD 19/1/87  
tempts at analysis he had ever read about his country.

He writes: "To suggest that I could ever be involved in a fascist state or that Inkatha has the makings of an 'SS-type force' is calumny of the worst kind.

"Furthermore, much of the article was racist drivel," Chief Buthelezi states.

Precisely what did Mr Worsthorpe expect black South Africa to conclude when he glibly sketched the scenario "authoritarian it would be, but non discrimina-

tory, like other African dictatorships..."

He continues: "I could have assured Mr Worsthorpe (if he had ever bothered to ask me) that committed as we are to non-violence, Inkatha's million members and I are prepared to lay down our lives for democracy. We would resist to our last breaths any attempt to introduce a fascist state in South Africa."

For Mr Worsthorpe to ask whether fascism "could be the way forward, the only viable way forward, to a non-

racialist South Africa" revealed a total lack of understanding of the dynamics of black politics. The word contempt also came to mind.

Chief Buthelezi adds: "I have spent my entire political life stating over and over again that we will not have a democratic parliamentary system in South Africa if we do not have democratic political groups vying to control Parliament."

He said it was beyond his comprehension that a publication such as The Sunday Telegraph would ever print "that we, who have suffered so much and who desire to build a country in which there is hope for the future", would give a second thought to participating in something so wrong as a fascist system of government.

# Six ANC men leave for Lusaka

The Star's Africa  
News Service

MAPUTO — Six members of the African National Congress, whose expulsion had been demanded by the SA Government, have left Maputo for Lusaka.

The official newspaper *Noticias* said the men had been "transferred".

One of the expelled members, Mr Indriss Naidoo, told the Mozambique News Agency (AIM) that their departure did not mean the ANC would close its offices in Maputo.

He described as "a pure lie of the South African regime" a report in a Johannesburg morning newspaper that the offices would be closed.

Among those who left for Lusaka on Friday was the ANC's chief representative in Maputo, Mr Jacob Zuma.

# Barclays met ANC, Ban on ANC ad cancels IFF counter

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Barclays Bank has confirmed that it had talks with the African National Congress, as reported by a British newspaper at the weekend, but denied the claim that the meetings were tied to its recent withdrawal from South Africa or its desire to protect its R2 450-million loan exposure to the country.

The last meeting was in July, a bank spokesman said.

It also said Barclays' loans to South Africa were subject to the same 18-month repayment moratorium as loans by other banks.

A meeting took place with the ANC in Lusaka in 1985 and other contacts were made in London with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo, the bank said.

The Government's ban on "pro-African National Congress" advertisements has forced the International Freedom Foundation to cancel a counter advertisement which was to have been published at the weekend.

In a statement to The Star on Friday, the Johannesburg branch of the IFF said it had intended placing its own advertisement in local newspapers to counter the ANC's "disinformation campaign".

The IFF said it regretted the Government's overhasty action in banning the ANC advertisement placed in several newspapers last week by the United Democratic Front, the SA Council of Churches and several other organisations.

"This will naturally have the negative effect of curtailing discussion about the true facts regarding ANC terror," the IFF's Johannesburg executive chairman Mr Russel Crystal said.

He added that it had been the intention of the IFF to place its own advertisement in The Sunday Star, The Sunday Tribune, Rapport and The Sunday Times in order to reveal the facts of the "continued disinformation campaign of the UDF and other organisations concerning the ANC."

11/17  
62



Mr Murphy Morobe

# 'Increase in vigilante activity'

*Sweefan*  
*2/1/87*  
*11A*

THERE has been an increase in vigilante activity aimed at activists and members of progressive organisations, Mr Murphy Morobe, the United Democratic Front's, acting national publicity

secretary said in a statement.

Mr Morobe said: "Reports reaching the UDF from various regions, in particular Natal, Transvaal, the Cape and the Free State, indicate an increase in vigilante activity mainly against activists and other members of progressive organisations."

Mr Morobe said before the new Press clamps the UDF had warned that a major vigilante onslaught could be expected around December 9 countrywide, ostensibly to coincide with the "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign. But some of the newspapers, he added, chose to ignore this warning and "instead relied more on the Bureau for Information's version of events".

## Killings

He said the killings in Tembisa and Leandra last weekend "indicate that our information regarding vigilante activity was not unfounded. In Tembisa the attacks began around December 14.

"Now even in the Eastern Cape more anti-Government people are being brutally murdered by what pro-Government commentators choose to call "moderates".



# Ban on people's education

11A  
SOEBA  
12/1/87

THE Government introduced sweeping new restrictions this weekend which in effect ban people's education for black schoolchildren.

In the first week of registration for pupils, the Commissioner of Police banned the National Education Crisis Committee from gathering to discuss the presentation of such courses at the Department of Education and Training's schools and hostels.

The gazetting of the order on Friday night — it was issued in terms of Emergency Regulations 7(1) — follows an announcement by the National Education Crisis Committee that an alternative history course had already been produced.

Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of black children returned to their classrooms this week.

Their first week at school was marked by a war of words between the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and the National Education Crisis Committee.

The committee accused the Minister of slandering their organisation after he had stated on television that there had been "more talk and promises than results" from those involved in people's education.

Almost the entire executive of the NECC with the exception of two members — one of whom is in hiding — have been detained.

"There is no guarantee the children will stay in school," said Dr Nthato Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association.

"The issues that kept them out of school still have to be addressed and of course provocative statements from the Minister are not helping matters.

# Barclays held talks with ANC leaders

LONDON. — Barclays Bank, which pulled out of South Africa recently, has held talks with leaders of the African National Congress (ANC.)

A spokesman for Barclays was confirming a report which appeared in the Independent newspaper on Saturday.

"Whilst we had an interest in Barclays National Bank in South Africa, we did have the occasional meeting with members of the ANC," the spokesman said.

He said the bank would keep in touch with the ANC "from time to time".

The Independent reported that Barclays was anxious to protect the £766 million (about R2 300m) owed to the bank in South Africa by persuading a future ANC government to honour the debt.

Barclays is unable to get this money back to Britain because of the South African government's freeze on debt repayments.

The spokesman said Barclays wanted the money back as quickly as possible.

"The reason for the meetings was simply to make contact with all those groups who could play a part in the future of the country," he said.

The spokesman said the first meeting between the bank and the ANC took place in 1985 in Lusaka and other meetings had been held since then in London with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

"Those meetings were private, rather than secret," he said.

The chairman of Barclays, Sir Timothy Bevan, who announced the decision in November to sell the bank's 40.4% holding in Barclays Bank South Africa, said the move was prompted mainly by commercial considerations.

Mr Bevan said the bank's involvement in South Africa had cost it business, particularly among students. — Sapa-Reuter

CME Times 12/1/87

110 3515A

# Showdown time for Hendrickse at Botha meeting

By BARRY STREEK

A SHOWDOWN meeting between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and Mr Allan Hendrickse will take place in Cape Town next Monday, following the Labour Party leader's open defiance of beach apartheid and his strong criticisms of the Group Areas Act.

Mr Hendrickse could not be contacted yesterday, but confirmation of the meeting was obtained from reliable sources.

It will be the first meeting between Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse, the only "coloured" member of the cabinet, since Labour Party leaders went for their illegal swim at a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth last weekend.

Mr Botha has not yet commented specifically on the beach apartheid incident, which has

drawn critical comment in the pro-government press.

Since Mr Hendrickse's criticisms of the Group Areas Act, Mr Botha has strongly defended the policy of racially separate residential areas and "own" schools.

In political circles, as well as in yesterday's issue of Rapport, there has been speculation that the president may take action against Mr Hendrickse.

It is even suggested that Mr Hendrickse, his colleagues from the House of Representatives cabinet and the Deputy Minister of Population Development, Mr Luwellyn Landers, who also participated in the Port Elizabeth swim, may have broken their oaths as ministers by breaking the law.

But action against Mr Hendrickse and his colleagues could have disastrous political consequences for Mr Botha's reform policies.

The Labour Party has already warned that it will pull out of the tricameral system if the Group Areas Act is not scrapped and if that happens, the government's constitutional plans could collapse.

In Labour Party circles yesterday, it was argued that with the election around the corner it was inevitable that Mr Botha took some public action, particularly in view of right-wing criticism of the government. However, it was said, his actions should be judged in the light of the election and should not be taken too seriously.

It is understood that the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, the Chairman of the House of Assembly Ministers' Council, Mr F W de Klerk, and the Chairman of the House of Delegates Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, are also expected to be present at the January 19 meeting.

# Protest over ANC speech Tambo talks is welcomed

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A leading Republican candidate for the 1988 American presidential election, conservative Congressman Jack Kemp, has objected strongly to this month's scheduled meeting between Secretary of State Mr George Shultz and African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

In a sharply worded letter to President Reagan, Congressman Kemp warned: "A misguided Congress has already damaged hopes for a peaceful transition from apartheid to true democracy by imposing counterproductive sanctions which afflict blacks.

"Now, by meeting with Mr Tambo, Secretary Shultz will be sending a message that the US has abandoned those who are working for peaceful and democratic change in South Africa."

Congressman Kemp's letter comes at a time when the powerful American conservative movement is about to launch a campaign to have the Shultz-Tambo meeting called off.

Later this week, the formation of a new Coalition Against ANC Terrorism will be announced in Washington. Consisting of 31 organisations, it will try to focus public attention on the ANC's use of violence and its ties with the Soviet Union.

Plans include a public protest outside the State Department Building when the meeting takes place in a fortnight.

WASHINGTON — The United States Government has welcomed a speech last week by African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo, but noted grave misgivings at aspects of the outlawed organisation.

In an apparent effort to pursue the new recognition the US is showing the ANC, the State Department said yesterday Mr Tambo's statement at the movement's 75th anniversary celebrations in Lusaka last week had clarified its views on South Africa.

"These clarifications narrow our differences with the ANC, but important differences remain," said State Department spokeswoman Mrs Phyllis Oakley.

Mr Tambo is due to meet the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, in Washington later this month. His speech is seen as a response to US pressure to spell out the ANC's policies publicly.

It is known that the State Department's third-ranking official, Mr Michael Armacost, pushed this point in talks with senior ANC representatives in Lusaka last month.

Noting differences, however, Mrs Oakley specified that the "presence and inordinate influence" of communists in the ANC were reflected in many ways — its endorsement, for instance, of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

# How the ANC and SACP can be split

From SIMON BARBER  
in Washington

The South African Communist Party is not a major player in Pretoria's internal opposition and will only flourish in an atmosphere of repression, the Reagan administration has concluded in a detailed intelligence report prepared for Congress.

Furthermore, the South Africa Government may have an unprecedented opportunity to drive a wedge between the SACP and the ANC, that could prove fatal to the party, by agreeing to enter into good faith negotiations.

Preparation of the report, an unclassified version of which has been made available, was mandated by the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act passed last October.

The 11 page document, written by the State Department with government-wide collaboration, makes clear, in unusually definitive terms, that the Reagan administration does not share, or sympathise with, Pretoria's view of a communist onslaught.

Its findings provide a powerful premise for stepped up Western contacts with the ANC, and, in particular, for the meeting between Mr Oliver Tambo and the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, scheduled to take place in Washington at the end of the month.

The SACP's ultimate goal — "rule by a Marxist-Leninist party loyal to the Soviet Union" — is "served by an inflexible South Africa attitude toward negotiation with the the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments, and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on South Africa", the study maintains.

While "roughly half" the ANC's executive committee are "known or suspected" SACP members, the party has "little or no influence on political and labour groups inside South Africa", and the role played by the UDF and the labour movement within the "ANC alliance", will likely "dilute" its influence still further.

And although the influence of "militant young blacks" in Umkhonto we Sizwe is likely to grow as they gradually replace the old guard leadership of both the ANC and the SACP, the party "will not necessarily reap the benefits, given its lack of a mass base and the widespread nationalist feelings that tend to increase blacks' suspicions of a party with such close ties to a foreign power".

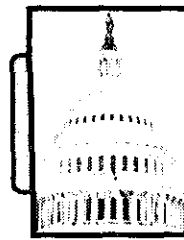
The party's best hope is continuation of armed conflict because "the ANC is deeply beholden to the SACP and the Soviet Union for the arms and training that made possible the upsurge in guerilla activity that has boosted its prestige in South Africa in recent years".

The report notes that the SACP seems genuinely afraid of possible overtures by Pretoria to the ANC. "During 1984-5, when rumours were rife of South African feelers to elements of the ANC, the SACP reacted with alarm ... the sensitivity indicates genuine concern that a more flexible approach by Pretoria could find a favourable reception by elements in the ANC."

Summarising, the study concludes: "If Pretoria reconsiders its opposition to negotiations or if ANC relations with Western countries (and hopes for recognition by them) continue to improve, serious policy differences could surface within the ANC."

"The internal stability of the ANC and its main political tendency will be shaped by the extent to which Pretoria tests — or fails to test — its shaky cohesion. If the South Africa Government pursues a purely repressive policy, the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks."

# America and the ANC: what we can expect



Washington  
Letter  
by SIMON BARBER

Cap's Truists 13/1/87 11A

BEFORE we get to what the Reagan administration thinks about the ANC and to what extent, if any, it intends to do business with that organization — one of several the South African state would prefer you to know nothing about — a few basic points about America, in case it too becomes a proscribed entity.

The first responsibility of the US government is not to be good, moral or applauded by the World Peace Council. It is to ensure the security of the citizens who elected it, and, because it has entered into alliances for that purpose, the security of its allies. Inasmuch as South Africa matters to the preservation of the American republic, the administration of the day is obliged to take all wise and reasonable steps to see that the South African civil war does not pose a threat to the safety, well-being and happiness of Americans.

The history of this century suggests that tyrannies generate forces inimical not only to the US and its allies but to most of the people said forces claim to liberate. Somehow, the soi-disant liberators turn out to be nothing of the kind. Beneath their platitudinous claims to be anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist, too many are ultimately revealed as satraps of the Soviet empire.

## Primary obligation

Given its primary obligation to protect its own people, the American government has a duty to view this phenomenon with a certain alarm, regardless of whether, as its critics generally (and odiously) claim, US policy gave Moscow the expansionist opportunity in the first place. The overwhelming evidence, in the form of a nuclear arsenal targeted on the American heartland, gigantic armies poised on Europe's borders and an oppressive ideology whose survival depends on the removal of all more human alternatives, not only justifies but obliges anxiety.

Perhaps the US fear of communism is inordinate, to borrow the phrase of Jimmy Carter, upon whose watch Afghanistan was invaded and Nicaragua became a Soviet colony. But if the fear is inordinate, so is the concern a parent feels when his child runs into rush hour traffic without looking. The available data indicates the child is headed for the mortuary.

In the case of South Africa, the Reagan administration has spent the last six years trying to create conditions under which Pretoria would act in its own and the West's best interest by ceasing, of its own accord, to be a tyranny. The effort has proved an abject failure. To the extent that PW Botha's much vaunted reforms were not fraudulent, the repression that accompanied them — and their somewhat, shall we say, specialized nature — made it impossible for the democracies to believe that change was truly under way and for the supposed beneficiaries of Pretoria's new enlightenment to recognize themselves as such.

In the US, Congress — a systemically irresponsible body that is easy meat for demagoguery, especially on foreign matters beyond its ken or inherently short-term vision — decided, part consciously, part unwittingly, that it was time to join forces with those trying to overthrow the

South African regime by revolutionary means. The empty-eyed fanatics now making their midnight rounds to strangle even moderate dissent owe their busy schedules to this folly. If it continues, the last free man in South Africa, be he white or black, will be a Stalinist regardless of which end of the spectrum he claims, or is acknowledged, to occupy.

The administration is culpable in that it failed to respond adequately to Congress's demands that the US place itself on the "right side of history", a grimly Marxist phrase. A new approach was obviously needed — to that extent Congress was right — but not the one Congress adopted. The White House ideologues, breaking faith with their ultimate electoral contract, refused to listen and put their private, experimental theories ahead of the public interest for a peacefully resolved South Africa.

Happily, the ideologues have met their Tsushima elsewhere. Irangate has neutralized them, leaving the way clear for Secretary of State George Shultz and his



Mr Oliver Tambo

team to start putting the pieces back together in a new and altogether more promising way. Not that anything can be said to be truly promising in the South African situation.

Having failed to persuade the Nationalist government — the one actor which had it in its power to defuse the South African crisis by a series of bold decisions of its own making — to act in the interest of its people and their future generations, the Reagan administration is now diverting its energies and prestige to enlisting the opposition phalanx, including but most assuredly not exclusively the ANC.

The now defunct American rapprochement with Pretoria was not without terms — terms Pretoria resolutely refused to meet. Shultz's readiness to work with the ANC, not to mention other parties, the frontline, indeed Africa as a whole, is not without conditions either. Just as it will no longer permit the South African government to use the relationship as a barricade behind which to perpetuate its domination, so, in the same way, Washington does not intend to let Pretoria's more ex-

tremist enemies use the US to work Moscow's will. This is not a prevarication, but, as already noted, an obligation. The American government is not, and cannot be, in the business of putting communists in power.

The basis upon which Shultz is prepared to treat with the ANC is laid out, albeit largely by implication, in the State Department's report to Congress last week on the SACP and its influence. It is very simple: Washington needs to be assured that the party, thus far (pace PW Botha) little more than a parasite within the ANC structure, will never be allowed to invade and control the entire body, subsuming what was otherwise a broad-based, mainly socialist popular front. A society based on the Freedom Charter, which endorses a form of socialism not far from the economic statism practiced by the existing regime, is not a problem if based on popular consent properly and repeatedly tested. The pro-Soviet Marxism-Leninism envisaged by the SACP is an entirely different matter.

The form and extent of the US relationship with the ANC is thus far unclear, and will unlikely be made much clearer when Shultz meets Tambo on the 26th. Much mutual exploration needs to be done. The assumption that mere symbolic recognition by Washington will encourage the ANC to make important decisions about its agenda, political orientation and tactics will need considerable proving. Tambo's ambiguities in Lusaka last week do not even begin that task.

## State Department

Furthermore, as the State Department effectively admits in its SACP study, Pretoria will always have the power to kill any understanding the US and the ANC may reach. Increased repression empowers the SACP and will create further political demands for Washington to destroy the South African economy with heightened sanctions — demands that Washington will be loath to take, thus deepening the ANC's suspicions of its true aims.

Consider the following, perhaps somewhat far-fetched scenario. Emboldened by his new, if imperfect, legitimacy in the West, Tambo announces that he is ready to renounce violence, as Pretoria has demanded as a precondition for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and the start of genuine negotiations. This confronts the government with two options: either to live up to its commitment or to destroy Tambo and his allies by reneging on the deal, or more likely, by self-righteously making new and impossible demands. It does not take much imagination to guess which option Pretoria in its current frame of mind would take. Indeed, it is hard to recall a single such undertaking this government has not weaseled out of in way or the other. The Nkomati accords are no longer worth the paper they were so solemnly written on.

After a period of dangerous drift which led in a series of disastrous mistakes, the Reagan administration — or, one should rather say, Shultz and his advisers — are at last being allowed to do the right thing. Unfortunately even the right thing will be a complete waste of time so long as South Africa is ruled as it is.

# 'PLEASE RELEASE HIM BEFORE I DIE'

**THE 80-year-old sister of a member of the banned Pan Africanist Congress who is serving a life sentence for political activities, has made an impassioned plea to the Government to release him.**

Mrs Japhtalina Moya of Atteridgeville, Pretoria, and eldest sister of Jeff Kgalabi Masemola, this week appealed to the authorities to release him "before I die".

She said: "I pray day and night that he be released. Who has he killed to deserve this? Even murderers get jail sentences and come back to live a normal life".

Masemola (56), one of the longest-serving political prisoners in South Africa, was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Pretoria Supreme Court in 1963 for involvement in the activities of the PAC.

Mrs Moya told the *Sowetan* that her health deteriorated when her brother was arrested. "I spent sleepless nights after he was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment."

With tears in her eyes, Mrs Moya,

## A sister's plea for PAC man

By MONK NKOMO, Pretoria Bureau

who has difficulty walking, said she regards Masemola as her own son.

"After my husband, seven of my sons and two daughters died, I pinned my hopes on him."

She added: "Our mother died when

my last days with me."

Masemola was born at Born Accord near Pretoria in 1931. His family moved to Marabastad and then to Atteridgeville. Described as a "brilliant young man" by

as "Bra Jeff", he was arrested at the same school in 1961 — a few months after getting married.

His wife gave birth to a son, Tebogo.

His sister last saw him on Robben Island in 1983. She cannot visit him frequently because of her illness.

"When is he going to come back and lead a normal life? He has already served 24 years in jail. That is punishment enough", said Mrs Moya.

When four other members of the PAC who were sentenced to life imprisonment accepted a

conditional release offer from the State President P W Botha last year, Masemola and another

PAC member serving a life sentence, John Nkosi, rejected the offer.

God knows his



Mrs MOYA . . . "Jeff is like a son to me."

**God knows his fate as well as mine. He will decide. Everything is in His hands.**

Jeff was only eight months old. I carried him on my back and cared for him. Now that care has turned into a nightmare. I wish the authorities could answer my prayers and release him so that he can spend

his sister, Masemola qualified as a teacher at the then Kilmerton Training Institution in Koe-doospoort.

He taught at Banareng Primary School in Atteridgeville.

Popularly known

fate as well as mine. He will decide. Everything is in His hands," said Mrs Moya.

CAPC Times 14/11/87 (11A)

# Tutu: Young SA impatient

SYDNEY. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has declared he would not as a young man have listened to the crusade for peaceful transition he has led against apartheid.

Many young people in South Africa were impatient with the church's efforts to end apartheid through non-violent means, he told reporters in Adelaide on Monday night.

"And I can understand their frustration and impatience.

"If I was young, I would have rejected Desmond Tutu long ago because we have absolutely nothing to show for our very eloquent advocacy of non-violence," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said that although the church never condoned violence, the time might come when the church would have to choose which is the lesser evil — apartheid or violence.

"A time can come when it is justifiable to overthrow an unjust, vicious system by force." — Sapa-Reuter



# De Jonge says 'Happy birthday'

By PAT SIDLEY

THE Department of Foreign Affairs has complained to the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria about Klaas de Jonge's celebration of the 75th anniversary of the ANC yesterday.

De Jonge, who has been a fugitive in the embassy since escaping from Security Police custody over a year ago, said he had placed posters in his window on the Nedbank premises of the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria which commemorated the ANC anniversary.

"It was the 75th birthday and I thought what can I do so I made posters in the ANC colours with green fields, 'Viva' written in yellow, 'ANC' in black and '75' made out of the silver paper from my Christmas presents," he said last night.

Later yesterday the South African Department of Foreign Affairs phoned the Dutch ambassador to complain.

ANC plan  
published

The Star Bureau

LONDON — African National Congress plans to increase violence in South Africa have been set out in a report in *The Guardian* today.

The report, from the paper's Lusaka correspondent, quotes the ANC's military commander, Mr Joe Modise.

Mr Modise is banned and may not be quoted in South Africa.

MEN OF ACTION  
at Westchester Country Club  
New York, USA



WEEKLY MAIL 16/1/87



# Kgame attack not ANC linked

By PATRICK LAURENCE

POLICE have found no evidence linking the African National Congress with the attempt to kill Steve Kgame, president and founder of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa.

A senior Security Police officer told *Weekly Mail* that the investigation into the attempted murder was continuing but that so far there was no indication the would-be killers were members of an ANC assassination squad.

Kgame, a former teacher and journalist and mayor of Dobsonville, is recovering in hospital from emergency surgery to remove bullets.

He was gunned down outside his shop in Dobsonville last Friday, his attackers having spurned the shop keys offered to them by Kgame's wife, Jenny. They flung the keys back at her before opening fire.

With robbery apparently ruled out as a motive, the would-be assassins must have been driven by political considerations.

As president of the nation-wide

Ucasa and a staunch defender of participation in controversial black town councils, Kgame was an outspoken and conspicuous political figure.

In March, 1985 Ucasa was recognised as the official mouthpiece of black local authorities and granted representation on the government-established council for the co-ordination of local government.

In 1985 his house was petrol-bombed by "comrades". He was undeterred and pressed ahead with discussions with Constitutional Affairs Minister, Chris Heunis.

It was perhaps for that reason that the newly-established United Christian Conciliation Party under Bishop Izak Mokoena was quick to blame the ANC for the attempt to murder Kgame.

But, given the absence of clues linking the killing to the ANC, the

political focus would seem to be narrower: within the often intense squabbles of township politics.

The attempted assassination of Kgame is reminiscent in some ways of the as yet unsolved killing of Edward Manyosi, who was shot dead in Soweto in December 1984 on the eve of elections for a new mayor of Soweto.

Last year Kgame faced a challenge to his leadership of Ucasa when Ucasa vice-president and Daveyton Mayor, Tom Boya, formed a rival faction which he claimed was the authentic Ucasa.

Boya, however, spoke of "our president" in his shocked reaction to the shooting of Kgame, saying: "I am hopeful Mr Kgame will pull through so he can identify the people who tried to kill him."

Pending final reconciliation of the rival factions, the affairs of Ucasa remain critical, and its role as an agent for local government reform is jeopardised.

# PINKO-BLACK MOTHERHOOD

THE kind of society the African National Congress would create in South Africa — if it came to power — would most likely depend as much on its path to power as on its claimed loyalty to those political equivalents of motherhood and apple pie which find general acceptance internationally.

A revolutionary victory after a protracted, bloody and bitter struggle of the kind waged in Vietnam would, at the end of the day, mean an ANC with a far less benign face than it is trying to project today.

Negotiations on the South African conflict of the Lancaster House type which brought ZANU(PF) to power in Zimbabwe in 1980 would probably mean a gradual transformation of South African society — though the pace would probably be much faster than in Zimbabwe.

The key to the pace and nature of changes would depend on the balance between the relative powers of the South African Defence Force, Umkhonto weSizwe, the trade unions, the Communist Party, and township and rural organisations. Not to mention the attitudes of the United States administration, the Soviet Union, the international financial and commodity markets, neighbouring African states and the like.

Until history answers those questions, it is possible only to examine the rhetorical colour of the ANC's motherhood and the disclosed ingredients of its apple pie. That colour and those ingredients, as is well known, are pure poison to the government, its supporters and some others.

The ANC's vision remains a collection of generalities largely. The ANC says it wants to build a "non-racial, democratic and united South Africa". In that, it differs, say, from Inkatha of the Progressive Federal Party, which say they want a non-racial, democratic but federal South Africa.

The ANC maintains it is sincere in its non-racialism. Its admission of whites as full members, it points out, is evidence of its sincerity: Marion Sparg, sentenced to 25 years in prison last year, is the latest and most visible case. And the ANC National Executive Committee made an impassioned appeal to whites last week to break

*Talk of the need for a diverse media. But the press would have to substantially change its character ...*

with the past and apartheid, and to join their black compatriots in the fight against white political supremacy. The cynics, of course accused them of putting on a "charm show".

The ANC executive said: "We reaffirm that in the new South Africa, the people — all the people — shall govern. We shall, together, translate that fundamental democratic principle into practice whereby each person shall have the right both to vote and to be voted to any elective organ in the new, united, non-racial South Africa".

"The ANC's accession to power would, they said, "guarantee the individual and equal rights of all South Africans ... and include such freedoms as those of speech, assembly, association, language, religion, the press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial."

That's the grand scheme. What of the small print?

The ANC puts an important restriction on all this liberality. It would outlaw the organised propagation of ideas of "fascism, racism and ethnicity". That would mean any newspaper, political party or organisation putting forward these views would be outlawed.

On the press, a top political leader of the ANC said in the middle of last year that a view developing within the outlawed movement was that the ANC was keen to have a healthy divergence of views between different media, but that existing press monopolies would have to be broken — perhaps by nationalisation. He foresaw that the ANC would have its own regional press, charged with putting across its "line".

He rejected having a slavish commercial press. And he responded favourably to some Scandinavian models for guaranteeing a viable multiplicity of newspapers, magazines and other media. These Scandinavian models provide for the taxation of advertising in major news organisations and the use of this revenue to

Imagine that you wake up tomorrow to discover that the ANC executive is in the Union Buildings. Should you flee? Should you pray?

What kind of rulers will they make? Authoritarians? Democrats? Racists? Non-Racists?

The answers depend a great deal on the means by which the ANC gets there. If they ever do. HOWARD BARRELL conjures up the scenario



Oliver Tambo ... 75 years on

Picture: VUYI MBALO, Atrapix

subsidise and encourage younger publications' viability. He particularly favoured this for the trade union and community press.

But there was a corollary to all this. He ended by warning that the press would have to substantially change its character, and embrace the broad objectives of the new society, as well as find ways of democratising its inner workings.

Winning over whites, splitting the white bloc and isolating the government is also a tactical imperative for the ANC. Logically, it must weaken the ranks of what can be termed (although it does not use the term itself) its "generalised enemy". This causes some suspicion about the sincerity of its professed non-racialism in some quarters.

The central meaning of "national liberation" for the ANC is the creation of a situation where black South Africans achieve that access to state and administrative power, economic resources, education and other fruits which it considers are warranted by black numbers, labour power and needs.

National liberation for the ANC means primarily black liberation. It has said repeatedly in its policy documents that a formal acquisition of state power is not enough. The economy will have to be transformed. The ANC favours a "mixed economy", its spokesmen again confirmed this week, which may come as a surprise to radicals hoping for instant socialism.

For the ANC a mixed economy means, in particular, that South Africa's mining, banking, farming, food, news and other monopolies will have to be broken — where necessary, by nationalisation.

Below these "commanding heights", small businessmen, traders and professionals would be free to continue ringing up their tills. The ANC says the welfare of the working class, its representation in the post-apartheid state and access to resources are paramount in its view.

The "new state" would be "representative of all the people of our country, and especially the ordinary working people who own neither land nor factories and neither the mines nor the banks", the ANC executive said last week. Hence, a

This report on the ANC has been restricted so as to comply with last week's regulations

transfer of power "must be accompanied by the democratisation of the control and direction of the economy so that indeed the people share in the wealth of our country".

An ANC constitution for South Africa would be "an elaboration of the freedom charter which lays down the guidelines for a post-apartheid South Africa", official ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said in Lusaka this week. This means, in effect, a South African variant of social democracy. In the ANC's terms, it means building the political and economic blocks of "national democracy".

A cornerstone of liberal policy, such as that of the PFP, is the protection of individual rights. The National Party's major concern is the protection of ethnic group rights.

ANC spokesmen have said previously that the movement has no objection in principle to a bill of individual human rights. What it would reject completely, however, is any guarantee of ethnic or racial group rights. Protecting rights on this basis would, for the ANC, mean entrenching some form of neo-apartheid and be a betrayal of its 75-year fight.

For similar reasons, ANC spokesmen say the organisation is suspicious of any form of federalism or confederalism, which it sees as a device to create zones of white or black dominance, again entrenching some form of neo-apartheid.

An interesting discussion between a group of ANC members overheard recently concerned the advisability of "group rights" along class and stratification lines other than race or ethnicity. The idea put forward was: what about entrenching special rights for groups such as workers, both employed and unemployed; for farmers; for religious people; for craftsmen, retailers and tradespeople; for white collar workers; for intellectuals and cultural workers; for the youth; and for women? The idea was put forward more as a question than a proposal.

The ANC has, as the government so often points out, long-standing traditional ties with the Soviet

*The grand scheme: Freedom of speech, assembly, religion, language. But what of the small print?*

Union and other Eastern-bloc countries. But the officially stated policy of the ANC is not pro-Moscow, but non-aligned. Whether an ANC-ruled South Africa might diverge from this policy would depend both on the international "balance of forces" and the political and electoral pressures that develop inside the country.

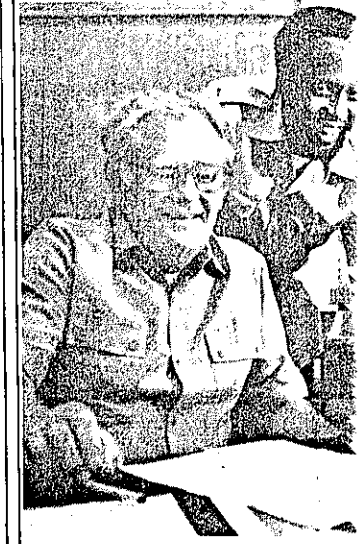
As a self-conscious "national liberation movement", the ANC has been careful to bring together as broad a spectrum of anti-apartheid forces as possible within its ranks. It is, currently, in only a few ways comparable to a political party. It contains ideological divergencies from militant liberals to communists united — for the time being — around this essentially social democratic programme. But it can safely be said that it is the more militant left which gets more powerful and numerous with each passing day.

It is not impossible that an ANC government could, some years into its life and after the achievement of its agreed political and economic programme, spawn several different political parties putting forward different policies.

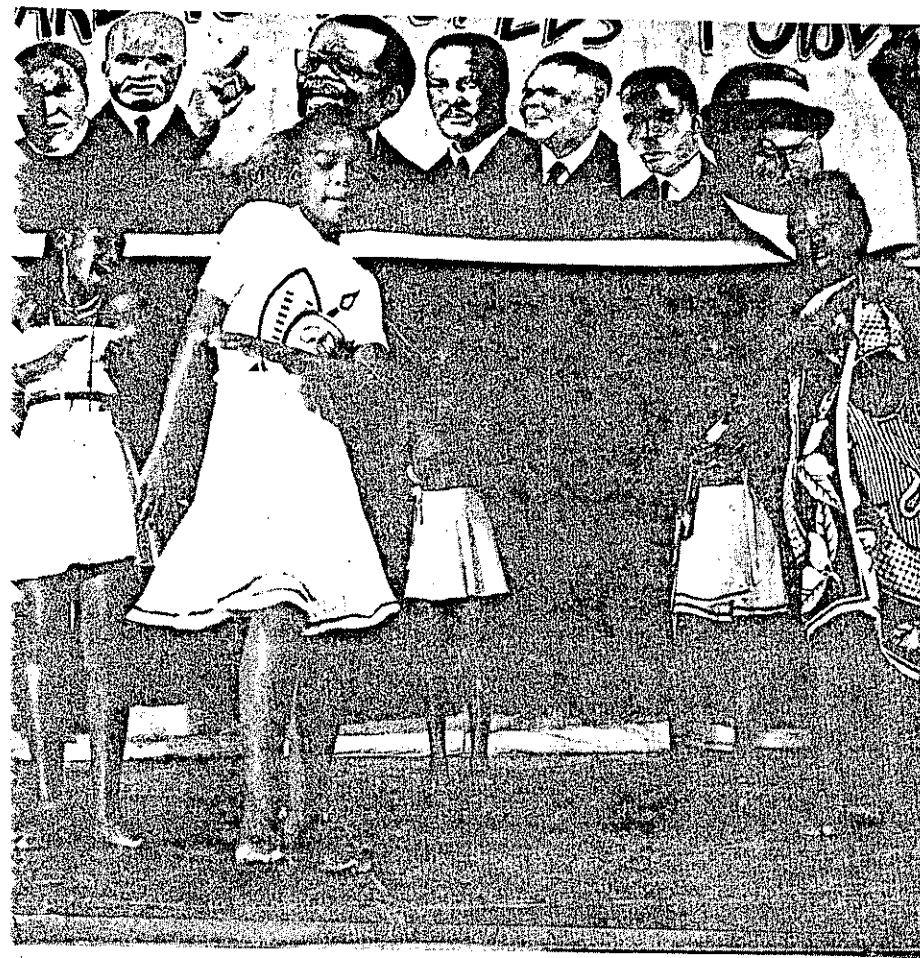
Assuming the impossible: that the ANC would be allowed to take part in an election tomorrow, its party manifesto would revolve around:

- Majoritarian parliamentary democracy in a unitary state structure.
- One person, one vote.
- Individually guaranteed human rights, actionable in the courts.
- The direction of the vast bulk of the state's energies towards re-allocating resources towards black political, social and economic advancement.
- A non-aligned foreign policy, with membership of the Organisation of African Unity.
- A whole lot of people going around calling each other comrades.

It is a measure of present South African society that to achieve this would probably require little less than a revolution — such is the level of distaste in government and some other circles of the ANC's pinko-black motherhood and the way it wants to slice the pie.



# SILENCED PICTURES



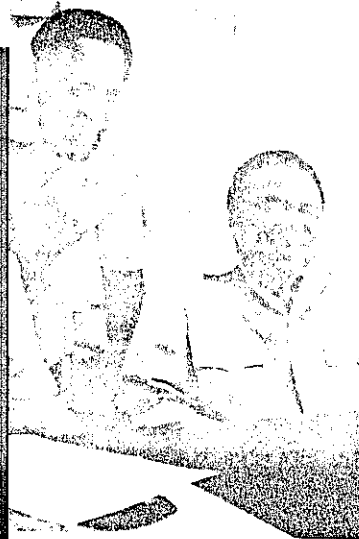
We can't tell you what they said. But we can show you what they looked like. Here, a group of portraits of silence from the important ANC 75th birthday conference last week which may or may not have had considerable significance ...

**TOP LEFT:** Showtime, Lusaka. A youth group goes through its paces, beneath the stern gazes of ANC leaders, past and present.

**CENTRE LEFT:** Terrible triplets? A rare picture of the trio Pretoria would most dearly love to lay hands on: Communist Party chief Joe Slovo, Umkhonto We Sizwe commander Joe Modise and (centre) his deputy Chris Hani.

**BOTTOM LEFT:** Soul brothers. Oliver Tambo has been in exile almost as long as Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has been in power. And if there's ever to be peace in South Africa, it could well be Kaunda who acts as middle-man.

**BELOW:** A cake for the ANC, but what it really wants is the whole bakery. The 75th birthday cake is presented to Oliver Tambo as Kenneth Kaunda plays master-of-ceremonies.



# Spy charges against cops

16/11/87  
BY JO-ANN BEKKER

THE first trial of security policemen charged with spying for the African National Congress has been set for March 12.

Matshwenyego Mokgabudi, 29, of Atteridgeville, and Tshiango Rabuli, 33, of Soshanguve near Pretoria, were allegedly recruited by the banned organisation in 1980. For six years, the state claims, they informed the ANC about police knowledge of anticipated ANC actions and the government's schemes to counter the guerrilla organisation's plans. In return they received a "contribution".

The two were not asked to plead to charges of terrorism, furthering the aims of the ANC and espionage when they appeared briefly before a Pretoria magistrate this week.

Ex-editor Woods 'is made the hero'

16/1/87 SPAN

# Biko film distorts his life — Azapo

11A

By Michael Tissong

A representative of the Azanian People's Organisation says Sir Richard Attenborough's "Biko" film distorts the black consciousness leader's life.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that Sir Richard invited former Azapo executive member Mr Peter Jones to London to authenticate the film.

He returned on Wednesday.

Mr Jones, who knew Steve Biko well and was arrested with him in August 1977, was one of the last people to see him alive.

Mr Myeza said Mr Jones read the script and saw parts of the

film and found it portrayed former East London *Daily Dispatch* editor Mr Donald Woods as the hero.

The film is based on two books by Woods.

Mr Myeza said that in part of the script Mr Woods said "there is nobody who knows Steve Biko's story like I do".

"This is not true. Woods' newspaper was hostile to the black consciousness movement when it emerged in the early 1970s. Only after Biko spoke to Woods and explained the ideology did the paper's attitude change.

## 'Misquoted'

"This could hardly be termed friendship — it was an acquaintance at best. There were many in the movement with whom Biko confided as a true friend. Woods was outside that circle.

"Elsewhere in the script Biko is misquoted as saying he believes the land belongs to all who live in it. This is a misrepresentation of what he stood for.

"A resolution by the SA Students' Organisation, of which Biko

was a founder, said the land belonged to the black people. Saso said that whites should live in South Africa on terms laid down by the majority of the people, the blacks, just as, when blacks live in Europe, it is on terms set out by the whites.

"From what we gather from Jones the film has distorted Biko's life and is problematic in its representation of black consciousness as an ideology.

"The film is unlikely to be shown here because of its anti-apartheid sentiments but if it is we shall drive it off the screens.

"The Azanian Student Movement took a decision in November last year that if the film distorted Biko's life they would take the distributors to court.

"We are making our sentiments known because this film does not have the blessing of the black consciousness movement or Biko's friends.

"It is most likely to be distributed on the strength of Biko's standing in South African history but we are saddened that facts have been bent to suit Woods' image."

OK and  
union  
agree to  
mediation

SPAN  
16/1/87

By Mike Siluma

# Down on the South African farm hundreds of kilometres north of the Limpopo

In the days when Aaron Mafaje worked as a clerk in Jo'burg, farming ranked rather low in his list of interests. But today, he's one of many South African exiles working the land on a giant farm in Zambia. VIVIENNE WALT reports from Lusaka

IT is a long way from home. Thirty kilometres outside Lusaka, where a group of South African exiles farm almost 3 000 hectares of land, there are few traces of township life.

On the half-hour's drive along a bumpy dirt road, there are only occasional signs of human habitation. Here and there, huts have been built alongside the road, but the paths to the farm gate are bordered mostly by flat scrubland. It is many kilometres to the nearest shop.

And, with extraordinary irony, Chongela Estates sits next door one of Zambia's most spacious and lucrative farms — owned by the Anglo American Corporation.

Since the Swedish International Development Agency bought a second, adjoining farm for the exiles in November 1985, for \$150 000 (about R270 000), Chongela has more than doubled its land, and is expanding its production and developing the agricultural training given here to those who have fled South Africa.

"Very few of us come from rural areas," explains Aaron Mafaje, 34, who runs Chongela.

Before going into exile in 1976, he lived in Orlando and worked as a clerk at an engineering firm in Johannesburg.

"I was never interested in farming," he says. But after his training in farm management — in East Germany and Tanzania — he changed his views.

"We used to believe gold was the only thing. But it's the development of agriculture that made South Africa what it is."

"I had to be taught that it was very important. Now, I don't think I will go back into any township or town."

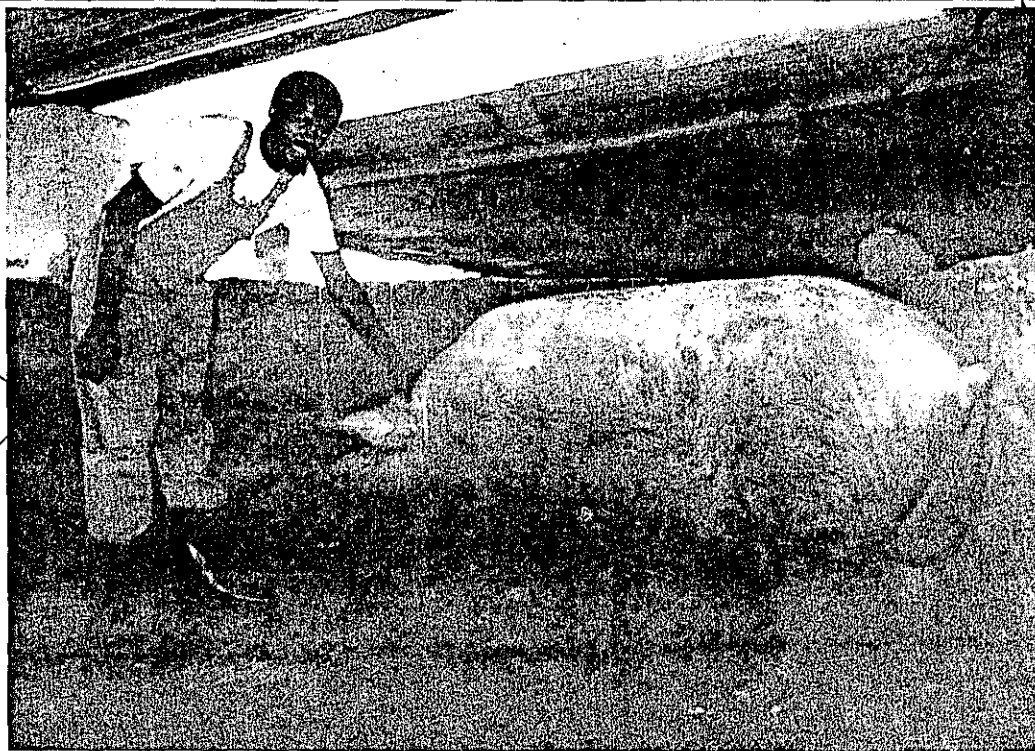
In the midst of widespread poverty and malnutrition, the people at Chongela have succeeded, with donated equipment, in producing crops of maize, sunflowers and soya beans.

There are also sheep and chickens, 1 300 head of cattle and 300 pigs — including the two plumpest white pigs, baptised by the exiles as Botha and Reagan in an irreverent poke at their enemies. Reagan has been honoured with a pen of his own in the middle of the long piggery, in which he snorts and dribbles, shakes his head from side to side and stretches down comfortably into his warm excrement.

Before Christmas last year, Botha was slaughtered to feed 89 exiles in Lusaka over the festive period.

Chongela serves not only to introduce refugees to some new skills — it is also a possible experiment for the future agricultural production in South Africa, once the exile community is able to return home.

After decades of homeland creation and forced removals, the exiles interviewed at Chongela foresee massive land redistribution should they



Aaron Mafaje with Reagan the lucky pig. Lucky because it was his pal Botha who got eaten last Christmas.



The unlikely farmer: Aaron with wife Thoko and baby, surveying their crop. Pictures: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

come to power in South Africa, when they will be able to control crop production from the comfort of Pretoria's Union Buildings.

But whether that land distribution will imply concentrating on small, peasant-based farming or creating large, collectivised state farms, appears to be a matter still under debate.

With most of the farm management trained on farms in Eastern Europe and Tanzania, the preference is not surprisingly towards collective, state-owned farms.

Now, with the farming experience he has gained, says Mafaje, "I don't think I would encourage individual ownership. I think state farms will serve the masses".

Certainly, Chongela is something of a success story in Zambia, where years of drought and economic mismanagement have battered the agricultural sector into a state of apparent

inefficiency. Last month, food riots erupted on Zambia's hard-hit Copperbelt when President Kenneth Kaunda announced a 100% increase in the price of maize meal.

In contrast, Chongela appears to be a model farm for the population it serves: the 800 or so South African exiles living in Lusaka at any one time, who are fed from the farm produce by way of weekly food rations.

In one far corner on the estate, a new slaughterhouse is being built to handle nine cattle a day, and new fields are being planted. There's also fish farming in the dam, where Mafaje has set up a tan-coloured tent so people have protection from the 40-degree heat.

A school has been built on the farm, and local teachers have been hired to educate children under 10 years.

And finally, Chongela is starting to make a profit, according to farm accountant George Naicker, from Durban, who spent 14 years on Robben Island after being convicted in the 1964 Natal sabotage trial.

## A rural rebel is back on the land

LENFORD GANYILE stalks the maizefields, talking with a lucidity and passion about the Pondoland Revolt, the rebellion he led 30 years ago, as if it had all happened last week.

The younger exiles clearly revere 63-year-old Ganyile, commander of one of South Africa's few rural uprisings. Unlike the city youth who have followed him into exile since 1965, the farm is his natural environment. "I have always farmed. I come from the land," he said.

But that land was threatened with the creation of "homelands" during the early 1950s, which led thousands of Pondos in the Transkei to rebel against their chiefs and government officials. Armed forces eventually had to be sent to the region to put down the revolt and impose emergency rule.

"I was working as a *baasboy* in a foundry in Johannesburg at the time," recalls Ganyile. "The African National Congress decided that I should go home and organise the Pondos. I started in 1956, but I did not make much progress. The movement was still very poor, so the Pondos decided to collect their own money. There was a joining fee of R1; they all joined — everybody."

"We pleaded with the government about the land that was being taken away."

"The people were never told about the bantustan policy. They were very cross, and decided to leave the *kgotla* (the court of tribal elders), to organise apart from the chief."

"The chiefs did not want to join us. We decided to burn the chiefs' homes and kill them. We decided to kill the paramount chief."

"The chiefs used to come home after being trained by the government, and started to shoot those people who were not supporting the bantustans. We also killed a lot of people."

"But the revolt failed, and movement people were, deported to remote areas," said Ganyile.

● VIVIENNE WALT is a staff correspondent for Newsday, New York, for whom she was in Lusaka last week on sabbatical assignment



FIN MAIL 16/1/87

CENSORSHIP

### Press fights back

As the *FM* went to press, the Argus Printing & Publishing Company and SA Associated Newspapers (SAAN) were poised to apply for an urgent application to have the latest set of seemingly endless clamps on the media set aside.

The latest restrictions were announced last week in response to the publication of an advertisement on the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress (ANC). The advertisement, placed by the United Democratic Front and other groups calling for the unbanning of the ANC, appeared in, among others, *Business Day* and *The Star* before a Government Gazette was issued prohibiting further publication. In a nutshell, the government order prohibits the publishing of anything which could promote or improve

the public image of an organisation declared unlawful in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The urgent application is being brought in the Johannesburg Supreme Court and is based on the premise that the latest restrictions are beyond the powers of the commissioner of police, Johan Coetzee; that they are vague; and that they are unreasonable.

The application is being supported by affidavits from Tertius Myburgh, editor of the *Sunday Times*, and Rex Gibson, acting editor of *The Star*. The Argus Company is being represented by Webber Wentzel and SAAN by Bell, Dewar and Hall. The respondents are the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, and Coetzee as Commissioner of Police.

#### Some posers

The latest gags pose some interesting questions. For example, if a terrorist organisation were reported to have told its followers not to attack civilian targets, would this reflect the organisation's true intentions or not, and would the publication of such a statement reflect an attempt to improve its image? Again, if the organisation renounced violence and this were published, would the publication of this intent also be construed as an attempt to improve the image of the organisation?

In terms of the new legislation, no publication may commend, defend, explain or justify any action or policy of an organisation which is aimed at the resistance or subversion of the authority of the State. Does that "resistance" again cover the activities of opposition parties in parliament?

Hopefully the latest court action will supply a few answers. The State, however, is expected to seek a delay in the action in order to prepare its case.

The latest action comes within weeks of the stringent controls placed on newspapers publishing "subversive" statements. The term subversive is now more finely defined. It includes the promotion of any boycott action, a stayaway from work, illegal strikes, the support of any structure claiming to be an alternative to local government or the courts, or discrediting military conscription.

ALLAN HENDRICKSE

11A FIN MAIL  
16/1/87

# Moving out to sea?

Labour Party (LP) leader Allan Hendrickse never expected participation in the tricameral parliament to be easy, but he had hoped to escape the sort of confrontation into which he is now being forced.

When Hendrickse (59) took an illegal dip at a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth, he appeared to be signalling a new and tougher approach to the LP's participation in parliament. Inevitably, his defiance in PE set him on a collision course with President P W Botha. But he has been there before, and will no doubt be there again many times in the future.

Many people believe Hendrickse can't win. His party's decision at Eshowe in January 1983 to go into parliament effectively saved Botha's major reform initiative, but cut the LP off from the mainstream of extra-parliamentary opposition groups. Hendrickse was convinced he would be able to achieve more by participating in parliament than by staying out.

But now he is stuck in the middle — between the extra-parliamentary groups who see him as a sellout, and the Nationalists who are unwilling to give him enough "reform" to justify his Eshowe decision, despite having saved their bacon. Many argue that he has

bitten off more than he can chew. He does not have very much to show for his participation in parliament, and his contention that he is in opposition to the Nationalists is widely dismissed. If he is not confused, he should be.

As a Cabinet minister, he is seen as sharing responsibility for all government action. To back this argument, his critics point out that he has never used the facility granted by Botha to coloured and Indian ministers to publicly distance themselves from any Cabinet decisions they cannot go along with.

Hendrickse, however, claims that because he is not a Nat he does not share responsibility for the implementation of Nat policy. He also argues that he has consistently opposed apartheid and other Nat excesses. As parliament prepares to meet for the pre-election session, it's not clear where he stands.

Botha has already slapped him down hard for his defiance on the beach, and for the sake of the election campaign is likely to do so again before polling day. Obviously, Botha cannot be seen by white voters to be under pressure from a coloured minister to scrap apartheid; but equally, Hendrickse's opposition cannot be seen to be ineffectual. If Botha does not listen, Hendrickse will have to act again and more effectively — or lose what credibility he still has both inside and outside parliament.

There is already strong pressure from the small "radical" clique in the LP for Hendrickse to quit the Cabinet and even parliament, but it seems unlikely that he will take either action.

It is argued that if he quits the Cabinet he will be in an even less favourable position to push for the dismantling of apartheid; and if he quits parliament he will have no influence at all, and would risk taking with him only a small minority of his 81 MPs. Most of them appear too comfortable to be prepared to make such a sacrifice.

But some observers regard Hendrickse as

enough of an old fox and a survivor to have a trick or two up his sleeve. Others are not so sure, and believe he can only be trampled deeper into the dust as the Nats push the panic button and scramble for white votes.

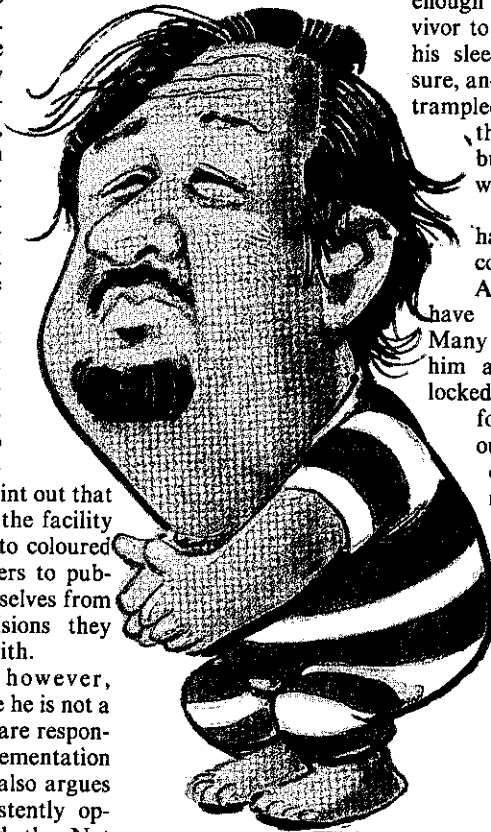
Up to now, Hendrickse has had a reasonable record of survival in South African politics and must have learned a few things. Many Nats still remember him as a radical who was locked up and then restricted for six months after the outbreak of the 1976 riots. At the time he was national chairman of the LP, which was regarded in government circles as confrontationalist and extreme.

Born in Uitenhage, Allan Hendrickse was influenced politically by his teachers at Livingstone High School in Cape Town. He later studied at the SA Native College (now Fort Hare) where his contemporaries included Robert Murgabe, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Joe Njeroge — his room-mate — who later became Kenyan Minister of Internal Affairs.

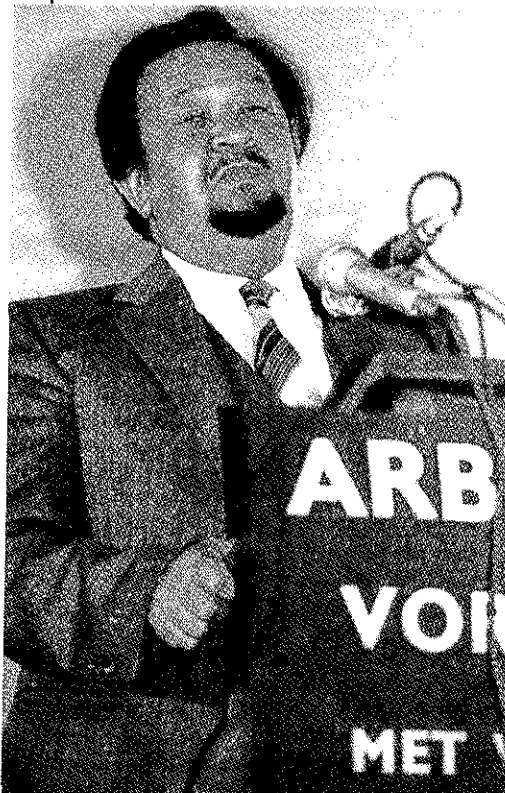
He joined the church after obtaining a BA in social anthropology and a diploma in theology, and taught and preached in Uitenhage for the next 18 years. Hendrickse helped found the LP in 1969, and was elected national chairman. He was elected to the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) in the same year, and quit teaching to become a fulltime politician.

In 1978 he helped form the SA Black Alliance (Saba) which brought together the LP, Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, the Indian Reform Party and later Enos Mabuza's Inyandza movement. The LP was expelled from Saba when it opted to enter parliament.

Also in 1978, Hendrickse defeated David Curry to take over leadership of the LP after Sonny Leon was ousted by party "radicals." At the time, Hendrickse himself was widely regarded as a supporter of organisations such as the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress, Swapo and the Rhodesian guerrilla movements.



*John ...*



Hendrickse ... enigmatic or confused?

# Azapo warns: don't distort Biko facts

JOHANNESBURG — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has warned the maker of the film about Steve Biko, Sir Richard Attenborough, that if he distorted the facts about the Black Consciousness (BC) leader it would "drive the film off the screens," Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza said at a press conference yesterday.

Azapo (a BC organisation) condemned Sir Richard's film about Mr Biko, who died in detention, as a "warped perspective of the BC movement".

In seeking authentication for the film, Sir Richard invited a senior Azapo official, Mr Peter Jones, to assess the script and film "rushes".

Sir Richard assured the organisation the film was about apartheid and former Daily Dispatch editor and acquaintance of Mr Biko, Mr Donald Woods.

In an attempt to be politically accommodat-

ing, the film attributed to Mr Biko statements not in accordance with BC ideology that "he could not have made and never made" nor did it "depict the turbulence of the 70s," Mr Myeza said.

"As custodians of BC ideology, we cannot and will not authenticate this film in any way," Mr Myeza said.

"If Attenborough through his film tries to distort the facts we shall drive the film off the screens with whatever means we have at our disposal.

"But we hope he will stick to his side of the bargain that he is making a film about apartheid."

Mr Myeza conceded the film did have something to say about apartheid, but warned the public it was not a documentary about Mr Biko.

Mr Myeza said the film was based on two books by Mr Woods, Biko and Asking for Trouble, the

latter a tentative title for the film.

Mr Myeza was also sceptical about Mr Woods' "friendship" with Biko.

"Woods and his newspaper were extremely hostile to the BC movement until he was turned by Biko. He interpreted this as friendship and the newspaper became a mouthpiece for the BC movement." — Sapa

## Parks' permit renewed

PRETORIA — The Los Angeles Times correspondent Michael Parks will be allowed to continue working in South Africa temporarily.

The office of Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs and of Communications, said in view of undertakings received during discussions with representatives of the newspaper, Mr Parks' temporary work permit would be renewed for three months. — Sapa

# BIKO FILM UNDER FIRE

16/1/87 Sawefan (11A)

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

THE controversial Biko film shot in Harare last year has come under fire again — this time from the Azanian People's Organisation, the standard bearer of the movement Steve Biko founded.

Yesterday Azapo denounced the film that Sir Richard Attenborough made and said it was full of inaccuracies.

Mr Peter Jones, a close associate of Biko and Azapo member Western Cape was shown a preview of the film when in Britain recently.

He did not like what he saw.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said all Black Consciousness movements have vowed to do all they can, including taking the matter to court, to stop the film from being shown.

Mr Myeza said the film was a "warped perspective" of BC movements.

He said Sir Richard had assured the organisation that the film was about apartheid in South Africa and about former Daily Despatch

editor, Mr Donald Woods, who was an acquaintance of Mr Biko. Sir Richard said the media had created an impression that the film was based on the life of Mr Biko.

In an attempt to be politically accommodating, the film attributed to Biko statements not in accordance with the BC ideology, Mr Myeza said, adding, for instance, Biko never said "the land belongs to all who live in it."

"As custodians of the BC ideology, we cannot and will not authenticate this film in any way," he said.

114 ~~114~~ *Cape Times 16/11/87*  
**Azapo official's  
uncle shot dead**

By ANDREW DONALDSON

THE Azanian People's Organization yesterday accused members of a United Democratic Front affiliate of the murder in Soweto this week of a relative of an Azapo official.

The UDF was also accused of "declaring war" on Azapo — an accusation a UDF spokesman described as "unfounded and untrue".

The man killed on Wednesday was Mr Washington Linda Wauchope, 44, the uncle of the Azapo general secretary, Mr George Wauchope. His death is the latest incident in the feud between supporters of the black consciousness Azapo and of the Freedom Charter-inclined UDF.

Mr Wauchope died after being cornered by a group of men who shot him in the head and body. His nephew, Mr Kenneth "Lucky" Dlamini, 23, was wounded in the face.

"The people responsible for these things are members of the Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco, a UDF affiliate)," Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, told a press conference.

He said the latest incident was "indicative of declaring war on Azapo".

"We've said to the UDF and its affiliates that they must make a definite commitment to the cessation of this hostility. They've been wishy-washy about it," Mr Myeza said.

The president of the Transvaal Indian Congress and a patron to the UDF, Dr Essop Jassat, told the Cape Times from Johannesburg there was "nothing wishy-washy" about the UDF's commitment to non-violence.

"This internecine fighting has produced many accusations of violence against organizations on both sides but no evidence," Dr Jassat said.

He would not comment on the latest incident.

Sosco spokesmen could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

The acting national secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, could not be reached for comment.

*CAP Times 16/1/87*  
**UK, US 'making a mistake'** *1/2*

NEW DELHI — Dr Allan Boesak said yesterday that Britain and the United States were making a major mistake by supporting South Africa's government.

"The struggle will be fiercer and much more blood will flow... The South African government's time is up," Dr Boesak, a leader of the United Democratic Front (UDF), told a press conference.

"The Western governments, especially Britain and the United States, are making a fundamental mistake in supporting the Botha regime," he said.

Dr Boesak, who is attending an international seminar on apartheid, said the Indian Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, had assured him of full support for the UDF.

Dr Boesak said the UDF would have to change its strategy to cope with repression unleashed by the Botha government. He did not elaborate. — Sapa-Reuter

**Held UWC lecturer in court**

*CAP Times 16/1/87*  
Court Reporter

A LECTURER at the University of the Western Cape, Dr Jack Lewis, appeared in the Magistrate's Court yesterday after eight days in detention.

Dr Lewis, 31, of Long Street, Cape Town, lectures in Economic History. He was held last Wednesday.

He was not formally charged and was not asked to plead.

However, the charge sheet indicates he may be charged in connection with possessing literature of a banned organization.

Dr Lewis was released on R100 bail and the case was postponed to February 2 for the Attorney-General's decision.

Mr M J C Tolken was the magistrate. Mr C Gavin prosecuted. Mr R Vassen represented Dr Lewis.

which years

# Blacks attracted more by socialism study

By Winnie Graham

An in-depth study into the changing attitudes of black South Africans toward the United States has revealed the growth of anti-capitalist sentiment and a growing interest in socialism among blacks.

The study was conducted by Mr David Hirschmann while a fellow at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. His findings were released today.

Mr Hirschmann set out to determine what lessons South African blacks had learned from 25 years of domestic and foreign policy experience of independent Africa, what their attitudes were towards America and how the current prolonged period of crisis was affecting these attitudes.

He found everyone "seemed agreed" that the elimination of white rule would end the difficulties being experienced.

One person claimed South Africa was "tied to the apron strings of America and the United States was pulling strings, to destabilise the sub-continent."

The extent of anger towards the President of the United States, Mr Ronald Reagan, he reports, was "broad and deep".

## ANTI-CAPITALIST

The antagonism, however, had not been translated into a pro-Soviet foreign policy posture.

Mr Hirschmann records that the anti-capitalist sentiment, and the interest in socialism, did not seem to have much to do with the ANC or the makeup of the ANC executive.

"It seemed to be based on internal experiences and internal assessments, and also on the close links between the South African Government and capitalist countries," he writes.

The control of the media by the South African Government, he adds, has affected the way black South Africans looked at the world.

In most instances it had the opposite effect of that intended.

Educated black South Africans, he reports, distrust the media intensely.

Mr Hirschmann reports black South Africans had little romanticism about the African experience.

He quotes one black businessman as saying: "The African experience is pathetic. We don't want this to happen to South Africa."

Cape Times 17/1/82  
11A

# ANC must be involved — Nat MP

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

A NATIONAL PARTY MP has publicly stated that a lasting solution for peace in South Africa cannot be found without involving the banned African National Congress (ANC).

He is Mr Albert Nothnagel, MP for Innesdal, near Pretoria, who has been renominated by the constituency for the coming election, who wrote this in a Cape-based magazine, Inside South Africa.

In the article, he said "most Nationalists" believed as "myths, totally inconsistent with a peaceful future" the viewpoint that "a lasting solution for black participation could be attained without also having involved the ANC in the process" and a lasting solution was possible without the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Former Nationalist prime ministers Dr D F Malan and Dr Hendrik Verwoerd had committed "one of the most serious political blunders" by refusing to meet the ANC.

## Liberation struggle

He also said: "We will win the coming election if we are to say openly that blacks are to be included in Parliament."

His views are bound to cause a political storm, particularly in view of the government's recent restrictions on reports on the ANC and banned political organizations.

Mr Nothnagel said that sooner or later the ANC would realize that people could not be liberated by destroying their country and that they could not build a future by avenging the past.

"Most Nationalists, like myself, can fully identify with the so-called 'total liberation struggle' of the blacks."

Mr Nothnagel, a prominent member of the reformist wing of the party, wrote: "We used to fight elections on the theme that the sharing of power with blacks in the same political structures would be suicide. Now we are saying to the very same constituents: 'If you don't share power with blacks we've had it!'"

## TOP OF THE TIMES

SATURDAY, January 24 sees the launch of the **TOP OF THE TIMES** — the new weekend section of the Cape Times. It's the upmarket, highly readable, weekly look at what's happening in the Peninsula and around the world and the accent is on 'The Good Life'. **TOP OF THE TIMES** will:

- Mean a sizeable increase in the number of pages in your Saturday morning newspaper with no increase in the price.

- Carry the current weekend business and finance news as well as new sections covering family finance, motoring and top property news.

- Feature the familiar favourites — Gertrude Cooper's People Page and Focus on Entertainment, racing — and include the latest in fashion, leisure, travel and restaurant choices.

- Carry intelligent, readable features on the week's most important topics both here and overseas.

**TOP OF THE TIMES** is the best news of the year. Look for it in next Saturday's Cape Times.

Cape Times 17/1/82

## Natal pact likely as Raw retires as MP

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The former Progressive Federal Party leader and Member of Parliament for Point, Mr Vause Raw, last night announced that he would not stand in the coming election.

Although Mr Raw, 65, cited personal reasons for his decision to retire after 31 years in Parliament, the move came as a shock.

The Progressive Federal Party has said it would not have been prepared to help Mr Raw retain his seat.

The way now seems clear for the parties to agree on the allocation of seats. It is believed that PFP Natal leader Mr Ray Swart and his NRP counterpart Mr Derrick Watterson will hold talks on Monday.

Mr Raw said he remained an NRP member and would not join any other party.

"I cannot be even remotely associated with the attitudes which are tolerated within the PFP towards our national security, defence and apologies for terrorism and the ANC (African National Congress)," Mr Raw said.



Mr Vause Raw

## Man dies after stabbing in Parow

Staff Reporter

A MAN died in a Parow garden last night after he was stabbed in an attack by three men.

A witness, Mr Brian Heaney, said he had seen a man walking down Tallent Street about 8pm. Three men approached and, after an argument, attacked him.

The man ran and collapsed several houses away.

When found, he was dead and "ice-cold", according to a witness.

The victim had been stabbed in the neck.





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# 4 gunmen kill policeman's father

Staff Reporter

THE father of a Soweto policeman was shot and killed by four men on Thursday night, apparently after the attackers failed to find his son at home, the Bureau for Information said yesterday.

The bureau said a group of "four radical blacks" went in search of the policeman at his house late on Thursday.

"Upon not finding him at home they opened fire with an automatic rifle, killing the father," the unrest report said.

The police has been the target of four other attacks this year, according to official reports.

Three policemen have been killed and eight injured in the attacks.

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STAR 17/11/87

# SA's longest treason trial to resume this week

By Glenda Spiro

11A

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South Africa's longest running treason trial resumes next week in the small Eastern Transvaal town of Delmas with the defence beginning its case after a small triumph on the last court day in November.

Until then, 22 men had filled the two rows of wooden benches in the dock facing charges of high treason, terrorism and sabotage. After two unsuccessful bail attempts, three of the men were found guilty and bail was granted to another six of the accused. The remainder spent their third Christmases in jail.

The charges relate to unrest in the Vaal Triangle townships which broke out in September 1984. The accused have all pleaded guilty to the charges.

The State has alleged the accused took part in a conspiracy to make townships ungovernable and to eventually overthrow the

Government.

The defence has argued that the unrest resulted from the Lekoa Town Council's decision to increase rents at a time when the community was experiencing severe economic difficulties because of unemployment.

After 17 months the State's case was complete and this year the defence team, led by Mr George Bizos, will endeavour to answer the allegations contained in the 300-page indictment.

Every day Mr Justice van Dijkhorst has travelled from his Pretoria home to the court in Delmas to preside with his two assessors.

Before the case closed last year, the trialists had been in detention for more than two years, some in solitary confinement for several months. Their "home" since the case began in June 1985 has been the Modder Bee prison in Benoni.

The State has traditionally avoided holding big treason trials in

the major centres and before the trial started the Delmas court was new and relatively unused.

The courtroom has been a major attraction for visiting delegates from several countries who were usually in South Africa on fact-finding missions. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mrs Helen Joseph and Dr Beyers Naude were regular visitors.

One of the highlights of the trial last year was the wedding in court of one of the accused. Mr Lazarus More, one of the men acquitted in November, married his childhood sweetheart, Miss Golda Maphisa.

Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst has often brought cake for the trialists to celebrate a birthday or anniversary.

Among the accused are prominent UDF leaders, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Mr Moss Chikane. Many of the accused belong to organisations affiliated to the UDF.

# U.S. asks ANC to 'cool its image'

THE US State Department has launched a major effort to persuade the African National Congress to moderate its image and begin negotiating a suspension of violence.

And, claim top sources, they have had some success in forcing the banned organisation to spell out more clearly its vision of a future South Africa.

Addresses during the 75th anniversary celebrations in Lusaka last week stated for the first time where the organisation stood with regard to civil liberties and the political process.

The organisation claims to guarantee freedoms of speech, assembly, association, language, religion, the Press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest

Sunday Times Reporter

and detention.

It also insists that all should be free to join any political party of their choice — although the ANC would not tolerate the organised propagation of ideas of racism or ethnicity.

Also during the conference commitments were made to avoid civilian casualties in military operations by ANC guerrillas.

## Pressure

The commitments, it is understood, were part of the quid pro quo brokered by the State Department before setting up the high-profile meeting between US Secretary of State George Shultz and ANC leader Oliver Tambo later this month.

Both Shultz and Tambo are

under pressure. The Reagan administration is under attack from rightwing Republicans who remain unmollified by the ANC's recent conciliatory statements.

They point out that the spirit the organisation hoped to convey at the Lusaka celebrations was, within days, contradicted by stridently militant statements by other ANC spokesmen. The OK bomb blast in Johannesburg has reinforced their suspicions of the ANC.

But, it is reported, Mr Tambo has been opposed by more militant — and particularly communist — members of his organisation who see no reason to placate the United States.

● South Africa's most vocal opponents in Britain are once again in the midst of a row as a result of internal faction fighting — and the ANC has thrown

its weight behind one of the factions.

Serious differences between the movement's leadership and one dissident branch, the City of London group (City AA), reached a heated pitch during last week's annual general meeting, which was interrupted by demonstrations and scuffles.

## 'Noisy'

The City AA is described as "ruthlessly well-organised and exceptionally noisy". It draws most of its members from the radical Revolutionary Communist Party in Britain.

Its differences with the Movement stem mainly from their tactics in opposing South African-affiliated organisations based in London with noisy pickets, often degenerating into violent scenes.

After last week's meeting —

attended by Glenys Kinnock wife of Labour leader Neil Kinnock — the City of London group complained bitterly about the treatment.

A spokesman condemned the "racist, sectarian and undemocratic behaviour of the AAM leadership and stewards".

A spokesman for the AAM rejected the allegations as "total, untrue".

"City AA deliberately tried to provoke people by distributing literature at the meeting. This is a breach of the terms of our constitution. This led to a lot of confusion, and hard words were exchanged."

The ANC, which attended the meeting, placed itself solidly behind the present AAM leadership. It condemned the City AA for disrupting the unity of the movement.

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# Azapo claims killers known

18/11/87  
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By DERRICK LUTHAYI

AZAPO claimed yesterday to know the identities of the people who shot and killed Linda Washington Wauchope - the organisation's national secretary, George Wauchope's uncle.

At a Press conference, Azapo said three of the six assailants had been involved in ongoing conflict with the Wauchope family.

Linda Wauchope, 44, was gunned down in Soweto on Thursday.

His nephew, Kennedy Dlamini was rushed to Baragwanath Hospital in a critical condition after a bullet lodged in his face.

According to Azapo, the two were shot near the Ibhongo School, Dlamini by people known to them.

At the conference Azapo said it welcomed the positive steps taken by students to return to school.

But the organisation added that last Friday, three of their members, Thami Mcerwa, Muzi Kodile and Boya Manana were shot at near Ibhongo.

And on Tuesday, Azapo member Ndaba Zitha was chased out of school and shot at while another affiliate to the organisation, Nhlanhla Hlambo, was critical in hospital after being stabbed on Wednesday.

Azapo's deputy president Lybon Mabasa said the violent confrontation was the work of members of a rival group - "who do not have the welfare of people at heart and, for their own advancement, want the school boycott to continue."

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AS THE banned African National Congress celebrated 75 years of struggle in Lusaka, Zambia, last week, its leaders praised the host country as a shining example of the liberation of the African continent.

And as the political rhetoric and the pomp and ceremony continued, conditions in "liberated" Zambia cried out for comparison with its hated and much-needed neighbour to the south — South Africa.

For while there are many stark disparities — both good and bad — between the two countries, there are many similarities, too.

In one area alone, Zambia has risen to a level far above South Africa. Race relations in this impoverished country could serve as a model to the entire continent.

### Friendly

Ordinary Zambians, warm and friendly people with few chips on their shoulders, show no animosity toward South Africans, even if they are white, and despite the Zambian media's continuous propaganda against the "racists" in South Africa.

People of every description and colour mingle freely and effortlessly in bars, restaurants and hotels.

But that is where the positive face of Zambia ends. As President Kenneth Kaunda and his aides arrived in expensive cars amid extreme security measures at the Mungushi Hall to address the ANC's 75th anniversary gathering, the hardships of daily life continued outside in the streets.

While their president was busy emotionally discharging his "elder statesman's" advice to almost the entire world and lashing out at South Africa in no uncertain terms, ordinary Zambians were hesitant, sometimes visibly afraid to discuss politics and political unrest in their own country.

The Zambian media — two major daily newspapers and the television and radio services — present news in a way that makes the South African Press appear totally free by comparison.

While there are no dissenting voices, the ruling and



MAC MAHARU  
Monitors white politics in South Africa for the ANC

only legal political party, UNIP, is always presented in a favourable light. Its decisions and actions, and those of its leader, are never questioned or criticised.

Television news broadcasts are devoted almost entirely to interviews with President Kaunda, airing his views on anything from birth control to solar heating and praiseworthy Soviet efforts at nuclear disarmament.

In common with their colleagues at the SABC, Zambian television journalists seem unaware of serious political unrest in their own country, or possibly they are served by their own Bureau for Information.

### Corruption

While Kaunda and the ANC celebrate in lavish style, ordinary Zambians bend under harsh economic conditions.

Labourers earn in the region of R25 a month; security personnel around R60, while collar workers start at around R100 per month.

There are no luxuries and even basic commodities are scarce. Most products are imported from South Africa. Medical facilities are poor and private doctors' surgeries lining the road going north out of Lusaka look like filthy bazaars.

Drinking water is consumed only at the risk of falling ill. Health problems are

# PEOPLE ARE AFRAID TO SPEAK IN KAUNDA'S GRIM 'PARADE'

rampant, including a devastating spread of AIDS.

Lacking proper public transport facilities, taxis are in abundance. But travellers risk their lives in cars that fall apart from a lack of spares, and taxi owners are forced to crack their own windscreens to prevent them being stolen.

Crime and corruption are at a premium and police seem interested in little else than catching drug smugglers and South African "spies".

While Houghton homes in South Africa have their customary guard dogs and radio-controlled gates, the

homes of the more affluent in Lusaka have private security guards, high cement bottles topped with broken bottles and floodlights that burn all night.

But while ordinary "liberated" Zambians live under these conditions, President Kaunda, speaking at Mungushi Hall, calls for increased sanctions against South Africa.

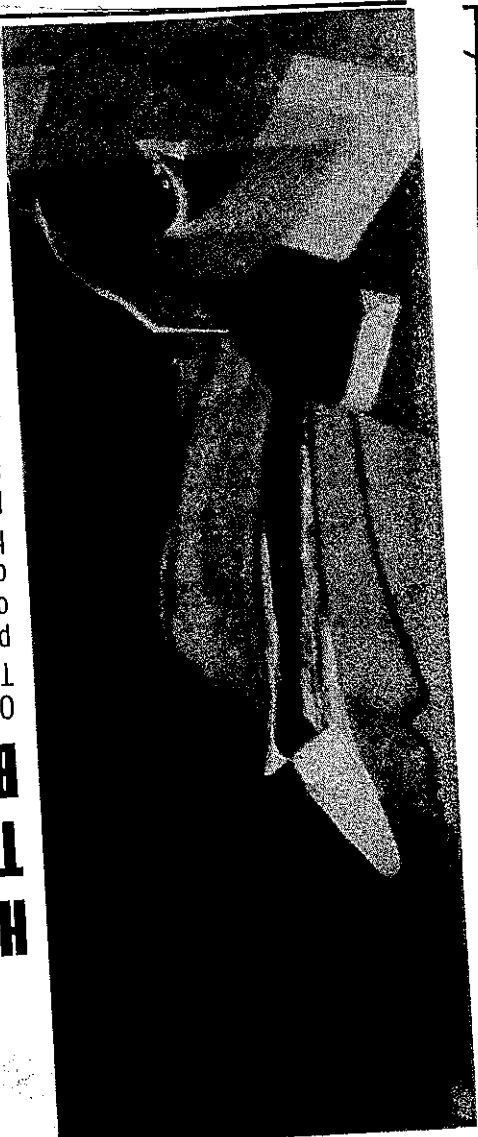
There could be sound political reasons why he would wish to destroy the material abundance in South Africa, but no reason can be found as to why Kaunda would want to destroy the little he has left in his own country.

Five days in Zambia proved beyond doubt that South Africa would have no need for guns and bombs in retaliation — Pretoria would merely have to cut off the flow of essential goods and Zambia would die overnight.

But Zambia also has much in common with South Africa. Journalists arriving to cover the ANC celebrations were immediately briefed not to travel outside Lusaka or to file any reports on Zambia. Roadblocks ring-

ing the city make this impossible anyhow." Widespread political unrest in Zambia, especially on the Copperbelt to the north after Kaunda increased the price of maize to meet demands by Zambia's creditors. Local newspapers do not report on the situation, and foreign journalists are not allowed to see for themselves. Heavily-armed soldiers are evident everywhere.

A burning Soweto or rioting Nyanout there bush, cut Many s were closing. Ra advise sl can return But the crisis con In fact th dissident are filling they say, tion in It Zambia. And the Taxi driv fear mas another €



Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, delivering his major policy speech during the ANC's 75th anniversary celebrations in Lusaka last week

HE'S THE BOSS

# BRANS TRUST

## OF TERROR

The man behind Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. Seated on the right is Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto; next to him is his deputy and Umkhonto Chief of Staff Joe Slovo; and behind them is Umkhonto political commissar Chris Hanl. These are the men who will control the ANC's promised escalation of violence in South Africa this year. Slovo is also the ANC's chief military strategist; chairman of the South African Communist Party and, so it is said, a member of the Soviet KGB



increase is announced. As it is, there is much dissatisfaction over the continuing fuel shortages.

In one hotel a Somalian truck driver last week drunkenly voiced his annoyance at being stranded without fuel in Lusaka for several days. And the paranoia resulting from the political unrest was comically demonstrated as Kaunda spoke about South African sanctions in Mulungushi Hall.

### Outcry

Three distant explosions caused his aides to suffer several minutes of extremely visible anxiety... were these South African raiders or local political dissidents? It was anybody's guess.

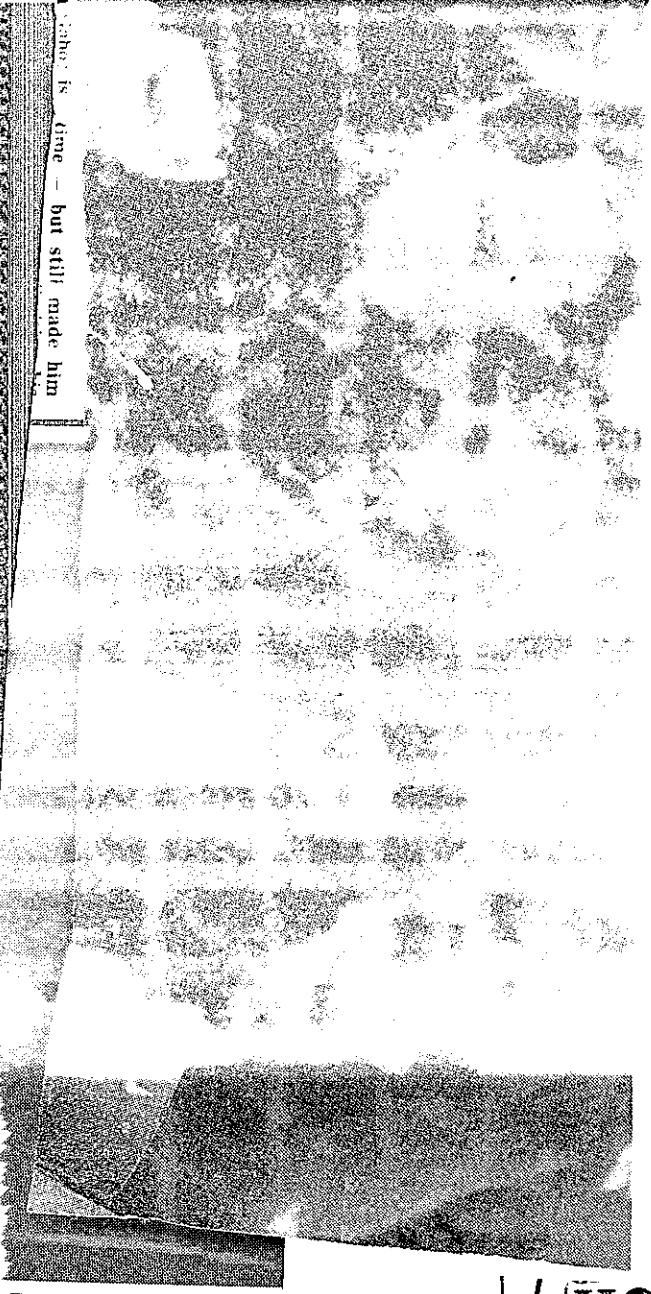
No answers were forthcoming.

Strangely, nobody objected to this state of affairs. Yet, that same evening, as Zambian television announced the expulsion from South Africa of a foreign correspondent, there was something of an outcry about this action from foreign correspondents who had travelled there from Johannesburg.

# IONS. MOVE TO MIDDNE



...PRESS Zsa Zsa ... time - but still made him



... will be told when

By SE'U MNGADI  
DURBAN lawyer Kwenda Mlaba, for the family of Shadrack Maphumulo - one of those killed when abducted during the recent security forces raid into Swaziland - claims his client was undeservedly given a pauper's funeral.

# No 'brothers' took Maphumulo's body

Mlaba, who for two weeks tried to get the SA authorities to return Maphumulo's body to Swaziland, said they were shocked to learn that while he, Advocate Louis Skweyiya and Maphumulo family members waited to identify his body at the Greytown police station, he was being buried elsewhere.

Mlaba said they had arranged with a Warrant Officer Himraj of Greytown and a Lieutenant-Colonel Engelbrecht of Brixton to accompany the family to Greytown police station, where Maphumulo was to be identified and released for burial. But when they came there, Himraj and Engelbrecht were not there. They waited till 5pm.

The next day they heard Maphumulo was buried at his traditional home Nsuzi in KwaMaphumulo by security forces, a chief and two so-called "brothers". Maphumulo's mother said the police and Chief Nganyane Ngcobo tried to persuade her to attend the "pauper's burial". But she refused, saying her family had gone to identify him.

Now the chief allegedly wants to fine the family a cow for "absconding" from the burial. In reply to Mlaba's telex notifying the police commissioner of the family's intention to file an urgent Supreme Court application if they were not allowed to

identify the body, a Lieutenant-General Schutte said it was identified by Maphumulo's "brothers", "Makakani Maphumulo and Zwenkosi Maphumulo" and handed to them by Engelbrecht. But the family says the two are not related to them. This week lawyers prepared an urgent application to have the body exhumed.

# Shot guerilla was a Sowetan



Edward Mokutu

By SELLO SERIPE  
ONE of the four alleged ANC men shot dead last month on a Messina farm during a security force operation has been identified as a Soweto resident. The man was Edward Sechaba Mokutu, 24, of 1041 Mapetla, who skipped the country in 1980.

According to his mother, Augustinah Mokutu, 44, a security policeman told her that her son was among the four ANC members shot dead on December 26 when they tried to evade arrest. According to a police spokesman, he could not comment as it was a private matter between the

police and the family. A fifth man was reportedly arrested earlier this month after security forces launched an intensive manhunt. He allegedly killed two Messina policemen - W/O Theuns Gerber, 44, and Sgt Goggie Nel, 43, who were escorting him in a van.

Mokutu's aunt, Rebecca Mahakoe, 30, said this week that shortly after Christmas two black policemen called on the Mokutu family and enquired about Edward's whereabouts. "His mother was at work and I told them that he had disappeared in 1980.

One of the policemen instructed me to inform his mother to report at Protea Police Station.

"On New Year's Day I went to the police station, because Edward's mother was working, but failed to find any one at the security branch," said Mahakoe.

She added that on Monday three black policemen in private clothes again called on the Mokutu family to inform them that Edward was dead.

They were told to fetch his body at Louis Trichardt.

Mokutu, whose son was a Sid 7 pupil at Mapetla's Seana-Marena High when he skipped the country, yesterday left for Louis Trichardt to fetch her son's body.

(11A)

# ... FROM THE HEART OF ANC COUNTRY IN THE BUSH, IT'S PLOUGHSHARES

TWO thriving farms in the Zambian bush near Lusaka, run by post-1976 expatriates and former Robben Island prisoners in a way that would please any Voortrekker descendant, are feeding the 1 000-strong exiled community of the ANC in Zambia.

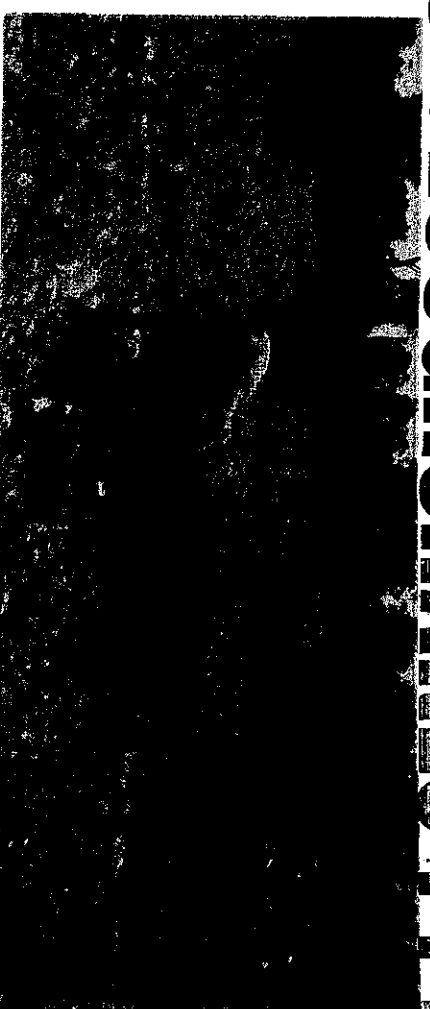
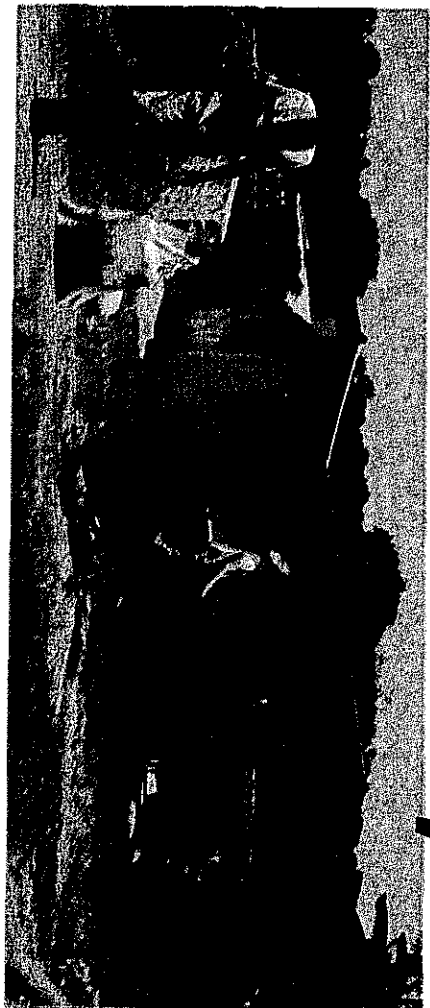
For many South Africans the ANC has become a symbol of terrorism and revolutionary politics.

Few know the other side of this banned organisation, as exemplified by these farms.

## Glimpse

This other side revolves around a huge organisation which has developed a starting network of international diplomatic contacts, training men and women to administer a "liberated South Africa", to take part in the economy, agriculture and other facets of life in SA.

The ANC's economic policy on nationalisation of industry and the collectivisation of farms under state control has tre-



The ANC's Lusaka farm manager, Aaron Mafale, with his pigsties in the background

A healthy herd of cattle on the ANC farm, among them, ironically, several Afrikaners

quently caused South Africans to accuse it of having communist designs. A look at the two farms offers some glimpse into the way a future ANC government would like to run things.

The first of the farms, Tshogela Estate, some

1 385ha in size on which tobacco was previously produced, was given to the ANC by the Norwegian development aid agency NORAD in 1978.

The second farm, Alpha Farm, 1 570ha which adjoins Tshogela, was donated by the

Swedish SEDDA agency in 1986.

Both are situated on the Tazara railway line about 40km north of Lusaka and share good-neighbour relations with a farm belonging to South Africa's Anglo American Corporation.

On the surface, the farms appear to be thriving as models of ANC collectivisation methods.

Carrying maize, soya beans, sunflower and vegetables, and boasting vast herds of Afrikaner cattle

and other breeds — numbering 1 800 — as well as 1 500 chickens, 300 pigs and some sheep and goats, the farms appear to be well-managed and successful.

And yet, despite some efforts by ANC spokesmen to indicate a profit, the Swedish

and Norwegian donors continue to subsidise them.

All produce is used by the large ANC community in Lusaka, while surplus produce is sometimes sold locally.

But the biggest problem facing the ANC is the unwillingness of its own people to work on the farms.

While eight ANC members are permanently stationed on the farms, spokesmen say there are never more than 30 ANC members active there at any one time.



CONT... 3



□  
George Naicker, released in 1978 after spending 14 years on Robben Island, now looks after the financial affairs of two ANC farms outside Lusaka  
□



## Man dies in feud

By SAMKELO KUMALO  
THE feud between Azapo and UDF affiliates came to a head this week with an attack on an Azapo official's relatives that left one man dead and another injured.

Mr Washington Linda Wauchope, 44, uncle of Mr George Wauchope, Azapo general secretary, was chased by a gang of youths near Ibongo senior secondary school in Dlamini, Soweto, near the family home.

The young men, identified by Azapo officials as Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco) members, shot Mr Washington in the head and body. The Azapo general-secretary's nephew, Mr Kennedy Dlamini, 23, was injured in the attack.

### Denial

Mr Dlamini was cornered by the gang and shot, but he managed to run home and was taken to Baragwanath Hospital where he is recovering.

Azapo officials blame UDF affiliates for the attacks — but the UDF has denied responsibility.

The shootings occurred

## between Azapo, UDF

just four days after Mr George Wauchope's mother, Mrs Ethel Wauchope, was buried.

Her Soweto home was extensively damaged during a petrol bomb attack in November.

Mr Wauchope's home had been the target of attacks on several occasions, and last December he was granted an interdict in the Rand Supreme Court against four Sosco members he claimed were trying to kill him.

Azapo officials reacted immediately by blaming the violence on the UDF.

"We know the names and identified six of those who gunned down Mr Wauchope and Mr Dlamini. We know they are members of Sosco," an Azapo spokesman said.

It is now feared that the feuds between the two organisations will spread into schools.

## Embarrassment

Most of the work is done by 80 Zambian labourers living in unserviced hovels who are paid the Zambian minimum daily wage of 84 cents, or less than R25 a month.

This must cause some embarrassment to the ANC which propagates a socialist reform of South African agriculture and often attacks the so-called exploitation of farm labourers by white South African farmers.

Spokesmen for the ANC, who say no members normally receive any pay, claim youths from South Africa are unwilling to work on the farms despite financial incentives.

Instead, they say, the youths are eager to undergo military training, placing guns before food, as is often the accusation against Africa.

But this situation should be seen against the fact that the ANC draws most of its support from urban blacks, many of whom have never had any agricultural ties.

### Efficient

Surprisingly, both farms are managed — and very efficiently — by a young Sowetan who left South Africa after the 1976 unrest and who had never previously set foot on a farm.

After leaving the country, Aaron Mafaje was sent for agricultural training in East Germany and Tanzania.

Today, dressed like any farmer in overalls and boots, he proudly shows off "his" farms.

Only now, he says, he realises that South Africa's strong economy is not only based on gold production, but largely on its agricultural development.

And helping him on the farms as his deputy and right hand man is another "city kid" turned fi

Sadan Naidoo, who comes from Natal.

"We produce between 850 and 1 000 eggs a day here for our people," says Naidoo, who studied agriculture in Tanzania.

The pigsties managed by Naidoo are spotlessly clean, the pigs healthy and fat — among them the sole survivor of two huge boars named after two Western leaders clearly counted as public enemies by the ANC.

The other hapless 'political pig' was slaughtered for Christmas to feed 95 people.

Naidoo and Mafaje are assisted by George Naicker, a former Robben Island prisoner, who takes care of financial matters.

Seven tractors, of which three are not working due to a lack of spare parts, are used on the farms.

On Tshogela Estate a big abattoir is being built, and boreholes and a large dam provide ample water.

The ANC members stationed on the farms live in two communal homes, sharing all facilities and domestic duties.

There are no luxuries. An empty, cracked swimming pool next to the Alpha homestead is testimony to this.

ANC spokesmen strongly deny that the

farms are being used for any military purpose and point out that there are not even any defence capabilities.

There certainly were no signs of such activity.

Mafaje and his assistants spend much time training other ANC members in agricultural skills.

Mafaje believes state-run farms in a future South Africa will serve the interests of what he calls "the suffering masses" and that individual farm ownership will not be encouraged.

### Difficulties

While Mafaje's farming methods are efficient and sound, he has experienced difficulties with the economics of farming and an unwillingness by black South Africans to settle down to such a lifestyle. He still relies on foreign aid to make it all possible.

How he hopes to solve these problems in a future South Africa under such a socialist system he does not say.

In the meantime, asked where he would like to farm in South Africa, Mafaje grins

But 1 000 exiles from SA seek guns, not butter

# It's back to

# COURT FOR

# Delmas 19

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE



Flashback to joy: Mokhepi Lassie More, Simon Vilakazi and Makhamba Malindi on the day they were released from the Delmas treason trial.

THE Delmas treason trial starts again next Wednesday - and the defence will again press for more bail applications.

Thirteen of the original 22 trialists remained in detention last year when the marathon trial went into recess.

They had by then been in detention for 28 months. Last year three of the original 22 trialists - Mokhepi Lassie More, Simon Vilakazi and Makhamba Malindi - were acquitted, six given bail and the remaining 13 refused bail.

Patrick Baleka, 26, Morake Petrus Mokoena, 48, David Tsietisi Mphuti, 47, Tebello Ephraim Ramane, 35, Serame Jacob Hlangane, 38, and Thabiso Andrew Ramiso, 27, were

conditionally released on R15 000 bail each.

They will now travel to the eastern Transvaal on Wednesday to rejoin the 13 left in detention for another run of the Delmas trial.

Though most are from the Vaal Triangle, they may not enter any township there without written permission.

Other bail conditions bar them from attending or arranging any meetings. They must report twice daily at the nearest police station and surrender their passports or travel documents.

The 13 who were refused bail and forced to spend their third Christmas behind bars are:

● Sharpeville Azanian People's Organisation chairman Oupa John Hlomoka, 33. He was an insurance con-

sultant and salesman before his arrest in September 1984. Hlomoka is married with two kids, aged 6 and 3.

● Senior Anglican priest Tebogo Geoffrey Moselane, 40, who ran the Sharpeville parish since 1980. He is married with three sons, aged four to 12.

He has been in jail since October 21, 1984.

● Evaton Baptist Church Youth Committee leader Gcinnuzi Petrus Malindi, 25, who is a clerk. His brother Amos was acquitted in the same trial last year.

● Vereeniging furniture store stock controller Naph-tai Mbuti Nkopane, 41, the sole breadwinner in his Sebokeng family.

He supports his wife, three kids aged between 13

to 17 and other relatives. He has been a Vaal Civic Association member since its formation in 1983.

He has been in jail since October 1984.

● Bavunnie Herbert Vilakazi, 30, of Sebokeng who supports his wife, son and mother.

Before his detention in 1984, he was an Urban Training Project area educator in the Vaal.

● Sekwai John Mokoena, 48, of Botjapong, who is divorced and supports his kids and mother. He was Botjapong Civic Association secretary when he was detained in November 1984.

He complains he is suffering headaches and stomach cramps.

● Simon Tsako Nkoti, 27, of Sebokeng, who helped support his unemployed brother and two half-sisters. He was SA Institute of Race Relations education project coordinator until his detention on September 23, 1984.

While in jail, he has been twice hospitalised and treated for clinical depression.

● Pelamotse Jerry Thlopane, 27, of Sebokeng who supported his mother and two sisters as a part-time sales agent for a picture framer.

His matric studies with Danelin College were interrupted by his detention in October 1984.

● Thomas Madikwe Mantlata, 46, of Soweto, a fieldworker for the SA Council of Churches in the Justice and Social Division and Soweto Civic Associ-

ation secretary. He is married with three kids aged from two to 9.

Mantlata suffers from glaucoma, a build-up of pressure in the eyeballs. Since his detention in February 1985, he has developed a skin ailment.

● Sebokeng Civic Association official Hlabeng Sam Matlale, 61, who was a dry-cleaner's agent before his detention in 1985.

He's the sole supporter of his wife and five kids aged between four and 15.

● United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe, 34. Molefe, who is married with three kids, was detained in April 1985. His youngest child was born shortly afterwards.

● UDF national publicity secretary Patrick Terror Le-

IF ever there is an a for the most topical in Africa. Nigerian artist Fela Anikulapo would win it hands down.

First, he stunned countrymen by marrying 27 wives in a single day. He became the first African musician to flourish in Lagos.

# Fela

Then he accused the Nigerian government of corruption - and was charged and sentenced to years, spending 18 months in Lagos' Kiri-kiri prison.

But last April 24 he was released - after the leading role in the trial and development of the UDF. He has two months ago, during his come-back tour of April 1985 his wife and his five in Du

His wife rope, Kuti and his name "Te Egypt 80, were thrown from Lekk of a bus - accused of setting dagga in public.

And during a press interview in Ikeja, Kuti told stunned news workers as:

Community Information hannesbury community officials.

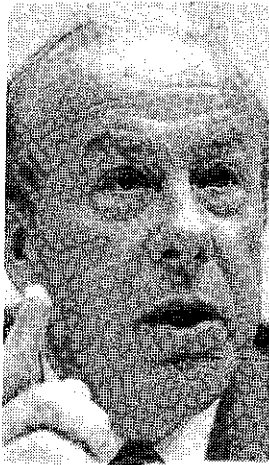
CHIKAN IRES 28-3040 ALL WELCOME

August 1985 THAT WAS THEN THIS IS NOW

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# Young hopes for US, ANC agreement



HARARE. — A former US ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Andrew Young, said here yesterday that he hoped the meeting between the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and ANC president Mr Olivier Tambo would reach agreement on a plan for negotiations between the ANC and Pretoria to begin this year.

Mr George Shultz

Mr Young said Mr Shultz was very sensitive about the situation in South Africa.

"If Mr Shultz can secure the release of the jailed ANC (African National Congress) leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC will be willing to talk with Pretoria."

## 'End violence in SA'

Mr Young was replying to a question at a meet-the-people gathering after a township church service in remembrance of the birth of the late civil-rights campaigner Dr Martin Luther King, Jr.

The top-level meeting between Mr Tambo and Mr Shultz is expected to take place in Washington at the end of the month. This is the first forum the United States has given to the ANC to begin dialogue to suspend the spread of violence in South Africa.



Mr Oliver Tambo

Mr Young told the gathering: "I am here to celebrate Dr King's birthday not only to let you know about his life but to see if we cannot use his teachings to end the violence in South Africa. In some way it was his teachings that brought about independence in Zimbabwe," he said. — Sapa

# ANC and Communism in the post-Sharpeville era

CAT 7-73 19/1/87 112

THE influence of SACP members was decisive at another turning point in ANC history, during the period of banning and incipient guerilla activity in 1960-63.

A police massacre of black protesters at Sharpeville in 1960 unleashed a three-year cycle of violence and repression. The ANC and other black nationalist organizations were banned, and a nationwide state of emergency was imposed for the first time in South African history.

The SACP hoped to profit from the situation. In 1962, in its first public statement after its 1950 banning, the SACP called on its followers to work within the congress alliance for the first stage of a two-stage revolution.

The party also took the lead in organizing an armed resistance movement *Umkhonto we sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), into underground cells throughout South Africa to undertake sabotage and bomb attacks. The Umkhonto leadership was at first overwhelmingly drawn from the SACP and its affiliated trade unions. Although Nelson Mandela also played a role in its founding, the actual direction of armed resistance was carried out largely by SACP members with little involvement by the ANC leadership.

Effective intergration of Umkhonto and the ANC developed only years later, after the police had either detained their leaders or driven them into exile.

Twenty-six years after its banning, the ANC leadership contains many of the same people, and many of the same ideological and strategic issues remain contentious. Oliver Tambo, a former law partner of Mandela who also rose through the ANC Youth League, became chairman and later president of the exiled ANC, maintaining the continuity of the leadership. The position of non-black SACP members were regularized by a 1969 ANC decision to admit them to membership, though not to executive positions.

Key issues facing the ANC were typical of those facing any exiled guerilla movement with no immediate prospects of returning home. It had to avoid becoming irrelevant to developments within South Africa by maintaining channels of communication to sympathizers, reconcile its military and political pressures of the government, seek international recognition, and deal with the role of SACP members and others non-blacks.

The usefulness of the SACP in facilitating ANC access to

This is the second extract from the State Department's report to the United States Congress on the activities of the Communist Party in South Africa. The final section will be published tomorrow.



Sharpeville killings . . . start of three-year cycle of violence and oppression.

Soviet-bloc arms supplies and funding grew steadily during the exile years. In addition to military aid to Umkhonto, the Soviet connection assured the ANC a favourable reception by a world-wide network of front organizations that were in many instances well placed to influence international public opinion.

## Vanguard party

The ANC also began to cultivate "fraternal" relations with several African "liberation movements" that also received funds from the Soviet bloc.

Some, such as the Angolan MPLA had the characteristics of a marxist vanguard party, while others, such as the Rhodesian ZAPU, did not. The ANC also developed links to the liberation committee of the organization of African Unity (OAU) and became dependent on Tanzania (and later Zambia) for bases and facilities independent of its SACP-Soviet ties.

The ANC-SACP alliance was troubled by a strong undercurrent of African nationalism, which in some instances was focused on resentment of the prominence of non-blacks in the ANC; in other instances it took the form of rejection of communism as a non-African ideology.

Such feelings played a part in the 1959 breakaway of a faction that formed the rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Similar tensions and attempted breakaways continued to trouble the ANC in exile. The most serious unrest, in 1975, resulted in the expulsion or defection of eight leading ANC officials who protested the prominence of non-blacks in the ANC. It is significant that

several dissidents in this group had themselves been black SACP members.

As noted, the SACP has adhered to a long-term tactical decision taken in the 1950s to align itself with the ANC as the most promising means of organizing a mass movement against the Pretoria government. Its continuing tactical commitment to Freedom Charter principles is a price it pays for this alliance. Old-guard ANC leaders repudiated indiscriminate terrorism against civilians as repugnant to Christian-ethical principles.

Most SACP members also rejected such methods as damaging to its multi-racial alliance strategy for transforming the struggle against apartheid into a war against capitalist oppression. Pressure from within ANC ranks for indiscriminate terrorist tactics comes primarily from a younger generation of black militants.

The decade following the 1976 Soweto riots has led to new growth opportunities for the ANC and also led to a gradual and complex shifting of relationships within the ANC-SACP alliance.

The 1975 establishment of MPLA rule in Angola under the protection of Cuban forces for the first time provided a secure regional base for Soviet-bloc military assistance to liberation movements in Southern Africa. Training camps for Umkhonto We Sizwe recruits and visits to the region in 1977 by Soviet vice-President Podgorny and Cuban President Castro demonstrated their commitment to increase military support for the ANC.

The Angolan camps also opened just in time to accom-

modate many of the thousands of South African youths who began to flee the Republic in 1975. These developments sharply reduced the value of military aid and facilities provided by the OAU in Tanzania and other African states and reinforced the predominance of SACP members and Soviet and Cuban advisors in the ANC's military councils.

## New phase

A direct result of the sharply increased scale of military support was a new phase in the ANC guerilla campaign, beginning in about 1980 with a series of spectacular attacks on strategic targets and military personnel. These attacks — eg, on a nuclear power station outside Cape Town and on military headquarters in Pretoria — gave a badly needed boost to ANC prestige.

The ANC was well positioned to take advantage of the groundswell of black protest — which arose largely on its own — against the 1984 constitution which underlined continuing South African determination to exclude blacks from central political institutions.

This groundswell coincided with the upsurge of black trade union growth in the early 1980s and also resulted in late 1983 in the creation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), an umbrella organization including several hundred local groups.

The UDF leadership included a large contingent of former ANC members, and the government began almost immediately a series of showcase trials of UDF leaders intended to prove that the organization was nothing more than a front for the revival within South Africa of the banned ANC.

# CHIEF WARNS OVER INDABA

**WHITE** politicians could kill the Kwa-Zulu-Natal Indaba proposals by using them as party-political issues in the forthcoming whites-only general election, warned KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Addressing the Inkatha's central committee on Saturday as president, he said proposals were far too important for Natal and South Africa for this, and the Indaba should be above mere "petty political bickering".

"Right now we face the prospect of the Kwa-Zulu-Natal Indaba proposals being dragged into the election debate by those who will kill it if they are allowed to ride on its back and by the National Party, in this part of South Africa which could follow Mr Stoffel Botha's lead of

political assassination against it," he said.

Those dragging it into the election were either deliberately aiming at its destruction or could not care "two hoots in hell" whether the Government accepted its findings or not.

Such action was making it easier for the Government to treat the Indaba as a petty political issue and to react accordingly.

## Plan

Chief Buthelezi added that Mr P W Botha had no intention of going to the electorate with a bold plan to establish a true democracy in this country.

He was doing so to buy additional time, hoping somehow that this would make it possible for him to secure his political dreams. In fact, though, there could be no racist or sectarian po-

litical dreams in South Africa.

He said Mr Botha might have hope of achieving real things if he entered the election as a South African first and an Afrikaner second. "But this was unlikely to happen because he could not distinguish between the two".

His and his government's whole approach to reform was designed primarily to secure Afrikaner dreams which were not South African dreams.

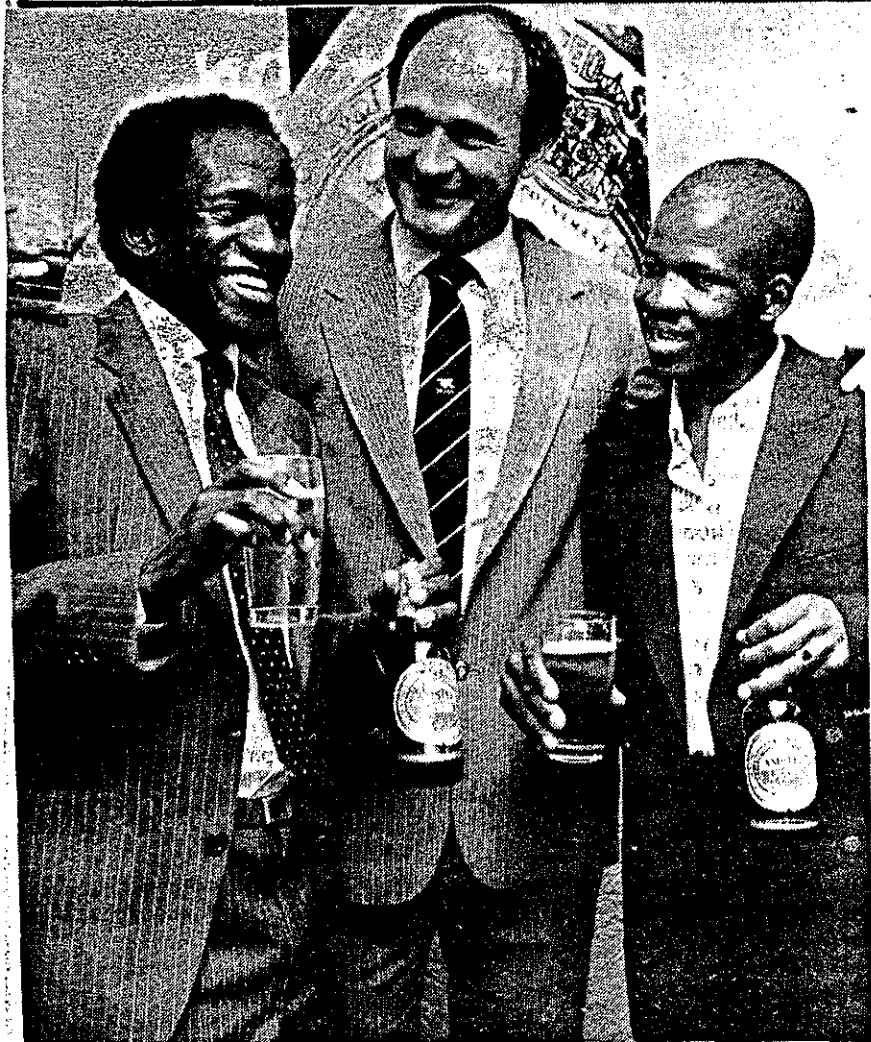
"This is not an Afrikaner country or a white country: it is a multiracial country" stated Chief Buthelezi.

He added that there was no earthly use in Inkatha — which was committed to constituency politics in hard, practical market place terms — waiting for Mr Botha to start initiating reforms in which it could participate.

While Mr B J Vorster had "screamed and ranted and raved" about the homeland concept and Nationalists had dreamed of a white South Africa surrounded by satellite black states, Inkatha had begun forming a black democratic movement in defiance of white political dictates, he said.

It had started where it could and moving ahead of white politics and proving itself a strong force in constituency politics, had established the Buthelezi Commission.

"From this had arisen the kind of negotiations which National Party dogma had declared impossible. These had foreshadowed the Kwa-Zulu-Natal negotiations which had in turn led to the Indaba," he said. — Sapa.



Mr. MESHACK Sekabate (left), a Sebokeng beer connoisseur, won a 10-day all-expenses-paid trip to the United States after taking part in a competition run by the South African Breweries recently.

Runner-up Mr Peter Diphikwe (right), of Soweto, also won a seven-day holiday for two at Sun City. The two were pictured with SAB's Mr Mick Fynn at a presentation ceremony in Johannesburg last week.

# Hunt goes on for Ribeiro murderers

Pretoria Bureau

19/1/87  
Police said today they were still following a number of leads in the investigation into the mysterious killing of medical practitioner Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife, Florence.

Brigadier Koos Nel, chief of the Northern Transvaal CID, confirmed there had been no arrests.

The investigation into the killing of the Ribeiro couple and the shooting of a witness is being handled by Pretoria Murder and Robbery Squad.

Dr and Mrs. Ribeiro were gunned down outside their home in Mamelodi West on December 1 last year. Ten days later, a witness to the killings and another friend were shot and wounded in the yard of the Ribeiros' home.

# Frankness expected when ANC's Tambo meets US Secretary

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo and the United States Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, will have a lot to say to each other when they meet here next week.

The talks, which could be held on Wednesday next week, are expected to be frank.

But Mr Tambo is set to be challenged by America's conservatives, who have vowed to make the historic meeting as uncomfortable as possible for the Reagan Administration.

ANC leaders said last week in Gaborone that they expected Mr Shultz to ask Mr Tambo to renounce violence publicly, according to a report in *The Washington Post*.

An unnamed ANC leader acknowledged, the *Post* said, that increased diplomatic contact with the United States and the West could lead to more pressure on the ANC to abandon violence.

The ANC's use of violence and a strong SA Communist Party element in its leadership have troubled Mr Shultz and his Africa aides.

Plans for multi-million assistance to Southern Africa, aimed mainly at repairing and developing alternative transport routes, are steadily finding more support both in the Reagan Administration and on Capitol Hill, where members of Congress are expected this year to concentrate on them.

## AMERICAN POLICY VEERING OFF COURSE

Mr Shultz will probably also press the ANC for more public policy statements on how it envisages a post-apartheid society and how it intends achieving it.

A leading American conservative, Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, said in a newspaper column yesterday that American policy on Southern Africa had been "veering off course for some time".

She said the State Department's policies were, by now, actively contributing to the reputation and legitimisation of the ANC, making it the principal alternative to apartheid.

Mrs Kirkpatrick, a former United States Ambassador to the United Nations, argued: "One aspect of the South African scene is truly positive. There really is a democratic centre in South Africa."

Right-wing members of Congress have scheduled a hearing on Capitol Hill today as a prelude to the Shultz-Tambo meeting.

Representatives of conservative Washington "think tanks" will be giving evidence on terrorism, Soviet strategy, the ANC and SACP, and the pro-ANC network in the United States.

(Sections of this report have had to be excised to meet the terms of the emergency regulations.)

**Azapo in bid  
to have  
detainee  
released**

**Court Reporter**

AN APPLICATION for the release of a Durban detainee was brought by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the detainee's father, Mr Subrayan Moodly, in the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday.

The application against the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Police and the Divisional Commissioner of Police for Port Natal, called for the Court to order that the arrest and detention of Mr Pathmanathan (Patrick) Moodly in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act be declared unlawful, null, void and of no effect.

It also called for Mr Moodly's immediate release and for the respondents to restore his possessions which included pamphlets of organisations such as Azapo, Solidarity, the UDF and Azaso.

The matter was adjourned by Mr Justice J M Didcott to January 26.

NIM  
20/1/87  
252

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252



# UDF says it might be forced to abandon non-violence

JOHANNESBURG—The United Democratic Front said yesterday it might be forced to abandon non-violence because of a lack of foreign pressure to end apartheid.

In an open letter to the United States Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, the UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, commended the U S Government for agreeing to meet the leader of the African National Congress.

Mr Morobe praised the planned meeting between Mr Shultz and ANC President Mr Oliver Tambo in Washington on Monday. He said Americans should denounce 'the violence and intransigence' of the South

African Government.

'The UDF and the legal opposition movement are being thrust into a position where it may have to review its non-violent principles,' Mr Morobe added.

'It will be the failure of

the United States and the world to use all ways in which the apartheid system can effectively be brought to an end that will leave us with no alternative but to turn from peaceful means,' he said. — (Sapa)



● BOTHA

# Hendrickse, PW confer



● HENDRICKSE

MAX DU PREEZ

LABOUR PARTY leader and Cabinet Minister without portfolio Allan Hendrickse issued a terse statement on his meeting with President P W Botha yesterday, saying the discussions were frank and would be continued at a later stage.

Hendrickse was summoned to Tuynhuys yesterday after his much-publicised swim at a whites-only Port Elizabeth beach recently and his strong opposition, expressed at his party's congress in PE, to the Group Areas Act.

The government-supporting Press hinted recently Botha was considering calling an election for the House of Representatives if Hendrickse did not stop his attacks on government policies.

Botha was reportedly incensed by the negative international publicity the swimming episode received and by the potential damage Hendrickse had done to the NP's election campaign, which has just started.

Yesterday's meeting was attended by the four provincial leaders of the NP, Cabinet Ministers Chris Heunis, F W de Klerk, Stoffel Botha and Kobie Coetsee.

Hendrickse's statement last night said: "Discussion on the Group Areas Act, beach apartheid, etc were frank. It was agreed that the discussions be continued at a later stage. A further statement will then be issued."

## Sacked Guinness boss feels betrayed

LONDON — The sacked and disgraced chairman and chief executive of Guinness, Ernest Saunders, yesterday defended his actions during the takeover of Distillers, but felt he had been let down by his advisers.

As the scandal continued to rock the

City of London and the government, Saunders, said to be close to a breakdown, authorised his most trusted confidante to defend him.

Strong pressure for action is coming from Conservative Party MPs,

● See Page 5

## alliance in Natal finalised

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

The alliance — formed on the basis of the Kwa/Natal Indaba recommendations — is likely to provide Parliament with a numerically stronger and more enlightened Opposition.

The announcement comes in the wake of the shock resignation of 12 NRP members in Natal — two of whom intend to

join the National Party — because of the NRP pact with the PFP.

According to a joint statement issued by Swart and Natal NRP leader Derrick Watterson, the NRP will contest the Mooi River, Umbilo, South Coast, Amanzimtoti and Durban Point constituen-

● To Page 2



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## Brief moments during year in the dock

By Kym Hamilton,  
Pretoria Bureau

A year in the dock of attentively listening to the testimony of almost 100 witnesses has passed, often dramatically, for the 22 Delmas treason trialists.

The daily tea and lunch adjournments were times of reprieves and family gatherings, as each day a small knot of relatives took their turn in making the journey to the Eastern Transvaal town to see the men. They came bearing gifts of cakes, clean clothes and other items.

For some of the men, these few times were highly prized moments. Accused Mr Popo Molefe, who at the time of his detention was general secretary of the UDF, went into hid-

ing in April 1985 to avoid the Security Police net so that he could be with his wife, Pinda, for the birth of his daughter.

Soon after Albertina Molefe's birth, he was detained.

Since then the only time he has had with his daughter has been a few snatched moments from the dock during the tea and lunch breaks.

Many dignitaries, both local and from overseas, have visited the Delmas Magistrate's Court.

Among them have been the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, and many other local activists.

Representatives of foreign governments, including many

diplomats stationed in Pretoria, observers from legal associations, including the American Bar Association, the committee of international jurists and other organisations have spent time listening and watching the trial proceedings.

In June, the judge briefly surrendered his customary place on the Bench to one of the accused, Mr Lazarus Mohapi More and his betrothed, Miss Golda Magauta Maphisa for a wedding ceremony. The co-accused assumed their usual place in the dock, but each sported a red carnation. The public gallery was packed with well-wishers and the wedding had all the trappings, including a two-tier wedding cake, candles and brightly coloured streamers.

# Delmas treason trial defence to begin evidence

By Kym Hamilton, Pretoria Bureau

One of the most significant treason trials in decades resumes in Delmas tomorrow, more than 18 months after 22 men first appeared in Pretoria to plead not guilty to a charge of high treason.

After a year of testimony from State witnesses, 19 men remain on trial. They are all high-ranking members of the United Democratic Front, Azapo and local civic organisations. Most are spending their third year behind bars.

The State is trying to prove that the UDF conspired with the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) to overthrow the South African Government. As part of this alleged conspiracy plan, the UDF was supposedly actively involved in the events which led to the Vaal Triangle riots.

The indictment, which runs to more than 300 pages, contains a detailed account of the history of the UDF since its inception in August 1983. The State maintains the UDF is the internal wing of the ANC.

Much of the State's evidence has related to events before the eruption of violence in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984, which was followed by unrest round the country and hundreds of deaths.

Community councillors have testified how they saw angry mobs destroy and burn their homes and possessions, and some witnesses stated how they heard some of the accused call on Vaal Triangle residents to attack and kill local community councillors.

A number of secret witnesses, mainly captured ANC members, were called to testify on the nature of the alleged conspiracy. The court heard how some UDF members allegedly received crash training courses from the ANC.

### 'Bloody revolution'

Among other things, the men on trial are accused of furthering the aims of the ANC, inciting "bloody revolution" and causing the deaths of five community councillors in the Vaal Triangle townships. They have pleaded not guilty.

After the Vaal Triangle townships exploded into violence on September 3 1984, the 22 were detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

When the men appeared in court for the first time in June 1985, the Attorney-General issued certificates in terms of the Internal Security Act denying them the right to bail. Two attempts to secure bail for all 22 accused failed.

Last November the State closed its case and an application by the defence for the discharge of all 22 men was turned down by Mr Justice K

van Dijkhorst.

However, the court found that three of the accused — Mr Simon Vilakazi, Mr Mohapi More (26) and Mr Mkhambli Malindi (21) — had no case to answer and they were acquitted.

Six men were allowed bail of R15 000.

In his judgment on the application for release, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said that on the facts placed before the court, a reasonable man might find the UDF could have been involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government.

The State's evidence showed that a certain pattern emerged in areas where there had been disturbances. Attacks were launched on councillors and damage done to their property, the property of local authorities, schools, post offices, police vehicles and public transport.

In cases where the disturbances conformed to this pattern, a UDF presence was shown. The judge said he was not prepared to find that there was no link between damage done and the UDF.

### Marathon trial

When the marathon trial resumes tomorrow the defence will address the court before calling witnesses.

According to the charge-sheet, the accused are UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota (37) of Durban; UDF general secretary Mr Popo Simon Molefe (33) of Soweto; Azapo member the Rev Tebogo Geoffrey Moselane (39) of Sharpeville; former UDF secretary for the Transvaal Mr Moses Chikane (37) of Mamelodi; Mr Patrick Mabuya Baleka (25) of Soweto; Azapo member Mr Oupa Hlomoka (32) of Sebokeng; Vaal Information Service member and Rhodes Black Student Society member Mr Thabiso Andrew Ratsomo (27) of Sebokeng; Vaal Civic Association member Mr Geinunuzi Petrus Malindi (25) of Sebokeng; secretary of the Evaton Ratepayers' Association Mr Petrus Mokoena (47) of Evaton; executive member of the Vaal Civic Association Mr Tsletsi David Mphuthi (46) of Sebokeng; Mr Naphtali Mbuti Mkopane (40) of Sebokeng; Mr Tebello Ephraim Ramakula (35) of Sebokeng; educator with the Urban Training Project Mr Bavumile Herbert Vilakazi (30) of Sebokeng; Vaal Civic Association executive member Mr Sekwati John Mokoena (33) of Vanderbijlpark; former Cosas leader and now Institute of Race Relations worker Mr Simon Tseko Nkodi (25) of Sebokeng; Mr Pelamotse Jerry Tlhokane (27) of Sebokeng; Mr Serame Jacob Hlanyane (37) of Sebokeng; Soweto Civic Association member and worker for the South African Council of Churches Mr Thomas Madikwe Manthata (45) of Soweto; and Vaal Civic Association executive member Mr Hlabeng Sam Matlole (61) of Sebokeng.

Despite judge's opinion on section 29 .

# Application for Durban detainee's release fails

DURBAN — An application for the release of Durban detainee Mr Shamin Shaik was turned down in the Durban Supreme Court yesterday in spite of Mr Justice DB Friedman's opinion that section 29 of the Internal Security Act was "an incredible invasion of public rights".

Before dismissing the case with costs, Mr Justice Friedman said: "By its very nature it (section 29) deprives a person of his liberty".

The application for the release of the 27-year-old engineering student from Clare Estate was brought by his brother, Mr Fazil Ali Shaik, against the Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Justice Friedman said the effect of his judgment was to prove that a security policeman, Lieutenant-Colonel Hendrik Buchner, had reasonable grounds for ordering Mr Shaik's detention and also

to question the reasonableness of the belief that he should be detained.

He said Colonel Buchner had filed a lengthy affidavit giving reasons for ordering the detention but that he did not make clear which offences he believed the detainee to have committed or intended to commit.

"It would have been unfair and unsafe to have relied on the affidavit," he said and therefore ordered Colonel Buchner to testify last Friday.

Mr Justice Friedman said Colonel Buchner's evidence was candid and frank.

Colonel Buchner testified that some time ago the ANC set up certain cells to support and assist terrorists and in the middle of 1985 he alleged he had ascertained that Mr Shaik was active in such a cell.

Colonel Buchner said that in July 1985 Mr Shaik was arrested and detained for allegedly providing assistance and transport to a trained terrorist.

He said Mr Shaik admitted his involvement but denied knowing that the person was a terrorist. He was not charged and was released on July 15.

On November 24 last year Colonel Buchner alleged he received information that Mr Shaik was still involved in the cell's activities.

Colonel Buchner conceded that he had no information of actual instances or details of the detainee's participation in any particular activities of the cell. He said he believed the cell did and would aid terrorists and he believed Mr Shaik to be active in the cell.

Mr Shaik has been in detention since December 12. — Sapa.

## Azapo brings application for the release of Moodly

DURBAN — An application for the release of a Durban detainee was brought by the Azanian People's Organisation and the detainee's father, Mr Subrayan Moodly, in the Durban Supreme Court yesterday.

The application against the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Police and the Divisional Commissioner of Police for Port Natal, called for the court to order that the arrest and detention of Mr Pathmanathan (Patrick) Moodly in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act be declared unlawful.

It also called for Mr Moodly's immediate release and for the respondents to restore his possessions.

Among the possessions seized on the day of his arrest last month were vari-

ous pamphlets of organisations such as Azapo, Solidarity, the UDF and Azaso. Mr Moodly has served as resources director of the *Frank Talk Editorial Collective* since February 1985.

The internal director of the magazine, Mr Arran Sagren Arran, said in an affidavit that he had been authorized to bring the application by Azapo at its last national congress in Port Elizabeth on December 15 last year.

He said Mr Moodly was arrested at his Chatsworth home on December 12.

On December 24 the applicant's attorneys had requested reasons for the arrest and detention, but had received no reply from the respondents.

The matter was adjourned by Mr Justice JM Diccott to January 26. — Sapa.

'Child theft' KASTNER/KIDSON

Cape Times 20/1/87 11A

# Govt intransigence will aid ANC's radical wing

THIS is the final extract from the State Department report to the United States Congress on the activities of the Communist Party in South Africa.

THE position of the South African government with regard to the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) has fluctuated, partly on tactical considerations.

Pretoria in justifying suppression of the ANC emphasizes alleged SACP domination. This is, for instance, the case with the present state of emergency and accompanying security measures.

South African officials have also at times emphasized the supposed conflict of interests between a SACP subservient to Moscow and an "authentic" African nationalist wing of the ANC.

This second line of the South African government was particularly prominent during 1984-85, when rumours were rife of South African feelers to elements of the ANC. The SACP reacted with alarm. A typical reaction was that of Joe Slovo, a leading white military strategist of the ANC. In a June, 1985, speech to the Angolan MPLA congress he accused Pretoria of spreading disinformation in order to wean the ANC from its "unbreakable" alliance with the SACP.

## Levels of unrest

The sensitivity of the SACP indicates genuine concern that a more flexible approach by Pretoria could find a favourable reception by elements in the ANC.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC), at a July, 1985, conference in Zambia, began to reassess the new situation created by the unprecedented levels of unrest that erupted in South Africa in late 1984. Several NEC decisions had important implications for the position of the SACP.

The conference admitted non-blacks to full membership, including the right to hold NEC positions. This legitimized the longstanding prominence of many SACP officials in the ANC alliance. The conference in fact elected five non-blacks, all SACP members, to NEC membership.

The conference also acknowledged the working class as the "ideological lodestar" of the liberation struggle and called for unity within the trade union move-

ment — key elements of the SACP perspective.

The ANC also rejected negotiations unless they were firmly tied to discussing a transfer of power — quieting SACP worries that elements in the ANC might cut a separate deal with the South African government.

## Strong competitor

The NEC line-up after the 1985 conference gives a rough indication of the extent of SACP influence. Roughly half the 30 members are known or suspected SACP members. Known or suspected SACP members dominate the leadership of Unkhonto. We Sizwe and SACTU but evidence of SACP membership is not conclusive in several cases. Moreover, African nationalism is a strong competitor with orthodox Marxism in ideological appeal.

Although the SACP has firmly linked its future in South Africa to the fortunes of the ANC, its interests would be enhanced by gaining influence in other groups that work more or less closely with the ANC. These include principally the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the black labour unions that have sprung up in the 1980s, largely without reference to or support from the exiled SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions) structure.

The South African government has charged that the UDF is a front for the ANC and, by extension, for SACP subversion. It also places great importance on countering alleged efforts by SACTU to infiltrate the labour movement.

There is little reliable evidence on the extent of SACP influence within the UDF. This is largely due to the dispa-



Mr Joe Slovo ... military strategist.

rate and fragmented nature of the UDF, which has been further disrupted by thousands of detentions since its founding.

A number of well-known UDF officials have long-standing ANC affiliations. A clandestine SACP network of probably modest dimensions is believed to exist in South Africa alongside a parallel but distinct network of ANC supporters. Its influence on UDF groups undoubtedly varies from place to place — as does the ANC's. But in general the UDF is characterized by an even wider range of views than the ANC.

The Indians and coloureds who are prominent in the UDF organizations in Natal and the Western Cape appear in many instances to have links to the SACP-oriented groups that played an important role in their ethnic communities before the ANC was banned. SACP influence is probably higher among these groups than elsewhere.

To the extent that a

generalization can be made the influence of the UDF in the ANC tends to weaken SACP influence.

The SACP sees itself as the Leninist vanguard of the working class. However the labour movement in South Africa has in recent years developed without it.

Broadly speaking, the SACTU's goal is to steer South African unions away from affiliation with western labour organizations. However, the SACTU is far from control or even significant influence over the internal affairs of COSATU or most of its member unions.

## Historical alliance

The SACP continues to view its historical alliance with the ANC as its main hope for winning power in South Africa, although its ultimate agenda for South Africa — rule by a Marxist-Leninist party loyal to the Soviet Union — goes far beyond the Freedom Charter.

The ANC is deeply beholden to the SACP and the Soviet Union as well as the Soviet-backed MPLA regime in Angola for the arms and training that made possible the upsurge in guerrilla activity that has boosted its prestige in South Africa in recent years. Dependence on Moscow for military assistance will continue to entrench party influence in the ANC, and its strong representation in the ANC hierarchy.

Both the old-guard ANC leadership, led by Tambo, and the SACP/SACTU leadership will be replaced gradually by the younger generation. The influence of militant young blacks in Umkhonto We Sizwe is likely to grow but the SACP will not necessarily reap the benefits of this growth, given its

lack of a mass base and the widespread Nationalist feelings that tend to increase blacks' suspicions of a party with such close ties to a foreign power.

On the other hand in the prospect for negotiations remains bleak and if a new generation of leaders increases the emphasis on armed struggle, the ANC will likely become still more dependent on Soviet-bloc assistance.

The SACP appears to have little or no influence on political and labour groups inside South Africa. This lack of popular support gives non-communist leaders of the ANC considerable counter-leverage against SACP efforts to dominate the group.

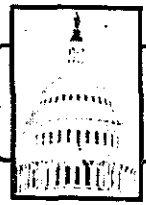
Nevertheless, SACP members may be able to operate through its ANC connections of groups inside South Africa over which the party has otherwise little influence, in directions favourable to SACP objectives. Such goals may include pressures on union leaders to concert their activities with UDF militants and to curtail relations with western labour organizations.

The future role of the UDF and the labour movement in shifting alignments within the ANC alliance remains unclear, but on balance is likely to contribute to diluting SACP influence.

If Pretoria reconsiders its opposition to negotiations or if ANC relations with western countries (and hopes for recognition by them) continue to improve serious policy differences could surface within the ANC. The internal stability of the ANC and its main political tendency will be shaped by the extent to which Pretoria tests — or fails to test — its shaky cohesion.

If the South African government pursues a purely repressive policy the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks.

# Sandinista spectre over ANC talks



Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER



Dr Chester Crocker



Mr Oliver Tambo



Mr George Shultz

SANDINISTA Minister Mr Thomas Borge has observed that "the battle for Nicaragua is not being waged in Nicaragua — it is being fought in the United States".

Without trying to make an invidious comparison between Mr Borge's palpably odious regime and the still ambiguous ANC, it is worth considering on the eve of Mr Oliver Tambo's meeting with Secretary of State Mr George Shultz the extent to which the same applies in the battle for South Africa.

The demonstrable nastiness of toppled Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza; a generalized sense of guilt about America's historic contribution to Latin American tyranny; the unexercised memory of Viet Nam; the romantic thought that Cuba's Mr Fidel Castro is more Robin Hood than made man in Moscow's Mafia; the lingering suspicion among America's limp-wristed churchmen that Christ might have been the original communist; and the exploitation of these things by the committed left, in and out of Congress — all, deftly manipulated by Mr Borge and his boys, helped neutralize Washington as the Sandinista "thugocracy" was aborning. It continues to do so even as the Nicaraguan Gulag reaches capacity.

### Nicaraguan experience

The Sandinistas were particularly canny. Numbering about 200 as the revolution reached critical mass, they merged with the crowd of non-Marxist democrats seeking to replace the Somozistas with a pluralist government. This gave them a sufficient aura of legitimacy to con the all-too-prone Carter

administration, and a broad-based popular movement to stand in front of Somoza's tanks.

There can be no doubt that the Nicaraguan experience, and the all-too-many like it, swim before Mr Shultz's eyes as he prepares to see Mr Tambo. There can also be no doubt that the secretary is praying that the ANC, for all its rhetorical affinities with the Sandinistas and other soi-disant "liberation" movements, will turn out differently.

Unknown is whether he or his successors will be able to do anything about it if his prayer isn't answered. Put another way, has the ANC already neutralized America, indeed the West as a whole, in such a way that the West will be systematically powerless to prevent it establishing yet another murderous revolutionary state?

The indications are that the ANC, should it desire to follow the Sandinista path, has Western élites in exactly the condition it wants them: confused, guilt-ridden, wishful mush all but begging for the steel of Lenin's bayonet.

The US and most of its allies have already begun to cede the field to whoever in South Africa wishes to inherit an economic wasteland on which to prac-

tise the great Marxist experiment. Given the narrow range of options open to the democracies and the nature of their political systems, Pretoria has not given them much choice. Unfortunately, that does not alter the fact that the West may well be on the point of allowing something very bad to happen because it can't think of, and lacks the stamina for, any alternative.

The rationale for Mr Shultz's seeing Mr Tambo is not opaque. Having failed to massage the Nationalist government into relinquishing sole racially based authority, it is high time the US paid some attention to the other parts of the equation, including the ANC. The latter, it is argued, must be "tested". The hope is it will feel emboldened by the attention to emerge in its putatively true colours as a democratic, if moderately socialist, organization that has resorted to violence and the immolation of opponents only by force of circumstance. Let it only gain a sympathetic hearing in Washington and perhaps it will stand ready to purge those of its followers who see in terror the means to a less pluralist end. Then again, perhaps not.

On the face of it, the idea of "testing" the ANC, or

"challenging" it to offer a definitive description of the society it seeks, is a good one. A few hard and fast answers would be interesting. Let us assume they are forthcoming. Then what? What if they are unsatisfactory? Does Mr Tambo get to sit the exam again? What if they are satisfactory and Pretoria gives them the standard finger? And what is satisfactory? Can the US really be expected to demand a cessation of violence without corollary actions from the South African government? And if the answer is no, can it be in the business of endorsing the dismemberment of civilians? Can it be that the ANC is going to be accorded the status of Unita as "our" terrorists?

### Constant rebuffs

The gulp-inducer is that neither Mr Shultz nor anyone else seems to have the faintest idea of how to answer these basic questions. All that matters is the meeting and the dialogue — as if neither, just by occurring, have impressive consequences, not only in legitimizing the ANC whatever its aims, but also in establishing its claim to primacy.

Just as the State Department was loath, despite constant rebuffs, to break off the dialogue with Pretoria, so, once the "process" has been initiated, will it be with the ANC. Dialogue is what the State Department does. It is an institutional imperative, and in this case, with a Democrat-controlled US Congress ultimately committed to seeing the ANC in power, a political one as well.

Mr Tambo should have every hope of winning untested in his talks with Mr Shultz because Mr Shultz's department will place far more importance on the continuation of the dialogue, once initiated, than on its content, and because maintaining the dialogue is the line of least resistance.

One can only pray, with Mr Shultz, that the ANC does not share the Sandinistas' agenda.

**S**ANDINISTA Minister Thomas Borge has observed that "the battle for Nicaragua is not being waged in Nicaragua — it is being fought in the United States".

Without trying to make an inviolous comparison between Borge's palpably odious regime and the still ambiguous ANC, it is worth considering on the eve of Oliver Tambo's meeting with US Secretary of State George Shultz the extent to which the same applies in the battle for SA.

The demonstrable nastiness of toppled Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza; a generalised sense of guilt about America's historic contribution to Latin American tyranny; the unexercised memory of Viet Nam; the romantic thought that Cuba's Fidel Castro is more Robin Hood than made man in Moscow's Mafia; the lingering suspicion among America's imp-wristed churchmen that Christ might have been the original communist; and the exploitation of these things by the committed Left, in and out of Congress — all deftly manipulated by Borge and his boys — helped neutralise Washington as the Sandinista thugocracy was aborning.

business

It continues to do so even as the Nicaraguan gulag reaches capacity.

The Sandinistas were particularly canny, though not unusual, in their choice of tactics. Numbering no more than 200 as the revolution reached critical mass, they merged with the crowd of non-Marxist democrats seeking to replace the Somocistas with a pluralist government.

This gave them a sufficient aura of legitimacy to con the all too prone Carter administration, and a broad-based popular movement to stand in front of Somoza's tanks. There can be no doubt that the Nicaraguan experience, and the all too many like it, swim before Shultz's eyes as he prepares to see Tambo.

There can also be no doubt that the Secretary of State is praying that the ANC, for all its rhetorical affinities with the Sandinistas and other sol-disant "liberation" movements, will turn out differently.

**U**nknown is whether he or his successors will be able to do anything about it if his prayer isn't answered. Put another way, has the ANC already neutralised America — indeed, the West as a whole — in such a way that the West will be systemically powerless to prevent it establishing yet

# 'Testing' time between Shultz and Tambo



□ SOMOZA ... toppled dictator

SIMON BARBER in Washington

another murderous revolutionary state if that is what it, or elements within it, want?

The indications, and this will be good news to a SA government that evidently prefers vindication to the life and happiness of its people, are that the ANC, should it desire to follow the Sandinista path, has Western elites in exactly the condition it wants them: confused, guilt-ridden, wishful mush all but begging for the steel of Lenin's bayonet.

The US and most of its allies have already begun to cede the field to whoever in SA wishes to inherit an economic wasteland upon which to practise the great Marxist experiment.

Given the narrow range of options open to the democracies and the nature of their political systems, Pretoria, it must be said, has not given them a lot of choice.

Unfortunately, that does not alter the fact that the West may well be on the point of allowing something very bad to happen because it can't think of, and lacks the stamina for, any alternative.

The rationale for Shultz's seeing Tambo is not opaque. Having failed to pass the Nationalist

government into relinquishing sole, racially-based authority, it is high time the US paid some attention to the other parts of the equation, including, but not exclusively, the ANC.

The latter, it is argued, must be "tested". The hope is it will feel emboldened by the attention to emerge in its putatively true colours as a democratic, if moderately socialist, organisation that has resorted to violence and the immolation of opponents only by force of circumstance.

**L**et it only gain a sympathetic hearing in Washington and perhaps it will stand ready to purge those of its followers who see in terror the means to a less pluralist end. Then again, perhaps not.

On the face of it, the idea of "testing" the ANC, or "challenging" it to offer a definitive description of the society it seeks, is a good one. A few hard and fast answers, if such they could be, would be interesting.

But let us assume they are forthcoming. Then what? What if they are unsatisfactory? Does Tambo

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Just as the State Department was loath, despite constant rebuffs, to break off the dialogue with Pretoria, so — once the "process" has been initiated — will it be with the ANC.

Dialogue is what the State Department does. It is an institutional imperative, and in this case — with a Democrat-controlled US

seeing the ANC in power — a political one as well. Already there are signs of excessive and unnecessary genuflection to keep the embers of "communication" glowing. Polite, ruminative silence would have sufficed in response to Tambo's recent not-so-sanguine remarks in Lusaka, widely interpreted though they were as an important departure towards moderation.

**B**ut the State Department insisted on issuing a public critique. Heavily prefaced with the usual, by now unnewsworthy, caveats, the concluding sentences stuck out: "That said, we welcome the more responsible positions that the ANC has taken in its recent statements. We look forward to continuing our dialogue with ANC leaders

It took several years and much vicissitude for Dr Chester Crocker to stand back from his description of Pretoria's disastrous new constitution as a "step forward". Now we are headed off in the opposite direction with no clearer idea of the destination.

Just as the US administration vainly bent over backwards to accommodate the sensitivities of the SA government in hopes of gaining significant concessions, so it will with the ANC.

Also ominous, going with the ANC flow will be the far easier course domestically. The battle for America's hearts and minds has already been won in Congress and among those sections of the electorate who take an active interest.

Some State Department officials are now expressing relief that, after six increasingly acrimonious years, their erstwhile combatants on Capitol Hill have, in victory, at last declared peace.

**F**or the professional diplomat, such peace is frequently more attractive than fighting for the ideas of the amateur in the White House and his appointees.

Tambo should have every hope of winning untested in his talks with Shultz because Shultz's department will place far more importance on the continuation of the dialogue, once initiated, than on its content, and because maintaining the dialogue is the line of least resistance.

It preserves the illusion of a policy without any tough decisions ever having to be made. Besides, Congress will certainly not complain.

One can only pray, with the Secretary of State, that the ANC does not share the Sandinistas' agenda.

# CLASH!



## Youth killed as Phiri erupts

"Russians" are seen here patrolling the streets of Phiri after violent skirmishes broke out between them and youths on Tuesday.

**BASOTHO** tribesmen discontent with the call to switch off the lights by anti-apartheid organisations went on the rampage in Phiri this week, leaving at least one dead, two houses razed and scores of youths injured.

The violence occurred when the tribesman or "Russians" defied a request by youths who monitored and enforced the switch-off in the mostly "Russian"-populated section of the area.

After arguments with the tribesmen, the youths allegedly attacked one of the houses, breaking windows and

CITY PRESS 2/11/76  
By **SANDILE MEMELA**

setting it alight.

In retaliation, the "Russians" went on a revenge-mission conducting house-to-house raids, setting alight a house, and assaulting youths in the area.

Only charred remains of furniture remained of a Motontong family home. Neighbours told *City Press* that the family had fled.

A woman who refused to be identified said the "Russians" had assaulted youths, killing at least one and injuring scores.

She also said the "Russians" were guarding the home of the dead youth and neighbours were afraid to visit the family.

A house belonging to a "Russian" was completely burnt out and groups of "Russians" armed with knob-kieries, knives and an assortment of weapons were seen guarding the house yesterday.

Sources said that trouble started on Tuesday night when groups of youths asked families to switch off the lights and light candles.

"Russians" in the area allegedly refused and a violent skirmish broke out.

The skirmishes carried on until the early hours of the morning. Sources said after the assault the "Russians" went on a revenge-mission, attacking and assaulting youths in the area.

They said the "Russians" launched a house-to-house raids, flogging and assaulting youths who were found in homes.

Most youths are believed to have fled to nearby townships for fear of being attacked at night.

Random interviews with residents in the area revealed that the community was gripped by fear and more violence is expected in the next few days.

On-the-scene observations by *City Press* found groups of "Russians" walking the deserted streets, apparently in search of the comrades. A number of youths kept to the safety of their families' yards.

Five police vans were seen patrolling not far from the scene of the violence.

## Police gag City Press

By **ZB MOLEFE**

**CITY PRESS** on Wednesday became the third newspaper this week to have a police restriction order served on it - preventing it from publishing statements which advocate or support the "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign.

Similar restriction orders were served on *The Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* on Monday.

*City Press'* editorial staff do not work on Mondays and Tuesday was a public holiday.

*The Sowetan* yesterday announced that it would fight the restriction order in the Rand Supreme Court.

Argument is expected to be heard today in the Rand Supreme Court, when the paper will ask the judge to declare the police order invalid.

The restriction on *City Press* came at a time when commentators thought it was specifically aimed at the *Weekly Mail* and *The Sowetan*.

The restriction order served on *City Press* is identical to those served on the two other newspapers.

Broadly it prohibits publication of statements from a number of organisations which "advocate, further or

support the "Campaign for National United Action", "Campaign for National Unity", "Christmas Against the Emergency" and "Christmas of Concern".

The papers are restricted from quoting statements promoting the four major campaigns by the United Democratic Front, Congress of SA Trade Unions, Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Detainees Support Committee, End Conscription Campaign, Federation of Transvaal Women, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, National Education Union of SA, Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, Transvaal Indian Congress, National Education Crisis Committee and the SA Council of Churches.

The restriction orders against *City Press* and the other two newspapers were issued by Witwatersrand divisional police commissioner Major-General Mulder van Eyk.

They were issued in terms of the Public Safety Act of 1953 with reference to the emergency regulations promulgated on June 12 by President PW Botha.

## Boxer dies after bout

CP Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH** lightweight boxer, Siphonobadula, became the fourth professional fighter from the city to die after being hurt in the Centenary Hall this week.

Nobadula died at Livingstone Hospital after he was stopped in the third round of the scheduled six-round bout by Mongezi Lolwe on Tuesday night.

Nobadula is the fourth boxer to have died at the Centenary Hall. The others are Lulamile "Young Clay" Dunjana, Simon "Razor" Monamodi - who both campaigned in the bantamweight division - and Mongezi Mbengasha, who collapsed during training session.

Although arrangements for the funeral service have not been made, the service will be held at the Trinity Methodist Church at Kwa-Zakhele over the weekend.





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DD 21/1/87

## SA to choose ANC or AWB — Terre'Blanche

JOHANNESBURG — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, says South Africans will have to face a choice between the ANC and the AWB after the coming election because, ultimately, there is no room for compromise in the country.

In a fiery talk during a Johannesburg Press Club luncheon at which he refused to speak English, Mr Terre'Blanche said elections would achieve nothing because the problems facing SA would remain unchanged.

"I do not see a workable solution which forms part of the election campaign. There will be a problem because the ANC wants South Africa and the AWB wants to retain it."

Mr Terre'Blanche said he had instructed the AWB to use violence to retain the country once the government "capitulated", law and order fell away and the chaos "witnessed in Africa under black states occurred in SA".

"If the ANC wanted to campaign against Britain would you ever consider that the British were terrorists

because they wanted to protect their fatherland?"

"The ANC will not get SA. When the elections are over and whirlwinds break in this heartsore land there will only be one of two choices — either the ANC on the left or the AWB on the right."

He delivered a message to the ANC on its 75th anniversary in which he said Afrikaners were not white colonists but "from the heart of Africa" and, as a race, had paid in blood, sweat and their labour for this country.

Commenting on the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, he said the tricameral Parliament was on the brink of collapse and, as a result, many people believed Mr Botha would set up a military dictatorship after the elections.

"I just want to tell you Botha is totally unpredictable. He does and says the strangest things, at the strangest times and in the strangest ways, that I'm not always to read his strange mind," Mr Terre'Blanche mused. — DDC

11/1/87  
**UDF, Cosatu,  
Azapo call to  
end violence**

Labour Reporter

THREE leading community organisations have called for an end to violence and "senseless killings" in the townships.

The call follows a meeting this week between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) in Port Elizabeth after weekend violence in the townships.

Delegates discussed threats against Cosatu and the situation in the townships.

**"EXPLOITED"**

A press release from Cosatu, Eastern Province, said the meeting condemned the township violence and killings as "not in the interest of the oppressed and exploited masses in our country."

"Cosatu calls on the workers, youth and all progressive organisations to unite in the face of attacks so as to prevent division and confusion which would allow the situation to be exploited by elements opposed to the democratic struggle of the working class."

ARGUS 21/1/87

11A

ARGUS 21/1/87

CITY/NATIONAL

**EMERGENCY UPDATE**

**House set alight: Man burnt**

PRETORIA. — A man received serious burns after a private home in Soweto was set alight, according to today's unrest report from the Bureau for Information.

The house was badly damaged. Another man was arrested.

In Zwile, Port Elizabeth, a man was arrested after he and a few others hurled a petrol bomb at a security force vehicle.

There were unrest-related incidents in three other SAP districts but there were no injuries or arrests.

● Permanent restrictions on funerals for unrest victims in several Johannesburg townships were issued in Pretoria last night.

Soweto divisional police commissioner Andries van Zyl imposed restrictions in Soweto, Diepkloof, Meadowlands and Dobsonville.

According to the orders, only 200 mourners are allowed at a funeral.

The orders also include a ban on holding without police permission a funeral for someone who died during "security action" or unrest; holding a funeral out of doors or using a public address system; and displaying placards or flags. — Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

**Howa row: Ganief succeeds Dawood**

By LENNIE KLEINTJIES  
Sports Staff

ABDULLAH GANIEF, a long-serving member of the Western Province Cricket Board, has replaced Ebrahim Dawood as manager of the board's Howa Bowl team for this weekend's away match against Eastern Province in Port Elizabeth.

This was announced by the chairman of the board's interim committee, Mr Neville Hartle.

Dawood and fellow selectors A L "Lefty" Adams (convener), Adam Sobotker (vice-president) and Ebrahim Dollie resigned as selectors in support of ousted board president Mr Hassan Howa.

Ganief also served on the selection panel but has chosen to remain with the board, although the panel had a code of ethics which said that if one selector was axed all would go.

Mr Howa and his executive were put out after a vote of no confidence at a meeting of the board on Sunday. The action stemmed from Mr Howa's recent talks with Dr Ali Bacher of the South African Cricket Union.

Dawood as manager of the Howa Bowl team and Adams as coach built up a fine spirit in the squad. The team is unbeaten after three games.

Adams, a shrewd cricket tactician, was also axed as coach of the side and his position has not yet been filled. Team captain Saait Magiet will take over training until a new coach was appointed.

**New monthly pension payout**

JOHANNESBURG. — From April pensioners will be paid monthly and from banks and building societies, the Department of Development and Planning has announced.

Present payout points which can handle monthly payments will be retained for those pensioners who want to continue collecting their money from these points.

However, pension vouchers will still be made available to those of-

fices which cannot process monthly payments and continue to pay pensioners two-monthly.

The move comes after criticism from the blacks about the present system. Pensioners have been waiting in long queues for money each month.

Mrs Eunice Manana, a pensioner from Orlando East, died on Monday, apparently from fatigue after standing in a queue for about five hours. — Sapa.



# Labour Party leader could quit Cabinet

# PW, Hendrickse on collision course

Political Staff



The Labour Party was today heading for a confrontation with President Botha which could lead to its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leaving the Cabinet.

The chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has also been drawn into the row after discussions with Mr Hendrickse and there is the possibility that he might also leave the Cabinet.

A hurriedly called parliamentary caucus meeting of the Labour Party discussed the crisis yesterday afternoon.

President Botha and Mr Hendrickse met twice earlier this week. Mr Botha has put three choices to Mr Hendrickse: that he and his MPs involved in the Port Elizabeth incident publicly apologise for deliberately breaking the law by swimming on a white beach; that Mr Hendrickse resigns from the Cabinet; or that an election for the House of Representatives be held with the House of Assembly election this year.

Mr Hendrickse was not available for comment today and Labour MPs declined to give details of the caucus discussions.

But it is understood it was decided it was impossible for Mr Hendrickse to apologise in view of the party's strong stand against the Group Areas Act.

It was further decided to leave a decision on the options to the President, which means he will be forced to sack Mr Hendrickse from the Cabinet or to decide to have an election for the House of Representatives without the House having asked for it.

If Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi resigned from the central Cabinet, they could remain on as chairmen of the Ministers' Councils in their Houses.

There is also speculation that Mr Botha is threatening to dissolve both the House of Representatives and possibly the House of Delegates, and have elections for them along with those for the white House of Assembly.

Matters are expected to come to a head today at the first Cabinet meeting of the year.

Labour Party MPs appear reluctant to have an early election and some said today they did not think Mr Botha would be so "untactful" as to call one.

They also thought Mr Botha's confrontation with Mr Hendrickse was largely political posturing before the white election. He appears to be trying to appease conservative Nationalists by acting strongly against the defiant Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Rajbansi declined to comment today, but other sources in his National People's Party confirmed the meeting between him and Mr Hendrickse.

They said the party caucus would have to decide on whether Mr Rajbansi should also leave the Cabinet.

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# Lawyer: new curbs make mockery of democracy

Dispatch Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG — Amendments to the emergency regulations promulgated on Thursday night make "a sheer mockery" of democracy.

This was said by Mr Ismail Mahomed, SC, in the Supreme Court here yesterday morning where he is representing the United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Campaign, which are seeking to have the emergency regulations declared unlawful.

Referring to the clause prohibiting any attack on the government, Mr Mahomed said the implication created "a classic illustration of a government saying we will tell you what you need to know but our opponents cannot".

In terms of the regulations it meant that any opposition spokesman needed permission to attack the government outside Parliament but government spokesmen did not.

Because the regulations only empowered members of the government to speak and because this did not extend to the "self-governing territories" people such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could not comment, even in his own legislative assembly.

This effectively excluded blacks from criticising the regulations while it gave Indian, coloured and white government spokesmen the right to do so.

In reference to the clause which prohibited the photographing or videoing of security force action, Mr Mahomed said it merely protected the unlawful actions of the police from the public gaze.

"Such protection and secrecy must have been beyond the contemplation of Parliament."

Mr Mahomed said in certain instances the regulations gave powers to the Commissioner of Police that even the State President did not have. He was referring in particular to the regulation concerning the publication of subversive statements.

A clause in the December emergency regulations banning the publication of evidence at judicial proceedings relating to the arrest and detention of anyone in terms of the emergency until a final judgment is handed down was an "intolerable invasion into the right of the judiciary to control its own proceedings" and should be struck down.

Mr Mahomed said the clause showed a failure to understand that it was part of the judicial process that justice should operate in the public glare.

"Where justice is not administered openly it has the potential for abuse."

The courts already had the necessary machinery, skill and experience to limit the publication of evidence if this was considered essential in the interests of justice, including the security of the state, he said.

When it came to questions of how justice and court proceedings should be administered the judiciary would guard its preserves with "vigorous jealousy".

Mr Mahomed said the government attempted to justify the clause by stating that newspapers distorted proceedings and only reported one side of the story.

He pointed out that there were statutory provisions which made it a criminal offence for anyone to publish an untrue statement about the police or prisons. The government acted on the premise that whatever the police said was the truth and if newspapers said otherwise it had to be false, he said. "The courts are engaged in finding out who is telling the truth."

The hearing was adjourned till February 9.

# Second round of talks with P W Botha

TALKS between Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and President P W Botha and provincial leaders of the National Party are to continue later this week, probably today.

The first round of talks, described as having been "frank" took place at Tuynhuys in Cape Town on Monday.

They were aimed at resolving tensions between the National Party and its Labour Party partner in government following clashes between Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse earlier this month.

## Media restrictions

They differed on the Group Areas Act and the media restrictions. While Mr Hendrickse reiterated that his party wanted the Group Areas Act to be scrapped Mr Botha stated that the principle of racially separated residential areas and schools would remain.

Mr Botha said Mr Hendrickse had not objected to media restrictions but Mr Hendrickse said he had not attended a Cabinet meeting at which a decision had been taken to impose them.



● TERRE'BLANCHE

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BUSINESS DAY, W  
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# 'Choose between ANC and AWB'

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said yesterday he had instructed the organisation to use violence to retain the country if the government "capitulated" and law and order fell away.

These conditions of chaos had not yet occurred in SA, he said at a fiery talk during a Johannesburg Press Club luncheon.

He said elections would achieve nothing because the problems facing SA would remain the same.

"There will be a problem because the ANC wants SA and the AWB wants to retain it," he said. "But make no mistake, we can and will retain SA with violence if lawlessness develops."

He said there was no room for compromise and South Africans would have to choose between the ANC and the AWB after the elec-

tions.

"The ANC will not get SA. When the elections are over and whirlwinds break in this heartsore land there will only be one of two choices — either the ANC on the left or the AWB on the right."

He delivered a message for the ANC on its 75th anniversary in which he said Afrikaners were not white colonists but "from the heart of Africa" and as a race, had paid in blood, sweat and their labour for this country.

"You are (the ANC) attempting to take our land from us. You do not want to share the land with us, you've said it. But you will not demoralise us. This land's women and children are stronger than communist soldiers."

# Bureau to be newsmaker?

11A  
DA  
22/1/87

**PRETORIA** — The late President Samora Machel was one of those nominated as Newsmaker of the Year by members of the Pretoria Press Club this year.

physically accept it at a banquet in Pretoria.

Other nominees this year included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the NGK's Dominee Johan Heyns and the Hohowsky family.

But the nomination was invalid — as were nominations for Nelson Mandela — because a club regulation states that recipients of the award should be able to

The Bureau for Information is also believed to be strong contender for the award, which is to be conferred later this year.  
— Sapa



# Township massacre: accusations fly

11A  
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Officials of the United Democratic Front and the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and leader of the Inkatha movement, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have each accused the other of responsibility for yesterday's massacre in kwaMakhuta township, near Amanzimtoti.

The attackers rushed into the house of Mr Willie Ntuli (50) and opened fire on the occupants with AK-47 assault rifles, said Major Charl du Toit, the Durban police spokesman.

Mr Ntuli, father of a UDF member, was killed along with 11 others, including seven children.

Two other people were wounded and a 10-year-old boy escaped unhurt, Major du Toit said. He said police used tracker dogs to hunt for the killers.

Durban UDF official Mr Joseph Gumbi said Mr Ntuli's son, Victor, was a leading member of the kwaMakhuta Youth League, a UDF affiliate, but

Star 22/11/87  
he was not at home at the time of the attack.

"There is no doubt at all, from what we have gathered, that the attack was launched by Inkatha," Mr Gumbi said.

Chief Buthelezi said he was shocked by the dimensions which violence between the ANC/UDF alliance and Inkatha was assuming.

In a statement issued in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said he was saying this on the assumption that the massacre in kwaMakhuta was probably a continuation of the clashes that had been going on for some time in this particular township.

He added that it was clear that this violence was bound to lead to counter-violence and the whole bloodbath could go on indefinitely.

"I cannot see it being resolved short of the president of the external mission of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, calling off the vendetta which his organisation and the UDF are waging against me and Inkatha."

LABOUR FAMILY  
leader and Cabinet  
Minister without  
portfolio Allan Hen-  
drickse yesterday  
averted being sacked  
from the Cabinet and  
the coloured Minis-  
ters' Council by apo-  
logising in a long let-  
ter to President P W  
Botha for embarrass-  
ment he had caused  
Botha.

# Hendrickse says sorry

22/1/87  
BUS DAY  
TIP

MAX DU PREEZ  
Political Correspondent

Botha told a Press conference last night he had warned Hendrickse that he and other LP members of the Ministers' Council would be sacked and a general election called if they did not apologise to him for their defiant public swim at a whites-only Port Elizabeth beach, as well as for Hendrickse's remarks about the Group Areas Act and the latest Press curbs.

The LP parliamentary caucus and supporters were in a black mood after hearing of their leader's apologies last

night. Most agreed that it was a devastating blow for the party's already shaky credibility among the coloured population and for Hendrickse's stature as a leader.

Botha read Hendrickse's letter to the Press, and said he accepted the apology. He also read a letter the other Cabinet

● To Page 2

## Hendrickse avoids sack by apologising to Botha

● From Page 1

Minister without portfolio, Indian Minister's Council chairman Amichand Rajbansi, wrote to a local paper yesterday denying a report he was siding with Hendrickse and would resign if Hendrickse was forced to resign.

Botha said he accepted Rajbansi's assurances, and the two Ministers would thus remain in the Cabinet.

But shortly before the Press conference, Rajbansi told *Business Day*, when asked if he backed Hendrickse's stand against Botha, "I will back any campaign against apartheid."

Botha last night read a long statement which he had read to yesterday's Cabinet meeting, and warned the Press "to stick to the facts". In the statement he said his government was not a coalition government, and he fully accepted that Cabinet Ministers could differ from him on matters such as the Group Areas Act.

However, as chairman of the Cabinet and head of government, Botha said he determined the procedures for Cabinet Ministers. He would not allow members of the Cabinet to take their differences to the public without him agreeing to it.

What was more, Botha said, every

Cabinet Minister swore an oath to act with dignity and to obey the laws. "When Mr Hendrickse paraded in his swimming trunks with other Ministers, he embarrassed me."

Hendrickse wrote in his letter: "The swimming event was not intended by my colleagues or myself as an act of civil disobedience and we regret any conclusion to that effect.

"Furthermore, in nothing that my colleagues and I have done, have we ever intended an affront to your person in your personal capacity and your capacity as SP, nor did we intend to challenge your authority as SP.

"Inasmuch as any impression might have been created to that effect, I offer on behalf of my colleagues and myself our apologies to you.

"As regards my statements on the media, I intended to say that I regret the necessity for regulations of this nature to be promulgated. In the context of my speech it is clear that I accepted that steps in this regard had to be taken."

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# Freedom Charter talks at UCT

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Staff Reporter

Chas Tink 22/1/87

TWO law academics will focus on the Freedom Charter as a guide to a post-apartheid legal system at a UCT Summer School course starting on February 2.

Adopted almost 32 years ago by 3 000 elected delegates to the Congress of the People at Kliptown, the Freedom Charter "represents the universal standards of justice common to all legal systems, including our own Roman Dutch and English legal heritage before the government went about systematically destroying it".

This is the view of Associate Professor Dennis Davis of the UCT Law Faculty and Mr Gilbert Marcus, senior research officer in the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, who will conduct the course.

Except for the clauses providing for nationalization, which "constitute no more than a framework for social democracy", the charter is "very closely aligned to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

The course of five lectures starts with director Costa Gavras's film "Missing", about an American writer who disappears from his home in Santiago during the American-aided military coup that overthrew Allende.

Discussion is likely to include the nature and structures of "informal justice". Those who think that "informal justice" "means necklacing" may be interested to hear that a large body of literature claims that systems of People's Courts "work very well".

□ The admission fee for the course of five lectures is R14 or R3,50 a lecture. Lectures will be at 5.30pm from February 2 to February 6 in the Leslie Building at UCT.

## Poll bid to unseat Miller

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The former Natal NRP MEC in charge of hospitals, Dr Fred Clarke, will not

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# US calls for a report on Natal massacre

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22/1/87

WASHINGTON — The massacre of 12 blacks outside Durban has horrified the United States.

The State Department has told the US Embassy in Pretoria to look into reports that gunmen sprayed a house in the township of Kwamakhuta with bullets, then went to a nearby hut and massacred sleeping children.

The South African Government's Bureau for Information said Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifles were used in the attack, suggesting the ANC was responsible.

If that was the case, the attack would be a significant embarrassment to Washington, where US Secretary of State George Shultz is to hold talks next week with the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo.

It is reported from Durban that Mr Victor Ntuli, thought to be the target of the attack, has been in hiding for a month and thus escaped the attack.

He is a member of the UDF-affiliated Kwamakhuta Youth League.

Kwamakhuta has been a centre of continued political violence between members of the UDF and Inkatha.

Police have not yet established a motive for the killings.

Police have not ruled out the possibility that terrorists were responsible for the murders.

In Johannesburg, officials of the UDF have accused Inkatha of staging the attack in revenge for recent killings of Inkatha followers.

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, and President of Inkatha, Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi, said last night he was shocked by the dimensions which violence between the ANC-UDF alliance and Inkatha was assuming.

He said this on the assumption that the Kwamakhuta tragedy was probably a continuation of the internicine clashes that have been going on for some time in the township.

"I cannot see it being resolved short of the president of the external mission of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, calling off the vendetta which his organisation and the UDF are waging against me and Inkatha."

118  
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# 'He must go to court over swim'

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — National Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party members here who laid complaints with the police over the Rev Allan Hendrickse's swim have reacted differently to his apology to President P W Botha.

Mr Attie Loock, regional organiser of the HNP and leader of the campaign to keep the city's beaches white, said Mr Botha bringing Mr Hendrickse to book was "pure National Party propaganda".

Mr Loock insists that Hendrickse must still be prosecuted.

Mr A S van Ginkle Venter, prominent NP member who also laid a complaint, said Mr Botha had handled the affair "very thoroughly".

## "VERY WELL"

He refused to comment directly on the incident, saying he did not want to "create any more ill feeling" but said Mr Botha had done "very well".

However, Mr Loock said: "Just because he is a Cabinet Minister does not mean he is above the law.

"There is something funny going on. We have so many problems but Mr Botha spends 20 minutes on television talking to the nation about a man going swimming."

He said he felt the whole affair had been turned into NP election propaganda because Mr Botha was afraid of the electorate.

## IRONY

"If Mr Hendrickse had been allowed to get away with this, the National Party would have lost tremendous support at the polls.

"The ironical thing is that Hendrickse is right and Botha is wrong: the Group Areas Act will be scrapped — after the election."

Mr Loock said he was not prepared to let the matter rest and would see that Mr Hendrickse was prosecuted.

"He must go to court just like the blacks who were caught on the beach on New Year's Day. He is not above the law."

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Major Eddie Everson, said the police docket on the swimming incident was sent to the Attorney-General today for a decision.

# Chief pleads for Indaba backing

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday made an urgent plea for leaders of business, mining, banking and industry in South Africa to throw their full weight behind the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals.

Chief Buthelezi also warned that the Indaba would collapse if its conditions of survival were his acquiescence to the present constitution and to the regional services councils.

He told a meeting of representatives of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce in Ulundi that the Indaba proposals represented the kind of politics which would ultimately lead to national consensus between blacks and whites.

He said no developing country anywhere in the third world was more propitiously placed to develop the kind of democracy which could be held up as ideal.

Chief Buthelezi said only the "lunatic right" could conceive of any reversing of the dynamic process which had brought about the total economic interdependence between black and white.

## Matter of fact

IN yesterday's *Sowetan* we reported that four Dobsonville Town Council policemen appeared in the Roodepoort magistrates court. In fact the officers are from the Soweto Town Council and were arrested by Dobsonville Town Council police.

22/1/87 Sowetan

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# MASSACRE

**POLICE** have launched a massive dragnet for a group of men armed with AK-47 rifles who gunned down 12 people, including seven children, in Kwa-Makhuta near Amanzimtoti yesterday.

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information in Pretoria confirmed that 12 people had been shot dead in cold blood at about 2am at the home of Mr Willie Ntuli after the house had been petrol-bombed.

Mr Ntuli's son, Vic-

## SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

tor is a leading member of the KwaMakhutu Youth League, a UDF affiliate.

Police said that 10 of those killed were: Mr Willie Ntuli (50), Mrs Phumale Ndtovu (22), Mr Jaba Ndlovu (17), Mrs Mbusu Ndwalani (50), Nunu Ntuli (7), Mavoko Ntuzhini (5), Bashi Ntuzhini (3), Savile Ntuzhini (4), Mrs Isabel Khubeka (50) and Phumsele Ntuzhini (7). The identities of two other women have not yet been established.

The two injured are Mrs A Khumalo (34) and Miss Nomosado (10). They were admitted to the Prince Mshiyeni Hospital at Umlazi.

A 10-year-old boy, Ernest Ntuzhini, whose four brothers and sisters were killed, escaped unharmed.

The Bureau's spokesman said that AK-47 shells were found outside the house and said that police had not ruled out the possibility that guerrillas were responsible for the killings.

## AK-47s

Early yesterday morning senior police officers were at the scene of the killing and police with tracker dogs were following every possible lead.

It is believed that the group travelling in a

vehicle were seen near the home of Mr Ntuli shortly before the attack.

It is also believed that the house was first petrol-bombed and that as the occupants fled the blazing home the gunmen armed with AK-47s opened fire.

Commenting on the shooting, KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was "shocked by the dimensions which violence between the African National Congress/United Democratic Front Alliance and Inkatha is assuming."

Officials of the UDF have accused Inkatha of staging the attack in revenge for recent killings of Inkatha followers.

# 12 shot dead in cold blood

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HOUSE OF DEATH... mourners outside Mr Ntuli's bullet-riddled home.

VALID TO 28 JANUARY 1987

**SCORE**

SUPERMARKETS

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PRICES**

**GUARANTEED!**

PRICES CANDLES 450 g

**69c**



# Apology: Uproar in Labour Party

AKS 22/11/87  
(Cont from Page 1)

Hendrickse, said that in his letter to Mr Botha, Mr Hendrickse had said he did not feel sorry about the swim — only the offence it might have caused.

It was "difficult to say" if Mr Hendrickse was right in apologising for causing offence.

"All of us had said he should not apologise. But someone let us down by going to the Press with the story when it was still under discussion in the Cabinet."

Mr Lockey said he thought the President's actions had been "mean" and "vindictive."

The matter will be discussed again at a caucus meeting on Tuesday. It was thrashed out at a Cabinet meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday and Mr Botha gave details at a Press conference last night.

Mr Hendrickse said today that his decision to apologise was a "healthy compromise" and not a climbdown. It had

11P  
been done in the spirit of resolving the dispute in the best interests of the country.

He had been reassured about his right to differ.

## ELECTIONS

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has denied claims that he sided with Mr Hendrickse and that he would consider leaving the Cabinet if Mr Hendrickse was forced to do so.

Following Mr Hendrickse's apology the possibility of elections for the Houses of Representatives and of Delegates has been averted.

Mr Botha confirmed last night that elections would only be held for the House of Assembly.

He said the dispute was over procedure to be followed when Ministers differed with him.

When he first announced the present multi-party Cabinet in 1984 he had said he would tolerate differences of opinion but

Ministers would have to clear this with him before they expressed them in public.

This principle had been violated and the rules of the Cabinet had been broken because Mr Hendrickse had publicised his differences without consulting him.

Mr Botha said his party was committed in principle to maintaining separate residential areas, not the Group Areas Act as such.

It had therefore been referred to the President's Council. Until the council had completed its report the matter could not be dealt with further.

In terms of the oath Ministers took they agreed to fill the position with dignity and to maintain the constitution and all other laws.

When Mr Hendrickse "had marched in swimming trunks along with other Ministers" he broke the undertaking.

● Reaction, Hendrickse's letter in full, Page 13.



# Court told UDF opposes violence

11/4  
28/1/83

**DELMAS** — The indictment against 19 men standing trial in Delmas, on charges of high treason, was distorted, the defence claimed in its opening address.

Outlining the defence case, Mr Arthur Chaskalson (SC), launched an attack against the allegation by the state that the UDF conspired with the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party to overthrow the South African Government.

He also indicated that the defence's case could last "at least as long as the state's", which began in June 1985.

Evidence which had been placed before the

court so far on certain material issues was inaccurate and selective in certain instances, said Mr Chaskalson.

He added that the UDF was formed in response to the public debate in South African politics at the time.

He said calls for the establishment of a broad united front, were first made in the early 1980s.

A statement by the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, on January 8, 1983, for the establishment of a broad democratic united front, was not even known about in South African political circles, as ANC documents and publica-

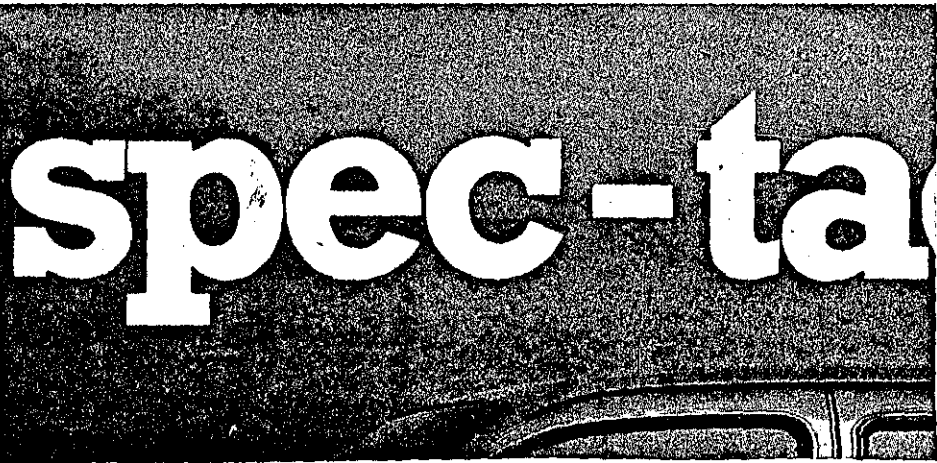
tions were banned, he said.

The first public call for such a front was made by Dr Allan Boesak on January 6, 1983, and was repeated by various other political parties.

This call was a direct response to the decision by the Labour Party to take part in the new tricameral Parliament.

The defence would show, he said, that the UDF was opposed to violent means.

Mr Chaskalson said evidence would be placed before the court that the UDF was not at any time involved in events that led to any uprising. — Sapa

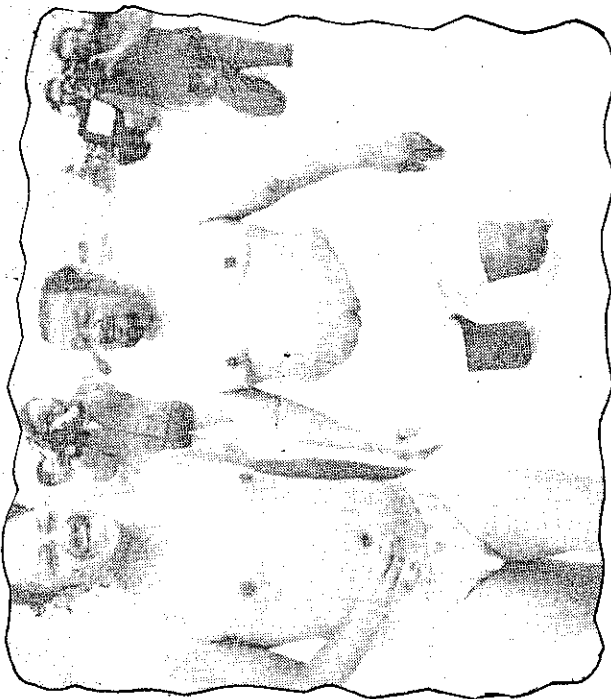
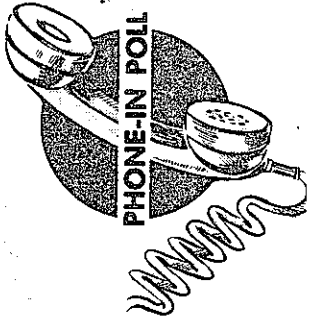


## Apology: The right decision?

PRESIDENT P W Botha gave the Rev Allan Hendrickse three choices: "apologise, leave the Cabinet or I will dissolve Parliament".

Mr Hendrickse apologised. Did he make the right choice?

Argus readers are invited to give their views in a phone-in poll between noon and 9pm today on the telephone numbers 24 5560 and 23 9316 only.



Flashback to that controversial swim ...

# Uproar Over Hendrickse

ARGUS 22/11/77  
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By TOS WENTZEL,  
Political Correspondent

THERE is uproar in the Labour Party after the decision by its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, to apologise to President P W Botha.

This follows the row over the Port Elizabeth swimming incident, the Group Areas Act and restrictions on the media.

Some Labour MPs feel Mr Hendrickse went against the feelings of a meeting of the party's parliamentary caucus and that its credibility in the coloured community has been damaged.

They say they have been inundated with telephone calls from Labour Party supporters expressing concern.

At the hastily called meeting in Cape Town on Monday night the feeling was that Mr Hendrickse should not apologise and it should be left to Mr Botha to sack him or to dissolve the House of Representatives.

These were the options Mr Botha gave Mr Hendrickse.

Many Labour MPs were caught by surprise when they heard Mr Botha's announcement on television last night.

As one Labour Party MP put it today, the consensus reached at the caucus meeting was that the ball should be placed firmly in Mr Botha's court.

Mr Charles Redcliffe, MP for Schauderville, said today he felt betrayed. He did not know what had happened since the caucus meeting.

Mr Peter Mop, MP for Border, said he would swim wherever and whenever he wanted to.

However, Mr Abie Williams, MP for Mairre who was one of the party members who swam with his leader, said: "Mr Hendrickse has shown that he is a greater statesman. He has put the interests of reform and the country before his own interests."

"I still have the greatest respect for him. He has shown the courage of a great leader, whereas the President put the interests of the National Party before the interests of the country."

### "Blown up"

Mr Jac Rabie, deputy-national chairman of the party and Transvaal leader, said Mr Hendrickse had not apologised for swimming but only for any offence this might have caused the President.

"I don't think the party will have suffered damage. Mr Hendrickse said he would always oppose the Separate Amenities Act, so I'm not worried."

"I think the whole thing was blown up unnecessarily by the President."

Mr Desmond Lockey, nominated MP and son-in-law of Mr

(Turn to Page 3, Col 3)

BACK TO SCHOOL ... DESPITE THE CRACKDOWNS

# Swabbing out the township past

MEN wielding paint brushes and carrying pails of paint are busy removing the names of leaders of the outlawed African National Congress and the South African Communist Party from the walls of black schools.

The names — Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Joe Slovo — were painted on the walls by young activists in township classrooms in the past two years.

Emblazoned on school walls in townships around Johannesburg, they signalled a bid to rename the schools after them in recognition of their fight against the established order.

The men armed with swabs were ordered into action after a visit to black schools in Alexandra by the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Sam de Beer.

It was as if he were trying to wipe the slate clean ... to begin again at the beginning.

The new year undoubtedly started differently. Thousands of black pupils returned to school, signalling the end of the boycott which disrupted black education in South Africa last year and, at different levels of intensity, every year since 1980.

But the struggle between the Department of Education of Training and its radical foes for control of township classrooms is far from over. It has merely entered a new phase.

The demand of many black pupils returning to school after the turmoil and boycotts last year is for "people's education".

After a brief flirtation, the boycott-encouraging slogan "liberation before education" has been discarded. It has been replaced by a new rallying cry: "people's education for people's power".

The aim is not to boycott state-run schools but to change them from

Last year the schools were daubed with new names: Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu. This year, officials with paint buckets are blacking them out. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

within by the introduction of courses designed to help pupils to "understand the evils of apartheid" and to prepare them for "participation in a non-racial, democratic system".

It is against that background that most black organisations have urged pupils to return to school.

The National Education Crisis Committee has called on the government to grant control of black education to the black community, saying: "We want to resume the duty of setting syllabuses."

The authorities are clearly nervous of the new demands, as manifest by

two successive Emergency decrees.

The first empowered the director-general of black education to prohibit any course not approved under the Education Act of 1979, thus effectively outlawing all but officially approved courses. The second, issued a week ago by Police Commissioner Johann Coetzee, forbade all meetings held under the auspices of the NECC where people's education is even discussed.

Most NECC executive members are already in detention, including its chairman, Vusi Khanyile, and its secretary, Molefe Tsele. So, too, is Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of *New Nation* and chairman of the NECC commission into an alternative people's education.

The Minister of Education and Training, Gerrit Viljoen, has charged on television that people's education is inspired by political rather than

educational objectives. He cited its declared aim of eliminating "capitalist norms of competition" as evidence of its Marxist outlook.

Eric Molobi, one of the few NECC executive members who has managed to elude the Security Police, hit back promptly. "(Viljoen) has correctly interpreted people's education as a threat to his government," he commented.

Molobi rejected a cherished and oft-repeated notion of the Department of Education and Training: that it offers a politically-free education.

"We reject Bantu Education as a reactionary education system, very political in content and form," he said. "It is not coincidental that students refer to it as 'gutter education' because it is just that."

He was seemingly referring to without specifically quoting the words of the architect of Bantu Education, Hendrik Verwoerd, who declared: "There is no place for (the black man) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

The Department of Education and Training has repudiated that statement — in the words of Jaap Strydom, acting director general of black education — "over and over and over again".

But the suspicion lingers in the black community that behind all the new terminology the intention is still the same.

Molobi, who helped with the first draft of a people's education history textbook, challenged Viljoen to deny that history, as taught in state schools, black and white, teemed with "historical and political discrepancies, omissions and distortions, aimed at maintaining white minority rule while belittling the majority of our people".

Where Strydom has justified Emergency measures as necessary to keep "intruders and intimidators" out of black schools, Molobi countered by referring to the posting of soldiers in schoolyards.

"It is strange that he conveniently ignores the role of the South African Defence Force," Molobi said.

By any criteria — per capita expenditure, teacher-pupil ratios, end-of-school exam results — black education is inferior to the education received by white children.

Per capita expenditure on black children is less than a sixth of that on white children. Teacher-pupil ratios for blacks are about 1:40 against 1:20 for whites. End-of-school pass rates are much lower in black schools, 50 against 90 percent.

Black education is not merely second best. It is fourth best, being inferior — by the criteria cited above — to the state education given to Indian and coloured children.

But many black parents — perhaps even a clear majority — want the turmoil in schools to end. Peter Mundell, of the Department of Education and Training, contended: "Black parents are determined to cut the clutter and get on with it."

The attrition rate at black schools is disturbing. For every 100 black pupils who start school, only 10 survive to write the school-leaving exam at the end of standard 10. Of these, only 50 percent pass — against more than 90 percent for whites, nearly 86 percent for Indians and about 66 percent for coloureds.

Faced with the threat of a whole generation of drop-outs, a majority of parents may even temporarily settle for inferior education as better than no education. Their children may be less pragmatic, even in the short term.

As the South African National Students Congress warned: "We must warn the government that if going back to school means more swallowing of the colonialist education that we so abhor, then it will have itself to blame if schools are going to run empty."

Whatever the immediate outcome, as Viljoen has conceded, there can be no long-term solution to the crisis in schools until blacks are accommodated politically. That, however, is a long way off.

## The school trickle becomes a flood

By SEFAKO NYAKA

YEARS of class boycotts in black schools seem finally to be over as hundreds of thousands of pupils have flocked back to classes in the past week.

The intake in some areas is so high that for the past week officials have been battling to cope with the registration of pupils.

The influx is attributed to return-to-school pleas by community, political, church and educational organisations. Earlier the Azanian People's Organisation, the UDF and its affiliates, the NECC and the Azanian Student Movement called on pupils to return to school.

"Our education system has suffered severe disruption for more than two years and we have already lost thousands of youngsters who will never get the schooling they need.

"Teachers, parents, and community leaders must do everything in their power to get the schools humming again. We owe it to our children and their future," Leepile Taunyane, president of the Transvaal United African Teachers Association said.

The South African National Students' Congress said the return to school should be a challenge to the Department of Education and Training to resolve the education crisis.

The radical student voice seems to be drowned by the well-intentioned voice of the moderates, and pupils have indicated they will be on the lookout for agent provocateurs wanting to disrupt their education.

DET representative Peter Mundell said although comprehensive reports will only be available after all the paperwork has been done, "the reports from all the regions are very positive. The gist of it is that each region reports a higher enrolment than last year."

The high turnout comes in the wake of stringent emergency regulations to control the movement and actions of black pupils.

The regulations demand that parents must guarantee that their children will not be responsible for anything which might lead to the DET closing the institutions again.

The regulations also effectively squash "people's education".

How long pupils will remain in class depends on whether they make any new demands, how the DET responds to these, and how it handles the controversy surrounding pupil admission forms.

Parents are particularly worried about an indemnity clause in the forms, which states: "...in the event of my child/ward being conveyed in a government vehicle, or any other form of transport I indemnify the State and State employees against any claim for compensation as a result of loss of life or personal injury to my child/ward or any loss of life or damage to his/her property".

Parents believe this indemnifies the DET, SAP or SADF in the event of a pupil dying while being transported in a Casspir or police van.

Mundell said the clause refers to the use of departmental transport when pupils go on a soccer tour.

"It is exactly the same form that all parents have to sign. The same clause is in all enrolment forms issued by all education departments and I don't think black parents have any grounds for suspicion," Mundell said.

Some Soweto headmasters have written to the DET stating that parents have decided that despite their refusal to sign the forms, they are prepared to keep their children at school.

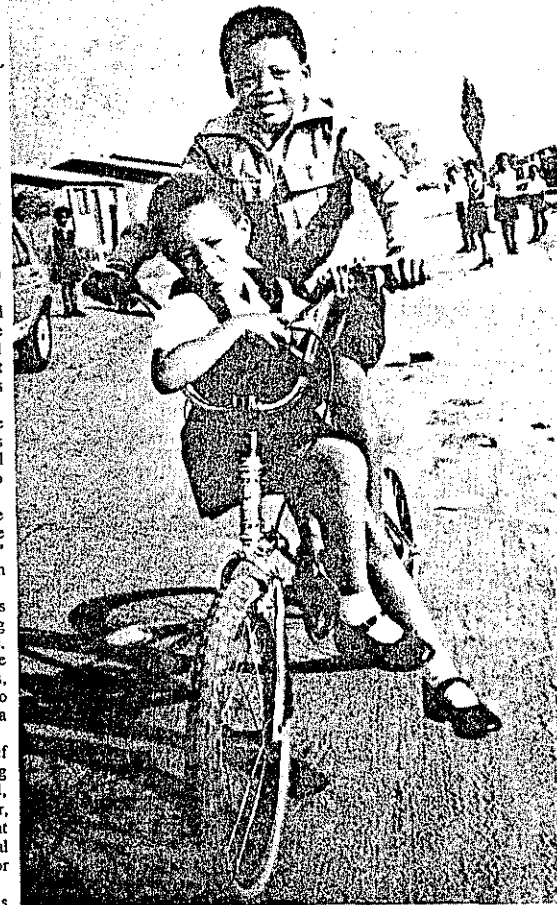
"I told the DET not to make an issue of the forms but rather to be pragmatic and accept the parents' word that they will keep their children at school," a headmaster said.

Mundell said if such a request was granted there was nothing preventing parents in other areas doing the same.

He said a minority of parents were unhappy about the admission forms, but once the sentence is explained to them, "there doesn't seem to be a problem anymore".

A request by students for a "brief period of revision before writing exams in February" has been rejected, Mundell said. At the end of last year, his department made it clear that under no circumstances would special examination sessions be arranged for 1987.

"Our experience last year taught us that the massive effort and expense was not justified. It did nothing to advance the cause of education".



On a bicycle built for one ... children born in the year the boycotts began join older siblings going back to school.

Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuters

## Gloomy days for those sent away

By SEFAKO NYAKA

GLOOM and despondency this week replaced the excitement that prevailed in the Masemola household last Wednesday.

A few days ago the Soweto family packed the belongings of their two sons and daughter and sent them off to a school at Burgersfort in the Lebowa bastuwan.

But at a meeting in Diepkloof last Saturday the issue of Soweto parents who sent their children to homeland schools was discussed.

Although no decision was taken, the family is worried that a decision to order parents to bring back their children might be made at this Saturday's continuation of the meeting.

For three years now Tebogo, Mmampho and Lebamang — and others in their age group — have not written exams.

Last year when it became clear it was going to be another "wasted year" for her children, widowed Dorah Masemola decided to send the children to her sister in Lebowa.

She previously turned down three offers from her sister to send the children to her, but now, after months of agonising indecision Masemola relented.

Sending the children away to school is a real sacrifice for Masemola, but she couldn't bear to see another year of "money down the drain" for school uniforms, books, fees and transport.

"My neighbour, who went to the meeting, told me that the issue of parents sending their children to schools in outlying areas was raised, but no decision was made. I understand a lot of pupils demanded that the children be fetched."

The prospect of bringing her children back to Soweto, after she got an advance from her employers to buy books, uniforms and pay for their transport to Burgersfort, is causing sleepless nights for Masemola.

"What worries me is that if a decision is made at Saturday's meeting

that they should come back, my children will be treated like outcasts if they go back to their former school."

The NECC and the Soweto Student Congress said no decision was taken to call for the return of pupils from the homelands.

But the radical element in the student body has accused some pupils of running away from it all.

"If you don't want your child to die, whose child do you expect to die? If you don't want your child to fight the education system, whose child do you expect to do that for him?" a pupil asked parents at the meeting.

While most parents agreed that "we should all be involved in the struggle" some felt that parents whose children were enrolled at schools outside Soweto should be allowed to keep them there.

Meanwhile, Masemola awaits the outcome of tomorrow's meeting keeping her fingers crossed that the radical element does not influence the decision.

week in hand  
23/1/87  
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# A silenced UDF's last 'platform': the court

By JO-ANN BEKKER

THE Delmas treason trial this week emerged as one of the few platforms from which the United Democratic Front, silenced by a snarl of legislation and Emergency regulations, could still present its views.

Last year — the year the front was declared an affected organisation, new press curbs banned reports on its campaigns and thousands of its affiliates' members were detained under two Emergencies — the state set out its case that the UDF and the Azanian People's Organisation had whipped up unrest to advance the African National Congress's aims of overthrowing the government.

Much of this year, defence counsel for the 19 Delmas trialists indicated on Wednesday, would be devoted to presenting a detailed case to prove the UDF was an independent, legal, non-violent body, and that the trialists were therefore innocent of the charges of treason, subversion and murder.

A capacity crowd travelled to the East Rand town of Delmas on Wednesday to hear the start of the defence case. UDF president Albertina Sisulu led a delegation of women wearing the green and black uniforms of the Federation of South African Women.

Outlining the defence case, Arthur Chaskalson said it would strive to refute the state's claim that the UDF had been formed in response to a call by ANC president Oliver Tambo, and that the banned organisation had directed the front's campaigns.

Charging the state with using selective and inaccurate evidence, Chaskalson added that Tambo's call for the organisation of democratic forces into a united front was nothing new.

"There had been attempts previously to establish such fronts," he said, "and the theme of unity in opposition to apartheid has been a constant and recurring theme within the liberation movement in South Africa for many years."

Chaskalson said the defence would call witnesses to prove the UDF's formation sprang from a groundswell of widespread opposition to the government's proposed new constitution in 1982 and 1983. After Dr Allan Boesak, head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, called for a united front of opposition in January 1983, the embryo of the UDF was formed at a meeting organised by the Anti-SA Indian Council on January 22.

Chaskalson said the prominent UDF members among the 19 remaining trialists — general secretary Popo Molefe, publicity secretary Patrick Lekota and former Transvaal secretary Moss Chikane — would all describe how they came to take up positions in the organisation. None had had any knowledge of Tambo's statement.

Lekota, in fact, had initially been opposed to the idea of a front, believing there weren't sufficient opposition organisations to justify the step.

Chaskalson said the defence case's was that the UDF's policy of non-violent opposition to apartheid outlined at its national launch in Cape Town in August 1983 accurately reflected its aspirations and intentions. There was no "secret agenda" for the overthrow of the state by violence, as the state claimed.

The three young trialists who were released, for lack of evidence, after the state ended its case last year were present in the public gallery this week.

The state is considering a new bill to amend the provisions of the 1982 and 1983 constitutions, which would allow for a period of more than two years.

# Hendrickse: Saying sorry doesn't mean humiliation

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday he would flout apartheid laws again, but that he was convinced of the correctness of his decision to apologize to the State President.

At a news conference yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said his apology should not be seen as a humiliation because he did not apologize for swimming at a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth. He offered an apology only because his swim at Kings Beach earlier this month might be interpreted as a personal affront to Mr Botha and his authority.

Mr Hendrickse said the justification for his apology was that Mr Botha allowed him to exercise the dictates of his conscience. The overriding factor was the interest of the country which meant an effort to reduce the "climate of hostility and avoid the further growth of resentment".

By Ebrahim Moosa  
Political Reporter

He denied that his backdown damaged his personal credibility or that of the Labour Party and that it had not caused dissension within the ranks of his party.

Yesterday many Labour Party MPs were reluctant to speak about the incident which has clearly turned into an embarrassing situation although no one gave any indication of open conflict with the leadership.

Mr Christmas Tinto, a UDF executive member, said Mr Hendrickse would rather "lick his master's boots" than risk an election where he would be rejected.

"Notwithstanding his beach stunt the LP is indistinguishable from the National Party. If any LP member still has any self-respect he should resign immediately."

Mr Hendrickse said he was not afraid to go to the polls which would lead to confrontation with extra-parliamentary forces as in 1984. He cited a poll, which he did not source, indicating that the LP's support had grown and that it would receive 48% of coloured support if an election was held.

He had only consulted the party's caucus on Tuesday as a "democratic" gesture and was not bound to their request not to issue an apology to Mr Botha.

He predicted that beach apartheid would soon be something of the past and added that his party would review its decision on the the Group Areas Act later this year.

□ Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates, who was also drawn into the Hendrickse-Botha fiasco for his alleged support of Mr Hendrickse, yesterday said his caucus would have to decide what course of action he should have taken if the confrontation continued.

SAYING "sorry" for his seaside capers has earned ire for the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Eric Oettle, Ladismith: "Mr Hendrickse has gone from defying beach apartheid by swimming on a 'white beach' to deifying it, by apologizing for the incident."

Mr O McKay, Kuils River: "By apologizing to the State President, Mr Hendrickse has lost a golden opportunity to wreck the farcical tricameral system, and become a truly great South African statesman."

Mr A Flaendorp, Macassar: "As a coloured person I am very upset with Mr Hendrickse. Now the world can see that the Labour Party is the puppet of P W Botha."

Mr Ralph Williams, Mitchells Plain: "The only thing for the Rev Hendrickse to do is get out of politics. There's no way that he or his party can make a comeback after this performance."

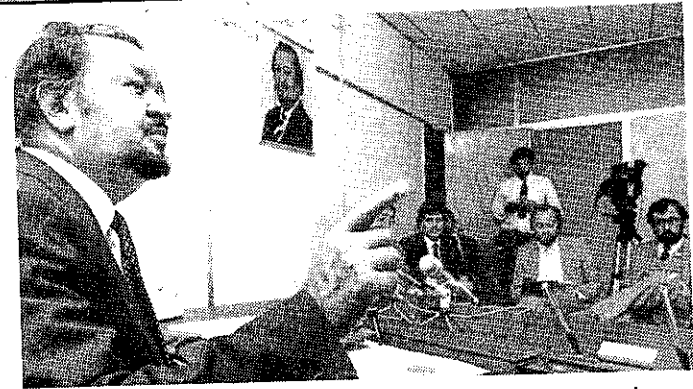
Mr Cecil Fingo, Steenberg: "After boldly defying apartheid, the Rev Hendrickse now cowers at chastisement. If he is apologizing for merely swimming on a beach, how will he ever be able to fight or abolish the Group Areas Act?"

Mr H Moletsane, Rocklands: "Mr Hendrickse is a disgrace to the coloured community. Why should he apologize for doing the right thing?"

Mr Mike Fraser, Pniel: "The Rev Hendrickse has proved himself a spineless jellyfish. The sea should have kept him."

Mr A Hendricks, Crawford: "Since when does one have to apologize for using a facility provided by God for the pleasure and enjoyment of all his people, irrespective of race, colour or creed?"

Mr Abe Parker, Surrey Estate: "Now that Mr Hendrickse has apologized,



Rev Allan Hendrickse at a press conference yesterday.

maybe we can expect President Botha and company to apologize and try to rectify years of enforced embarrassment, degradation and humiliation of blacks."

Mrs S McKay, Kuils River: "It serves the Rev Hendrickse right for thinking that he could 'promote change within the system'."

Mr J Edwards, Kalk Bay: "What has the Labour Party got to say now? P W Botha wielded the big stick and Allan Hendrickse and his pals just back down, saying 'Sorry, boss, we won't do it again.'"

Mr C Gordi, Grassy Park: "We thought that Allan Hendrickse was a hero, but not any more. He should now apologize to the people and resign."

Mrs G A Osman, Crawford: "The State President's speech and the humble apologies of the Rev Hendrickse have again shown that the Labour Party, far from fighting apartheid, is nothing but the paid servant of the National Party."

Mrs Isabel Hendricks, Cape Town: "What Allan Hendrickse did stinks."

Mr M Adams, Walmer Estate: "Mr Hendrickse has always lacked credibility, but now he has been publicly humiliated for taking a swim!"

Mr Isaac Hendricks, Firgrove: "Where is Mr Hendrickse's pride? Martin Luther King died for his beliefs."

□ To comment on any issue, contact Teleletters 208-4726 between 9am and noon.

# UDF says it might be forced to abandon non-violence

JOHANNESBURG—The United Democratic Front said yesterday it might be forced to abandon non-violence because of a lack of foreign pressure to end apartheid.

In an open letter to the United States Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, the UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, commended the U S Government for agreeing to meet the leader of the African National Congress.

Mr Morobe praised the planned meeting between Mr Shultz and ANC President Mr Oliver Tambo in Washington on Monday. He said Americans should denounce 'the violence and intransigence' of the South

African Government.

'The UDF and the legal opposition movement are being thrust into a position where it may have to review its non-violent principles,' Mr Morobe added.

'It will be the failure of

the United States and the world to use all ways in which the apartheid system can effectively be brought to an end that will leave us with no alternative but to turn from peaceful means,' he said. — (Sapa)

11/23/87 (11A)

# I did not lose credibility — Hendrickse

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, has defended his decision to go against the feeling of his party's parliamentary caucus by apologising to President P W Botha.

He said yesterday the Labour Party was "a very democratic party". Consultation with the caucus had taken place, but no definite decision which bound him was taken.

Anyone in a leadership position sometimes had to interpret the feeling in a party in terms of the position he might find himself in at any particular stage, he said.

Mr Hendrickse dismissed criticism of his decision to apologise as coming from "only a few" in the party's parliamentary ranks.

The matter is bound to be raised again at a caucus of the

party on Tuesday, when Mr Hendrickse will again explain his decision.

Feeling is building up among Labour MPs that in the coming session of Parliament the party must "get back" at Mr Botha for having "bullied" Mr Hendrickse into apologising. Sharp criticism of Nationalist policies and the pace of reform is expected.

Although the MPs, even those who are disappointed, may rally round Mr Hendrickse, there is concern about the damage to the party's image and credibility in the coloured community. Mr Hendrickse, however, said he did not think what happened was a blow to his credibility.

## Defy laws again

Mr Hendrickse said he had not apologised for having swum on a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth, but because this action might be interpreted as an affront to the President. He believed his action

could contribute to the abolition of beach apartheid in Natal and the Eastern Cape.

He intimated that he would, if necessary, defy apartheid laws again.

The decision to apologise was the right one at the right time, taken to prevent a return to the style of confrontation and protest politics and to continue with negotiation instead in the interests of the country.

● Mr Tian van der Merwe, Progressive Federal Party MP for Green Point, said that if the President had to go on TV for 20 minutes to tell people how he rapped a Cabinet colleague for swimming on a white beach, just to assure the people he was still in control, then his political demise could not be far off.

He said Nationalist policies and propaganda had become more woolly and meaningless as their propaganda and advertising had become more slick and expensive.

# Mandela generally regarded as SA's leader, says accused

11A STAR 23/11/87

By Sejamothopo Motau

DELMAS — Nelson Mandela, the life-imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC), is generally regarded as the leader of all black people in South Africa, an accused in the Delmas treason trial claimed yesterday.

Mr Bavumile Herbert Vilakazi (31), one of the 19 accused in the protracted trial that was resumed on Wednesday, made the claim during his second day on the witness stand for the defence.

He said he was not alone in this view. He cited Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, and Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of kaNgwane, who had declared they regarded Mandela as a leader of the black people of South Africa.

## ANC slogans chanted

Leading evidence for the defence, Mr George Bizos SC put it to Mr Vilakazi that it had been alleged that at the inaugural meeting of the Vaal Civic Association (VCA), which Mr Vilakazi had attended on October 9 1983, ANC songs were sung, ANC slogans were chanted, terror and terrorists were praised, and hatred and violence against whites was aroused.

Mr Vilakazi said he recalled that three songs, which he could not characterise as ANC songs, were sung while he was at the meeting.

These were "Hlanganani Basebenzi" (Workers Unite), "Senzeni Na?" (What have we done?/What can we do?) and "Singamasoja Ka Mandela" (We are Mandela's soldiers).

He said the first was a popular appeal for unity at trade union gatherings. The second had assumed the status of a hymn although it did not appear in any formal hymn book, and the last was popular at commemoration services, like June 16 and March 21, Sharpeville Day.

The 19 men have pleaded not guilty to the main charge of high treason and to alternative charges, which range from terrorism and subversion to murder.

The State claims they and the UDF conspired with the ANC and the South African Communist Party to ferment "bloody revolution" and to bring

about the overthrow of the State by violence.

Mr Vilakazi said he did not know any of the three songs to be ANC songs, neither did he regard the black national anthem "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika", as an ANC song.

He said the slogan chanted at the meeting was "Amandla", with its response "Awethu". He said the slogan meant "Kopane Ke Maatla" (unity is strength).

Pressed by the Bench, he considered that its literal meaning could be "power is ours".

He said the slogan "Mayibuye i Afrika" was "a cry" to express the deep desire among black people for the return of the land and for that land to be shared equally among the people, as was the case before the passing of the Land Act of 1913 and 1936.

He said he had used the slogan, but did not regard it as an ANC slogan. The slogan had been used openly even after the banning of the ANC in 1960, he said, and he did not know of anyone who had been arrested for using it.

Mr Vilakazi said he did not believe he was committing any offence when he sang the three songs at the VCA inaugural meeting and changed the slogan "Amandla, Awethu".

He said he understood the slogan "Aluta Continua" to mean the struggle continues. He had first become aware of the slogan in 1974 in conjunction with the independence of Mozambique.

Mr Vilakazi said he had been opposed to the Lekoa Town Council elections, which were held in November 1983, but that he had not done anything to disrupt the elections.

He added that none of the protesting VCA members had intimidated voters or disrupted the elections or indulged in any "abnormal practices".

## Deny allegations

The accused said he would deny any allegations that the VCA had adopted as its official colours black, green and gold (the colours of the ANC).

He would also deny any allegation that the VCA received financial support from the ANC or the UDF, except for a small loan which had been paid back to the UDF.

Mr Vilakazi said he had not heard Mr Curtis Nkondo, a speaker at the first meeting of the VCA, advocate that "whites should be employed to kill other whites".

Earlier Mr Vilakazi had told the court that another speaker at the meeting, Dr Nthatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, had been critical of the Black Local Authorities Act, but that he had not said anything to excite the "black masses" of South Africa to revolt.

Mr Vilakazi also said that there was no formal link between the VCA and the banned Congress of South African Students

The hearing continues.





Dr Boesak

Mr Tambo

# Boesak and Tambo share US platform

*APR Times*  
23/1/87  
11A

**NEW YORK.** — The president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the patron of the United Democratic Front Dr Allan Boesak spoke at the first Olaf Palme memorial lecture on disarmament and development at the Riverside church here on Wednesday night.

Both speakers received standing ovations before and after their speeches from the audience in the packed church.

Mr Tambo and his organization are banned his address cannot be reported.

Mr Palme, the Swedish prime minister who was gunned down by an unknown assassin nearly a year ago, had was one of the strongest opponents of apartheid.

Dr Boesak told the audience: "Mr Reagan is still wishing to jump into bed with Pretoria, but you are here and you are doing something different..."

— Sapa-Reuter

UDF hails  
Shultz meeting  
with ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front yesterday hailed a scheduled meeting between the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and an outlawed African National Congress official as "a historical breakthrough".

Mr Shultz, at the request of the US, meets the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in Washington on January 28. It will be the most senior US government contact with the organization Pretoria labels as communist-led terrorists.

"We commend the US government for coming to the realization that a solution to the conflict in South Africa is not possible without the participation of the ANC," a UDF spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, said in a statement.

"We view the forthcoming meeting as a historic breakthrough," he said. — UPI

# Mine concealed with Bibles, terror trial told

STAR 23/1/87 Own Correspondent  
MARITZBURG — Two people dressed in church  
going suits, carrying a mine hidden with two Bibles,  
blasted the home of the chairman of the Ministers'  
Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Raj-  
bansi, the terrorism trial in the Supreme Court was  
held yesterday.

A witness, "D", who cannot be named and who has  
been warned as an accomplice, admitted placing the  
mine, which had been camouflaged with grass.

"D" said: "One of the people of the ANC cell we  
have formed carried the mine with Bibles under his  
left arm. We walked, followed by two more cell  
members dressed in track suits. They were bouncing  
the ball. As we approached the wall of the house the  
one person pulled out the detonator.

"As we walked, one of the persons behind us threw  
the ball, and shouted and asked us to pass the ball.

"As they called for the ball they turned, and I  
placed the mine next to the wall and threw the ball  
back.

"We walked on to a car that was waiting for us.  
The next day I phoned accused Dr Vejaynand Indur-  
jith Ramlakan, and he congratulated me and said  
that the guys were very happy about the explosion."

"D" said Dr Ramlakan had given him the choice  
of using a mini-limpet or a bigger limpet.

"I said I would prefer to use a bigger charge as it  
would be more effective.

"However, Lincoln (commander of Umkhonto we  
Sizwe) said that I should use the smaller charge be-  
cause the whole purpose of the Rajbansi bombing was  
political.

"I then decided to use the mini-limpet because Lin-  
coln was the commander."

The hearing continues.

# Realistic Soviets rate SA low in scale of priorities

CARE Times 23/1/87 (25) 117

WHAT are the Soviet Union's real intentions in South Africa? How high does it rate South Africa in its scale of priorities?

Suddenly the answers — or what seem to be the answers — are flooding in. They all point to Moscow taking a very realistic view of the South African prospects. A prominent academic from Moscow's Africa Institute, Gleb Starushenko, in a report to the second Soviet-African conference "for peace, co-operation and social progress" in June last year, expressed the opinion that:

- Whites are not tied to the chariot of apartheid.
  - They will prefer compromise to dying in the last ditch.
  - In any negotiated settlement they should be given a minority veto — one of the "comprehensive guarantees" the ANC should offer them.
  - There should be no broad nationalization of capitalist property.
  - And the SA Communist Party should wait until conditions are mature before it tries to implement its own policies.
- In passing, Starushenko writes off the PAC and black consciousness movement as "reactionaries".
- Next, Dr Winrich Kuhne, a European expert on Soviet Africa policy, claims that the Russians believe that:
- Even after the fall of apartheid, South Africa will remain economically linked to the West.
  - The black opposition is too spontaneous and unorganized and the "young comrades" do not understand socialism.
  - Experience of ethnic conflict in countries like Ethiopia and Angola has convinced the Soviets that national reconciliation is important from the beginning and organizations like Inkatha, therefore, should be included in the peace negotiations.
  - There is no profit in allowing the situation in South Africa to become too uncontrolled.

## In harmony with SACP

Both these reports have appeared in Weekly Mail. The third commentator is the West European correspondent of the informative London-based newsletter Africa Analysis.

He supports the view that the Soviet Union does not want to get drawn into an escalating military situation in Southern Africa. He claims that the more realistic Soviet Africanists seem to have lost faith in Africa ever advancing to socialism in the orthodox Marxist-Leninist sense. They agree, too, that economically South Africa will remain linked closely to the West.

A new generation of Soviet Africanists reportedly are taking over. They are taking a hard and critical look at the costs and risks of substantial involvement in violence in South Africa. They doubt whether the ANC and the SA Communist Party are able to control developments in the black townships.

I suspect — and this is guesswork — that these new sounds emanating from Moscow are in harmony rather than in conflict with current thinking in the SACP. This is not a case of Moscow trying to bend the SACP to its will, as happened just after the formation of the Communist Party of South Africa in the 1920s.

An account of that period is given in a new book which has just been published here, "Soviet Policy Towards South Africa" by Kurt M Campbell (Macmillan). With its 163 pages of text and 54 pages of notes, references, bibliography and index, it is not a particularly insightful book, but it does pull together some interesting chapters.

Campbell's first chapter covers 90 years of "diverse contacts" between Russia and South Africa, starting with the South African War (1899-1902). Russia (like Germany, France and the Netherlands) gave moral and material help to the Boers, its primary aim being "a desire to disrupt British influence in Asia and Africa".

However, Russian Marxists, while critical of British imperialism, opposed Russian aid to the Boers. Lenin denounced the Russian "imperialists and capitalists" whose support for the Boers, he said, was motivated by a quest for empire. Any "internationalist" support would have to address the issue of South Africa's oppressed non-whites, the legitimate owners of the country.

From the very inception of Bolshevik power, South Africa was the cornerstone of early Soviet policy in sub-Saharan Africa and Moscow regarded the Communist Party of South Africa as the "ideological and organizational leader of the revolutionary communist movement in other parts of black Africa".

Campbell suggests that "the vagaries of



## London Dateline

By STANLEY UYS



Moscow ... South Africa figures very low on its list of global priorities.

Soviet foreign policy have on several occasions served to impede rather than promote the national liberation struggle in South Africa".

The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), formed in 1921 with a nearly exclusively white membership of several hundred, was the first communist party in Africa. It was affiliated to the Comintern (Communist International).

CPSA and Comintern policy diverged between 1921-27 when the Comintern wanted the CPSA to integrate blacks into the white labour movement, and the CPSA responded that most white workers did not support multiracial organizations. In 1922 the CPSA supported the Rand miners' strike under the banner "For a White South Africa".

Sidney Bunting, speaking before the Fourth Comintern Congress in 1922, said that to persuade white workers "to abandon their prejudice against native labour organization was nearly an impossible task". The Comintern, according to Campbell, did not fully appreciate the complexity of South African society. It proposed "an independent native South African republic, as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' government with full, equal rights for all races black, coloured and white".

This departure from previous Comintern policy towards South Africa "was met with disbelief and disagreement from many CPSA members. Instead of struggling for the equality of all workers, the CPSA was being called on to further African nationalism at the expense of a multiracial approach to South Africa's situation. Most of the white membership of the CPSA opposed the new line from Moscow".

The CPSA was predominantly white, its black membership in 1927 numbering probably between 50 and 100. Campbell says it is impossible to know whether the party would have acquired a "black coloration", because "with the Comintern's 'Black Republic' resolution in 1928, the party lost the foothold it had achieved among South Africa's black population".

The CPSA refused to accept Moscow's instructions, and in the early 1930s, with the full authority of the Comintern ranged against them, Bunting and other leading communists were purged from the party. Yet by 1936 the "Native Republic" slogan had disappeared from the CPSA platform.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, therefore, marked "the end of the CPSA's autonomy from Moscow and the beginning of absolute discipline to central authority which was demanded by Stalin. The programme for a Native Republic was essentially a unilateral decision taken in Moscow and ... represented a test of loyalty for party members".

The Comintern could not come to terms with South Africa's race and class complexities. "The Comintern's policy of applying Leninist-Stalinist theories of self-determination to South Africa failed because the vast majority of blacks did not want a separate state, but rather full citizenship rights".

The Comintern was dissolved in 1943. It had controlled the destiny of the CPSA for nearly 25 years.

Today, according to Campbell, "most Soviet observers see a long struggle ahead, with the white regime holding on to power well into the 1990s. Recent Soviet literature has stressed the need for a multiracial approach to South Africa's problems.

## Ideological differences

"It is correct to speak of Soviet influence over the ANC, but clearly the USSR does not control the liberation movement in South Africa. There are indeed a few interlocking membership or 'organic links' between the ANC and the Communist Party, but the ideological differences between the ANC and the SACP are vast.

"Both the ANC and the SACP acknowledge that the organizations are separate and independent from one another and that the ANC is the leader of the alliance. To assume that in any collaboration between African nationalists and white communists the latter will inevitably dominate is to underestimate the experience and sophistication of nationalist leaders."

Campbell concludes that South Africa is not central to Soviet strategy or planning. It is 8 000 km away, the Soviets lack first-hand sources of information in South Africa, lack of economic levers detracts from Soviet influence in Southern Africa, and cultural differences between Russians and blacks "may pose some obstacles to co-operation".

As the Soviets see it then, Campbell claims, the liberation struggle in South Africa will be "a long process". The white regime "faces no immediate threat from internal revolution or insurrection".

The factors which inhibit the black struggle in South Africa, as acknowledged by Soviet writers, says Campbell, include "the low level of class and political consciousness among blacks, the lack of experience and training of the revolutionary forces, the rise of 'black racism', the absence of legal leadership of the revolutionary movement, the spontaneous character of many actions".

Finally, a serious obstacle to the liberation struggle is the "powerful military-repressive potential of the white minority state".

To sum up: South Africa ranks low in the Soviet Union's scale of priorities. The Soviet Union is simply not convinced that an all-out effort in South Africa is worth the risks or that it will ensure adequate returns.

# NRP organises bid to launch national Indaba

PRETORIA—The formation of a 'national indaba' involving all races will be discussed at a pilot meeting in Pretoria tomorrow.

The New Republic Party's Transvaal secretary, Mr Klasie Viljoen, and its constitutional adviser, Prof Dan Kriek from Unisa, told a Press conference here yesterday that such a convention would offer moderates 'the last chance' to discuss peaceful change.

Various political parties and homelands leaders had been approached to participate, but not the African National Congress or 'radical and militant people', Mr Viljoen said.

'Reasonable people can mediate, radicals cannot,' he said.

It was envisaged that the group would discuss the institution of 'a constitutional dispensation which will restore peace in the country', he said, and present its proposals to President Botha.

Mr Viljoen said he would like to accept that Mr Botha would be reasonable enough 'at least to listen.'

The NRP, which, Mr Viljoen pointed out, had also initiated the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, had invited the following parties to

participate:

The chief ministers from Gazankulu, Kangwane, Qwa-Qwa, Kwandebele, KwaZulu, and Lebowa, the Labour Party, the National People's Party, the Progressive Federal Party, the United Christian Conciliation Party, the Solidarity Party, and the Organisation of Black Local Authorities.

## Agitation

Eight parties had already accepted the invitation, but the PFP had not yet responded.

The joint conveners of Saturday's meeting are NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton and Lebowa's Dr Cedric Phatudi.

Mr Viljoen said in a news release: 'To put an end to agitation and unrest a new dispensation is needed in South Africa in which all population groups will share. The bottom line for such a dispensation is the inclusion of blacks in Parliament.'

'The conveners of the Pretoria meeting confidentially expect it to be the beginning of an alliance of reasonable South Africans which will form the foundation of a new, peaceful South Africa.' — (Sapa)

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SOUTHERN AFRICA

## Western shifts

The doubling of British military aid to Mozambique and US Secretary of State George Shultz's African tour, to be followed by his controversial meeting with the African National Congress, are not unconnected. They highlight an important shift in emphasis in the relationship between SA and its major Western allies.

On his safari through five west African states and Kenya, Shultz said that although the US was continuing to engage SA, "hopefully constructively," the time was not right for "any new initiative."

Britain apparently shares that perception.

It is shifting its southern Africa policy more towards shoring up the economies of the Frontline states than it is trying to facilitate dialogue within SA. Britain is training Mozambican army officers in Zimbabwe and selling the Chissano government military hardware. More significant is that the UK is becoming a key player in moves to resuscitate alternative transport networks north of the Limpopo — specifically the strategic Beira corridor.

What the political power brokers in the region seem to have embarked upon is a delicate game of political brinkmanship. It has the potential to put SA on a path of dangerous confrontation with the West. And, of all the potential flashpoints, the most likely is the Beira Corridor.

### Destabilisation threat

Natal University professor Gavin Maasdorp, who made a study of the region, is convinced that Western policy shifts pose a threat for SA.

The reason: if SA's hand is thought to be behind any alleged destabilisation in Mozambique, and the Beira rail link in particular, it can only lead to a deterioration in the already frigid relationship with SA's part-

ners," he warns.

Moreover, he says talk of introducing additional troops, including British personnel, to protect the Beira corridor would serve to heighten the potential for wider military conflict in the region.

Some observers believe, however, that the rebel MNR could sustain its attacks on the Beira corridor even if an international or Pan-African force is sent to guard it. This possibility, and that of any alleged SA backing for the MNR, remains conjectural. It is sufficient to note that the US and UK will not take kindly to seeing their investment in the Beira project go up in smoke.

Britain may not have given up entirely on a negotiated settlement in SA, speculates Michael Spicer, who heads Anglo American's public affairs advisory division. But the

retrogressive events of 1986 and the failure of the Eminent Persons Group mission to SA in particular were a major setback, says Spicer.

Consequently, "there has been a need to start shifting to worst-case scenarios and to get into the business of damage limitation."

In essence, he says, Britain is hedging its bets — as is the US, by its goodwill mission through sub-Saharan Africa and by opening discussions with ANC leader Oliver Tambo in Washington this week.

Spicer believes Britain still remains fundamentally opposed to sanctions. As a counter to its own soft line on sanctions within the Commonwealth and the European Community, Spicer says, Britain has shown that it is prepared to turn on the aid tap to the Frontline States. At the same time, however,

it has made it clear that it is not going to bail them out of the consequences of any over-hasty decisions on the sanctions issue.

America and Europe have committed around R350m to the initial rehabilitation of the Mutare-Beira rail link and the port of Beira. The obvious, if long-term, corollary is that an effective alternative route to the coast will reduce Frontline State dependency on SA's transport system, and give them more room for manoeuvre in the anti-SA sanctions era.

Moreover, it would enable them better to withstand counter-sanctions which Pretoria could yet impose. But whether establishing an improved rail link to the sea via Beira will be sufficient to allow the Frontline States the confidence to act independently remains to be seen.

114

MEMBERS of the outlawed South African Communist Party are dominant in the leadership of Umkhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the proscribed African National Congress.

The SACP, however, acts as a restraining influence on Umkhonto — or MK, as it is known in the townships — countering pressure from young recruits for the deployment of "indiscriminate terrorist tactics".

These are two of the salient points contained in an American intelligence report on communist influence in South Africa, the full text of which was made available to *Weekly Mail* by the US Information Service.

The report, mandated under the US Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 which imposed wide-ranging sanctions on South Africa, was coincidentally released to the US Congress on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC.

The report was drawn up by secretary of state George Shultz or, more accurately, by members of US State Department. It can thus be taken to reflect US foreign policy on the ANC.

Shultz meets ANC president Oliver Tambo in Washington next week for talks, the first between a US secretary of state and an ANC president.

A careful study of the full text of the report shows that US and South African government views on the ANC converge in some respects, despite the present chill in relations between Washington and Pretoria.

What they have in common is the belief that the SACP is a powerful force within the ANC but that it may be possible — and is certainly desirable — to split black nationalists in the ANC from communists.

The report says that half of the 30-

*The startling verdict of the US intelligence study on ANC-communist ties:*

# Radicals? Not the Communist Party, says Shultz report

**PATRICK LAURENCE on the surprises in the American document**



Party veteran Daniel Toome, appointed SACP chairman this week

strong ANC national executive are "known or suspected" SACP members. The South African government says that two-thirds of the ANC executive are "active members or supporters" of the SACP.

The US report contends that if the South African government started negotiations with the ANC, or if the ANC relations with Western countries improved, "serious policy differences could surface in the ANC".

The text of the report makes it quite clear that the "policy differences" would be between the communist and nationalist factions within the ANC.

It can be assumed that the Shultz

meeting with Tambo is prompted, at least in part, by pursuit of that objective.

The US belief that the South African government should negotiate with the ANC is founded on the belief that it will help reduce communist influence in the ANC, as well as facilitate peaceful resolution of the present conflict.

"The SACP is only one element, although a very important one, in the coalition of interests represented in the ANC," the report says.

"SACP interests are served by an inflexible South African attitude toward negotiations with the ANC, by

isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments and by the ANC's focus of increasing military pressure on South Africa.

"Should broader options become available for the ANC leadership, the question of the extent and direction of SACP influence could become a major issue."

The South African government shares the view that the ANC consists of a communist and a potentially hostile nationalist faction.

President PW Botha has repeatedly offered to negotiate with nationalists in the ANC, provided they repudiate their communist allies and renounce

violence as a means of achieving political ends.

The difference between the US and South African government views appears to be one of timing.

The US thinks the South African government should open negotiations with the ANC, contending that in the process strains might surface between nationalists and communists.

Botha, however, wants ANC nationalists first to repudiate the SACP and sever ties with the Soviet Union, the ANC's main supplier of arms.

Whether either of these strategies will succeed in splitting the historically forged ANC-SACP alliance is debatable. But the US report makes a strong case that the continuing guerrilla war strengthens the SACP's influence.

"The usefulness of the SACP in facilitating ANC access to Soviet bloc arms supplies and funding grew steadily during the exile years," the report says.

The exile years coincided with the years of "armed struggle", except for the brief period between the banning of the ANC in 1960 and the capture of its underground high command in Rivonia in 1963.

The establishment of a pro-Soviet MPLA government in Angola in 1975-76 further strengthened communist influence in the ANC.

As the report notes, Angola "provided a secure regional base for Soviet-bloc military assistance to liberation movements in Southern Africa".

The Angolan camps diminished the importance of military facilities provided by the Organisation for African Unity and "reinforced the predominance of the SACP members and Soviet-Cuban advisors in the ANC's military councils".

The report contends that the SACP is fearful of a negotiated settlement between the ANC and Pretoria because the SACP has no mass following in South Africa.

After quoting a speech which SACP central committee chairman (now general secretary) Joe Slovo made in response to Botha's attempt to woo black nationalists, the report says: "The sensitivity of the SACP indicates genuine concern that a more flexible approach by Pretoria could find a favourable reception by elements in the ANC."

If — as the report avers — the SACP favours guerrilla war until Pretoria is forced to transfer power to the ANC-SACP alliance, the SACP also opposes growing pressure from young recruits for the use of terrorism against civilians.

It fears that indiscriminate terrorism could damage its "multi-racial strategy for transforming the struggle against apartheid into a war against capitalist oppression", presumably by triggering an all-out racial war.

## ZANU chiefs talk to ANC

By HOWARD BARRELL, Lusaka  
improvement in the two organisations' relations in recent years, but this has been gradual.

On Tuesday night last week, Tambo was interviewed on Zimbabwe television's *Guest of the Week* programme.

At various times, the two delegations were led by Tambo and Mugabe, it is understood.

The talks took place in Harare on Monday and Tuesday last week. Sources on both sides said they were satisfied with the course and outcome of the discussions, but declined to give details on their content, apart from saying they centred on the struggle against apartheid and the regional crisis.

"We at various times exchanged experiences in our different struggles," said one source who had attended the talks.

LEADERS of the African National Congress and Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) party have held two days of talks centred on the struggle against apartheid and the crisis in the Southern African region.

The talks have brought together ANC political and operational chiefs and the Zanu (PF) politburo and central committee.

Observers consider the talks highly significant. They indicate the two organisations have overcome the discomfort in their past relationship caused by the ANC's almost complete support for Joshua Nkomo's Zapu party during the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

ANC president Oliver Tambo and Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe have long been warm friends, but it has taken their two organisations some time to achieve the same closeness. There has been a noticeable

## TAMBO AND BOESAK SHARE PLATFORM

ALLAN Boesak and African National Congress president Oliver Tambo shared a platform in New York this week — in a church.

Tambo delivered the first Olaf Palme memorial lecture in Manhattan's stately Riverside Church on Tuesday night, in front of 3 000 people.

Boesak was among the prominent anti-apartheid campaigners invited to share the stage with him, and delivered an equally strong attack on the South African government's policies.

He accused US President Ronald Reagan of "being ready to jump into bed with Pretoria", and called on Americans to support "our struggle".

Tambo — who cannot be quoted — was speaking at the start of what is probably his most important visit to the US.

Yesterday he addressed the Foreign Policy Association, and next Wednesday he is scheduled to



Oliver Tambo

meet US Secretary of State George Schultz.

● In Johannesburg, the UDF issued an open letter to Schultz urging the US government to "use all ways" to bring an end to the apartheid system — warning that "legal opposition movements are being thrust into the position where they may have to review their non-violent principles".

# Key man in AK47 shootout vanishes

Not held under any  
security law — SAP

## WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

THE man many believe was the intended target in this week's KwaMakhutha killing, UDF activist Victor Ntuli, is believed to have been arrested hours after the shooting in which 12 people died.

The Ntuli family home was the target of the group of men armed with AK47s, who killed five adults and seven children in the early hours of Wednesday morning.

Friends said Ntuli had been held on Wednesday night, but a telex from the SAP public relations directorate on Thursday afternoon said: "According to present records, Ntuli is not being detained under security legislation."

This does not rule out the possibility that Ntuli is being held under other legislation, however.

Ntuli, an active member of the UDF-affiliated KwaMakhutha Youth League (KMYL), had not been staying at home for several weeks — ever since the start of clashes between supporters of the UDF and Inkatha in the township.

He was believed by some people in KwaMakhutha to be the reason for the bloody Wednesday raid.

Although initial reports implicated the African National Congress — or even the UDF — with suggestions that Ntuli's father Willie was perhaps an Inkatha member who had fallen victim to political infighting, the UDF was explicit in where it felt blame lay.

"We have no doubt at all, from what we have gathered, that the attack was launched by Inkatha," UDF official Joseph Gumbi told journalists.

"We know Victor Ntuli had been in hiding for weeks because he was being harassed by Inkatha."

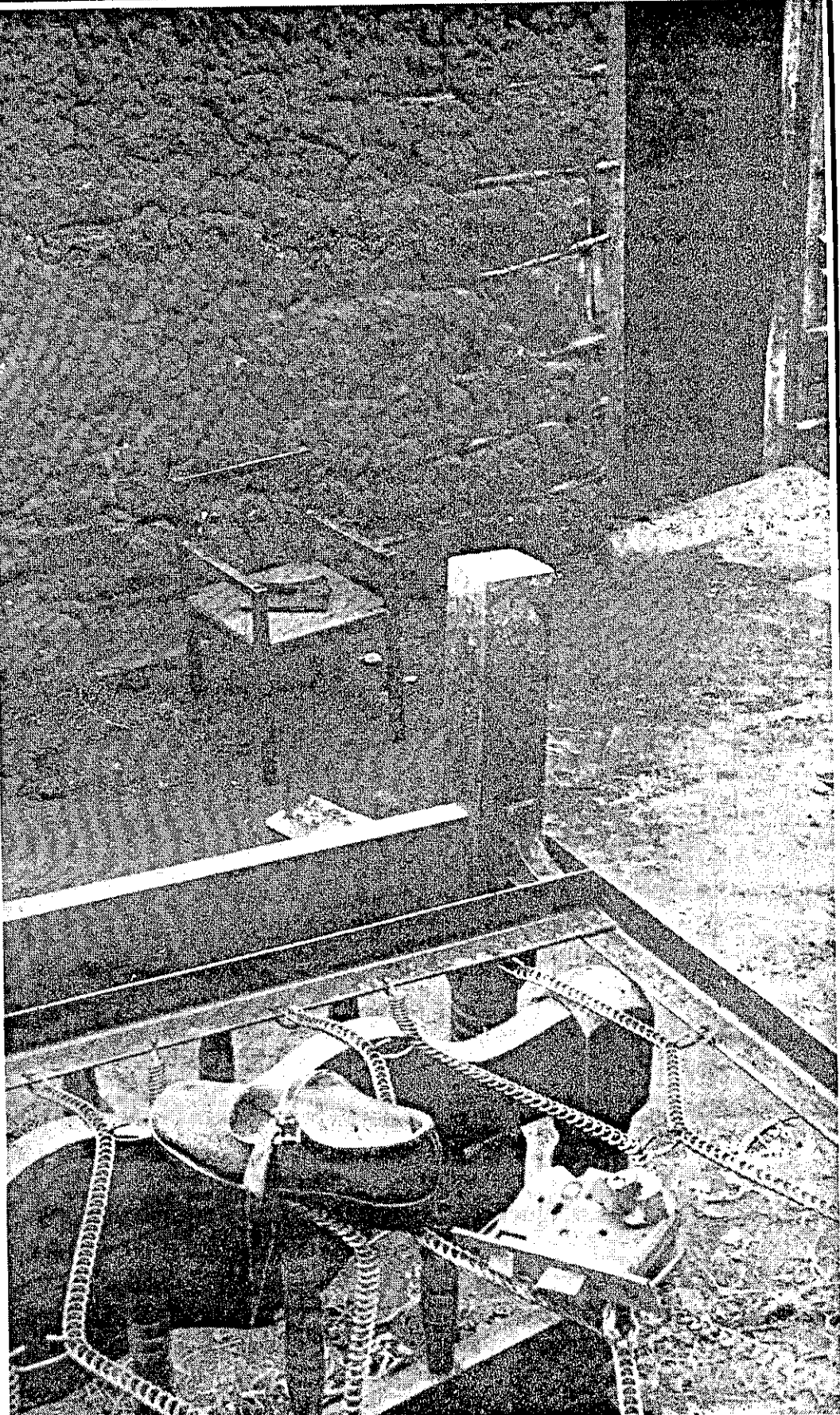
Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was just as quick to point out his organisation's objection to the use of violence.

"I abhor all violence. Inkatha is genuinely committed to non-violence and peaceful, but radical, change."

He added, however: "Inkatha members have only been involved in self-defence and retaliation, and I can have absolutely no control over this as long as my followers continue to be attacked by the ANC/UDF alliance."

Buthelezi also issued a stinging attack on "the ANC/UDF alliance" and the dimensions this alleged alliance's conflict with Inkatha was assuming.

The response from the ANC in Lusaka was: "We do not regard Inkatha as the enemy. The ANC



Aftermath of the shootout: A baby's shoe balances on a bare bed

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, AFP

has never singled out any Inkatha individual as a target."

Meanwhile, police are using tracker dogs in an attempt to trace the killers, who opened fire on the Ntuli family and friends after breaking into their house.

In their initial statement, the

police said they were hunting "armed terrorists" and had not ruled out "terrorism" as the motive for the attack.

They said AK47 shells had been found outside the house.

Seven of those killed were children, and 10-year-old Ernest

Nthuzini escaped death by hiding in a closet for three hours.

"It looked like a butchery afterwards," journalist Siphokhumalo said.

"There was blood splashed on the walls and bullet holes all over the place."



# Hendrickse was wrong, say Argus readers



## Staff Reporters

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse, a Cabinet Minister and leader of the Labour Party, was wrong to apologise to President P W Botha for his Port Elizabeth swim, say Argus readers.

In a hectic phone-in poll yesterday 312 callers said they believed he made the wrong decision, while 69 felt he did the right thing.

The telephones hardly stopped ringing during the nine-hour session as callers aired their views from as far afield as George and Uitenhage.

Many callers said they admired his "brave" decision to swim in defiance of apartheid laws, but felt that by apologising he had squandered an opportunity to gain credibility.

### "PETTY"

Critics of the tricameral Parliament said Mr Hendrickse's apology indicated the "futility" of taking part in a "fraudulent" system.

They felt the apology was made to safeguard his political position and security in the Cabinet.

Other callers defended Mr Hendrickse and condemned Mr Botha's "petty" and "schoolmasterly" stance, which they said had been an embarrassment to South Africa's image in the outside world.

Those who felt the apology was in order said Mr Hendrickse's swim transgressed the conduct expected of Cabinet Ministers.

Two callers felt the swimming controversy would not have happened had Mr Botha enforced rigid, Verwoerdian-type apartheid.

### "SELFISH"

Mr Freeman Bukashe of Khayelitsha said: "What Mr Hendrickse did confirmed what I long suspected — that people in the tricameral set-up are political amoebas.

"These people are doing South Africa a lot of harm by perpetually upholding selfish interests."

Mrs Fatima Cruywagen of Mitchell's Plain said that if Mr Hendrickse had any political pride he would have "called President Botha's bluff and asked him to dissolve the House of Representatives".

"However, he knew he had no mandate from the community he is supposedly representing in the tricameral system."

Mrs Val Rose-Christie of Pinelands said: "If Mr Hendrickse had the courage of his convictions he would have placed the Nationalist Government in a predicament."

### "BAD ERROR"

The apology was "a bad error," said Mr Ivan Roberts of Bonteheuwel. "There are double standards here — if we are told by the bureau pop song to stand together for a brighter future, why can't we do so on the beaches?"

An anonymous caller said Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse were "stars of a new political comedy called *Who's the Boss?*"

Mrs Heather Maltby of Noordhoek said the wrong person had apologised. "President Botha must apologise for keeping blacks off the beaches for 40 years."

Mr Abdullah Kahn of Cravenby Estate said: "The apology confirmed my doubts about whether Mr Hendrickse was strong enough to lead the so-called coloured people. He is not able to represent me."

### "MAGNIFICENT"

Mr Geoff Roberts of Edgemead said the apology was a "terrible decision. The swim was a courageous gesture which should have been followed through with equal resolution. What a blown chance of gaining credibility with his people".

Mrs Elizabeth Cann of Kloof Nek said the apology showed Mr Hendrickse's "calibre as a great leader". It was a "magnificent" gesture after Mr Botha's "20 minutes of peevish, public humiliation on television".

● Hendrickse's explanation,  
Page 7



# Our bloody Sunday rampage

UNION officials say they were forced to join a band of *witdoek* vigilantes for a crazy rampage through Port Elizabeth's townships last weekend in which at least two people died.

And, in a startling inside account of how vigilantes operate, they claim to have come into contact with security forces three times — and not once were they stopped from attacking people.

The police have denied any collusion with the vigilantes, saying: "We are used to such allegations".

But members of the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Pwawu), who say they were forced to join the vigilantes, insist that the band was seen by security force patrols, but were able to continue unhindered.

The Pwawu members — 14 shopstewards and officials — had gone to PE for a union meeting.

David Mabengeza, East London organiser for Pwawu, said they were confronted at a party early on Sunday morning by vigilantes from Uitenhage armed with "pangas, sticks, home-made swords, and pick handles".

"They wore stockings or balaclavas over their faces, and white sweatbands

## Reluctant 'witdoeke' tell of panga violence

Union officials recount how they were press-ganged into joining a roving band of panga-armed vigilantes who led them on a bloody rampage through township streets.

FRANZ KRÜGER interviewed them in EAST LONDON

around their heads," Mabengeza said.

"Almost all of them were wearing two-piece blue overalls like those worn by the *kits-konstabels*."

They told the unionists to go with them to a party for boys emerging from circumcision school.

"We said we couldn't go ... but they took us anyway, telling us to walk in front of them."

As they left the house, one unionist said: "No comrades, leave us. We are visitors" — but the vigilantes became angry and said: "We are not comrades, we are Africans. We are looking for the 'comrades' who burn people."

Mabengeza said: "We thought they must be Azapo people, but there was no-one to help us.

"They made us run to a group of about 20 people, also wearing white armbands."

A woman in the group pointed out a house allegedly belonging to a "comrade".

"They kicked open the door, dragged out a young man, and started beating him, asking him where they could find a man called Moli."

"The man took them to another house, where they did the same thing."

"Moli came out, and they started hitting him. He fell down and they carried on hitting and stabbing until he died."

"They were shouting: 'We will clean up Port Elizabeth, there will be no more charterists, no more UDF'."

Mabengeza said he had thrown away

a stick he had been given as Moli came out of the house, and pretended to look for one to avoid being forced to participate.

Another of the shop stewards had also been given a stick and was beaten when the vigilantes saw he was not participating.

The band left the body where it lay, and moved to another street where another house was pointed out to them.

"They did the same thing, kicking the door until a young man of about 24 came out. They beat him as he came out, but stopped when one of the leaders said they needed some information from him."

"They asked about some other 'comrades', and he pleaded with them

— but they hit him again. I saw him try to escape, but they caught him and killed him in the street," Mabengeza said.

He said the band moved through Boast Village, Red Location and White Location, raiding houses and beating people.

Mabengeza said he realised the only way to escape would be to disguise himself as one of them.

"I gave one of them a cigarette and asked him for a white rag. I tied it around my arm, and went across to two vigilantes searching another house. When I saw they were both inside, I went around the back, jumped across the wall and ran away."

One of his colleagues, shop steward Hamilton Soga, stayed with the vigilantes, and said they had spoken of other bands acting at the same time, and they might have murdered other people. He said he had heard of a total of five deaths, but could give no details. The police have said only two bodies were found after the weekend's events.

Soga said they had come across security force patrols on three occasions, but the patrols had done nothing to stop them. On the first occasion, Mabengeza said he had told the vigilantes: "Here are the police," in the hope they would flee. "But they asked why I was afraid, and said I should just move out of the road as they wouldn't do anything."

Soga said there was another encounter with a Casspir, in which he claims the police had asked what they were doing and taken away one of the UDF supporters flushed out by the band.

Later on, the vigilantes were confronted by a large group of township residents.

"People started throwing stones, and many of those who were forced to join the vigilantes fled. But then we saw the vigilantes had guns, because they took them out and started firing."

The people still attacked, though, and the vigilantes also started to flee.

Azapo has denied its members were involved in the incidents. A statement issued by Port Elizabeth branch chairman Ngcobo Nguna said: "We would like to advise the groupings that undertook such missions not to shield themselves by using the name of Azapo."

Major Eddie Everson, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said the police were "used to allegations of police complicity".

He said the police "did not even know of the existence of vigilante groups".

"If there had been any encounters between such a group and the security forces, I would know about it," he said.

Murder dockets have been opened because two bodies had been found, he added, but nothing was known about the circumstances. — Elnews.

# So-sorry-Hendrickse enrages Labour

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse has infuriated his caucus by apologising to the state president for taking a dip in the icy waters off Port Elizabeth during the Labour Party congress there shortly after Christmas. Charles Redclyffe, MP for Schauderville, has claimed Hendrickse went against a caucus decision in apologising.

Peter Mopp, MP for Border, remained defiant, saying: "I'll swim wherever I want to." The apology has further reduced the Labour Party's credibility among coloured people and Hendrickse's standing as a leader has reached rock bottom.

The caucus is particularly angry with him for having told the president that he "accepted that steps had to be

weekly news

By JEAN LE MAY  
Cape Town

taken" against the media. In a letter to the state president read out by Botha at a press conference in Tuynhuis, Hendrickse said the swim was not intended as an act of civil disobedience.

He and his colleagues did not intend an affront "in your personal capacity as state president, nor did we intend to challenge your authority". The swim, obviously planned as a gesture of defiance after Hendrickse had slammed the Group Areas Act and the latest press curbs, created a crisis because with a whites-only election in the offing, Botha could not allow

Hendrickse to get away with it.

Moreover it impinged on the ticklish question of cabinet responsibility, and the president reiterated that a situation had arisen which he could not allow to continue. He confirmed that cabinet ministers were allowed to differ, but that they must stick to the procedure. He demanded Hendrickse's apology, failing which his resignation.

If this was refused, Botha threatened to dissolve parliament — which would mean elections in the the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates as well as in the House of Assembly. This is the last thing Hendrickse is prepared to face, and he climbed down.

(11)

23/11/87

114

# Hendrickse: I might flout race laws again

DEFIANT Labour Party Leader Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday he would consider flouting apartheid laws again.

He told a Press conference in Cape Town he had not apologised to President P W Botha for swimming at a whites-only beach in Port Elizabeth but because it had been interpreted as a deliberate challenge to Botha's authority.

Hendrickse said he had settled his dispute with Botha to avoid a dissolution of

Own Correspondent

Parliament and the consequent atmosphere of hostility which could be created by elections.

Referring to the swimming incident, Hendrickse said he had told Botha he had done to focus attention on a matter which had caused concern for many years.

Hendrickse said the swim was not at any stage intended as a personal affront

23/1/87 ZUSOAT  
to Botha. "If it was interpreted as such I am big enough to apologise."

Asked if he would do it again, Hendrickse replied: "It depends on when and where I choose." If he were prosecuted he was prepared to accept that.

He denied the LP was afraid to have an election and said a recent poll had shown at least 48% of the coloured community would participate in an election.

## Row over

# Nat stand on Indaba

### Mercury Reporter

A ROW has broken out between the Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Stoffel Botha, and the Natal leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Derrick Watterson, following a statement by Mr Watterson that Mr Botha was 'totally opposed' to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Mr Botha denied yesterday that he was totally opposed to the discussions and said that both he and the National Party wholeheartedly supported the principle of negotiation and discussion.

He said he had criticised the Indaba for the fact that it had come to a premature end.

'I made it quite clear that there was much still to be discussed and to be negotiated,' Mr Botha said.

Mr Watterson said in reply that Mr Botha had rejected the findings of the Indaba 'unequivocally'.

'He may think the principles of the Indaba are a good thing but he clearly decided the outcome could not be supported,' the NRP Natal leader said.

Mr Watterson said the trouble with the National Party was that its members sat round talking and did not get round to doing anything.

ANC

24/1/87

1/1A

suspects

w/m.

shot dead

PRETORIA—Two suspected ANC terrorists were shot dead by the SA Police near Soweto yesterday afternoon, the Minister of Law and Order announced.

The Bureau for Information said in a statement last night that the incident occurred at 4 15 p m. None of the policemen was injured.

Arms and ammunition of Russian origin were seized. No further information is available. As soon as information is available it will be released, the statement said. — (Sapa)

# Info song: UDF 'pardons' singers

JOHANNESBURG. — No violent action will be taken against five black singers who participated in the Bureau for Information song. Other participants who condemn the song and give to charity the money they earned, will also be spared, a meeting of artists and community organizations resolved yesterday.

The five artists — Steve Kekana, Babsy Mlangeni, Blondie Makhene, Vusi Shange and Sidwell Banjo Nhleko — were yesterday "pardoned" by the United Democratic

*cap 7.05 24/11/78*  
Front and the Azanian People's Organization for their part in the recording "Together we'll build a brighter future".

They pledged to pay their earnings to a trust fund that would channel the money to charity.

A spokesman for the SA Musicians' Alliance said the meeting in Johannesburg was called to "resolve the impasse" regarding the Info song.

The homes of two musicians who participated in the Info song — Steve Kekana and

Abigail Khubeka — were petrol-bombed and gutted. A blind man died in one house.

Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the UDF's Release Mandela Campaign and Azapo's Mr Muntu Myeza, in a joint statement, condemned "black-on-black" violence.

"You do not castigate your brother because he has leprosy," the statement said.

A deadline of January 31 has been set for other artists who participated in the song to come forward and publicly apologise. — Sapa

# Massacre: Youth League boss accuses Inkatha

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The chairman of the United Democratic Front-affiliated KwaMakhutha Youth League, Mr Mandla Mthethwa, has claimed that Inkatha supporters are responsible for the attack on Mr Willie Ntuli's home in KwaMakhutha where 12 people were killed.

Mr Mthethwa told a press conference here yesterday that since May 1, 1986, there had been conflict between members of the KwaMakhutha Youth League and Inkatha Youth Brigade which resulted in present violence.

He said 16-year-old Victor Ntuli, the son of Mr Willie Ntuli who was killed in a massacre with other 11 people on Wednesday, was a co-founder member of the Youth League, the treasurer and an area organizer.

"The attack, undoubtedly, was aimed at Victor, but the assassins were ruthless and committed the brutal killing of his innocent family, relatives and church members," he said.

Mr Mthethwa showed reporters fresh scars on his head and his arms which he claimed were bullet wounds he suffered at the hands of Inkatha supporters.

He claimed that members of his organization were aware that Inkatha was helped by the KwaZulu police.

"This has been taking place for past few months. During the attack at Ntuli's house their vans were seen near the house," he said.

Approached for comment, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said: "The accusation is so wild and ridiculous that it is not worth any comment from me."

□ Police yesterday released Victor Ntuli who was taken in for questioning following the massacre.

Investigations to track down the culprits who used an AK-47 rifle in the attack, have been concentrated in the Durban area and police are following every lead.



# Cool it, West cautions UDF

11A  
24/1/87  
njm

**WASHINGTON—Firebrands of the UDF have been warned by the American and British governments against carrying out their threat to support violence.**

The United States said yesterday it would condemn the UDF if it carried out threats to reconsider its non-violent methods of opposing racial segregation.

'We have consistently condemned violence in South and southern Africa whatever its source or target,' the State Department said in a statement.

'We would take the same position should the UDF adopt a position of support for violence.'

U S officials said an open letter from the UDF to Secretary of State George Shultz, which carried the threat of a change of tactics, arrived in Washington yesterday morning and was being studied.

The UDF letter, signed by the organisation's spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, was made public in Johannesburg yesterday, in advance of the scheduled meeting next Wednesday between Mr Shultz and ANC president Oliver Tambo.

## *Violence*

The Mercury's London Bureau reports that a British Foreign Office spokesman, asked to react to the UDF statement, said: 'It is up to them what policy they follow, but our view on violence has not changed.'

'We have always urged an end to violence so peaceful negotiations can begin.' — (Sapa-Reuter)

# Accused: house meetings not conspiracy

24/1/87  
(11A)

DELMAS — Mr Bavumile Herbert Vilakazi, 31, an accused in the Delmas treason trial, denied yesterday that he held meetings at his house to further an alleged conspiracy to overthrow the state by violence.

Mr Vilakazi, one of 19 men facing the main charge of treason and several alternative charges, told the court that the house meetings were held to discuss an impending rent increase by the Lekoa Town Council and also to look into the formation of a Vaal Civic Association (VCA) area committee in Zone 3, Sebokeng, where he lived.

He denied that the meeting was part of a conspiracy by the United Democratic Front (UDF), the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist

Party (SACP) to overthrow the government by violent means.

Mr Vilakazi was giving evidence for the defence for the third day since the trial resumed on Wednesday.

Mr Vilakazi rejected a suggestion that he had been instructed by the UDF to hold the meeting at his house in furtherance of the alleged conspiracy.

While the charge only refers to house meetings, Mr Vilakazi told the court that, in fact, four meetings were held at his house.

He denied that the VCA had any connections with Azapo, the Azanian Peoples Organisation and denied that the ANC had paid his fare for a trip to Port Elizabeth to attend a meeting of the UDF as a representative of the VCA. — Sapa

# for Natal 'may the PFP'

304A  
24/1/87

## Mercury Reporter

Natal National Party officials are considering the Progressive Federal Party opponents in the coming election and other Natal verligtes thinking of leaving

the PFP's Natal director, said yesterday between the PFP and the three NP opponents at 'a very early stage', but they were not joining the PFP or standing as independent.

There appeared to be several verligtes in Natal and other areas who were considering improvement started in the Transvaal by Pieter Malan, and joining an independent

organisation is expected to spark an exodus of intellectuals from the party and at least 100 NP members have already indicated their support of him.

Speculation that Mr Malan left the party without the formal blessing of the chairman of the party, Prof Piet de Lange, and that he will soon come out in open support of his

was reported to name the rebel Natal Nats, but he is not in for some surprise candidates.' The Natal National Party yesterday denied any knowledge of a split in its senior ranks.

# Chief repeats warning

ULUNDI—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday elaborated on his weekend warning to white politicians that they could kill the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals by making them party-political issues in the coming election.

He was speaking at the formal handing over of the proposals to the KwaZulu Government by the Indaba's chairman, Prof Desmond Clarence, and Indaba co-founders Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Mr Frank Martin.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president noted that the Indaba proposals had still to be considered very carefully by Inkatha's annual conference and by his Government.

He was committed to pursue all avenues for discussing the proposals and their implications for practical politics with the country's major black, coloured, Indian and white political groupings. — (Sapa)

## y in Daytona 24-hour race

Former South African driver Graham Duxbury is to lead the team in the 24 hour on January 24.

the Camel light category.

'Our prospects are pretty good,' said a delighted Duxbury. 'The team is one of the leading squads in the Camel light category.'

He will be joined in the Daytona Classic by fellow-South African drivers Merwe and Tony van der Merwe driving a Buick Argo in

Duxbury is hoping his return to Daytona will lead to a regular drive in the IMSA series this year — (Sapa)

# Sex ruined for beautiful sailor

London Bureau

BEAUTIFUL blonde sailor Modelling Team

11A 24/1/87 JB

## Suspected terrorists shot

PRETORIA — Two suspected ANC terrorists were shot dead by the SA Police near Soweto yesterday afternoon, the Minister of Law and Order announced.

The Bureau for Information said in a statement last night that the

incident occurred at 4.45 pm. No SA Police officers were injured.

“Arms and ammunition of Russian origin were seized. No further information is available. As soon as information is available it will be released,” the statement said. — Sapa

W.C. ARBOLD 2/18/72

## **UDF in rumpus with USA**

WASHINGTON. — The United States said today it would condemn South Africa's largest anti-apartheid organisation if it carried out threats to reconsider its non-violent methods of opposing racism.

"We have consistently condemned violence in South and Southern Africa, whatever its source or target," the State Department statement said.

"We would take the same position should the UDF adopt a position of support for violence," it said.

US officials said that an open letter from the UDF to Secretary of State George Shultz, which carried the threat of a change of tactics, was being studied.

Mr Shultz, during a visit to Africa earlier this month, said he was meeting the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, next week in pursuit of a US policy of opening links to all sides in South Africa.

The Secretary of State said that while the United States did not think the time was right for any new initiative it wanted to be in the right place when the opportunity presented itself.

The UDF letter, signed by the organisation's spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, was made public in Johannesburg yesterday in advance of the scheduled meeting next Wednesday between Mr Shultz and Mr Tambo. — Sapa-Reuter.

# US will condemn UDF if violent

24/11/87  
11A  
Star

WASHINGTON — The United States said yesterday it would condemn South Africa's largest anti-apartheid organisation if it carried out threats to reconsider its non-violent methods of opposing racial segregation.

"We have consistently condemned violence in South and southern Africa whatever its source or target," a statement from the State Department said.

"We would take the same position should the United Democratic Front (UDF) adopt a position of support for violence."

US officials said that an open letter from the UDF to Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, which carried the threat of a change of tactics, had arrived in Washington yesterday.

The African National Congress (ANC) had already switched to guerilla warfare, but Mr Shultz, during a visit to Africa earlier this month, said he was meeting the ANC President, Mr Oliver Tambo, next Wednesday in pursuit of a US policy of opening links to all sides in South Africa.

He said the ANC was one, although not the only "player" in the South African situation.

The Secretary of State said that, while the United States did not think the time was right for any new initiative, it wanted to be in the right place when the opportunity presented itself.

The UDF letter, signed by the organisation's spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, was made public in Johannesburg yesterday in advance of the scheduled meeting next Wednesday.

It said opponents of South Africa's apartheid system of racial separation were being forced "by the unrelenting repression of the regime into a position where it may have to review its non-violent principles".

The letter accused the United States of condemning black opponents of apartheid for violence more than it condemned the South African Government.  
— Reuter.

Graeme Pope-Ellis, who has overall lead in the Duzi canoe marathon.

# Hendrickse faces icy caucus talks

*w/c ARGUS  
24/11/87  
11A*

LABOUR Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse needs a lifeboat to save his fast-sinking image after his humble apology to President P W Botha for his dip in a "whites-only" section of the sea.

## Summit on mountain's problems

Environment Reporter

CONSERVATIONISTS and officials concerned with the management of Table Mountain meet on Monday to discuss control measures and future public use of the mountain.

The summit was called by Minister of Environment Affairs Mr John Wiley following last month's blaze which destroyed nearly 400ha of fynbos and 50ha of plantation.

The meeting will consider control and protection measures for the entire Peninsula mountain chain, as well as public access.

A report will be presented by Dr Douglas Hey, chairman of the Cape Peninsula Nature Area Management Committee who several years ago formed a one-man committee to inquire into the control and management of the mountain chain.

The meeting will also consider a full report on fires in Peninsula mountains over the past 10 years.

But he can only expect an icy reception at the party's forthcoming caucus meeting, where the issue will probably be high on the agenda.

Labour Party MPs expressed disgust at his lack of defiance in the face of President Botha's ultimatum to him to apologise or bear the full brunt of his wrath.

"If I were in his shoes I would never have apologised," said Border MP Mr Peter Mopp.

### "Despicable"

"I find it despicable that a man of his strength and calibre buckled under the President's bullying."

Mr Winston Jasson, chairman of the party's Queenstown branch, agreed.

"We support the decision taken by the parliamentary caucus to ask Mr Hendrickse not to apologise but to face whatever steps the State President may have taken.

"As far as we are concerned Mr Hendrickse apologised in his personal capacity and not on behalf of the party, and de-

By MARK STANSFIELD  
Weekend Argus Reporter

viated from caucus and congress decisions.

"The apology is an embarrassment to the party."

"We do not need to apologise for our God-given human right to swim in the sea. The Labour Party is not part of the National Party.

"The issue will be dealt with at the executive meeting of the branch tomorrow."

Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, said the matter would probably be dealt with at the caucus meeting on Tuesday.

### Support

Support for Mr Hendrickse came from Dr I Essop, MP for Griqualand West — who also took a dip in the sea.

"I back him 100 percent," he said.

"As leader he has a mandate to do whatever he feels is best for the party.

UDF probe on  
24/1/87 w/m.  
shooting of 12

**Mercury Reporter**

THE United Democratic Front is collecting affidavits from the survivors of, and eyewitnesses to, the KwaMakhutha killings, with a view to legal action.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede said his organisation was compiling details of the shooting of 12 people by unknown assailants using AK 47 rifles.

He said the UDF was concerned about the violence in KwaMakhutha, including the attacks on Inkatha members and the resulting death of councillor B M Dlamini.

At a Durban press conference yesterday, Mr Gumede expressed surprise that the Deputy

Commissioner of KwaZulu Police, Brig Siphon Mathe, had given KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Press a report accusing certain elements of petrol-bombing Inkatha houses.

'Brig Mathe is a man in charge of law and order in KwaZulu. I do not understand why he did not identify these people and arrest them forthwith,' said Mr Gumede.

Approached for comment, Brigadier Mathe said he had no concrete evidence as to who was responsible for the attacks.

'The incidents are being investigated by the SAP, but we will help them and supply them information.'



Star 24/1/87

(1/A)

# Shultz — Tambo meeting seen as a landmark

NAIROBI — The meeting between United States Secretary of State Mr George Shultz and Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), in Washington next week is a landmark occasion (this part of sentence deleted), diplomats said.

US officials said their contacts with the ANC over the past few months, culminating

in the Shultz meeting, were not intended as endorsement of the movement's policy (rest of sentence deleted).

(Sentence deleted.)

Mr Shultz reinforced this interpretation when he expanded the scope of Washington's traditional "constructive engagement" policy to include dialogue with all major South African groups.

"We are making a system-

atic effort to be in touch with everybody ... and I will be meeting with Tambo later this month when he comes to Washington," he said.

(Five sentences deleted.)

The white minority Government in South Africa has perhaps unwittingly underlined the significance of the meeting by maintaining a barrage of criticism of Washington for opening ANC contacts.

Radio South Africa this week applauded American conservatives opposed to the meeting and said the new policy could weaken the United States as a world power.

(This part of sentence deleted) while the Reagan Administration says it believes that US corporations can help reform apartheid by staying on.

Mr Shultz is also likely to

bring up the ANC's alliance with the pro-Moscow South African Communist Party, a connection which Washington says is reflected in policies like the endorsement of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

(Sentence deleted.)

The momentum towards the Shultz meeting has built up with speed, starting in Au-

gust when the US Ambassador to Lusaka made a publicised visit to ANC offices there.

Mr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, met Mr Tambo in London in the autumn. Final arrangements for next week's talks fell into place when Under Secretary of State Mr Michael Armacost saw ANC officials in Lusaka in December. — Sapa-Reuter.

# SA film gets rave reviews

By Sara Martin

South African Indian film producer Anant Singh will be quietly visiting Johannesburg cinemas this weekend to test audience reactions to his film, "Place of Weeping".

The motion picture which is being distributed in 12 venues throughout the country is, according to Mr Singh, South Africa's first film to address the country's racial problems.

"The purpose hopefully is to prompt communication," he says.

"Time is running out for peaceful change, if something isn't done, violence will be the only alternative."

Mr Singh is delighted that the censors passed the film.

"I made it so that it could be seen in South Africa. I was accused by certain parties in the United States that it was not radical enough, but I finally convinced them that if I made it so, it would defeat the purpose of working with people in South Africa."

Written and directed by Darrell Roodt, a 24-year-old South African, "Place of Weeping" centres on the murder of a black farm worker and the struggle to bring his killer — the farm's white owner — to justice.

The film has opened to rave reviews in the United States and, in three weeks, taken R75 000 in one New York theatre.

It is the first South African film that has been pre-sold before it finished at the Cannes Film Festival.

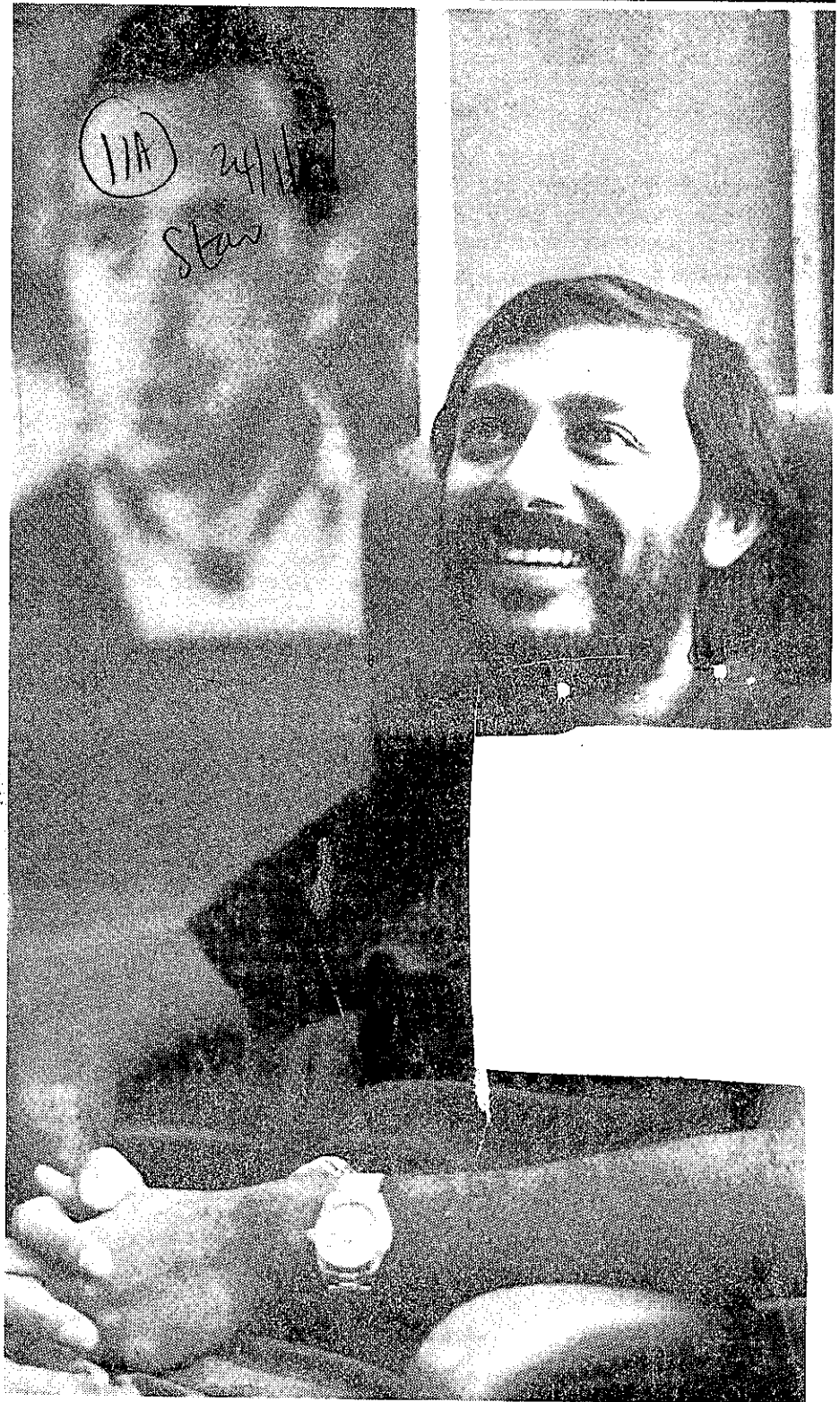
"I made sure the film was getting a truly national release by planning a release pattern that will involve all races in all suburbs including Soweto," he says.

Mr Singh has already produced four films in South Africa and is planning another two thrillers.

He has also shown an interest in the American properties of a TV production on Winnie Mandela.

Breaking into an industry reserved for whites was no easy task and Mr Singh says that, as his credibility improved, he made it known that the tables were turned.

"But the problem is still inherent. I hope it can change," he says.



Indian film producer Anant Singh . . . "breaking into an industry reserved for whites is no easy task".

Ⓢ Photograph: Rebecca Hearfield.

# Heunis riddle as Hendrickse says sorry

**ANGRY** Labour Party MPs are still trying to unravel the "mystery" of their leader's amazing apology.

For the Rev Allan Hendrickse left a party caucus meeting with firm resolve not to be browbeaten by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

In fact, Mr Hendrickse and the caucus had composed a letter stating the Labour Party's REFUSAL to back down over the coloured MPs' controversial swim at a Port Elizabeth whites-only beach.

In the end, it was decided not to present the letter. The

**says sorry**

By **NORMAN WEST**

caucus felt that Mr Hendrickse should rather force Mr Botha to make the next move — to fire him or call a coloured election.

Later, in the sanctum of the President's office, something happened to change Mr Hendrickse's mind — and he presented his now famous letter of apology.

Labour MPs believe that the Minister of Constitutional

Development, Mr Chris Heunis, intervened to settle the conflict between Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse.

And the result was the bombshell letter that President Botha read out to the nation on television that night.

Mr Hendrickse claims he was "not bound" by the caucus decision.

MPs, however, reject this

claim. They are shocked and astonished by Mr Hendrickse's contention that he has the right to ride roughshod over unanimous caucus decisions.

One of the caucus members, who pleaded with Mr Hendrickse not to apologise, was his son, Peter, the MP for Addo, who dived into the water at the white beach with his father.

At the caucus meeting, Labour MPs discussed Mr Hendrickse's options and decided unanimously that he should not apologise and so force Mr Botha to make the next move.

They examined a letter of defiance drafted by Mr Hendrickse, but decided against presenting it to Mr Botha.

Mr Peter Hendrickse warned his father that however craftily the "letter of explanation" had been drafted, Mr Botha was likely to use the letter to abuse and humiliate him.

## Betrayed

The MP for Schauderville (PE), Mr Charles Redcliffe, said bluntly that he felt "betrayed" by the fact that his leader had gone against a caucus decision and allowed himself to be made to eat humble pie by Mr Botha.

The MP for Ravensmead, Mr Hansie Christian, said it was "a mystery" to him what could have happened at the meeting between Mr Botha and Mr Hendrickse.

# Tambo ready for US talks

*SUMMERS* *LIVE*  
By PATRICIA CHENEY  
Washington

*2/11/87*  
A PURPOSEFULLY benign-sounding Oliver Tambo made his rounds in the United States this week in preparation for his ground-breaking meeting on Wednesday with Secretary of State Mr George Shultz.

At each stop, the 70-year-old ANC president worked hard to persuade the American people to put pressure on the Reagan Administration for more support to his cause.

Compared with the fiery oratory of his fellow speakers, including Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Tambo's message has been low-key and clearly aimed at convincing Americans that the ANC seeks democracy in South Africa and has no intention of driving out whites.

## Groundwork

South Africa's censorship laws do not permit publication of what he said and this report has had to be severely edited.

The State Department was tight-lipped on the Shultz-Tambo meeting.

Undersecretary of State Mr Michael Armacost, on a recent trip to southern Africa, laid the groundwork for the Shultz meeting.

At that time he suggested Mr Tambo make clear the kind of South Africa he envisaged for the future.

Earlier this month, on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC, Mr Tambo did — in a way that elicited a good reaction from Washington.

A State Department spokesman called the Tambo statement "a positive stand", but added that "important differences", namely, his refusal to renounce violence, still remained.

(11A)

# Behind OK parents

BY SELLO SERIPE

THE Southern Transvaal Youth Congress this week called on its 35 affiliate youth congresses to "support" the striking OK workers.

The strike is in its fifth week, with workers still firmly demanding a R160 pay increase.

Styco publicity secretary Khaohelo Lekgoro said Styco would support the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union and workers' campaigns.

He said Styco was obliged to support the OK workers "because young people are indirectly involved as their parents are on strike and without money to support them".

"We also pledge solidarity with the 600 Cawusa members who were arrested in the strike and the 103 other members held under the emergency regulations.

"Styco also notes with pride Cawusa's willingness to work with community organisations in this cause," he said.

## UDF commends ANC/US meeting

THE UDF released a statement this week commending the US government for agreeing to meet ANC president Oliver Tambo.

"The eyes of the people of South Africa focus this week on your meeting with ANC president Tambo," said the UDF.

"Our people have noted with concern the repeated attempts by US officials in the run-up to this meeting to imply that the onus for ending the violence in this country lies at the door of the ANC. We in the UDF call on the American people and their leaders to place the responsibility where it belongs: to denounce the violence and intransigence of the white minority government.

"It is the unjust apartheid system that is at the source of violence in SA. It is Botha's army and police that attack neighbouring states and occupy townships and villages in all parts of SA," it said.

25/11/87 c/Press

(11A)

# Lexington

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tasting American blend cig

TOBACCO ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK

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# 'Target' escapes death

A MAN, thought to be the target of a pre-dawn attack on a home in KwaMakhutha near Amanzimtoti, has been in hiding for more than a month, and thus escaped the attack.

Victor Ntuli, who had lived at the house, is a leading member of the UDF-affiliated KwaMakhutha Youth League.

League members fled the township on Wednesday fearing more attacks.

KwaMakhutha has been a centre of conflict between the UDF and Inkatha. Earlier this year, councillor and Inkatha member, M B Dlamini, died in hospital after a petrol bomb attack on his home.

A member of the Ntuli family, Mthunzi Ntuli, who was not at home during attack, said he had been told that at 2.40am a mini-bus pulled-up outside the family home.

"A group of people then started shooting. They

## 'Horror' from US

THE United States said it was "horrified by the massacre of 12 black people in a poor South African township."

The State Department said it had told the US Embassy in Pretoria to look into reports that unknown gunmen sprayed a house in the township of Kwamakutha with bullets, then went to a nearby hut and massacred sleeping children.

fired at anything that moved," he said.

Police have not yet established a motive for the killings.

Those who died were: Mr Willie Ntuli, 50; Mrs Phumula Ndlovu, 22; Mrs Jabu Ndlovu, 17; Mrs Mbuso Ndwalane, 50; Nunu Ntuli, 7; Mavoko Thusini, 5; Nhasi Thusini, 3; Savile Thusini, 4; Mrs Isabel Kubheka, 50, and Phumzile Thusini, 7.

The identities of two other victims have not yet been established.

The two injured are Mrs Anita Khumalo, 34, and a 10-year old girl, Nomshado Thusini.

A 10-year-old boy, Ernest Thusini, whose four brothers and sisters were killed, escaped unharmed.

The Bureau for Information said AK-47 shells were found outside the house.

No arrests have yet been made. - Sapa.

Nthunzi Ndlovu shows the bullet holes on the wall of the room in which Reverend Ntuli was gunned down.

# 'Witdoeke' now on the rampage in PE

CP Correspondent

TWO Port Elizabeth Youth Congress members and a railway worker died in New Brighton on Sunday when a band of over 60 vigilantes ran amok in PE townships.

They attacked suspected UDF supporters with various weapons, including pangas, axes and guns.

Three people were also abducted in the hit-and-run attacks which started early on Sunday morning, setting off fear and massive turmoil among residents.

Peyco members Molly Majuza and Mzikayise Tshabalala, of Boastville and both in their 20s, and Themvikile Gode, a railway worker from Red Location, were killed outside their homes in the early hours of Sunday.

Residents and family of the dead ac-

cused a new group formed in Uitenhage, known as "Ama Africanist", for the attacks.

In the same regard, the chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation in the Eastern Cape, Ngcobo Nguna, accused a group known as the "Third Force", for being responsible for the killings.

The injured victims told *City Press* that some of the vigilantes wore white bands reminiscent of the rightwing "witdoeke" who attacked Crossroads residents last year. Others had masked their faces with women's stockings, while some wore blue overalls.

Other terrified residents said the vigilantes had woken them up and tried to force them to join their group in making war against the "Amabutho", township youth sympathetic to the UDF.

Willem

the whole bloodbath could go on indefinitely unless ANC President

**CP Correspondent**

**POLITICAL** and operational chiefs of the African National Congress have held two days of talks with leaders of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) party.

The talks centred on the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and the crisis in the region.

Observers see the talks as evidence of a changed relationship between the two organisations.

Their past relationship has been bedevilled by the ANC's almost complete support for Joshua Nkomo's Zapu party during the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

Indications now are that the ANC and Zanu (PF) have put the past behind

# ANC and Zanu hold talks in Zimbabwe

CP Press  
25/1187  
11A

them.

At various times, ANC president Oliver Tambo and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe led their respective delegations in the talks which took place on Monday and Tuesday last week.

Tambo and Mugabe have long been friends but it has taken their two organisations longer to reach this point.

The Zimbabwean side consisted of members of the Zanu (PF) politburo and central committee.

Sources on both sides have declined to disclose the exact content of the talks.

"We exchanged experiences in our respective struggles," one source, who had attended the talks, said.





Chief Buthelezi: "Fair game."

# Inkatha gets ANC literature

18/8  
VIA

## Special report: S'BU MNGADI

ALTHOUGH almost all Press comment or news on the ANC has been banned by the latest government restrictions, Inkatha central committee members have been supplied with ANC literature by their president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Addressing the central committee meeting at Ulundi at the weekend, Buthelezi quoted from the literature which he said de-

clared him "fair game".

Buthelezi said threats on his life were no longer masked. If anyone doubted this, he advised them to look at one of the transcripts of Radio Freedom broadcasts which were distributed at the meeting.

He then quoted a passage from one of the broadcasts which said: "It is clear that this puppet

(Buthelezi) is being groomed by the West and the racist regime to become a Savimbi in a future, free SA. The onus is on the people of SA to neutralise Buthelezi."

He said these comments were contrary to the ANC's internal commission report "on strategy and tactics" - also supplied to central committee mem-

bers and recently distributed to the Press by the Law and Order Minister.

This report stated: "The openly counter-revolutionary role that Chief Buthelezi has assumed was noted. He, unlike Mphedu, cannot be dismissed as a mere puppet of the racists.

"He projects the illusion of autonomy from the enemy and pretends to pur-

sue national aims. His counter-revolutionary role must be exposed and we must work to win over his supporters and deprive him of his social base."

"For years I have warned that the going is going to get tougher. I did this to enable those who wish to save their skins to live and let those of us who are truly committed to the ideals of Inkatha face these challenges," said Buthelezi.

He warned those central committee members who did not command real leadership positions in their constituencies to be wary of the politics of the ANC, Cosatu, the UDF, the NECC and the SACC.

# Winnie and Zinzi quizzed, allowed to go

Star  
26/11/87  
11A

Mrs. Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Zinzi, were questioned by the police last night but later allowed to go home, a spokesman for her attorneys said today.

Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front, told The Star that she had heard that Mrs. Mandela was first escorted to the Protea police station in Soweto and that the police returned for her daughter.

A bookcase containing files was apparently removed, she said.

The spokesman for the attorneys said Mrs. Mandela had definitely not been arrested.

Sapa reports a police spokesman in Pretoria would not directly confirm or deny that the Mandelas had been detained or taken from their home.

## NOT ARRESTED

He said he had spoken to police in Soweto, who had told him Mrs. Mandela had "definitely not been arrested".

He would not elaborate.

Mrs. Mandela was not available for comment. A telephone answering machine at the Mandela home had a message saying the call could not be attended to at present.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed Mrs. Mandela and Zinzi were "no longer at Protea police station".

Mrs. Mandela was questioned after she attended a funeral on Saturday for a young footballer from the "Mandela United" club who had allegedly been killed by vigilantes.

# Necklace horror report censored

26/1/87 Star 1/A

The latest issue of *Time* magazine carries a report on the horror of necklacing — but the original article will not be read by South Africans — it has been censored.

The South African edition of *Time* carries a note which says portions of the report have been omitted because of "emergency Press restrictions".

The expurgated version still gives a horrific description of what the report calls "one of the world's most savage forms of execution".

"This is how it happens! In the townships of South Africa, militant black youths first capture a victim. Next they chop off his hands or tie them behind his back with barbed wire.

"Finally they place a gasoline-filled tyre over the terrified victim's head and shoulders and set it ablaze. The melting rubber clings like tar to the victim's flesh, while flames and searing fumes enshroud him.

"Within minutes the execution is over ... The charred body is usually burned beyond recogni-

tion. Horrified family members, who may be forced to watch, are often too intimidated to identify the murderers."

The account describes other methods of "black-on-black" killings perpetrated recently and describes them as ranging from necklacings to petrol bombings and shootings. It also mentions tribal fights.

## Responsibility

Of the more than 2 300 people killed since September 1984, *Time* notes that nearly three-quarters of the victims were blacks killed by other blacks and says the "issue of who is ultimately responsible for the bloodshed is one of the most politically charged in South Africa".

The killings have given the South African Government a powerful propaganda weapon, the magazine says, with officials suggesting it proves blacks are too uncivilised to rule.

The article says, however, that the killings are a reflection

of the "apartheid system" with blacks "bottled up in teeming townships and denied any voice in political life".

Another reason given for the "relentless toll" is the detention of activist community leaders and the breakdown of traditional authority in the townships.

New and more violent leaders have come forward, the article says. "In some cases the toughest person on the street rules."

*Time* says the "comrades" are seen as the most dangerous militant group.

Their power is such that they can terrify residents by simply holding up boxes of matches, according to the article.

A backlash just as violent has developed against the "comrades". This is the vigilantes ... "fathers (who) have donned white headbands and arm-bands".

"While the debate goes on, the appalling parade is one more sign of a people in agony," *Time* says.

Sowetan

26/1/87  
M/A

# Schultz faces demo over Tambo talks

WASHINGTON — Oliver Tambo, head of the outlawed African National Congress, calls on US Secretary of State George Shultz this week and the planned encounter is generating strong conservative opposition.

Shultz agreed to meet with Tambo, even though the Secretary of State opposed the ANC's advocacy of violence and its close links to the Soviet Union.

But Shultz has said the United States must maintain contact with all parties to the South African conflict.

Several conservative groups are planning a protest demonstration on Wednesday when Tambo meets with Shultz at the State Department.

At a news conference last Monday, Republican congressman Danny Burton said: "The Secretary of State should no more meet with Tambo than with Yasser Arafat . . . he is a terrorist with strong ties to the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union."

In addition to his meeting with Shultz, Tambo (69), will talk with the congressional Black Caucus, the Senate mittee and other groups. He also plans visits to Los Angeles and Chicago.

Some conservatives in President Ronald Reagan's administration have said privately they believe Shultz is making a mistake by meeting with Tambo.

Constantine Menges, a former special assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, said the ANC "has used mostly teenaged 'comrades' to burn alive and hack to death many hundreds of moderate black community leaders and other totally innocent blacks."

■ ■

# Mandelas taken from home

(11A)

DD  
26/1/87

## JOHANNESBURG

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and her daughter Zinzi left their Soweto home yesterday in the company of unidentified men and went to the Protea police station.

A lawyer for the family, Mr Amichand So-man, said Miss Mandela had left home at about 5 pm — an hour after her mother. He later said the Mandelas were released about six hours later.

A Bureau for Information spokesman would not comment last night and referred inquiries to the police.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate in Pretoria denied that Mrs Mandela or her daughter had been arrested or detained. He said Mrs Mandela had perhaps been taken in for questioning.

Later police said the two women were no longer at the Protea police station. — DDC

# Chief's warning on indaba

*Sowetan 26/1/87*  
CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday elaborated on his weekend warning to white politicians that they could kill the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals by making them party-political issues in the forthcoming general election.

He was speaking at the formal handing over of the proposals to the

KwaZulu Government by the Indaba's chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, and Indaba co-founders Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Mr Frank Martin.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president noted that the indaba proposals had still to be considered very carefully by Inka-

the annual general conference and by his government.

He was committed to pursue all avenues for discussing the proposals and their implications for practical politics with the country's major black, coloured, Indian and white political groupings.

Chief Buthelezi described the proposals as the "finely-tuned compromise proposals" of those who had attended the indaba and said that, in politics, compromise positions should always be approached with great caution.

Ultimately, the value of the indaba proposals had to be tested against the acceptability to government or by the tenacity with which the organisations from which the indaba representatives came pursued the objectives of the proposals against all opposition.

# Winnie grilled on township football team

Cape Times 27/1/87 11A 322

SOWETO. — The Mandela FC, a township football team, was the main object of inquiry during Mrs Winnie Mandela's six hours of questioning by security police on Sunday night, she told reporters yesterday afternoon.

"The football club is what they were really interested in," Mrs Mandela told a group of about 40 local and foreign journalists at a hastily convened press conference on the pavement of her Orlando West home.

Mrs Mandela and her daughter Zinzi were held at Protea police station on Sunday night after more than 50 security policemen spent about two hours searching through the house, she said.

The police swoop followed the funeral of 18-year-old Mr Frank Makgatla, a member of the Mandela FC, who Mrs Mandela and team-mates allege was shot by a member of the Kabasa vigilante gang in Phomolong, Soweto, two weeks ago.

Thirteen Mandela FC members were arrested outside Mrs Mandela's home in the swoop, she said.

"I just sat at the police station while they searched through my filing cabinet letter by letter and asked me about the Mandela FCs.

"I explained I was behind the team and that it consisted of young members of street committees in the Orlando West area."

The object of the team was to keep young activists off the street and away from shebeens where recent clashes between radical "comrades" and right-wing vigilantes have taken place.

Ironically, Mr Makgatla had been shot while trying to protect a friend involved in a brawl with a member of the Kabasa gang soon after the formation of the team, according to members of the Mandela FC. Mrs Mandela said his killer was a well-known member of the Kabasa gang and alleged that he operated openly without police interference.

## More youths

"He is openly known as somebody whose mission is to eliminate comrades. He had been to Frank's home before, brandishing weapons and threatening to kill him."

Mrs Mandela said she planned to expand the Mandela FC into a sports club that would provide for more youths.

On Sunday night a police spokesman in Pretoria, Lieutenant-Colonel Steve van Rooyen, confirmed that Mrs Mandela was escorted by police from her home to a nearby police station, but said she had "definitely not been arrested or detained". — Sapa

# Singing a different tune

By Michael Tissing

Eight black musicians involved in the Bureau for Information's R4,3 million song, "Together We'll Build a Brighter Future", have decided to record a song to raise funds for community projects.

One of the singers, Blondie Makhene, said they met representatives of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) yesterday and Friday to discuss the dead-end situation; the musicians found themselves in.

He said: "The song will not be an anti-Info song because the Info song does not say South Africa is nice. It says we must start working together to build a better future, which in itself is a good sentiment.

## GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

"We are going to come out with a positive song that expresses the sentiments of the people, but the South African Broadcasting Corporation is not likely to play it.

"Meeting the UDF and Azapo through the South African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA) was a great achievement. Recording a song to raise money for community projects was a viable way of getting out of the trouble we are in.

"It was no use asking us for the money we earned because we no longer have it. Recording the song would be our way of saying thanks for pardoning us. The song would also pardon the comrades for burning Steve Kkana's and Abigail Kubheka's houses.

"However a Press statement on the discussions we had will be released on Thursday."



# Permanent curbs on funerals

## in 23 areas

PRETORIA—Permanent restrictions were imposed on funerals for unrest victims in a further 23 Witwatersrand townships over the weekend.

The orders, gazetted in Pretoria under emergency Regulation 7 (1), entail what have become known as the 'standard' restrictions on funerals for unrest and 'security action' victims.

The orders effectively extend permanent conditions imposed on funerals in Soweto, Diepkloof, Meadowlands and Dobsonville last Tuesday to a further 23 townships across the Reef.

The conditions, among others, prohibit the holding of a funeral for an unrest victim: Without prior police approval; where anyone but an ordained minister acts as a speaker; where a public address system is used or where more than 200 people attend; and where flags, banners or posters are displayed.

The orders are apparently intended to obviate the need for promulgating temporary restrictions in respect of specific funerals, as was previously done. —  
(Sapa)

# Winnie Mandela <sup>11A</sup> <sup>2/11/87</sup> tells of police quiz <sup>1/1/87</sup>

SOWETO—The Mandela FCs, a township football team, was the main object of inquiry during Mrs Winnie Mandela's six-hours of questioning by security police on Sunday night, Mrs Mandela told reporters yesterday.

Mrs Mandela and her daughter Zinzi were held at Protea Police Station after more than 50 security policemen spent about two hours searching through the house.

The objective of the team was to keep young activists off the street and away

from shebeens where recent clashes between radical 'Comrades' and Right-wing vigilantes have taken place.

On Sunday night a police spokesman in Pretoria, Lt-Col Steve van Rooyen, confirmed Mrs Mandela was escorted by police from her home to a nearby police station but said she had 'definitely not been arrested or detained'.

The Mandelas' attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob said earlier that the 13 Mandela FC members were arrested under the Criminal Procedures Act. — (Sapa)

# UDF "committed to non-violence" HA

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front has reiterated its commitment to non-violent opposition to apartheid.

In a statement the UDF said: "An incorrect impression has been created implying that the UDF is at the point of abandoning non-violent strategies of democratic opposition to apartheid."

The UDF said the media and US State Department had taken issue with one phrase in the open letter which said the UDF and the "legal opposition movement" were being "thrust by the unrelenting repression of the regime into a position where it might have to review its non-violent principles."

This had to be seen in its context, the UDF said.

The UDF had been born accompanied by "the most sinister methods of repression and intimidation" which were aimed at disrupting its "legal opposition" to apartheid.

Meetings and campaigns had been banned, restrictions slapped on statements and publications and thousands detained, the statement said.

The "apartheid regime" was ensuring that there would be "no room" for legal and non-violent opposition to apartheid, the UDF said.

When this happened the UDF "may be compelled to review its non-violent strategies." — Sapa.

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## Info musicians to sing new song

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Eight musicians involved in the Bureau for Information's R4,3-million song, *Together We'll Build A Brighter Future*, have decided to record a song to raise funds for community projects.

One of the singers, Blondie Makhele, said they met representatives of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) yesterday and Friday to discuss the dead-end situation the musicians found themselves in because of their participation in the controversial song.

He said: "The song will not be an

anti-Info song because the Info song does not say South Africa is nice. It says we must start working together to build a better future, which in itself is a good sentiment.

"We are going to come out with a positive song that expresses the sentiments of the people.

"Meeting the UDF and Azapo through the South African Musicians' Alliance was a great achievement. Recording a song to raise money for community projects is a viable way of getting out of the trouble we are in.

"It was no use asking us for the money we earned because we no longer have it. Recording the song would be our way of saying thanks for pardoning us."

Violence

not on,

says UDF

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JOHANNESBURG—The United Democratic Front has 'reiterated its commitment' to non-violent opposition to apartheid, the UDF said in a statement yesterday.

The statement comes in response to what the UDF calls 'misinterpretation by the media and the U.S State Department' of a recent open letter from the UDF to U.S. Secretary of State Mr. George Shultz.

'An incorrect impression has been created that the UDF is on the point of abandoning non-violent strategies of democratic opposition to apartheid,' the statement said. — (Sapa)

*CME Times 27/11/87*

## Inkatha house razed *11/11 2008*

RANDFONTEIN. — The house of a senior Johannesburg Inkatha official, Mrs Lettie Nkomo, was destroyed by fire in the township of Mohlakeng near Randfontein on the West Rand yesterday afternoon. Neighbours and passers-by fought the blaze for more than two hours. The cause of the fire is not known

CME Times 28/1/87

# Govt raps SAMA on Info Song 'pardons'

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By ANDREW DONALDSON

THE Bureau for Information yesterday attacked the "pardon" of artists who performed in the bureau's controversial "Together We Will Build a Brighter Future" project.

In a lengthy statement, the bureau slated the newly formed SA Musicians' Alliance (SAMA) — though the pardon was, in fact, issued by the United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples' Organization.

The bureau's statement accused SAMA of being cynical, having links with the UDF and

Azapo and of further intimidating the black artists involved in the R4.3-million "Info Song".

In turn, Savuka star and a member of Sama's ad-hoc steering committee, Johnny Clegg, has described the bureau's attack as "utter nonsense".

The bureau said it was deeply concerned about the "terrorist attacks" against the artists.

To date, the homes of two black artists, Steve Kekhana and Abigail Khubeka, have been attacked. Kekhana's friend, blind guitarist Taylor Phasha, died and four others were injured, and Khubeka was injured.

"(The bureau) has raised this matter with the police with a

view to assuring more protection to those involved," the bureau statement said.

"What the SAMA is in effect saying is that if the artists comply with certain conditions, they will be 'forgiven' and 'spared'. Spared from what? Evidently from further violence."

Commenting on the statement, Clegg said SAMA was a non-violent, non-racial and non-aligned organization that had been approached by the artists to act as mediators between themselves and the UDF and Azapo.

"We were only effecting communications between the musicians — at their request — and their communities. We haven't been asked to pardon anybody."

# Tambo likely to face tough questions at Shultz talks

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star

WASHINGTON — An National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo is likely to be confronted by two tough questions about the ANC's aims and methods at his historic meeting here this afternoon with United States Secretary of State Mr George Shultz.

His answers could have a profound effect on the uneasy relationship between the Reagan Administration and the outlawed organisation — and they could possibly help shape South Africa's future.

The questions are whether Mr Tambo can provide assurances that the ANC is ready to commit itself to a democratic solution to South Africa's constitutional crisis, and whether the ANC will renounce the use of violence for political ends.

Informed analysts say affirmative answers from Mr Tambo will make it easier for Washington to pursue its new policy of encouraging the South African Government to include the ANC in negotiations.

The President is under considerable pressure to dismiss the ANC as a communist-led band of terrorists.

While liberals in the US Congress have endorsed the Tambo-Shultz meeting, there are growing signs that American moderates are joining conservatives in their opposition to the event in the absence of any indication from Mr Tambo that he will try to put a stop to violence.

This morning, before the meeting, Senator Robert Dole will introduce a resolution urging Mr Shultz to tell Mr Tambo he must "publicly and sincerely" disavow the use of terrorism to advance the ANC's political aims.

His resolution will call on the Secretary of State to tell Mr Tambo that if the ANC refuses to condemn terrorism — "especially the barbaric practice of necklacing" — the US will oppose any ANC participation in the political future of South Africa.



# ANC stand on violence key to US, Tambo talks

ARK 28/1/87  
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From NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo is likely to be confronted by two tough questions about the ANC's aims and methods at his meeting here this afternoon with US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz.

His answers could have a profound effect on the uneasy relationship between the Reagan administration and the banned organisation — and possibly help to shape South Africa's future.

The questions are whether Mr Tambo can provide assurances that the ANC is ready to commit itself to a democratic solution to South Africa's constitutional crisis, and whether the ANC will renounce the use of violence for political ends.

## Crucial questions

The Americans have had no clear answers to these crucial questions.

Informed analysts say affirmative answers from Mr Tambo will make it easier for Washington to pursue its new policy of encouraging the South African Government to include the ANC in negotiations over the country's future.

Negative responses or hedging will increase the uneasiness that many of President Reagan's most important supporters and some of his top officials feel about US dealings with an organisation that has endorsed violence.

The President is under considerable pressure to dismiss the ANC as a communist-led band of terrorists.

While liberals in the US Congress have endorsed the Tambo-Shultz meeting as long overdue, there are growing signs that American moderates

are joining conservatives in their opposition to the event.

This is in the absence of any indication from Mr Tambo that he will try to put a stop to violence among his supporters.

Today, just hours before the meeting, the Senate Republican leader, Senator Robert Dole (a presidential contender for 1988), will introduce a resolution urging Mr Shultz to tell Mr Tambo he must "publicly and sincerely" disavow the use of terrorism to advance the ANC's political aims.

Mr Dole said last night: "The administration made a tough call in scheduling a meeting with an organisation that practises, condones and refuses to denounce the use of terrorism."

To go ahead with the meeting without such a denunciation as a precondition came perilously close to sending the wrong kind of message on terrorism — the same kind of message that may have been seen inadvertently in US arms dealings with Iran, he said.



Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, addresses Georgetown University in Washington during his tour of America.

## Bureau 'concern' for Info musicians

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Bureau for Information has contacted the police in connection with alleged intimidation of artists involved in the Government's controversial R4,3-million song, *Together We'll Build a Brighter Future*.

In a statement the bureau said it was "deeply concerned about the terrorist attacks which have take place against artists who participated in the project".

"The bureau has raised the matter with the police to assure effective protection. It is the right of South Africans to expect protection from brutal intimidation.

"A number of artists who participated in the project have been intimidated. Many of them have been threatened. Others have been blacklisted and some have been attacked.

"Steve Kekana's home in Soweto was fire-bombed on December 5. His friend, Taylor Phasha, a blind guitarist, was burned to death in the attack. Four others were injured. Abigail Kubheka's home in Soweto was firebombed on December 7."

The bureau also said it found "cynical" the pardon announced at a meeting of members of the South African Musicians' Alliance (Sama), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

"It is difficult to imagine how those extending the 'pardon' could give guarantees without some form of contact with, and influence over, those directly involved in the process of intimidation."

# UDF will turn from peace if world fails to end apartheid

Cape Times 28/1/87



IN Washington today United States Secretary of State Mr George Shultz is meeting the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo. MURPHY MOROBE addressed this open letter to Mr Shultz on the eve of the meeting.

THE eyes of the people of South Africa are focused on your meeting with African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo.

We commend the government of the United States for coming to the realization that a solution to the conflict in South Africa is not possible without ANC participation. In this regard we view the forthcoming meeting as a historic breakthrough.

However, our people have noted with concern the repeated attempts by US state officials and yourself in the run-up to this summit meeting to imply that the onus for ending the violence in this country lies at the door of the ANC. We in the United Democratic Front call on the American people and their leaders to place the responsibility where it belongs: to denounce the violence and intransigence of the white minority government.

It is the immoral and unjust apartheid system that is at the source of violence in our country. It is the Botha government that aggressively attacks neighbouring states, occupies and terrorizes townships and villages in all parts of South Africa, and deploys the weapons of modern warfare against unarmed men, women and children.

For too many years now the world has stood by while the Nationalist government has inflicted brutal force on the majority of black South Africans. The death toll of our people reaches thousands, while millions' losses in terms of dignity, civil rights, family life and a peaceful existence cannot be calculated.

## Renewed onslaught

The imposition of the state of emergency last June saw basic freedoms further eroded. The renewed onslaught during the past five weeks against the media, our campaigns and our organizations, and the detention of UDF acting national general secretary Mohammed Vali make clear the government's intention to crush all legal resistance to apartheid rule. The Botha government is determined to stifle the demands of the majority of South Africans for the dismantling of apartheid, the lifting of emergency regulations, the release of political prisoners and thousands of detainees, and the unbanning of the ANC. The press curbs and censorship are intended to place a veil of secrecy over the actions of the army and the police, building a wall of silence between our townships and the world, and suppressing the undaunted stand against

the oppression of our people.

The UDF and its affiliates now must ask the question: what avenues of legal and peaceful opposition are still open to the people of South Africa? Our meetings and campaigns are banned, we are prevented from making statements and issuing publications, our leaders and supporters face charges, detention or a life on the run, and hundreds of orders, from funeral regulations to the curfew, restrict township life. Sinister agents of apartheid are now killing opponents of the regime under the cover of darkness or the cover of "black-on-black" violence.

## Peaceful means

The UDF enquires of Mr Shultz if he is acquainted with the ANC's 50 years of struggle through peaceful means before it was banned and took up arms against an oppressive regime? We question the US government's intentions in taking the ANC to task on the issue of violence, when daily the South African regime makes known its intolerance of any form of opposition — violent and non-violent. We ask how and when does Mr Shultz envisage the end of apartheid and the winning of democratic rights for our people? Does he believe the minority regime is prepared to negotiate itself out of power? Or is it rather desperately clinging to that power by the use of terror and violence?

Soon, the white electorate will be requested to sign yet another blank ticket to minority rule under the National Party. The long experience of the people of South Africa has shown that in the days and weeks to come the mass democratic movement can anticipate fresh waves of brutality and hardship, and more restrictions and bannings aimed at crushing it. We are being forced into a situation where all methods of resistance against the oppressive apartheid regime must be considered. One thing is clear: we cannot and will not abandon the fight against apartheid.

The regime's unrelenting repression is thrusting the UDF and the legal opposition movement into a position where it may have to review its non-violent principles. The failure of the United States and the world to use all ways effectively to bring the apartheid system to an end will leave us with no alternative but to turn from peaceful methods.

● *Murphy Morobe is acting national publicity secretary of the UDF.*

# Mandela 'part of violent revolt'

By ALI MPHAKI

IMPRISONED ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, is part of a violent revolution against the South African Government, counsel for the State said in the Delmas treason trial yesterday.

Deputy Attorney-General for the Transvaal, Mr P B J Jacobs said Mandela was still incarcerated because he will not speak against the violence perpetrated by the ANC.

This was during cross-examination of one of the 19 accused, Mr Herbert Vilakazi, in the trial which began in January last year.

## Leader

Asked by Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, sitting with two assessors why one should laud a person sentenced to jail for violence, Mr Vilakazi said Mandela was generally referred to as a leader of the black people because he was outspoken against the laws that deprive blacks of political rights in the country of their birth.

(Proceeding)

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# UDF hasn't changed policy

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THE United Democratic Front reiterates its commitment of non-violent opposition to apartheid, the UDF said in a statement yesterday.

The statement comes in response to "misinterpretation by the media and the US State Department" of a recent open letter from the UDF to US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz.

## Incorrect

"An incorrect impression has been created implying that the UDF is at the point of abandoning non-violent strategies of democratic opposition to apartheid," the statement said.

The UDF said the media and US State Department had taken issue with one phrase in the open letter which said the UDF and the "legal opposition movement" were being

"thrust by the unremitting repression of the regime into a position where it might have to review its non-violent principles."

This had to be seen in

its context, the UDF said.

The UDF had been born accompanied by "the most sinister methods of repression and intimidation" which were

aimed at disrupting its "legal opposition" to apartheid.

Meetings and campaigns had been banned, restrictions slapped on statements

and publications and thousands of activists detained, the statement said.

"The UDF has, therefore, correctly pointed out on many occasions that the legal terrain within which the democratic movement has been operating is narrowing daily."

The "apartheid regime" was ensuring that there would be "no room" for legal and non-violent opposition to apartheid, the UDF said.

When this happened, the UDF "may be compelled to review its non-violent strategies."

Because the Reagan Administration had failed to object to attacks on the UDF the South African Government had been encouraged to cut off its peaceful and legal opposition, the statement added. —

Sapa

# Hendrickse gets backing from caucus

CAT Time 28/11/81

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### Political Staff

THE Labour Party caucus yesterday said it supported its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who last week apologized to Mr P W Botha for the controversial swim at a whites-only Port Elizabeth beach.

The statement, which was issued by the caucus chairman, Mr Jac Rabie, said the caucus was "united in support of the leader".

The statement added that it had been a "normal caucus meeting" and that "various parliamentary and party matters" had been discussed.

No reference was made to the apology issued by Mr Hendrickse last week. The press liaison officer, Mr Peter Hendrickse, declined to disclose what had been discussed at caucus.

It is understood, however, that the apology was thoroughly discussed and that the debate on the issue is likely to continue when the caucus meets again tomorrow.

A second statement issued later after a joint caucus meeting between the Labour Party and National People's Party yesterday afternoon stated that it had been agreed to meet "when the need arises and in the interest of both parties and Houses".

One issue which was apparently discussed at the joint meeting was the strategy to be adopted at the election of the Speaker of Parliament, scheduled to take place today.

The ruling National Party has nominated the former Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange to succeed Mr Johann Greeff, who was elected chairman of the President's Council last week.

The Labour Party abstained from voting last week when Mr Greeff was elected because they had not been consulted.

Today, however, it seems that a different strategy may be adopted.

The Labour Party and NPP may nominate their own candidate to oppose Mr Le Grange — possibly the chairman of the House of Representatives, Mr Phillip Sanders or the deputy leader of the Labour Party, Mr Miley Richards.

The electoral college, however, consists of 50 members of the National Party, 25 members of the Labour Party and 13 members of the National Peoples Party with the result that even if a rival candidate is proposed, Mr Le Grange is still virtually certain to be the new Speaker.

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## World

### Sight of Judy won't stop fast

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# Soldiers hold

CAPE TIMES  
29/11/87  
22

LATRO  
**'pleased'  
with  
plan for  
support**

WASHINGTON. — Black members of the US Congress said yesterday that the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, was pleased with their plan to work towards the elimination of apartheid this year. •

Mr Tambo is to meet the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, today.

He held a private meeting with black legislators for about an hour yesterday.

"He is hoping he can get the world to support him," said Representative Charles Rangel, one of the six congressional members to see Mr Tambo.

Delegate Walter Fauntroy of Washington DC, who has no vote in Congress, said the congressmen outlined their plan for 1987 which calls for over \$500-million (R1 041-million) in aid to black neighbours of South Africa who might be affected by counter-sanctions imposed by Pretoria.

The seven-point plan would also add new sanctions against Pretoria.

But Mr Fauntroy and Mr Rangel said there were no plans to introduce bills to provide direct assistance to the ANC.

In Johannesburg a spokesman for the United Democratic Front, Mr Murphy Morobe, called on Mr Shultz to condemn South Africa's government as "the main source of violence" during his meeting with Mr Tambo. — Sapa-AP and IUPI

# Winnie tells of cop interrogation

THE Mandela FCs, a township football team, was the main object of inquiry during Mrs Winnie Mandela's six hours of questioning by security police on Sunday night, Mrs Mandela told reporters this week.

"The football club is what they were really interested in," Mrs Mandela told a group of about 40 local and foreign journalists at a hastily convened Press conference on the pavement of her Orlando West home.

Mrs Mandela and her daughter Zinzi were held at Protea Police Station on Sunday night after more than 50 security policemen spent about two hours searching through the house, she said.

The police swoop followed the funeral of 18-year-old Frank Makgatla, a member of the Mandela FCs, who Mrs Mandela and teammates allege was shot by a member of the Kabasa vigilante gang in Phomolong, Soweto two weeks ago.

Thirteen Mandela FC members were arrested outside Mrs Mandela's home at the time of the swoop, she said.

"I just sat at the police station while they searched through my filing cabinet letter by letter and asked me about the Mandela FCs.

"I explained I was behind the team and that it consisted of young members of street committees in the Orlando West area."

The objective of the team was to keep young activists off the street and away from shebeens where recent clashes between radical "comrades" and right-wing vigilantes have taken place.

Ironically, Frank Makgatla had been shot while trying to protect a friend involved in a brawl with a member of the Kabasa Gang soon after the formation of the team, according to members of the Mandela FCs.

Mrs Mandela said Makgatla's killer was a well-known member of the Kabasa Gang and alleged that he operated



WINNIE Mandela

openly without police interference.

"He is openly known as somebody whose mission is to eliminate comrades. He had been to Frank's home before, brandishing weapons and threatening to kill him."

Mrs Mandela said she planned to expand the

Mandela FCs into a sports club that would cater for more of the youth in the area.

On Sunday night a police spokesman in Pretoria, Lt-Col Steve van Rooyen, confirmed Mrs Mandela was escorted by police from her home to a nearby police sta-



ZINZI Mandela

tion, but said she had "definitely not been arrested or detained".

The Mandelas' attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob said earlier that the 13 Mandela FC members were arrested under the Criminal Procedures Act.

He gave the names of

those arrested as: Johannes Mabeta, Absalom Madonsela, Bonaparte Zwane, Sylvester Mazibuko, Vusi Khumalo, Kenneth Dlamini, Leonard Nhlapo, Michael Twala, Leonard Zungu, Eustice Ngijina, Lucky Radebe, Andrew Ikageng and Montgomery Mchunu. — Sapa.

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## More protection for singers

11A

JOHANNESBURG — Police protection for black musicians living in a state of fear for their part in the government's peace song is to be stepped up.

At the same time, eight black performers may be heading for a legal battle with the Bureau for Information for breach of contract after agreeing to UDF and Azapo demands to make a public statement condemning the song.

They will also fund and record an alternative peace song in a further act of contrition to the black community.

Few white musicians are expected to follow their black counterparts in spurning the song, despite a warning from the SA Musicians' Alliance

(Sama) that they face blacklisting unless they do so.

The bureau yesterday slated as "cynical" Sama's stated aim of ending the intimidation against black artists.

Petit Cheval lead singer Jonathan Selby said he would not condemn the song and slated Sama as an "elitist formation taking matters into its own hand".

He said: "The UDF is exploiting the peace song to further its own aims. "Why didn't the UDF fund a peace song of its own in the first place?"

About 13 black musicians performed in the R4,3 million song Together We Can Build A Brighter Future. Eight musicians have agreed to donate their fees to charity or a Sama-administered trust. — DDC



# 'SEARCHING FOR UNITY'

221  
Sowetan 9/11/87  
114

THE Vaal Civic Association affiliated to the United Democratic Front in order to show those who are not in the UDF fold that through unity there can be a situation where many people would voice their dissatisfaction against apartheid, an accused in the Delmas treason trial said yesterday.

By SOWETAN  
Reporter

Mr Herbert Vumi Vilakazi, on his seventh day in the witness box, said the VCA affiliated to the UDF to show that the support of apartheid would ultimately diminish if people and different organisations came together and exchanged their experiences.

This was during cross examination by the counsel for the State, Deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr P B J Jacobs.

The court heard that Mr Vilakazi proposed a resolution at a meeting of residents on October 9, 1983 condemning the Ciskeian Government for banning the South African Allied Workers Union in the homeland.

Asked by Mr Jacobs why he (Vilakazi) said the people of Ciskei are his people, Mr Vilakazi

in reply said many people who were staying in the Vaal's hostels were from Ciskei and hostels were not a separate entity.

"We saw them (hostel people) as part of our community", he said.

Mr Vilakazi said that the VCA was formed in order to strive for the betterment of the people of the Vaal. The organisation was to represent the people to Government structures, like the development boards.

He told the court that the Government and the Black Local Authorities were part of the apartheid system, whose laws divide people through colour, religion and deny black people political participation.

**I**N spite of the Government's reform initiatives, black resistance to its policies "reached unprecedented levels of intensity in 1985", according to a survey by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In its annual race relations survey for 1985 the Institute, noting that the year was marred by political violence, also points out that conflict within the black community reached new levels of intensity.

It says that apart from assassinations of black policemen and councillors, violent clashes between members of various black organisations continued. The most serious were those between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters in Natal and between UDF and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) supporters in the eastern Cape.

### Resistance

The Institute chronicles a rather disturbing survey in its 645-paged volume. It lists developments in politics, education, labour, security, among many other issues.

In its overview the Institute notes: "Forms of (black) resistance included school boycotts, worker stayaways, acts of insurgency, violent confrontation with security forces by township residents, and violent attacks on people associated with the authorities."

"In addition blacks began to use consumer

# SA in '85: a violent society in conflict says Survey

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

## FOCUS

boycotts as a political weapon, most notably in the eastern Cape. In some instances these boycotts led to unprecedented negotiations between businessmen, municipal officials and township organisations over local and national issues".

The Institute also confirms the Government's stance on African political rights. It says the Government in 1985 rejected both one-man-one-vote in a unitary state and ruled out the fourth chamber for Africans in Parliament.

However, there is a contradiction in the Government's intent regarding African political rights, because in various statements affecting Africans it has indicated that structures up to the "highest level" would be created for African political expression; that it was introduc-

ing a new urbanisation strategy; that Africans would, for the first time, have formal representation outside the homelands in the regional services councils; that it would consider African participation on the President's Council.

Naturally, the "highest level" of political expression is in the highest level of political representation — Parliament.

### Violence

Amid the violence in the townships and the escalation of insurgency, the State President, Mr P W Botha, is quoted in 1985 as saying: "Several points are non-negotiable as regards the political development of the country's African people and these include the non-abdication of the country's white people

*Southern*  
*29/1/87*  
*11A*

the Government's announcement that it was giving urgent consideration to eliminating discriminatory aspects of influx control.

In 1985 more than 25 000 blacks were repatriated from "white" group areas to various southern Africa states and the "independent homelands".

• **Political Violence:** The Institute of Race Relations, which monitored political fatalities during 1985, says 879 people were killed in that year. Of this number, 50 percent were residents killed by security forces and 31 percent were people killed by other residents. Other fatalities resulted from attacks on security forces by guerillas, attacks by blacks on white civilians and vice-versa and also bomb attacks.

### Landmines

In 1985 there were 136 insurgency attacks, showing an increase of 209 percent over the 1984 figure of 44, the African National Congress claiming responsibility for most of them.

Landmines were used towards the end of the year for the first time, seven explosions occurring in the northern Transvaal in December;

• **Detentions:** More than 10 000 people were detained for political reasons during the first six months of emergency rule in 1985. According to the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, says the Institute, more than 7 200 people were detained without trial under the state of emergency regulations and a further 3 600 were held under the permanent security regulations.

The Institute paints a gloomy picture of developments in the country in its survey.

ernment reiterated its commitment to education based on the "own affairs" system in 1985 despite calls by numerous people and organisations for an end to segregated education.

The Government reaffirmed its stand during a year in which more than a million black and coloured pupils boycotted classes. Neither the state of emergency introduced on July 21, 1985 nor the strict measures by the Government to stop the boycotts could stem the stayaways:

• **Urbanisation:** In 1985 permanent residence rights in the "white" group areas were granted to 25 612 migrant workers — an increase of only 1 282 on the previous year although 7 000 more applications were received than in 1984.

This implies that the number of migrant workers to get urban rights rose only minimally in 1985 in spite of

Among the many and diverse issues covered in the survey, the Institute highlights the following:

• **Education:** The Gov-



**Lest We**

# Black students list demands

81 Day 29/11/87

11A

THELMA TUCH

(S)

THE National Students' Co-ordinating Committee (Nascoc) — the umbrella body of pupils' organisations throughout the country — welcomed the return of pupils to school this year at a three-day consultative meeting held last at the weekend to assess the crisis at black schools.

Nascoc rejected "apartheid education", and listed a series of demands.

Nascoc welcomed the return of pupils to school, and resolved that school-goers campaign for the release of all their detained peers.

The meeting was attended by delegates of the various student congresses in the Transvaal, Cape, Natal, Free State and Border regions.

The following were among resolutions passed:

Nascoc will continue to reject "apartheid" education.

As an alternative to boycotting schools, pupils should strengthen their SRCs at schools, particularly those affected by the detention of pupils.

Nascoc said the community should support its campaign for the release of detained pupils.

The following pupils' demands were listed:

The withdrawal of the SADF from the townships and schools.

The admission of all pupils at schools.

The withdrawal of the Department of Education and Training requirement that a parent or legal guardian accompany Soweto and Alexandra high school pupils who wished to be registered.

# Spate of Durban political deaths

(11A) (11B) 29/1/87 B/Day  
POLITICAL violence in Durban's townships has risen alarmingly over the past nine days, during which 15 people were killed and at least seven injured in four petrol-bomb attacks on homes and a mass shooting.

Neither the police nor the Bureau for Information has identified who was responsible.

Clashes between Inkatha and the UDF have led to a spate of unsolved killings of UDF members and the petrol-bombing of Inkatha homes in recent months.

HAMISH McINDOE

A Durban police spokesman said yesterday he had no idea who was behind the killings in the kwaMakhuta area.

Police reportedly found about 150 spent AK-47 rifle shells after attackers petrol-bombed a house in kwaMakhuta and gunned down its fleeing occupants on January 20. Thirteen people were killed, including seven children.

The house-owner's son belonged to a UDF affiliate in the area and

UDF officials have blamed Inkatha.

Four days after Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for an end to the bloodshed, a child was burnt to death when her Umlazi home was petrol-bombed.

On January 26, a man was killed and five injured when petrol bombs and a grenade were thrown at a house in Mpumuza.

The bureau yesterday reported a grenade attack on a house in Chesterville on Tuesday. "No-one was injured," it said.

US voices its concern at  
ANC's communist links

# Shultz warns

# Tambo:

# stop the violence

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

Washington

United States Secretary of State Mr George Shultz has warned African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo that violence will lead to catastrophe in South Africa.

He also told Mr Tambo of the US Government's deep concern over Soviet influence in the organisation.

These two concerns — the ANC's use of terrorism against innocent civilians and the extent of its commitment to communism — were at the top of the Mr Shultz's agenda during his 50-minute meeting with the veteran ANC leader in Washington yesterday.

In response to a request by Mr Tambo — which cannot be reported in South Africa because he is on the banned list — Mr Shultz spelt out the Reagan Administration's continued opposition to sanctions on South Africa.

Before the meeting, Mr Shultz had been under pressure from American conservatives not to meet Mr Tambo because of the ANC's communist links and use of terrorism, and moderates were demanding a disavowal of violence as a precondition for future talks.

There is also growing concern among some American Jewish leaders that the Reagan Administration's rationale for yesterday's meeting — the importance of the ANC in the South African equation — could be used for meetings with terrorist chiefs such as Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yassar Arafat.

'Necklace'  
a hot issue  
in US

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A demonstration here against "necklacing" proved disturbingly realistic for the fire department.

Firemen rushed to the pavement outside the State Department when they received reports 'terrorists' had a tyre round the neck of a victim and were to set it alight.

Police intervened too, but they discovered it was gruesome play-acting by black conservatives protesting at yesterday's meeting between Secretary of State Mr George Shultz and ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

Concern over ANC condoning of necklacing is believed the biggest problem facing the organisation in effort to win US sympathy.



Demonstrators hold a symbolic "necklace" outside the State Department yesterday.

Indications are that Mr Shultz received little satisfaction from Mr Tambo on the issues of communism and terrorism.

Their discussion took the form of an exchange of views rather than an attempt to negotiate agreements.

Both sides said afterwards that they wanted discussions to continue.

On the American side, future talks are likely to be conducted at ambassador-level as part of the new US policy of seeking contacts with all parties in South Africa — not only the ANC.

US State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman, who attended the talks yesterday said Mr Shultz had made it clear to Mr Tambo that violence from any party was not the answer to South Africa's problems and that there were other options.

He also stated that terrorist actions against innocent civilians are totally unacceptable.

He encouraged the ANC to spell out its vision of the future with more specificity, and expressed our opposition to the replacement of the apartheid system by another form of unrepresentative government."

# Tambo warned of catastrophe



**TAMBO ARRIVES:** ANC leader Oliver Tambo poses for photographers outside the State Department in Washington where he was to meet Mr George Shultz.

From NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, has warned African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo that violence will lead to catastrophe in South Africa.

He also told Mr Tambo of deep concern in the United States government over Soviet influence in the ANC.

These two concerns — the ANC's use of terrorism against innocent civilians and the extent of its commitment to communism — were at the top of Mr Shultz's agenda during his 50-minute meeting with the ANC leader here yesterday afternoon.

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State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman, who attended the talks, said Mr Shultz made it clear that violence from any party was not the answer to South Africa's problems and there were other options.

### "POSITIVE ELEMENTS"

Mr Shultz told the ANC leader that "terrorist actions against innocent civilians are totally unacceptable," Mr Redman said.

"He also noted positive elements in the ANC's January 8 statement which described certain important rights within a multiparty democratic system.

"He encouraged the ANC to spell out its vision of the future with more specificity and expressed our opposition to the replacement of the apartheid system by another form of unrepresentative government," Mr Redman said.

After the meeting — the highest-level contact yet between the Reagan administration and the ANC — Mr Tambo spoke to reporters briefly.

● It is illegal to quote Mr Tambo.

## 'Necklace' protest

The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — A protest demonstration here against "necklacing" turned out to be disturbingly realistic for the Washington DC fire department.

Firemen rushed to the State Department after reports that "terrorists" had placed a tyre round the neck of a terrified victim and were about to set it alight.

But they discovered it was play-acting by black Americans protesting against yesterday's meeting between the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

Questions about necklacing have pursued Mr Tambo in the United States. Some analysts believe it is the biggest problem in the ANC's effort to win the US support.

## 'US people seeing other side of story'

### Political Staff

THE South African Government was quietly pleased with the outcome of the Shultz-Tambo meeting today although it remained implacably opposed to talks with the African National Congress.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today the other side of the picture was being put to the Americans because of Mr Tambo's presence in the US.

He said: "It would have cost us millions in propaganda to show how the ANC is committed to violence and terrorism and has direct links with Moscow and even then we would not have got the same results.

### HIGHLIGHT

"I have just spoken to our Ambassador, Mr Herbert Beukes, who told me that Americans are being shown on their television screens the demonstrations against the meeting which highlight the ANC commitment to violence as well as acts of violence such as necklace murders."

No attempt had been made by South Africa to stop the meeting as it was felt this could be counter-productive.

Mr Botha added: "Wherever Mr Tambo goes in the United States he is attracting attention. From the point of view of how the American public have been given the other side of the story, the meeting was a good thing. It is getting the other side of story across."

CENT. 1. 27



SESSION I

The 134

Bank 145

Agr. 153

Chas 157

Rap 158

SESSION

Rap

POPULATION POLICY

Jeremy Warford,  
and Altaf Hussain 161

**NECKLACE PROTEST:** American conservatives outside the State Department in Washington stage a mock necklace burning to protest against the meeting of Mr Tambo and Mr Shultz yesterday.

SESSION V: POLICY BASED LENDING IN AGRICULTURE

Policy Based Lending and the World Bank 166

Vinod Dubey, World Bank

Pakistan: SAL I (Agricultural Component) 174

Tae-Hee Yoon, World Bank

Sudan: Agricultural Rehabilitation Program Credits 179

Jayasankar Shivakumar, World Bank

Philippines: Agricultural Sector/Inputs Project 189

John Macgregor, World Bank

Senegal: Agricultural Policy Dialogue 198

Claude Blanchi, World Bank

# US WARNS TAMBO ABOUT VIOLENCE

114  
S

THE leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, met the United States Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, on Wednesday in an encounter that received wide publicity in many parts of the world.

Mr Shultz expressed his Government's disapproval of the use of violence by the ANC in its liberation struggle, but because Mr Tambo is a listed person in South Africa, the *Sowetan* cannot publish what he told Mr Shultz.

Mr Shultz warned Mr Tambo that violence would lead to catastrophe in South Africa.

He also told Mr Tambo of the US Government's deep concern over Soviet influence in the ANC.

## Sanctions

These two concerns — the ANC's use of violence against civilians and the extent of its commitment to communism — were at the top of Mr Shultz's agenda during his 50-minute meeting with the veteran ANC leader.

In response to a request by Mr Tambo, Mr

Shultz spelt out the Reagan Administration's continued opposition to sanctions on South Africa.

Before the meeting, Mr Shultz had been under pressure from American conservatives not to meet Mr Tambo, and moderates were demanding a disavowal of violence as a precondition for future talks.

There is also growing concern among some American Jewish leaders that the Reagan Administration's rationale for Wednesday's meeting — the importance of the ANC in the South African equation —

could be used for meetings with terrorist chiefs such as Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yassar Arafat.

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## Views

Their discussion took the form of an exchange of views rather than an attempt to negotiate agreements.

Both sides said afterwards that they wanted discussions to continue.

On the American

side, future talks are likely to be conducted at ambassadorial-level as part of the new US policy of seeking contacts with all parties in South Africa — not only the ANC.

US State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman, who attended the talks, said Mr Shultz had made it clear to Mr Tambo that violence from any party was not the answer to South Africa's problems and that there were other options.

"He also stated that terrorist actions against innocent civilians are totally unacceptable.

# Tambo: deaths 'beneficial' (11A)

The leader of the banned African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, has voiced a number of opinions on violence and murder during his current visit to the United States, according to American Press reports.

SABC TV news reports that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday granted permission to the South African media to publish these quotes.

A report in *The New York Times* quoted Mr. Tambo as saying: "When blacks learn that a white has died in the violence that has become a common feature of the South African political situation — that kind of thing comes like a drop of rain after a long drought."

An editorial in *The Wall Street Journal* quoted Mr Tambo as saying: "The killing of white civilians would have the

beneficial effect of getting white people used to bleeding."

The editorial said it was difficult to see how the State Department could believe that the achievement of a stable post-apartheid society would be aided by lending credence to the idea that the fragmented ANC spoke for South Africa's 20 million blacks.

*The New York Post* said in an editorial that the conclusion that the ANC represented an acceptable alternative to the white-ruled regime in Pretoria was profoundly misguided.

The paper said that on the very day the ANC made an appeal to whites to join it in a massive democratic coalition to end apartheid, Mr Tambo called on blacks to intensify terrorist attacks on targets in white-controlled cities and towns. — Sapa.

11A (300A) FIM  
THE ELECTION 30/11/87

## Who will win Natal?

Political commentators already have the National Party (NP) in Natal dead and buried way ahead of the election — such is the perceived clout of the electoral alliance between the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the New Republic Party (NRP).

It's a view which the NP, at this stage, is doing its best to encourage, believing that such talk could help lull its opponents into a false sense of security.

Of course, the truth will be known only on balloting day. But of the 20 seats on offer in Natal, analysts reckon at least 16 are within the alliance's grasp.

There is much empirical evidence to support this contention. Based on the results of the 1980 election, for example, a combined vote shows a PFP-NRP alliance would have



**NRP leader Sutton ...  
pact for survival?**

comfortably won at least 13 of the seats.

As things stand in the province, the NP holds 10 seats (having gained three through earlier defections from the NRP), the PFP six and the NRP four.

It is felt that the alliance is in a strong position to win back the three seats where the sitting MPs defected — Durban North, Amanzimtoti and South Coast. And they

could also mount a credible assault on four others, Port Natal, Umlazi, Umhlatuzana and Umhlanga.

But then much has changed since 1980. And in today's fluid political atmosphere, with defections to the Left and Right in most parties, little can be taken for granted. For one, NP leader P W Botha should not be underestimated.

The alliance has let it be known that it will be using the Indaba — not in substance but as a demonstration of negotiation politics which it exemplifies — as a major plank in its election platform.

That, in all probability, will make it vulnerable to attack from the Right, which is bound to highlight the "threats" to minorities inherent in the Indaba's constitutional proposals as well as the economic perils of the equalisation policy it proposes. In the process Natal's traditionally conservative white voters could well be panicked into the

NP laager.

A lot, of course, will depend on whether the alliance has been successful in taking the "old guard" of the NRP with it. The recent resignations of a number of NRP stalwarts within parliament and the provinces indicates that their loyalty, certainly cannot be relied upon. Just where they will cast their votes is likely to be the subject of intense speculation in the run up to the election — and a critical factor in deciding its outcome.

Former NP secretary in Natal Renier Schoeman (who will contest Umhlanga) believes the alliance was born of weakness rather than strength. He predicts that any benefits are likely to be negated by wholesale defections from the NRP to the NP.

"The PFP have been unable to sell their policy to the electorate and the NRP hasn't had a policy for so long they've forgotten what it is to have one. They are trying to sell the Indaba sizzle because they haven't got any hamburger," he says.

The alliance candidates see it differently. They contend the NP is in danger of tripping over its own reform agenda. The electorate has heard so much about reform but so little has been translated into action that they are ready to embrace any positive initiatives like the Indaba — warts and all.

As PFP MP for Pinetown Roger Burrows says: "The Nats have knocked the Indaba but as a counter position they have presented nothing but a series of vague promises."

Diametrically opposed opinions they may be. But what it all adds up to is that Natal could well be headed for a photo finish on election day. ■

This was confirmed yesterday by Tolcon chief executive Ron McLennan.

Tolcon intends to toll the N3 from south of Heidelberg

THE Durban Board has warned that American toll road legislation alternative routes must be provided.

mit system were removed in Transport Policy Study's recommendations.

# Watson verdict brings traffic to a halt in P E

Mercury Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH—Valence Watson, his bail tripled and his brothers freed, was yesterday carried shoulder-high down Main Street in a procession which brought traffic to a halt for more than 40 minutes.

He had been convicted of arson and fraud, but was found not guilty on the charge of attempted murder.

The President of the Port Elizabeth Regional Court, Mr Gert Steyn, ordered that Mr Ronald Watson and Mr

Daniel 'Cheeky' Watson leave the dock free men.

Mr Steyn said the case revolved around an incident at the house owned by Mrs Elaine Watson — mother of the accused — when, at 11 40 p m on October 19, 1985 there was 'a massive explosion which enveloped the house in flame'.

Mr Steyn said the State contended the motive for burning down the house was the Watson's financial position and it was clear that the partnership had always operated on an overdraft.

Mr Steyn then moved on to the evidence of Valence Watson, whom he said had made a good impression on the Court.

It was significant that while Valence Watson claimed the family had for a long time received threats because of their views, an insurance cover for R483 225 for 'politically motivated damage' had only been taken out shortly before the fire.

Mr Steyn said he was not satisfied the State had proved the attempted murder charge.

Neither had the State proved an act of conspiracy by each individual accused, although the total evidence led to 'the irresistible conclusion' there had been a conspiracy between Valence Watson and others.

He found Valence Watson guilty of the first two charges, acquitting him of attempted murder. Mr Ronald Watson and Mr Daniel 'Cheeky' Watson were acquitted on all charges.

The hearing was adjourned to today, when the Court will hear evidence in mitigation.

# Mugabe, Kaunda defend the use of violence

VICTORIA FALLS—The leaders of Zambia and Zimbabwe yesterday defended the use of violence to bring about change in South Africa, only a day after US Secretary of State George Shultz urged the ANC to abandon its policy of violence.

Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda were speaking at a meeting with Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney. Botswana's President Quett Masire also attended the talks.

The call to the ANC to renounce violence was made by Mr Shultz at a meeting in Washington on Wednesday with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

Dr Kaunda, chairman of the front-line states, welcomed the US decision to meet Mr Tambo, but said: 'If Tambo is to renounce violence, what are we putting in its place? Give us something to put in its place and we will support that.'

## Totally unacceptable

Mr Mugabe, a sharp critic of South Africa, told Mr Mulroney: 'Non-violence is not working in South Africa. We in Africa support all forms of struggle, the violent and non-violent.'

A State Department official quoted Mr Shultz as having told Mr Tambo during their discussions that 'violence from any party is not the answer to South Africa's problems. Terrorist actions against innocent civilians are totally unacceptable'.

Mr Mugabe said: 'We regret very much that Mr Shultz used that word terrorist in respect to the violent struggle in South Africa.'

Mr Mulroney, on his first visit to Africa since taking office in 1984, expressed Canada's opposition to South Africa and support for sanctions. — (Sapa-Reuter)

● See Editorial Opinion and Page 11

ay  
**zimbabwe market**  
Durban North  
Tel: 839-733

ALARM CLOCK

SATURDAY 21st JANUARY '87

BLACK LABEL, OHLSONNS

# Witness tells of flags at funeral

(11K)

30/1/87

## Dispatch Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH** — A state witness, the key figure in the manufacture of the black, green and yellow flags, which flew at the funeral of Mr Matthew Goniwe, told the Uitenhage Regional Court that she had been as aggrieved as all other Cradock township residents, by the manner in which Mr Goniwe and three other men had met their death.

Mrs Gladys Nongetheni Dywili, of Calata Street, Cradock, was testifying at the trial of Mr Temba Jimmy Basini, 42; Mr Lwandle Nquru, 21; Mr Mpumelelo David Faxi, 21; Mr Mthuthuzeli Shepherd Ntombela, 29; Mr Vulindlela Victor Puwani, 24; Thami William Madolo, 40; and a 16-year-old youth, all from Lingelihle Township, Cradock; Mr Johannes M Bopape, 25, of Pretoria; and Mr Obed Kopang Bopela, 28, of Johannesburg.

They are charged with furthering the aims of two outlawed organisations, the South African Communist Party (SACP), and the African National Congress, formulated in terms of Section 13 of the Internal Security Act.

The state alleges that they displayed flags and banners of the SACP, the ANC, and a Russian flag, at the funeral of Mr Goniwe, an executive member of the Eastern Cape region of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, in Cradock on July 20 1985.

Mrs Dywili, a dress-maker, said she was approached by a group of men who asked her to assemble black, green and yellow pieces of cloth and two red cloths,

two days before Mr Goniwe's funeral.

She said the only man she knew among the group was one Zenzile Blou, who did the talking. His companions expressed themselves in Afrikaans and she established that they were Sothos.

The assembled cloths were fetched by the three Sotho men on Friday, the day before the funeral.

Mrs Dywili said she arrived at the stadium at noon for the funeral on Saturday.

Because of the big-crowd in attendance at the funeral she could not get closer to the flying flags.

Asked whether she could positively identify the flags as those she had assembled, from photos shown to her, she said she could not because the flags she had assembled had nothing written on them.

The flags she saw flying at the funeral had words written on them.

She said she had lived in Cradock for 30 years and knew nothing about the ANC.

She said she had moved from Tarkastad.

Mr Thando Goodhope Ntlale, a Lingelihle shopowner, said he had supplied Mr Blou and his group with black, green, yellow and red lengths of cloth the week before Mr Goniwe's funeral.

He said he had sold the cloth on a Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora) account, and the debt was later met by Mr Monwabisi Gladwell Makhaula, on behalf of Cradora.

The case continues today.

Mr A. W. Meiring was on the Bench.

# Mugabe, Kaunda defend violence

VICTORIA FALLS — Zambian and Zimbabwean leaders here yesterday defended the use of violence to bring about change in SA, only a day after US Secretary of State George Shultz urged the ANC to abandon armed struggle.

Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda were speaking at a meeting with Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney. Botswana President Quett Masire also attended the talks.

The call to the ANC to renounce violence was made by Shultz at a meeting in Washington on Wednesday with ANC leader Oliver Tambo.

## Welcomed

Kaunda, chairman of the Frontline states, welcomed the US decision to meet the ANC chief for the first time.

But, he said: "If Tambo is to renounce violence, what are we putting in its place? Give us something to put in its place and we will support that."

Mugabe said: "Non-violence is not working in SA. We in Africa support all forms of struggle, the violent and non-violent.

"It is hypocritical to say the downtrodden of SA are terrorists for taking up arms to free themselves from tyranny."

## Quoted

A State Department official quoted Shultz as having told Tambo during their talks that "violence from any party is not the answer to SA's problems. Terrorist actions against civilians are totally unacceptable".

Mugabe said: "We regret Shultz used the word terrorist in respect to the struggle in SA."

Briefing Mulroney on the region's heavy economic and transport dependency on SA, Masire said: "We are virtually held as hostages. Botswana is utterly blockaded in a devious and unethical way."

Mulroney, on his first visit to Africa since taking office in 1984, expressed Canada's opposition to Pretoria and support for sanctions to bring change in SA.

He said: "We do not seek to bring SA to her knees, we seek to bring SA to her senses." — Sapa-Reuter.

*FM 30/1/87*

RANDBURG

# An Opposition must oppose

What is the PFP playing at in Randburg? Where the representation of a major province is at stake, and there is as important a local issue as the Indaba, it may be justifiable to enter into an anti-Nat pact with the NRP. And if in the process some of the NRP's ageing crypto-Nats are forced to reveal their true colours, that may be no bad thing either — for everybody involved.

But Randburg is a different matter. It is in the heart of PFP territory, bordered to north and south by PFP seats, and has itself had PFP representatives in the past. It was high on the list of target seats for PFP gains in the coming election.

To consider withdrawing because of a split in the local National Party is crazy tactics and dubious morality.

As long as the PFP wants to fill the role of parliamentary opposition to the left of the NP, it is a total abdication of its self-appointed responsibility not to fight a seat like Randburg — especially as it thinks it could win anyway, and claims the renegade Wynand Malan would come bottom in a three-cornered fight.

And just how great is Wynand Malan's reformist fervour? He may object to things like the Group Areas Act, but his rejection of the PFP's approaches suggests that his ultimate view of the future is by no means the PFP's. Indeed, he himself says he wants the PFP to oppose him "so that I can test my theory that there is support for direction outside the present party-political set-up."

The PFP should take him up on this.

Suppose he wins, what then? He may hope to become

another Tielman Roos, but he is more likely to be another H A Fagin, Theo Gerdener or Japie Basson. And look where he is now: back with the Nats, contesting a hopeless seat. Is that what the PFP wants for Malan?

It is gratifying that brighter, younger politicians like Malan (and maybe Albert Nothnagel and others) have come to see the essential futility of current National Party policy. They are to be commended for their honesty and courage.

But the suggestion that there is room for yet another major political force in some nebulous — if not mythical — ground between the NP and PFP is absurd. It is regrettable that the PFP is encouraging this view in its new "strategy," instead of taking every opportunity to entrench itself as the only viable opposition.

The view that there are large numbers of reform-minded Nat MPs who will come out in the open and throw their lot in with a re-elected Independent Wynand Malan MP after the election is cloud-cuckooland.

Even if they did exist, they would have no mandate, little credibility, and questionable ethics. The PFP would gain no lasting benefit from such an alliance. Its need is to win over voters, not Nat MPs.

The strategy could backfire even in the short run. If the PFP — in spite of its expressed confidence that it could win Randburg — decides not to contest the seat, it could alienate supporters elsewhere.

In short, the proposal not to fight Randburg is half-baked and ill-advised. ■

ALLAN HENDRICKSE

# Cold water indeed

*11A FM 30/1/87*

In the absurdly low polls notched up in the 1984 coloured and Indian elections, one figure came in on a sizeable populist vote — Allan Hendrickse. Indeed, there were political analysts at the time who felt that, operating within the conclaves of real power, he might assist in or trigger further reforms.

In November last year the Labour Party leader made yet another of his statements that his political bottom line was the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. But he has made such statements too often for his own good; and in the turgid wake of the PE seaside frolics, his humiliation by P W Botha staggers the imagination.

Here we have a canny politician — and Hendrickse is certainly a survivalist — going against bedrock opinion in his caucus that the time had come to make a protest against a law that reserves some eastern Cape beaches for whites. This protest was lodged at a far lower threshold of political acceptability than any purported walkout by Hendrickse over the Group Areas Act.

However he hedged about his apology to Botha, it was as craven as Botha's extraordinary overreaction, which must have amazed the world — precisely at the time when our links to the civilised nations are growing tenuous indeed. The president intervened in local apartheid and bolstered it.

Of course, given our continuing troubles — the whole apparatus of the State of Emergency, the US wooing of black Africa and the ANC, a contracting economy — Botha has perhaps little to lose by reverting to traditional Nationalist *kragdadigheid*. He has an election to win. But what a farce this trivial event in PE makes of the tricameral constitution, intended as it is to be used as a basis for forward movement based on consensus.

Hendrickse will presumably live to fight another day. But fight for what? Mere survival? What has happened to the high moral tone with which Labour entered parliament? Hendrickse should think carefully about his deeply compromised role in the system. ■



# Black 'Info' singers express regret

By Michael Tissong

The black musicians involved in the Bureau for Information's R4,3 million song, "Together We'll Build a Brighter Future", told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that they felt "used by the Government as its spokesmen".

Blind singer Steve Kekana, whose home was recently destroyed in a petrol-bomb attack, added that they had unwittingly allowed themselves to be used because they did not know the true intentions of the Government with the song.

They also said they were not forced in any way to recant

their participation and that their statement of regret was made "voluntarily with no intimidation".

Besides the attacks on the Soweto homes of Kekana and Abigail Kubheka, they said none of them had been threatened.

The bureau said this week

that if the artists rejected the song at this stage, it would "clearly be the result of intimidation and not a reflection of their true convictions".

The musicians also said they did not need the 'police protection promised by the bureau "because we do not need to be protected from our own community".

Blondie Makhene, speaking for the musicians, said they expressed "solidarity with the oppressed masses" and added that they would like to be accepted back into their community.

Among the musicians at the meeting were Kekana, Kubheka, Blondie Makhene, Al Etto, Banjo Ntleko, Cliff Makhene, Mpho Makhene and Phyllis Makhene.

The musicians said the "decision by the community to pardon us is essential for the freedom of us all. We should not have allowed ourselves to fall prey to the system's tactics of divide and rule".

The South African Musicians' Alliance (SAMA), which spoke to the "Info song" singers, the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front, said they welcomed the musicians back into the cultural arena and considered the controversy involving the black musicians closed.



"Info song" musicians (from left) Steve Kekana, Al Etto and Abigail Kubheka at the Press conference yesterday. The homes of Kekana and Kubheka have been attacked.

## Mozambique denies

# Bodies contest Govt clamps

11A

30/1/87 w/ur



## Pietermaritzburg Bureau

THE United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Campaign are expected to make a second application in the Supreme Court here today asking that a Government order prohibiting publications 'calculated to improve or promote the public image or esteem' of any unlawful organisation be declared invalid.

An application by the two organisations challenging key sections of the Government's latest emergency regulations got under way yesterday.

The application has been brought against the State President, the S A Government, the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the S A Police.

Mr Ismail Mahomed SC, appearing for the UDF and RMC, argued before Mr Justice Galgut and Mr Justice

Page that the emergency legislation was 'oppressive'.

He attacked the regulations on the grounds that they were ultra vires the powers of the State President and could never have been contemplated by Parliament.

In papers before the Court the applicants have submitted that they and similar organisations which conducted a daily campaign in opposition to the Government found it impossible to conduct their affairs with the looming threat of administrative and other action in terms of the regulations which were 'wide and uncertain' in their meaning.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said a situation of unrest and violence had arisen in the country.

He said the revolutionary elements relied ultimately on the media in order to achieve their goals.

# Court told why leaders' names shouted

DELMAS — The repeated shouting of the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo's name at a "People's weekend" held by the UDF in 1983 was in recognition of his contribution not to the "liberation struggle", but for his desire for justice and democracy, the Delamas treason trial heard yesterday.

Mr Bavumile Herbert Vilakazi, one of the accused in the trial being held in the Delmas circuit court, said that Mr Tambo, as well as the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, were leaders of the black people although many did not agree with violence.

The accused and 18 other members of the UDF and its affiliates, are charged with high treason in attempting in conjunction with the ANC and the SACP to make black townships ungovernable.

The men have all pleaded not guilty to the charges with Mr Vilakazi continually repeating that his organisation, the Vaal Civic Association (VCA) and the UDF to which it is affiliated, wanted non-violent change in South Africa.

Although Mr Tambo's name was repeatedly shouted in a hall in Lenasia where the UDF rally in October 1983 was being held, he did not agree with the methods that the ANC was employing at present.

The witness said he never regarded the shouting of names of black people who united the people as "popularising" them as the state had alleged.

Another "freedom song" sung at the UDF rally took up about 30 minutes of the court's time as the judge, Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst, became involved in the questioning. The song was about the burning of a supreme court buildings a few years ago.

The lyrics stated that the "boys have hit it".

Mr Vilakazi claimed

the words did not mean that the people were happy about the burning of the court buildings.

He said that perhaps the song was sung because people were shocked or surprised by it, but denied the UDF had taken part in the attack because it was part of the "system".

At the rally a member of the Transvaal executive of the UDF, Professor Ismail Mohammed, had talked about the need for "unity in the struggle".

Mr Vilakazi said he understood the statement to mean to join together to destroy apartheid, but not necessarily by violence.

Mr P. Jacobs, for the state, asked the witness if he believed ANC members hanged in South Africa for violent acts against the country were "heroes" in his eyes.

Mr Vilakazi replied that he regarded such people with respect as they did not give up their beliefs.

"Although I personally have opted free for a non-violence approach".

Another speaker at the UDF rally in Lenasia was Mr David Webster, a member of the Detainees Parents Support Committee, who had called the South African Government an "illegal and illegitimate regime".

Mr Vilakazi did not agree with the statement and believed that South Africa was "legal but not representative" of all people who lived in the land.

The witness was asked if the Soweto Civic Association and the Congress of South African Students were liberation movements to which he answered yes and then changed his answer to no.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst will hear a further explanation of this point when the trial resumes today. — Sapa

# UDF, RMC challenge new laws

AN URGENT application challenging the Government's latest emergency regulations began before a Full Bench in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, yesterday.

The application, which is being heard by Mr Justice Page and Mr Justice Galgut, is being brought by the United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Campaign, against the State President, the Government, the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police.

The leader of the applicants' legal team, Mr Ismail Mahomed, SC, said the regulations were being challenged on the grounds of vagueness, of being *ultra vires*, of containing impermissible delegations of power and of being based on "wrong principles and irrelevant considerations."

## Unreasonable

Mr Mahomed said states of emergency were not unique to South Africa. However, even in times of war in other countries, there always existed a degree of jurisdiction preventing an executive arm of a government from being so unreasonable that it introduced measures never contemplated by Parliament.

The executive chairman of the UDF, Mr Curnick Ndhlovu, said in his founding affidavit that his organisation considered it "fundamental" that it should have the right to be vigorously critical of Government policies and to organise and conscientise public opinion against those policies without the inhibitions prescribed by the regulations.

Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the RMC said in an affidavit on behalf of his organisation that the effect of the regulations had been to "paralyse" many of its activities.

His organisation and its supporters believed there could be no lasting peace or reconciliation in South Africa until and unless the socio-political causes which gave rise to conflict were addressed.



30/1/87  
Soviet Union

# Shultz tells Tambo that force is not the answer

11/18  
12/11/82

**WASHINGTON—African National Congress (ANC) leader Oliver Tambo and United States Secretary of State George Shultz have disagreed over how to end apartheid in talks in Washington.**

The 50-minute session at the State Department yesterday was the highest-level meeting Mr Tambo, president of the banned ANC, has held with a U S official.

But State Department spokesman Charles Redman said Mr Shultz had made it clear violence was not the answer to South Africa's problems.

'The pursuit of violence will only lead to a catastrophe for all,' he quoted Mr Shultz as saying.

The ANC took up arms 25 years ago in its fight against apartheid, saying peaceful protest could not work against the South African Government's repression.

U S conservatives have criticised the Administration over the meeting, with Senate Republican leader Robert Dole expressing reservations on the Senate floor.

'Meeting with Mr Tambo without the precondition that the ANC disavows terror tactics comes perilously close to sending the wrong kind of message on terrorism,' he said.

Mr Redman told reporters that U S opposition to sanctions had not changed. Mr Shultz has said repeatedly they will not work to end apartheid and will hurt blacks and neighbouring countries.

## Unrepresentative

Congress has imposed limited sanctions in spite of the Reagan Administration's opposition.

He said Mr Shultz had 'encouraged the ANC to spell out its vision of the future with more specificity and expressed our opposition to the replacement of the apartheid system by another form of unrepresentative government'.

U S officials said before the talks that Mr Shultz wanted the ANC to create a climate for talks with South Africa by helping reduce the level of violence.

Mr Redman said Mr Shultz had spelled out U S concern about the degree of Soviet influence in the ANC.

In Cape Town, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday Mr Tambo's visit to the U S had backfired as the organisation's violence and links with Moscow were receiving publicity in America which South Africa could not have bought for 'millions', Ormande Pollok reports.

He said the 'other side of the picture' was being put to the American people because of Mr Tambo's presence.

'Wherever he appears he is confronted with questions on the policy of the ANC regarding violence and its connections with Moscow,' said Mr Botha.

'It would have cost us millions in propaganda to show how the ANC is committed to violence and terrorism and has direct links with Moscow, and even then we would not have achieved the same result.'

South Africa's Ambassador to the U S, Mr Herbert Beukes, had reported that anti-ANC demonstrations, highlighting its commitment to violence and necklace murders, were being televised.

The South African Government had been opposed to the meeting with Mr Shultz, Mr Botha said.

It had been hoped that Mr Shultz would firmly call on the ANC to stop its violence and cut its ties with the South African Communist Party.

'This appears to have been done,' said Mr Botha. Later, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, granted permission to the South African media to publish quotations from Mr Tambo during his U S visit.

Sapa reported that the New York Times quoted Mr Tambo as saying: 'When blacks learn that a white has died in the violence that has become a common feature of the South African political situation — that kind of thing comes like a drop of rain after a long drought.'

## Misguided

An editorial in the Wall Street Journal quoted Mr Tambo as saying: 'The killing of white civilians would have the beneficial effect of getting white people used to bleeding.'

The Journal editorial said it was difficult to see how the State Department could believe that the achievement of a stable post-apartheid society would be aided by lending credence to the idea that the fragmented ANC spoke for South Africa's 20 million blacks.

The New York Post said in an editorial that the conclusion that the ANC represented an acceptable alternative to the white regime was profoundly misguided.

It said that on the very day that the ANC made an appeal to whites to join it in a massive democratic coalition, Mr Tambo had called on blacks to intensify terrorist attacks in white-controlled cities. — (Sapa-Reuter)

# US reaction to Tambo visit pleases Pik

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**Dispatch Correspondent**  
CAPE TOWN — The ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo's visit to the United States had backfired as the organisation's violence and Moscow-link were receiving publicity in America which South Africa could not have bought for "millions", the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Reacting to the talks between Mr Tambo and the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, he said the "other side of the picture" was being put to the American people because of Mr Tambo's presence.

"Wherever he appears he is confronted with questions on the policy of the ANC regarding violence and its connections with Moscow," Mr Botha said.

"It would have cost us million in propaganda to show how the ANC is committed to violence and terrorism and has direct links with Moscow and even then we would not have achieved the same result."

South Africa's ambassador, Mr Herbert Beukes, had reported anti-ANC demonstrations, highlighting its commitment to violence

and necklace murders, were being televised. The South African Government had been opposed to the meeting with Mr Shultz as it could not be explained coherently in terms of US policy and was "ill-advised as even Republican senators and the liberal American press concluded."

It had been hoped that Mr Shultz would firmly call on the ANC to stop its violence and cut its ties with the South African Communist Party.

"This appears to have been done," Mr Botha said.

Cape Times 31/1/87

# 'We don't talk to terrorists'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, does not care if the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, has meetings with President Ronald Reagan or Queen Elizabeth of England, "but this government does not negotiate with terrorists over the future of our country".

Mr Tambo's recent visit to the United States, where he met with US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, had been a public relations disaster, he told the enthusiastic 800-strong audience crammed into the Zerilda Steynsaal in Ruyterwacht.

Launching the National Party election drive in the Cape, Mr Botha vowed his government would never negotiate with organizations that used violence to achieve their political goals.

The PFP was prepared to negotiate with a "communist organization" like the ANC.

"The PFP has already decided that the quicker they hand over the better," he claimed.

The government, however, was prepared to endure sanctions rather than capitulate, he said.

Turning his attack on the government's extreme right-wing opponents, Mr Botha said the "racist approach" of white exclusivity adhered to by the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party entailed the rejections of hundreds of thousands of South Africans of colour who opposed outside interference and sanctions.

"If the CP/HNP comes to power, South Africa will definitely follow the course of Rhodesia," he predicted.

# Fury over move to sell mosque

w/c ARGUS 31/1/87

11A

28

By SHARKEY ISAACS, Weekend Argus Reporter

CAPE Town Muslims from 10 Islamic organisations, believed to number more than 250 000, are furious over the planned sale of the historic Masjid Jamie Mosque on the corner of Long and Dorp Streets in the city centre.

It is believed to be the first attempt to sell a mosque in South Africa. Mosques can never be sold according to the dictates of the Islamic faith.

The mosque, founded in 1881, and the Vygieskraal cemetery in Athlone are to be sold to pay the legal fees involved in a three-year court battle between the Muslim Judicial Council and a member of the Ahmadiya Anjuman Ishaat (Ah-

madi) sect, Mr Ismail Peck.

Mr Peck successfully applied to the Supreme Court in 1985 to declare him a Muslim and give him the right to pray in the mosque and to be buried in the cemetery.

Islamic jurists and theologians had declared that Ahmadi's were not Muslims.

Mr Peck was awarded costs but Muslim leaders refused to pay. Now Mr Peck has won a Supreme Court order forcing the sale of the mosque and cemetery in Johnson Road to cover his costs.

They will be auctioned "behind closed doors" at different times next Thursday.



# Tambo opinions shock — reports

JOHANNESBURG —  
The leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, has voiced a number of opinions on violence and murder during his current visit to the United States, according to American press reports.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday granted permission to the South African media to publish the following quotes:

"When blacks learn that a white has died in the violence that has become a common feature of the South African political situation — that kind of thing comes like a drop of rain after a long drought," the New York Times quoted Mr Tambo as saying.

An editorial in the Wall Street Journal claimed Mr Tambo had said: "The killing of white civilians would have the beneficial effect of getting white people used to bleeding."

The editorial, which was highly critical of the Shultz-Tambo meeting, expressed the opinion that it was difficult to see how the State Department could believe that the achievement of a stable post-apartheid society would be aided by lending credence to the idea that the fragmented ANC spoke for South Africa's 20 million blacks. — Sapa

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ANC quotes

# Govt allows selective ANC quotes



Mr Oliver Tambo

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has granted permission to the South African media to publish certain quotes of Mr Oliver Tambo's statements during his current visit to the United States.

One of the extracts, appearing in the New York Times, quoted Mr Tambo as saying: "When blacks learn that a white has died in the violence that has become a common feature of the South African political situation — that kind of thing comes like a drop of rain after a long drought."

An editorial in the Wall Street Journal quoted Mr Tambo where he said: "The killing of white civilians would have the beneficial effect of getting white people used to bleeding."

In the Journal editorial, which

was highly critical of the Shultz-Tambo meeting, the opinion was expressed that it was difficult to see how the State Department could believe that the achievement of a stable post-apartheid society would be aided by lending credence to the idea that the fragmented ANC spoke for South Africa's 20 million blacks.

The New York Post said in an editorial that the conclusion that the ANC represented an acceptable alternative to the white-ruled regime in Pretoria was profoundly misguided.

The paper said on the very day that the ANC made an appeal to whites to join it in a massive democratic coalition to end apartheid Mr Tambo called on blacks to intensify terrorist attacks on targets in white-controlled cities and towns. — Sapa

## Letters

# Bacon advice to gov

From GREG M (Newlands):

IN LIGHT of the government's censorship its recent efforts to prevent even advertisements calling for the banning of the ANC its hesitancy to enter on a meaningful program of reform as advised documented by many would do well to consider these words of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) its attitudes toward press:

"Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take granted, nor to find and discourse, but weigh and consider"

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and further spe-

WIRE - TIME 3/11/84 (11A) 250

# ANC 'cleared' Paul Simon

**LONDON.** — Singer-composer Paul Simon, seeking to neutralize possible anti-apartheid demonstrations against his new Southern Africa road show, said yesterday that he has been cleared by the African National Congress and was not listed by the United Nations as violating its cultural boycott of South Africa.

Paul Simon said he had been dogged by "innuendo" because he recorded his current hit record, "Graceland", with black artists in South Africa.

He read to a news conference the text of a letter he had sent to

the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid saying that he never has and never will "perform" in South Africa and would continue his personal fight against apartheid.

Paul Simon and his fellow-performers interrupted rehearsals to try to clear the air before the show — featuring the South African musicians on "Graceland" — opens in Rotterdam tomorrow.

It is also scheduled for other European venues as well as Harare, Zimbabwe, and both coasts of the United States.

Anti-apartheid activists in

several countries, including Britain, were considering demonstrations and pickets against the show because Paul Simon had worked in South Africa.

Paul Simon said the ANC has now "reversed" its former criticism of the album and that ANC president Oliver Tambo was ready to confirm this at a news conference scheduled for Los Angeles on Monday.

Simon said the album, which has sold more than 4 million copies, was his first No 1 hit since his partnership with Art Garfunkel ended 15 years ago. — UPI

CAPC Times 31/1/87

372  
119

# Swazi police raid 'ANC safehouse'

MANZINI. — Swazi police raided an alleged African National Congress "safehouse" in the centre of Manzini at midday yesterday, police sources said.

Witnesses said more than two dozen heavily-armed policemen surrounded the thatched villa and ordered the occupants to come out.

A witness said shots were fired from the house, and police returned fire.

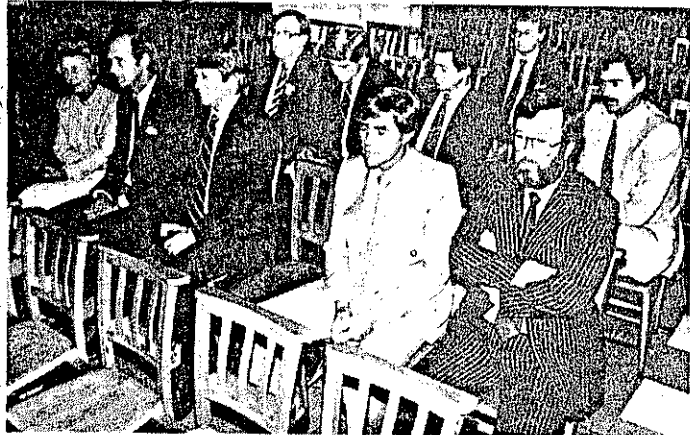
There was no mention of casualties.

Sources close to the police said police had been ordered to identify and flush out ANC activists to avoid a repetition of previous retaliatory raids by South African security forces.

— Sapa

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Minutes before attending the opening of Parliament, ten PFP MPs attended the Free the Children Vigil at St George's Cathedral, and expressed their "outrage" at the detention of children. Front, from left, are Mrs Helen Suzman, Mr Ken Andrew, Mr Roger Hulley, Mr Graeme McIntosh and Mr Roger Burrows. Second row: Mr Peter Soal, Mr Jasper Walsh, Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Tian van der Merwe. At the back is Mr Brian Goodall. Picture: Tony Weaver

# Tutu spurns P W's invite

By CLARE HARPER  
THE Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, yesterday publicly spurned his invitation by the State President to attend the opening of Parliament, opting instead to preach at an Inter-faith Service at the St Georges Cathedral.

At the service, which ended the overnight multi-organization Free the Children Vigil, Archbishop Tutu told the congregation: "That I would be among the VIPs to witness the opening of the Parliament in which I have been refused participation... even Pieter-Dirk Uys could not improve upon that."

Archbishop Tutu called on whites to consider what they would do if their children were detained.

Other clergymen who addressed the service included the Dean of Cape Town, the Very Reverend Edward King, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Stephen Naidoo, and Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

### Session

Earlier, minutes before Parliament convened, ten Progressive Federal Party MPs joined the vigil, stating they would raise the issue of children in detention during the Parliamentary session.

Mrs Helen Suzman said the PFP was "deeply concerned" about the detention of young people and wanted "to show solidarity with this particular expression of public outrage".

Yesterday morning, after representatives from 30 organizations spent the night in the cathedral, the Civil Rights League, the Quakers, the End Conscription Campaign, the Detention Treatment Team and the Women's Movement for Peace spoke about the conditions and consequences of imprisoning children.



While Parliament opened in Cape Town yesterday, members of the Black Sash held pickets in the suburbs. The national president of the Sash, Mrs Mary Burton, holds a placard in Mowbray.

Carl Tong's  
3/1/87

# Paper launches one man, one vote 'election'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Johannesburg newspaper, The Sowetan, said yesterday it would hold its own "election" and, in a leader page article, called on all South Africans to vote for the 10 people they believed should govern the country.

Headlined "ONE MAN ONE VOTE" and "At last YOUR chance to choose your OWN govt" the article said the announcement of the date of the election continued the "centuries-old tradition of white domination".

Three million voters were eligible to vote this year, but 26 million South Africans would be ignored, the article said.

"The Sowetan is leaping beyond apartheid, beyond all forms of racism and partition. We ask every South African — black and white, young and old, male and female, urban and rural — to pick the 10 people they believe should be governing ..."

"The top ten names will be the people that South Africans want to entrust with the government of this country. The person with the highest votes will be the one South Africans believe should be heading the government."

The "ballot" will run concurrently with the "white" elections — "So we can effectively show what is possible in relation to what is in fact happening in our country now.

"On the day that the results of the white elections are announced, we will also announce the results of the Sowetan's Ballot Box." — Sapa

BLACK POLITICS

1987

February

is alleged to have bought with council funds.

# UDF official detained

**CP Correspondent**

THE CISKEI Security Police have detained another East London community worker and United Democratic Front leader.

Lucille Meyer, an advice worker for the Afesis Trust, a Community Development Organisation, was detained on Tuesday. Chairman of the trust, Rev Eddie Leeuw, said Ciskei police had confirmed Meyer's detention in terms of the Ciskei National Security Act.

Leeuw said he "strongly condemned" Meyer's detention.

Two other Afesis workers, Jerald Hawkes and Elvin Fredericks, were also detained by Ciskei police earlier this month. They were subsequently allegedly handed over to South Africa.

Meyer also represents the border region of the UDF national executive. Together with currently detained Fort Hare academic Rev Makhenkesi Arnold Stofile, she forms the UDF secretariat for the border region.

Stofile is due to appear in the Ciskei Supreme Court today on charges relating to terrorism and harbouring terrorists.

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Tambo

*CP Press 1/2/87*

## Schultz and Tambo disagree

11A  
*[Handwritten mark]*

AFRICAN National Congress president Oliver Tambo and US Secretary of State George Schultz have disagreed in their talks in Washington over how to end apartheid.

"The pursuit of violence will only lead to a catastrophe for all," Schultz told Tambo in the 50-minute session.

The meeting was the first between an ANC leader and a US Secretary of State in the 75-year-old history of the ANC.

Both sides called the talks "serious and substantive", but US State Department spokesman Charles Redman said Schultz made it clear he did not see violence as the

answer to South Africa's problems.

The ANC took up arms 25 years ago in its fight against apartheid - saying peaceful protest could not work against government repression.

Redman said Schultz also rejected Tambo's call for the US Administration to end its policy of maintaining economic and political relations with Pretoria in an effort to influence it to end apartheid.

According to Redman, Shultz noted that the US had consistently called for all parties, including the SA government and the ANC, "to come to an agreement on an end to

violence so that a process of negotiations can proceed."

US officials said before the talks that Schultz wanted the ANC to create a climate for talks with Pretoria by helping reduce the level of violence.

Redman said Shultz spelled out US concern over the degree of Soviet influence in the ANC.

Shultz agreed to go ahead with the meeting despite conservative objections. He has said the US, if it is to play a constructive role in SA, should be willing to meet with all parties - including those whose tactics he opposed.

US conservatives criticised the administration over the meeting. "Meeting with Tambo without the precondition that the ANC disavow terror tactics comes perilously close to sending the wrong kind of message on terrorism," Senate Republican leader Robert Dole told the Senate.

Redman told reporters US opposition to sanctions had not changed. Shultz has repeatedly said they would not work to end apartheid and would hurt black people and neighbouring countries.

Congress has imposed limited sanctions despite the Reagan Administration's opposition.

# Minister's wife in snub of PW

THE defiant wife and son of Cabinet Minister Alan Hendrickse boycotted the opening of Parliament on Friday.

Mrs Terry Hendrickse and her son, Peter, a Labour Party member of Parliament, were joined in their protest by two other MPs, Mr Hendrickse's son-in-law, Mr Desmond Lockey, and Mr Tommy Abrahams.

## Degrading

According to reports, Mrs Hendrickse's reason for the parliamentary snub was a protest against the public dressing down the State President gave her husband over his illegal swim on a "whites only" beach.

As part of her protest against what she considered the degrading treatment of

Sunday Times Reporter

her husband, Mrs Hendrickse also refused to attend the traditional State President's banquet at Tuynhuys on the eve of the opening of Parliament.

Mrs Hendrickse told the Afrikaans newspaper Rapport: "I am not prepared to sit and listen to, or look at, the State President after he tried to humiliate my husband on television.

"Mr Botha expects me to walk on his red carpet, but he won't allow me to stroll on a white beach."

According to the report, Mrs Hendrickse stormed an-

grily out of her husband's office last Thursday afternoon after she had discovered that he had written a conciliatory letter to Mr Botha and was not planning to resign.

Mr Hendrickse earned the wrath of President Botha when he and other members of his party, in an act of defiance, took an early morning dip at Port Elizabeth's "whites only" Humewood Beach in protest against police actions towards blacks.

## Slave girls get the sack

A RAG WEEK "slave sale" of scantily clad college girls has been banned as sexist and degrading. The North Staffordshire Polytechnic at Stoke-on-Trent, England, changed it to an "Employment Night", with students in sacks to hide their sex from bidders for their labour.

Sunday Times  
MAGAZINE

ANNIE  
LENNOX'S  
CRAZY  
LOVE



1/2/87

## Police detain Tinto

THE vice-president of the Western Cape UDF, Christmas Tinto, has been detained.

He was detained at his home this week and his wife, Cindy, has been officially informed of the detention.

Tinto, 62, who had been in hiding since June last year to avoid detention, began visiting his family daily after his wife gave birth to a daughter 20 days ago.

"The police were not there when he came to see us but 20 minutes after he arrived, six policemen turned up," said Cindy Tinto.

Tinto is being held at the Milnerton Police Station in terms of the emergency regulations. - Sapa.

# Tambo visit leaves U.S. with questions

12/87

(25)

(11A)

SIT

AN air of deflation has settled over Washington's Africa-watchers in the wake of ANC leader Oliver Tambo's meeting with US Secretary of State George Shultz.

Everyone agreed that the meeting itself was highly significant in terms of US policy towards South Africa.

But beyond that no one quite knows what to make of Mr Tambo.

Shultz and Tambo agreed on the need to dismantle apartheid, and they disagreed on the need to employ violence or maintain ties with the Soviet Union.

## Chilling

The 69-year-old ANC leader appeared to be unflappable despite being upstaged in the media by two major snowstorms.

Opposition to Mr Tambo's visit came from conservatives, who staged a mock "necklacing" outside the State Department on the day of the visit.

Most conservatives have screamed blue murder about the inappropriateness of the meeting.

By PATRICIA CHENEY  
Washington

On Wednesday, a coalition of conservative groups placed a full-page advertisement in the Washington Times showing Mr Tambo with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and, next to it, a simulated photograph of Tambo with Mr Shultz.

"Which bothers you more?" asked the headline.

The Los Angeles Times criticised Mr Tambo for leaving a "chilling impression ... that innocent civilians are targets in the spreading warfare".

William Raspberry, a prominent black columnist, described Mr Tambo's justification for the use of "targeted violence" as a "scenario that requires a peculiar reading of some terribly unclear trends".

Perhaps the best opportunity most Americans had of

judging the ANC leader was on ABC television's "Nightline" on which host Ted Koppel introduced a compilation of a variety of South Africans giving their views.

Dirk van Eyck, a victim in a bomb blast, was shown bitterly calling for "action now" against the ANC, and Mr Tony Heard, editor of the Cape Times, pointed out that South Africans "cannot see ANC leaders on their own television".

South African businessman Tony Bloom was shown saying that whites in South Africa got their feelings about the ANC only from one source "and that is from the Government".

Then Koppel discussed violence and Russian assistance to the ANC with Mr Tambo.

● *This dispatch has been edited to conform with Government restrictions on the reporting of banned organisations.*

Cape Times 2/17/87 (11A)

# Blaze at home of attorney in Muslim battle

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT and ANDREW DONALDSON

THE Athlone home of an attorney who has acted for the Ahmadi Muslim sect was petrol-bombed on Saturday night.

An anonymous caller to the Cape Times last night said the "Anti-Ahmadi Comrades" claimed responsibility for the bombing. But at 11pm, a caller claiming to represent the "Islamic Jihad (Holy War) Movement" claimed "sole responsibility".

Mr M R Khan said he was woken by his burglar alarm some time after midnight and heard "a slight bang".

"I jumped up and saw flames. The first thing I did was get my family out of the house. Passers-by — two Muslims — saw the flames and helped us. If the fire brigade had not come the house would have been finished."

"We were using a hosepipe and buckets. It's amazing how petrol burns, so quick and so fierce."

He estimated damage at about R50 000. One bedroom was completely wrecked. His children's bedroom opposite the bombed room was damaged, as was a passage and the bathroom.

Police found an unexploded 1½-litre petrol-bomb outside the house.

Mr Khan said he had laid a charge of arson.

The petrol-bombing follows an ongoing battle between the Ahmadi sect and other Muslims, led by the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC), who have refused the Ahmadis entrance to mosques, claiming that they are unbelievers.

Ahmadi Mr Ismail Peck eventually approached the Supreme Court for relief and obtained a court order upholding his right as a Muslim to worship in mosques and to be buried in a Muslim cemetery.

To Page 3

black townships without fear of being  
CALL 11-11 2/17/87 (11A)

From page 1

The MJC, who opposed the court application, withdrew at the last minute. They paid R72 000 towards Mr Peck's legal costs but have refused to pay the balance of R144 000.

Mr Peck then obtained a court order in terms of which property belonging to the MJC or affiliates — the Long Street mosque and land adjacent to the Vygieskraal cemetery in Athlone — was attached and is due to be sold on Thursday.

This step has caused a storm in the Muslim community with MJC supporters accusing the Ahmadis of heresy and the Ahmadis claiming that the Long Street property cannot be deemed a mosque because people were refused permission to worship there.

The Ahmadis say they want to buy both properties, wanting to "open the mosque to all Muslims for prayer without fear of being kicked out".

On Friday, a pamphlet headed "Stop sale of mosque" was widely distributed at mosques in the Peninsula and calls the Ahmadis "collaborators of world imperialism and racialism" and accuses them of waging war against God.

The penalty for this laid down by the Koran, says the pamphlet, is "execution or crucifixion or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides or exile from the land".

It ends: "All divinely committed Muslims are thus obliged to implement the WORDS OF ALLAH".

The pamphlet purports to be issued by the MJC, and a string of other Islamic organizations, but the president of the MJC, Sheikh Nazeem Mohammed, last night said although he had heard of the pamphlet he had "no idea" who was responsible for it.

# Shots fired at youth before mass funeral

Mercury Reporter

UNITED Democratic Front member, Victor Ntuli, was shot at an hour before the funeral of his father, Mr Willie Ntuli, and five relatives in Chesterville on Saturday.

Victor Ntuli, was at his home in KwaMakhutha with about 200 mourners waiting for transport.

A KwaMakhutha Youth League member, Mr Dumisani Makhanya, said as they were waiting a group of armed men arrived and started shooting.

'They fired at us indiscriminately. I can't believe we are still alive,' he said.

A taxi picked them up and sped off with the attackers still firing.

KwaMakhutha Youth League members said they believed Victor Ntuli was the target of this attack and the one in which his father and another 11 people — most of them children — were killed two weeks ago.

Victor Ntuli is a founder member, treasurer and the area organiser of the UDF-affiliated youth league.

Soon after throwing earth on his father's grave, he was ushered into a car and

driven away.

A senior police spokesman in Durban said they had no record of the shooting.

While the funeral was conducted youths manned their own security operations to prevent further attacks.

Buried were the Rev Willie Ntuli, Nunu Ntuli, Mrs Nomsa Ndwalane, Mr Edward Ndwalane, Phumelele Ndlovu and Jabu Ndlovu.

68/c/2 w/m  
①A

(A) 2/2/87

## ***Witness: shooting precedes funeral***

DURBAN — A United Democratic Front member, Mr Victor Ntuli, was shot at an hour before the mass funeral of his father, the Reverend Willie Ntuli, and five relatives in Chesterville on Saturday, said a witness.

Mr Victor Ntuli, who had been in hiding for some time, had remained at his home in KwaMakhutha with about 200 mourners waiting for transport.

A KwaMakhutha Youth League member, Mr Dumisani Makhanya, said, as they were waiting, armed men arrived and started shooting.

"They fired at us indiscriminately. I can't believe we are still alive," Mr Makhanya said.

A taxi picked them up and sped off with the attackers still firing.

League members said they believed Mr Victor Ntuli was the target of this attack and the one in which his father and another 11 people — most of them children — were killed two weeks ago.

Soon after throwing earth on his father's grave, he was ushered into a car and driven away.

Approached for comment on the incident, a senior police spokesman in Durban said they had no record of it. He said the victims may not have reported the incident.

Those buried were the Mr Ntuli, Nunu Ntuli, Mrs Nomsa Ndwalane, Mr Edward Ndwalane, Phumelele Ndlovu and Jabu Ndlovu.

Nomfundo Thusini was buried next to her brothers in the Lamontville cemetery at the weekend.

a note, he said.

*ANC Hints 2/2/87*  
**ANC dissidents**  
*114*  
**welcome invite**

**Own Correspondent**

LONDON — Four ANC dissidents who call themselves "Marxists", suspended from the ANC in 1979 and expelled in 1985, have welcomed an announcement by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo which they claim may lead to their readmission.

At a ceremony in Lusaka on January 8 to mark its 75th anniversary, the ANC publicly invited back into membership those it had expelled, provided they recant.

The four "Marxists" are Ms Paula Ensor, Mr David Hemson, Dr Martin Legassick and Mr Robert Petersen.

They had written to the ANC bureau here but the matter would be taken up by the leadership in Lusaka.



*Sowetan* (114)

**T**HERE are hopes — higher than ever before — that the bitter feuding between elements of the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the United Democratic Front may be finally resolved.

About a week ago, the Congress of South African Trade Unions — Eastern Province Region — held joint talks with the UDF and Azapo to discuss the inter-group violence in Port Elizabeth townships. The violence has left many dead and many injured.

The growing violence has caused concern among leaders of both the progressive UDF grouping and the Black Consciousness orientated affiliates of Azapo.

These internecine clashes have erupted in various parts of the country but have been more intense and frequent in the Eastern Cape and Soweto.

The inter-group violence, which the Bureau for Information and some of the media blandly refer to as "black-on-black" violence, has served to dent the credibility of anti-apartheid organisations in the townships.

"Black-on-black" violence has become a much-hated term in some quarters because it is felt the authorities in particular have used it as a blanket term to explain away some incidents of violence which may not necessarily be the result of internecine warring.

**Alienated**

Mr Raschin Naidoo, publicity-secretary of the Azanian Student Movement which is an Azapo affiliate, put his finger on it when he said: "The community ends up asking itself whether it can be represented by organisations which are at each other's throats.

"The community gets alienated from the political struggle because these organisations are at loggerheads and deaths occur. How can the community trust these organisations?", he asked.

The politically motivated violence, which reached a grim high last year, has been going on

# Bitter political fighting may come to end

## FOCUS

By NAT DISEKO



MURPHY Morobe . . . extremely concerned.

and off for the past two years. Press clippings mutely chronicle the harvest of death. Here are some random entries from the *Sowetan*:

- 2/10/86 — Pupils Viyani Edwin Nkomo (17), Msilana Sishanga (16) and Mbulelo Mabena (15). Six pupils were abducted as a result of which three died and three had to be hospitalised with bullet wounds.

- On 7/8/86 six youths including Jefferson Lengane (29), a Soweto student leader, appeared in the Soweto Magistrates Court charged with murder and attempted murder. The Bureau for Information said the teenagers were killed in a faction fight between gangs.

Jefferson Lengane jumped bail and his father, Mr Thabo Lengane died in what looked like a revenge killing.

- On 8/8/86, PE — Sonwabo Ngxale, senior executive member of Azapo, was kidnapped from a taxi, hacked and brutally assaulted.

- In October last year, Miss Masabata Loate, one of Soweto's famous student leaders, and one of few women to be imprisoned for treason was hacked to death by a mob in Orlando West.

- 6/10/86 — Fuzile Rapulana of Zwide, PE, abducted three days after Mr Ngxale and burnt to death. He was P.E. branch manager of Azapo . . . The list is long and the violence seems to feed on itself.

One view that the leaders of the two main streams of political thought have in common is that the violence must stop.

**Concerned**

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity-secretary of the UDF, said: "This kind of violence does not serve the interests of the struggle in this country. We are extremely concerned at the continued conflict between supporters of our respective organisations."

Azasm's Mr Raschin Naidoo said: "Any organisation that takes the struggle seriously would adopt the view that a situation whereby organisations of different political tendencies, who differ in terms of methods of struggle should not reach a point where the organisations are at physical opposition to each other."

He said that the kind of violence that was taking place was distasteful because it retarded the progress of the struggle.

"Organisations should agree that the differences exist and agree and disagree on certain matters. It is the democratic right of every organisation to propagate its views without fear of

physical harassment," he said.

Mr Naidoo said his organisation would, as in the past, call meetings with the progressive organisations to seek a solution to the conflict.

"We will also be approaching the clergy to act as mediators in such talks because the clergy are recognised by the community as neutral, as peacemakers," Mr Naidoo said.

Mr Morobe although there were some people who liked to say that the UDF had never come out clearly against the ongoing conflict, said: "We have tangible evidence at our disposal that the UDF has been as concerned and opposed to this conflict as anyone else who is committed to national unity and liberation."

He said that after Cosatu, the UDF and Azapo had come together in the Eastern Cape to look into the problem of inter-group fighting, it had been discovered that people who were behind the violence were people who have been known to have direct connections with the "system".

"One of the main characters in the drama is a former member of Azapo who has been disowned by the organisation," Mr Morobe said.

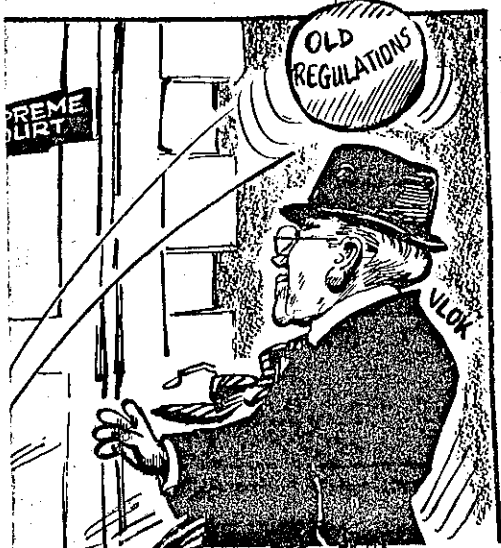
He said that in other parts of the country, where there has been the so-called "black-on-black" violence, it had been found that such violence had always been carried out by "vigilante groups and reactionary elements who have

found common cause with apartheid in order to destroy the democratic movement."

Mr Morobe said as far as attacks in Soweto which were blamed on UDF affiliates were concerned his organisation had to rely only on newspaper reports.

"We don't know who are behind these attacks. We have had internal communications with our units where we have called upon all activists to exercise maximum political discipline and not engage in activities that can retard the progress of the struggle for liberation," he said.

Mr Morobe said the UDF would seek to cooperate with Azapo in solving the present problems. "Our approach is flexible and our position towards Azapo and other such organisations is dictated by circumstances pertaining at a given time," he said.



Lesi we forget

THE *Sowetan* today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:

- Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the *New Nation*, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 52 days;
- Mxolisi Jackson Fuzile, *Veritas News Agency*, who has been detained under the emergency regu-

man's Peak look out — not far shank might be dead.

*care times 1/2/87 11M 2/87 2/87*

## Pupils to accompany Arthur to Pollsmoor

ACCOMPANIED by fellow pupils, and teachers, former Steenberg High School pupil Gregory Arthur will leave home for Pollsmoor Prison this morning to begin an 18-month sentence for throwing stones at police in 1985.

His imprisonment follows the failure of a petition signed by 25 000 people — including Archbishop Desmond Tutu — to stave off his sentence and a failed petition to the Appellate Division for leave to appeal.

Notice that he would have to start his jail term was received last week.

Gregory was 19-years-old at

the time of his conviction on public violence charges.

At the end of a Supreme Court appeal in October last year, his original four-year sentence was reduced to three years, 18 months of which were suspended.

Throughout the trial Gregory denied throwing stones.

The campaign co-ordinators were this week trying to prepare Gregory for jail and arranging for him to write matric in prison.

The campaigners hope to have him released in six months' time, when he becomes eligible for parole.

# Mosque-sale attorney's house petrol-bombed

Staff Reporter

ARGUS 2/2/87 1117 278

THE home of Mr Mohamed Rashaad Khan, the attorney acting for the Ahmadi sect in a legal wrangle over the costs of a court case and the sale of Muslim property, has been petrol-bombed.

Mrs Nazeema Khan said the family were asleep in their Elwyn Road, Crawford, home on Saturday night when the bomb was hurled through a front window. The first indication they had of the incident was the burglar alarm going off.

"I got up to turn it off because I thought my husband had set it off accidentally," she said. "Then I saw a red haze in the passage and my husband shouted: 'Nazeel! Get the children!'"

"I ran into their bedroom and choked in the thick smoke. They were fast asleep and we had to drag them out."

**"OUT TO KILL US"**

Two passersby snatched a garden hose and began fighting the flames, which gutted a front room and caused extensive smoke damage in the rest of the house.

"They were out to kill us, I'm sure," said Mrs Kahn.

● Mr Khan acts for Mr Ismail Peck of the Ahmadi sect, who obtained a Supreme Court order declaring him a Muslim and giving him the right to enter the Masjied Jamie Mosque and to be buried at the Vygieskraal cemetery.

He was awarded costs. The mosque and a portion of land adjoining the cemetery have been attached pending their sale to cover the mosque committee and the cemetery board's share of the costs.

The properties were due to be auctioned on Thursday, but the sales have been shelved by the deputy sheriffs of Cape Town and Wynberg until a Supreme Court order giving a go-ahead is obtained.



**FIRE BOMB:** The damaged passage of the Khan home where a petrol bomb was thrown into the room on the left.



**MOSQUE DISPUTE:** The historical Masjied Jamie Mosque on the corner of Dorp and Long Street.

## 'Rugby tackle saves Queen from



The Argus Foreign Service LONDON. — Senior police officers are refusing to confirm a newspaper report that the Queen was forced to flee from a madman at Sandringham.

lock the door. A burly policeman is said to have rugby-tackled the intruder just five metres from the door.

The man, now in a psychiatric hospital in London, appar-

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Picture: PETER STANFORD, The Argus

Graeme Pollock signs for a fan after his "swan-song century" at St George's Park yesterday.

● Pollock's great innings — Page 14.

*PHOTOS 2/2/82*

**Latest**

*11A 751 225*

# Policeman stoned to death

## Crime Reporter

A POLICE special constable was stoned to death and set alight in Guguletu while walking home early today.

Constable L S Kondlo, of NY 89, Guguletu, was walking home about 3am when he was allegedly attacked by a group

of people who stoned him to death. Paraffin was then poured over his body and set alight.

It is understood that Constable Kondlo was off duty at the time of the attack.

Thirteen people have been detained for questioning in connection with his death.

# Second bid to gun down UDF activist

## Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A gang of armed men opened fire on United Democratic Front activist Mr Victor Ntuli an hour before the mass funeral of his father and five relatives who were shot dead in an attack two weeks ago.

Mr Ntuli, who has been in hiding for some time, stayed at his home in KwaMakhutha with about 200 mourners to wait for transport to the funeral in Chesterville on Saturday.

According to a KwaMakhutha Youth League member Mr Dumisani Makhanya, he and Mr Ntuli had decided to

## Six hurt in attack on councillor's home

PRETORIA. — Six people, including four young children, were seriously injured in an attack on the home of a Soweto councillor on Saturday night.

According to the Bureau for Information's unrest report the attack on the home of Mrs D Senokoane was made with AK-47 machine-guns and hand-grenades.

The report named the injured as Mpa Sekele, 8, S Sekele, 6, Elizabeth Malakane, 16, Calin Malakane, 20 months, Thame Malakane, 5, and a member of the security forces named only as Frederick.

The report said a Putco bus was hijacked in Soweto by about 200 youths and driven into a bottle store, causing R55 000 damage. No casualties or arrests were reported.

In Maritzburg, at the Webaters shopping centre in Hammersdale, a Mr Swanepoel and his three children were attacked in their car by about 100 black people on Saturday.

Police dispersed the group and arrested three black men. — Sapa

hire a taxi — when a heavily-armed gang attacked them.

"They fired at us indiscriminately. I can't believe we are still alive," Mr Makhanya said.

He and Mr Ntuli were rescued by a taxi driver. The attackers chased them, still firing.

KwaMakhutha Youth League members say Mr Ntuli was the target of the attack two weeks ago when his father and 11 others — most of them children — were killed.

Mr Ntuli is a founder member, treasurer and area organizer of the UDF-affiliated Youth League.

Soon after his father was buried, he was ushered into a car and driven away.

A senior police spokesman said they had no record of the latest attack. He said the victims may not have reported the incident.

The UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede, wept while paying tribute to the six victims of the massacre.

While the funeral was being conducted youths manned their own security operations to prevent further attacks.

They maintained tight security at the entrances into the township using two-way radios to communicate with other youths placed at strategic points.

Those buried were Mr Ntuli's father, the Rev Willie Ntuli, Nunu Ntuli, Mrs Nomusa Ndwalane, Mr Edward Ndwalane, Phumelele Ndlovu and Jabu Ndlovu.

Nomfundo Thusini who died in King Edward VIII Hospital last week was buried next to her brothers in the Lamontville cemetery at the weekend.

Mrs Isobel Kubheka was buried in KwaMakhutha cemetery.

All the children except the girl who died in the hospital were buried last week. The funeral on Saturday was for the adults and teenagers killed.

# Govt and ANC 'near to talks' in '86 — MP

Star 11A  
2/2/86

QUEENSTOWN — Advanced plans for a meeting between the Government and the African National Congress (ANC) last year were sabotaged at the last minute, a Progressive Federal Party MP said in Queenstown at the weekend.

Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, said: "They were so close to negotiating, you wouldn't believe it."

He said the meeting had been arranged by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group which asked the Government during their visit last year for "bottom-line" conditions for meeting the ANC.

Mr van der Merwe said the group put the conditions to the ANC in Lusaka and these were accepted. However, then came the raids on Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries, making the meeting impossible.

"Only through negotiation can we get out of the mess this country is in. A lot of Cabinet members wanted to start talking this year," the MP said.

Speaking at a meeting to start a branch of the Young Progressives, Mr van der Merwe said the State President's speech at the opening of Parliament had left the country "starved of hope, starved of vision, starved of peace".

It made him think of a juke box, rusted in 1983, still playing the same old song when kicked in 1987.

## 'It's illogical'

He said a little reform was almost worse than none because it raised expectations: "You can't have a little bit of apartheid. We can't have discrimination written into the law. Every bit must go.

"It is, for instance, illogical that people of different colours can marry but don't know where to live or send their children to school.

"The only option is to break out of the mental block created by the Government and say: 'Let's talk'. There is no reason why all people can't have a place in the sun and share equally."

He was happy about the election alliance with the New Republic Party, which he felt could lead to even closer co-operation: "If we're going to get where we want to get, we will have to work with breakaway Nats too.

"We can't wait for the PFP to come to power under its own steam. We need the support of all who share a belief in non-racial democracy. There are people in the NP caucus whose thinking doesn't differ fundamentally from ours."

He said there was bound to be a split, both to the left and right, in the National Party. If this happened then perhaps 40 members could join the PFP. — Sapa.

~~3/2/87~~ 8/Day 3/2/87 (11A)

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# Natal plan to back pro-Indaba candidates

**PATRICK BULGER**

cial answers can be worked out by way of peaceful negotiations".

Their support adds substance to indications that a loose alliance of Indaba-supporting candidates — possibly headed by Worrall and embracing several "New Nats" — could emerge as a powerful political force in the election, at least in Natal.

Its support would be fuelled, Martin and Swart said, by President P W

Botha's apparent rejection of the Indaba proposals in his speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday, and by the enthusiasm the proposals had evoked in Natal.

Swart, the PFP's leader in Natal, said yesterday it was "important to ensure that Indaba-oriented candidates are returned by the electorate".

He said: "The Indaba is the major issue in Natal electoral politics."

Botha's rejection of the Indaba "was certainly a major factor contributing to dissent in NP ranks".

Martin, a co-convenor of the Indaba and the NRP's candidate in Durban Point, said that while Botha had not fully rejected the Indaba, "what we are trying to do is return as many people to Parliament as possible who will push for the Indaba to be accepted".

He said no formal approach had been made to Nats in the province but that "most Natal Nats say they agree with the concept of the Indaba but that there is not sufficient provision for minority groups".

CML Talks 3/2/87 ~~25/11~~ ~~27/11~~ 7/10/87

# Constable was warned to quit

**MURDERED** Guguletu "kitskonstabel", Mr Solomon Kondlo, 33, was warned several times to quit the police force before he was stoned to death and set alight by a mob early yesterday morning.

"I'm still at a loss," his father, Mr Davis Kondlo, said at his NY 89 home yesterday.

He explained why his son had joined the police force last December and told of the constant fear the Kondlo family had been living in since then.

## 'Jobless'

His son had been disillusioned by constant unemployment and took up employment as a policeman as a last resort rather than out of choice, Mr Kondlo said.

"I was not happy that he worked for the police. When I heard he was in the force I asked him to resign from duty. Otherwise I told him to go to the government to give him a special room and safe place to stay.

"Last December our house was attacked with petrol bombs on two occasions — December 15 and 16."

## 'I am hungry, I must eat' — policeman

By **EBRAHIM MOOSA** and **JOHN van der LINDEN**

The dead policeman's sister, Mrs Thelma Ngayi, said she had also asked her brother to leave the police force because of the constant threats and fear the family suffered.

"But he said: 'I am hungry. I must eat and work and buy myself clothes'," Mrs Ngayi said.

## 'Pregnant'

She explained that Solomon had only planned to earn some money, after which he intended to start a business of his own.

Mrs Ngayi said his girlfriend was expecting his child.

On the night before Constable Kondlo's death, neighbours told him not to risk walking to work on his own, she said. The police vehicle came to fetch him as nor-

mal, but as he was not ready for work he told them to leave as he would walk to work.

He was attacked by a mob on the corner of Bernice and Marrion roads near his home.

His brother-in-law, Mr John Ngayi, said that the only obstacle which had prevented him from resigning was the 10-year contract he had signed.

## '13 held'

A spokesman for the Bureau of Information in Pretoria, Mr Carel du Toit, confirmed the death of Special Constable Kondlo.

Police investigating the murder shortly after the killing detained 13 people for questioning.

According to the bureau he was married with one child. He was one of the first batch of special constables which completed their

training in October last year. He was stationed at Nyanga.

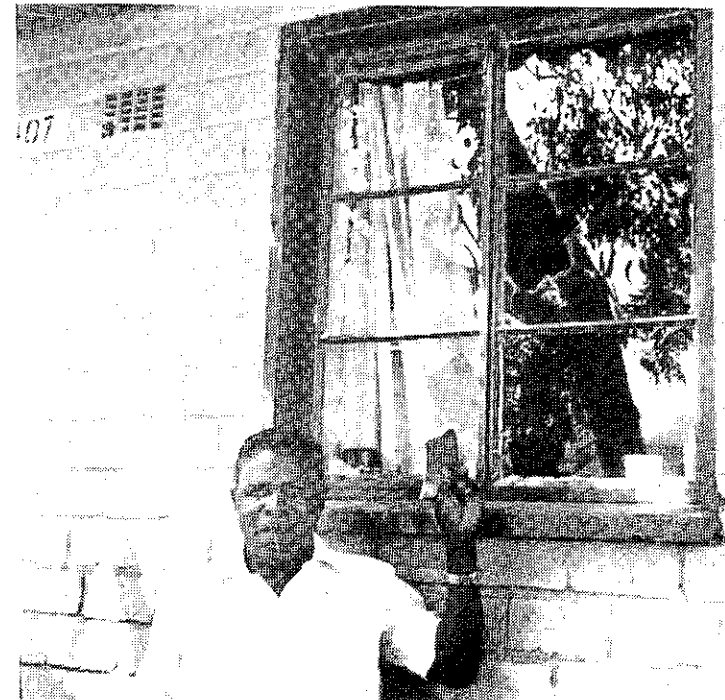
It is believed that he had not been armed when attacked by the mob which used paraffin to set his body alight. There were no indications that he had been "necklaced".

Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Groote Schuur, last night called for the withdrawal of the "kitskonstabels" from the townships, saying that they had been a "source of conflict since their inception.

"This brutal death is symptomatic of the alienation that exists between them and the community," he said.

## Stoning

The bureau's unrest report said yesterday: "Special Constable LS Kondlo of Guguletu was murdered at approxi-



Mr Davis Kondlo, father of murdered Special Constable Solomon Kondlo, points to the damage to their house caused by attacks last year.

Picture: **EBRAHIM MOOSA**

mately 03h00 (yesterday) morning. It is suspected that he was stoned before being doused with a flammable liquid and set alight. Thirteen black men have been detained for questioning."

The bureau also reported that about 20

black radicals set fire to a house in Orlando East (Soweto) yesterday. Two black men were slightly injured. Damage to the house was minimal. No arrests had been made.

In New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, a group of blacks stoned a security

force vehicle. A security force member was slightly injured and a black man was arrested.

Several incidents of stoning buses, resulting in minimal damage, were reported in Soweto. No arrests had been made.



Cape Times 3/2/87

# Botswana 'important for ANC terror'

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Botswana was one of the most important bases from where the African National Congress co-ordinated its terror campaign in South Africa.

This was said in the Maritzburg Supreme Court by Brigadier H D Stadler, chief of intelligence in the security branch. He testified at the terrorism trial of a Durban couple who face 24 charges, including one of planting 11 explosive de-

vices in a car outside the Parade Hotel last June which killed three people and injured scores of others.

Mr Robert John McBride, 23, a student teacher, and his girlfriend, Miss Greta Margaret Apelgren, 30, a welfare worker, are also accused of snatching alleged ANC terrorist Gordon Webster, who had been under police guard at Edendale Hospital last May. A policeman, Mr Mlungisi Buthelezi, was shot dead, and four other people

were injured.

According to the indictment, Webster was hidden in Wentworth and Umlazi townships for five days before the accused took him to Botswana.

Brigadier Stadler said at the early stages of infiltration into this country, Botswana was used as a passage, and thereafter the ANC made use of Lesotho and Swaziland.

The couple pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Shearer and two assessors to 12

counts of terrorism, four of murder, five of attempted murder, as well as harbouring or concealing a terrorist, aiding a prisoner to escape and furthering the ANC's aims.

There was a strong police presence in and around the court building, and brown paper covered all windows in the courtroom.

Members of the public were subjected to body searches in a room outside the courtroom before being allowed inside.

**A**S ANC president Oliver Tambo and American Secretary of State George Shultz warily circled each other this week, what did not happen is considerably more interesting than what did.

Given that the "South African public has been systematically lied to about the real events and the State has decreed that there may be no meaningful rebuttal, this is just as well. If the facts may not be laid out directly, they may at least be glimpsed from the shadows they cast.

Had he been so inclined, Tambo could have emerged from his 50 minutes with Shultz fierily denouncing Reagan administration policy as still fundamentally allied with Pretoria.

He could have bitterly criticised the administration's refusal to countenance further sanctions or endorse the use of terror. He could have loudly propounded the assertion that, by failing to take stronger measures against apartheid, the US was merely stoking a potential slaughter.

Had he said these things, the experience of the past few years strongly suggests that US anti-apartheid activists leaders — both at the grassroots level and on Capitol Hill — would have taken his side and used Shultz's apparent inflexibility to redouble the sanctions and disinvestment drive ... which is exactly what the ANC professes to want.

**I**n speeches and meetings before his Wednesday afternoon session on the seventh floor of the State Department, Tambo struck a defiantly uncompromising pose, often — especially at Georgetown University — to the rapturous applause of audiences hungry for reasons to despise the Reagan administration.

Asked point blank at Georgetown whether he himself was a Communist, Tambo replied with a ironic sneer which — stripped of its irony and context — might be taken as an affirmation of Pretoria's legally unassailable dogma. The students cheered. The State Department cringed.

While the official read-out on the talks with Shultz was deliberately toughened up to appease conservatives, who saw the meeting as a sell-out to terrorism and Moscow, it was nonetheless clear that the Secretary had given Tambo every excuse for loud and bitter exasperation.

Drafted by State Department spokesman Charles Redman, who sat at Shultz's elbow throughout, the statement had the Secretary stressing "our concerns about Soviet influence in the ANC and its stance on violence" and rejecting further sanctions.



□ WILLIAM GRAY ... a private meeting with Oliver Tambo

# Why the ANC still has to woo the West

SIMON BARBER in Washington

In addition, it emphasised that the Reagan administration refused to regard the ANC as anything more than one "player" among many, including Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi, who Tambo regards as the SA government's goon.

Tambo had clearly hoped that Shultz could be made to see the ANC's point of view on violence and the ideological leanings of some of its members.

He must have doubted this would happen, and cannot have been surprised when the Secretary signally, to show the sought-for understanding, demanded instead that Tambo go away and add a little "precision" — a polite way of putting it — to his positions.

What was surprising was the way he reacted to the rebuff. The sanguine intransigence was largely missing after an apparently amicable meeting the State Department described as "serious and substantive".

**T**he ANC even seems to have changed its attitude towards the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act passed last October over President Reagan's veto, regarding it as not just a good start towards the total isolation of SA but a valuable contribution, sufficient in and of itself so long as Washington's Western partners follow suit.

Why, when on the surface a more hostile reading might have served the ANC's stated goals far more effectively, the comparative warmth? There are several of answers.

The first, and most obvious, is that Tambo — even if it means

risking the wrath of his younger, more radicalised, following — has concluded that the rhetoric and supplies of the East Bloc and a handful of other countries, such as Sweden, are not sustenance enough to force Pretoria to the negotiating table.

The ANC needs the West, however high the price, because terror — however generously supplied with Soviet Kalashnikovs and limpet mines and however easy as a response to apartheid's obscenities — is nowhere near to achieving the desired result.

**S**imply by giving the ANC a hearing in its highest councils, and by being willing to pursue a dialogue without menaces, the US and its allies not only grant the organisation a previously unaccorded legitimacy but have the power to strike far more effective confusion in Pretoria than any bombing or sanction — both of which have tended to stiffen apartheid's resolve rather than undermine it.

Secondly, it is sincerely to be doubted whether the American political system can generate more sanctions. Already, many proponents of the cause are beginning to have grave second thoughts.

As the *Washington Post's* highly-respected black columnist William Raspberry observed in an extraordinary *mea culpa* on the morning of the Shultz meeting: "The clear evidence is that Pretoria's principal reaction to international sanctions has been ... a white retreat into the laager and an end to any pretence of serious reform ... have economic sanc-

tions against South Africa backfired? Probably yes."

Furthermore, the political will to enact new measures is sapped by the widespread perception that everything that can be done to hurt SA without damaging American voters has already been done.

Bans on South African steel, coal, textiles and agricultural products are one thing, because the US produces surpluses of its own. What is left to be embargoed now are commodities that the US cannot readily or economically get anywhere else.

This message appears to have been gently but firmly pushed home to Tambo by Congressman William Gray, chairman of the House Budget Committee and one of the chief architects of last year's sanctions legislation.

The two met privately on Tuesday evening. Afterwards, Gray emerged not with a new sanctions Bill but with a proposal to provide the Frontline states with US\$700m in development aid aimed at decoupling their economies from SA. Shultz and the ANC have both warmly endorsed the idea — making for a rare meeting of minds on the until now viciously divisive SA issue.

**T**hird, by allowing himself to be placed under the American microscope, Tambo may have wittingly or unwittingly become subject to the Heisenberg Effect — the principle of physics which holds that an object under observation changes simply by virtue of being observed.

The fact is, now that its leader has been seen and heard, the ANC will have no choice but to change if

the Western sympathy it evidently craves is not to evaporate — a vindication of his more extremist cadres that would not be in Tambo's best interest.

Many aspects of the ANC's agenda, alignment and strategy are unpalatable not only to the Reagan administration and the creatures to its Right. It should not be forgotten that the same House of Representatives which last year voted for SA's near total isolation also voted by a seven-to-one margin to ban any assistance to the ANC or its affiliates so long as the movement contained members of the Communist Party.

If the same vote was taken now in the light of Tambo's visit there is no reason to believe the outcome would be any different. Nor has abhorrence of the "necklace" been diminished by Tambo's refusal to condemn it without weaselling qualifications.

Even though he was the house-guest of the ineffectual Congresswoman Walter Fauntroy — Washington's non-voting Congressional delegate whose most recent contribution to the political debate is a typically undemocratic proposal to exempt the nation's legislators from local parking restrictions — Tambo cannot have failed to pick up vibrations of profound ill-ease all across the spectrum.

**C**oleman McCarthy is a columnist so convinced that the Soviet elite is at heart a crew of gentle peaceniks forced to behave badly by the Western military-industrial complex that the *Washington Post* can only bring itself to publish him on Saturdays, if at all. Yet even he concludes, in some pain, that Tambo is a "disappointment".

He and the ANC have rejected the philosophy and tactics of (Martin Luther) King, Gandhi and a long list of others who knew that non-violence is a force of the will and heart far stronger than guns.

If Tambo had more political support from the Reagan administration the ANC would be less in the corner that it now finds itself. That cornering justifies only Tambo's call for help, not his call to arms.

There is hope in here somewhere ... a tiny, struggling ember of it. Important lessons are slowly being learnt.

Limitations are starting to be understood, problems to be more accurately defined and the debate to become less partisan, more genuine. Tragically, Pretoria not only refuses to participate but seems determined to stop its own people doing so.

Outside SA, the issue is enjoying a sort of Prague spring, a break with the mindless past out of which something positive might be accomplished. When will the Ratels roll in?

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11a

# LP leader's wife explains her boycott

By PATRICK CULL and CHRIS BATEMAN

MRS TERRY HENDRICKSE, wife of Labour Party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse, last night confirmed she had boycotted the opening of Parliament because of President P W Botha's treatment of her husband on television recently.

"I would have felt hypocritical walking down that red carpet after that reaction," Mrs Hendrickse said from their Rygersdal flat in Rondebosch.

But she denied newspaper reports that she had stormed out of her husband's office when he decided to apologize to Mr Botha for his controversial swim at a white beach.

Mrs Hendrickse, her son Peter, who is the MP for Addo, her son-in-law Mr Desmond Locke, a nominated MP, and his wife Marie-Louise boycotted Friday's ceremony, as did the MP for Wentworth, Mr Tommy Abrahams.

The LP leader and his wife were absent from the State President's banquet at Tuynhuys on Thursday night.

Mrs Hendrickse said the reason for this was that "we had a previous engagement. My husband explained this to the president."

## Offer to help Worrall

But on her refusal to accompany her husband to the opening of Parliament, she said:

"I was not prepared to sit and listen to, or look at, the State President after he tried to humiliate my husband on television. Mr Botha expects me to walk on his red carpet, but he won't allow me to stroll on a white beach."

Mr Hendrickse, who commented on the incident to a foreign news agency that "we are a democratic family", said last night:

"One does feel a bit out of place and awkward. I certainly supported her action (boycotting Parliament) in view of her past experience — a father and son in jail and intimidation by security police."

Mrs Hendrickse was also reported in a Sunday newspaper to have stormed out of Mr Hendrickse's office when he decided to apologize to Mr Botha after his controversial swim on King's Beach on January 4.

She denied this last night: "I was there on that day but he hadn't delivered the letter (of apology) nor did I walk out."

In another indication of the mood of the LP, the Rev Hendrickse has offered to help Dr Denis Worrall if he fights the Cape leader of the National Party, Mr Chris Heunis, in the election on May 6.

# Court told of 'pig' assault

977 v Taliep 4/2/87  
11A

A MAN yesterday told Wynberg Magistrate's Court that he had been burnt on the lips with a cigarette and called an "Ahmadiyah pig" shortly before he was hit over the head with a panga by his Muslim assailant.

Mr Mogamat Noor Haywood was giving evidence in the trial of Mogamat Sudley Taliep, 39, of Dover Court, Lavender Hill, who was fined R500 (or 100 days) of which R250 (or 50 days) were suspended for three years for assault.

Mr Haywood said he had been at a wedding in the Retreat Civic Centre on November 23 when Taliep blocked his way. Mr Haywood ignored him even though he passed foul remarks and kicked his ankle.

"He repeated threats he had made on previous occasions at the Square Hill Mosque saying: 'You'll see, I'll chop your head off,'" Mr Haywood said. "He poked his finger in my face and burnt my lips with his cigarette."

Mr Haywood then hit him in the face and a fight ensued. Taliep then went to his parked car and fetched a panga. He returned shouting: "Come out you Ahmadiyah pig, I'm going to chop your head off."

"He swung the panga at my head hitting me across the neck and ran back to the parking area." Mr Haywood showed the court a scar on his neck caused by the panga.

He said the reason for Taliep's assault was a personal vendetta over his (Mr Haywood's) help with building the mosque.

"The Ahmadiyah issue was then used to brand me despite the Imaam's confirmation to the Muslim Judicial Council that I am not an Ahmadi," Mr Haywood said.

Taliep said Mr Haywood bore a grudge against him as he was one of the people who had forcibly ejected Mr Haywood from the mosque at the time of the Ahmadiyah issue a year ago.

Mr J'G van Zyl was the magistrate. Miss E Crouse prosecuted. Mr A R Wilkinson represented Taliep.

# Court bid to continue with sale of mosque

THE row between the Ahmadi sect and two Muslim groups took a new turn yesterday afternoon when an urgent application for tomorrow's auction of a mosque and cemetery to be held as advertised, was brought in the Supreme Court.

The application brought by Mr Ismail Peck, a member of the Ahmadi sect, was postponed till today in order that lawyers for the mosque and cemetery could file papers.

The auction of the Long Street Mosque and Vygieskraal cemetery on Thursday, February 5, was halted last weekend after the deputy sheriffs for Cape Town and Wynberg demanded a Supreme Court order instructing them to go ahead with the sequestration.

Mr Peck is demanding that the mosque and cemetery be sold to defray legal expenses owed to him by the trustees of the mosque and cemetery which were incurred during a lengthy court battle to have him declared a Muslim, enter the mosque and be allowed to be buried in the cemetery.

The Judge President, Mr Justice G G A Munnik, presided. Mr W G Burger, SC, instructed by De Klerk and Van Gend, appeared for the deputy sheriffs. Mr J P Botha, SC, with Mr J J Botha and instructed by M R Khan and Associates, appeared for Mr Peck. Mr M S Jacobs, with Mr S Desai instructed by H Mohamed and Associates, appeared for the trustees of the mosque and cemetery.

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## PW: 4th chamber out

CAPE TOWN — President P. W. Botha yesterday dismissed as "absurd" the idea of a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks.

Speaking briefly during the no-confidence debate, Mr Botha said he wished to deal with certain "suggestions" put to him earlier by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, on the NP's policy relating to a fourth chamber and proportional representation.

The National Party's "clear standpoint" was that there could be no fourth chamber in Parliament. "I say it not only to him (Dr Treurnicht) but also to black leaders with whom we have talks."

"If we want to create such a chamber, then we have to accommodate six or seven nations in it and that is absurd," Mr Botha said. — DDC

## Bid to hear evidence in camera

# Witnesses at terrorism trial 'fear reprisals'

IRA  
w/m  
4/2/87

### Pietermaritzburg Bureau

TWO witnesses whose evidence the State wishes to lead in camera at the terrorism and murder trial of Robert John McBride and his girlfriend, Greta Margaret Apelgren, feared that alleged ANC terrorist, Gordon Webster, planned to harm State witnesses, the Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Capt Z de Beer, the investigating officer, told Mr Justice Shearer and two assessors that one of the reasons given by two wit-

nesses who did not wish to give evidence in open court was that they feared reprisals by Webster.

He had been told by one witness that he feared Webster would make plans to kill or intimidate witnesses.

### Car bomb

Another said Gordon Webster would feel obliged to release the two accused or would 'do something to the witnesses' following his escape from Edendale Hospital last May.

Mr McBride and Miss Apelgren are alleged to have been responsible for assisting Webster to escape

from the hospital. According to the indictment Webster is now in Botswana where he was allegedly taken by the two accused.

The couple, who face 12 counts of terrorism, four of murder, five of attempted murder, harbouring a terrorist, assisting a prisoner to escape and futhering the aims of the ANC, are also alleged to have placed 10 SZ6 demolition charges and an SPM limpet mine in a car which exploded outside the Parade Hotel in June last year killing three people and injuring many others.

Yesterday's application, for the evidence of four

State witnesses to be heard behind closed doors, was heard in camera and was opposed by the defence. Judgment on the matter is expected at 11 a m today.

### Reprisals

Mr David Gordon SC, for the defence, urged the Court to hear the evidence in open court saying that where possible justice should be seen to be done. None of the witnesses concerned were police informers who would be endangered by giving evidence, but were accomplices and as such should not be protected from testifying in open court.

Mr Gordon said that this

was the most serious politically related case ever heard in the province.

Capt de Beer said other reasons given by the witnesses for testifying in camera was fear of reprisals by the ANC and members of their community. Some said they had received threats and been warned not to give evidence in the case. They had been told they were 'sell-outs' or traitors.

Brig H D Stadler, chief of intelligence of the security branch, said that in the past witnesses who testified in political trials had been murdered, injured or threatened. This was ANC policy, he said.

Heunis, Stoffel Botha sceptical

4/2/87

# Two top Nats pour scorn on Indaba plans

B/Day ~~3/11A~~ 11A

MAX DU PREEZ  
Political Correspondent

TWO SENIOR Cabinet Ministers, Chris Heunis and Stoffel Botha, yesterday categorically rejected the proposals of the Natal Indaba.

But, in what opposition politicians saw as mainly a ploy to buy time and reduce the damage done by its rejection of the Indaba, government undertook to start negotiations for further constitutional development in Natal.

The ruling National Party clearly acknowledged the importance of the Indaba in the coming election campaign, by concentrating almost exclusively on it in the No Confidence debate in Parliament yesterday.

The new PFP/NRP alliance in Natal revolves around the Indaba, and SA's Ambassador in London, Denis Worrall, is expected to stand as an independent on mainly an Indaba ticket.

However, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said yesterday: "The proposals do not make provision for effective power-sharing and do not offer sufficient guarantees to groups against domination."

Home Affairs Minister and Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha said: "On careful analysis, the present set of Indaba pro-



● HEUNIS



● BOTHA

posals fail to provide the answers to so many constitutional, economic and practical administrative problems that they cannot be accepted."

PFP MP for Berea Ray Swart said last night his understanding of the ministers' speeches was that they amounted to a fundamental rejection of the Indaba.

But, in what could become a significant development, Botha added: "While rejecting the proposals as they stand, I firmly believe that negotiation must continue... I see the Indaba proposals as a start, not an end in themselves."

Heunis was even stronger on this point when he told *Business Day* after his speech: "Using government's framework for constitutional reform as a guide, I commit myself and the government —

● To Page 2



## Top Nats scorn Indaba

after the establishment of the Joint Executive — to start talking to the KwaZulu government, Natal's Executive Committee as well as the leaders of all political parties in Natal about possible further constitutional development in KwaZulu and Natal."

Both ministers made it clear they supported the idea behind the Indaba. Botha said: "I emphasise that qualified support or rejection of certain of the present set of Indaba proposals does not mean one is against the Indaba as such."

Heunis said: "... Apart from the merits of the contents, the Indaba process represents an important exercise in the development of consensus."

He had basic objections to the compilation of the Indaba; to the presence of interest groups with no mechanism to consult their power base; and also to the

mandates of some participating organisations to negotiate constitutional proposals.

He also made it clear government was not going to accept any model or proposal that it did not take an active part in.

Heunis outlined four principles on which any future development would have to be based:

- All groups had to take part in political processes on all levels on an equal basis;
- Domination of one group over another had to be avoided;

- There had to be powersharing between all groups up to the highest level on matters of common concern; and

- Groups had to have the opportunity to determine legislative and executive structures on all government levels.

11A ← ● From Page 1



Shultz-Tambo talks serious, says Crocker

# US 'agrees with some ANC aims'

4/2/87 Star (11A)

HARARE — The US agrees with some of the goals of the African National Congress (ANC), but there are differences on the means of attaining them, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said in a telephone interview from Washington with Ziana, the Zimbabwean semi-official news agency, which was reported here yesterday.

Dr Crocker said he believed last week's talks between the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, had been useful. They were "serious and substantive," he said.

"There are some areas of agreement with the goals of the ANC. We wish to see movement towards democracy," he said, adding that the US also wanted to see the ending of apartheid as soon as possible.

Where the means were concerned, he said the US did not believe violence would achieve the desired goals. "We do not believe terrorism against innocent citizens is the way," he said.

"It is also obvious the ANC has sought to address this but in a way that is not all that clear," he said. The ANC had not categorically condemned necklacing, for instance."

## DENIAL ON SHULTZ

Despite his use of the term "terrorism," Dr Crocker denied that Mr Shultz had referred to Mr Tambo as a terrorist.

There was no mention of this term in the statement issued after the meeting between the two men and he believed any reports that this term had been used were the result of disinformation from non-American sources.

Dr Crocker said the situation in Southern Africa was rapidly deteriorating and it was time for all parties concerned to create a negotiating climate.

He said the US would remain "engaged" in the region and was encouraging both the "liberation movements" and the South African Government to "consider carefully and creatively" what action to take to create a negotiating "context".

"No one is saying that any one party should

make a unilateral move without a move by the other party," he said.

Dr Crocker disputed accusations that the US policy of "constructive engagement" in the region had failed, saying there had been some significant changes within South Africa.

However, he said he agreed with the argument that the changes had not addressed the major crisis in South Africa.

"We are not against pressure and sanctions, but what kind of sanctions," he said, adding that the US, after the passing of the sanctions Bill by Congress, had more sanctions against South Africa than any other major power.

Asked whether the US felt the Frontline states should impose sanctions against South Africa and whether the Administration was considering giving them support to cushion the effects of counter-sanctions, Dr Crocker said the situation in the region was difficult and tense and "everybody has to think carefully".

Dr Crocker said the US would continue to encourage the Frontline states to move their economies towards "sensible" economic development and to promote regional trade.

On relations between the US and Zimbabwe, he said there had been an improvement since the slashing of aid to the country. — Sapa.

# Indaba undaunted by rejection

ARGUS

4/2/87

119

By BRUCE CAMERON Political Staff

THE Natal/Kwazulu Indaba will push ahead with its plans to gain acceptance for its proposals, in spite of the "panic" rejection by the Government of any constitutional plans that do not fit within the ideology of separate development and apartheid.

This was the overwhelming reaction from opposition political leaders in Natal today following a big Government bid to discredit the Indaba proposals and stop any real test of opinion in Natal.

The Indaba executive meets on Monday to discuss the Government's reaction.

Indaba spokesmen have already given notice that plans would be made for an "unofficial" referendum if the Government turned down a test of opinion.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal PFP leader who will reply in Parliament tomorrow to the Government attack on the Indaba, said the election would be the first step of a public test and this would have to be followed by a referendum.

## Majority backing

"The Government will see the overwhelming majority in Natal will back proposals of the Indaba."

He said it was quite clear from the Government attack that it was not interested in real reform and was only prepared to accept changes within the framework of the ideology of separate development and apartheid.

He also challenged the claims of Government spokesmen that they supported the concept of the Indaba as an important milestone in consensus politics.

He asked why the National Party had not participated fully in the Indaba if this were the case, and why it did not even try to hold negotiations on the proposals before rejecting them out of hand.

Chairman of the Indaba, Professor Desmond Clarence, has pointed out that the proposals were guidelines which could be negotiated.

## Shown up

The same point was made by co-sponsor of the Indaba, Mr Frank Martin, former senior Natal MEC, who accused the Government of panic reaction.

The Government had panicked because it had realised it would be shown up as being unable to get real reform under way and because of the consequences in the elections.

Mr Martin said: "They are afraid to sit down with blacks with an open agenda and, because of this, they have no credibility with blacks."

"If the Government was serious about negotiations it would have looked at the proposals — and they were proposals — and then put its queries to the Indaba."

## Govt "scared"

"The Government has chosen not to because it is scared of the consequences." Mr Martin said it was virtually certain that an Indaba would be held.

Both Mr Martin and Mr Swart said a referendum on a group basis would be acceptable to them if the Government was afraid of a one-man, one-vote referendum.

The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was not immediately available for comment on the Government condemnation of the proposals.

## City trapeze artist hurt in circus act fall

Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN trapeze artist Mark Lotz has been injured in a six-metre fall during a circus performance in Hong Kong.

Mr Lotz, 25, who was trained in Cape Town by Keith Anderson and has performed worldwide, was admitted to hospital yesterday. His condition is reported as "fair".

Mr Lotz fell from the trapeze while performing without a safety net, a spokesman for Chipperfield's Circus said.

Mr Lotz's accident was Chipperfield's second in Hong Kong. He was performing in place of American Elvin Bale who missed the air cushion and hit the concrete floor after he was shot from a cannon last month.

## CHINESE GOD

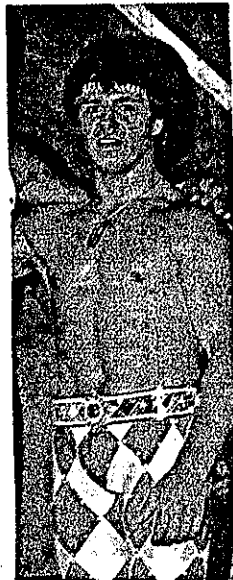
Chinese helpers suggested the accidents happened because "the foreigners" had not asked for protection from Todekung, the Chinese god of earth.

Prayers for the protection of the performers will be offered to Todekung in a traditional Chinese ritual with incense sticks and paper money at the circus today.

Mr Lotz's father, Mr Desmond Lotz of Rugby, did not know that his son had fallen. He said: "Again? He hurt his legs last time he fell while touring in Europe."

After that fall, in France, his heart stopped beating and his French wife Michelle fainted when she thought he was dead. A doctor in the audience revived Mr Lotz and he was taken to hospital with two broken hips.

A friend who said she had known the performer since childhood said: "He will work without a net. He is very daring."



Mark Lotz

Mr Lotz last performed in the city during last year's Cape Town Festival.

Mr Rob Paterson, who was secretary of the now-defunct Children's Circus Oslo in Observatory where Mr Lotz trained, said Mr Lotz had "spent his life falling and hurting himself".

He said: "He's a daredevil. He always does the unexpected. But if I know Mark he'll be off for two weeks and then back on the trapeze."

## TIGHTROPE

"Once, during a performance on Greenmarket Square, he fell about 12m from a tightrope on to the cobblestones."

"In Johannesburg, when he was about 13, he jumped from a swing and instead of falling into the safety net he did a somersault and missed the net. We rushed him to hospital."

His mother, Mrs Shirley Lotz, said: "Mark said the trapeze was his whole life. He couldn't imagine breaking away from it."

He planned to join a circus in South Korea after the Hong Kong appearances.



Kathy Keeton



Bob Guccione

## Let's marry, after 22 years

The Argus Foreign Service  
NEW YORK — Penthouse magazine publisher Bob Guccione has finally popped the question to South African girlfriend of 22 years Kathy Keeton, and the couple will marry next year.

Kathy, in her early forties, said: "We are trying to decide if we should elope, get mar-

ried in New York, the Sistine Chapel or somewhere in Sicily."

Guccione, 54, said: "She was worth waiting for."

He proposed on Christmas Day. Kathy said: "He gave me all my presents and then suddenly gave me a diamond and emerald engagement ring. It's enormous. I couldn't say no, could I?"

# Govt rejects Natal/kwaZulu Indaba recommendations

Political Staff

The Government has rejected the recommendations of the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba for a single legislature and virtually refused to hold a referendum to test public opinion.

Parliamentary proceedings yesterday were dominated by the Indaba as the Government made it a major issue in the no confidence debate.

Although dismissing the recommendations of the Indaba, government speakers claimed they still felt the Indaba process was an important part of the consensus process.

But they emphasised repeatedly that the proposals could not be accepted because they were not based on the National Party policy of group representation.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, who opened the debate, said the Government was still prepared to discuss the constitutional development of the region with kwaZulu, the government-appointed provincial executive and political parties after the implementation of the approved Joint Executive Authority (JEA).

The JEA, approved after negotiations by the now scrapped NRP-controlled Natal Provincial Council and kwaZulu and on which the two executives will decide jointly on matters of common interest, will be formed shortly.

The attack on the proposals and their support by the PFP and NRP was started on Monday by the newly appointed chief information officer of the National Party, Mr Con Botha (NP, Umlazi).

After Mr Heunis, the attack was joined by the NP's Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, who was even more explicit in his rejection, and Mr George Bartlett, former NRP member and now Deputy Minister for Economics and Technology.

The National Party attack was made on several fronts.

The speakers attempted to discredit the proposals on the grounds that they would lead to black domination based on one man one vote, that the economy of the region would be destroyed and white educational standards would be adversely affected.

The speakers also suggested that the PFP had manipulated the Indaba for its own petty political ends and had misled the NRP into an alliance in the process.

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) told Mr Heunis that he had done peaceful change in South Africa a disservice by rejecting the Indaba report.

People both inside and outside South Africa who wanted peaceful change regarded the Indaba as one of the most hopeful signs the country had seen for years.

Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal leader of the New Republic Party, strongly defended the Indaba as true compromise and negotiation in which there were no winners and no losers.

Mr Watterson firmly rejected National Party claims that group rights were not protected by the Indaba proposals.

He said the National Party had reacted so strongly to the NRP and PFP agreement to form an election alliance on the basis of the Indaba proposals because this had placed several of its seats at risk.

The NRP, which had co-sponsored the Indaba, was however a "true reformist party that believes its duty is to join other reformists of all colours or political creeds in trying to get rid of the apartheid albatross that has been placed around our necks by the NP Government".

Almost every group in Natal accepted the Indaba proposals as a reasonably negotiated settlement in which simple democracy and group/cultural protection was accommodated, Mr Watterson said.

Barclays chief denies allegation

# Ball hits out at PW over ANC advert

5/2/87 (11A) (11A)

BARCLAYS MD Chris Ball last night hit back at hints by President P W Botha in Parliament that Ball paid R150 000 to finance the "Unban the ANC" adverts.

Ball said: "You are wrong Mr President." He added: "I respectfully invite him to repeat his statement outside Parliament." No legal action can be taken over remarks made under parliamentary privilege.

Botha said during the No Confidence debate that the advertisements had "shamelessly advanced the image and interests of the ANC". Responsible South Africans were "repulsed" by them, he said.

The exact words Botha used were: "In leftist radical circles it is being said that Mr Chris Ball advanced (voorgeskiet) the money to the advertisers. An amount of R150 000 is being mentioned.

"I, and I am sure the population of SA, would like to know from Mr Ball if what is said is true."

An Opposition MP then asked Botha by way of interjection why he did not ask

Business Day Reporters

Ball about the matter before he spoke. Botha replied: "You can phone him yourself if you want to. This thing will be investigated down to the bone."

In a statement yesterday Ball said he knew nothing of the advertisement until he saw it in the morning papers on arrival at his office on the day of its first publication.

"It is a matter for comment that the State President has referred to the issue under the protection of the privilege of Parliament," Ball said.

The advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC were issued by the UDF, the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African Council of Churches, the National Soccer League, the South African Rugby Union, the National Taverners Association and the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce.

After the advertisements appeared, a

● To Page 2 →

## Chris Ball hits back at President

(11A) (11A) 5/2/87

special Government Gazette was promulgated which further restricted publication of matter relating to the ANC. Police visited newspapers countrywide and took material connected with the advertisements.

It was understood there was consternation in the President's office when Ball's denial was read to him at a cocktail party last night.

It is believed Botha ordered an immediate investigation into the whole issue.

Sources said it had not been ruled out that the President acted on completely incorrect information.

PFP MP for Sandton Dave Dalling said last night Botha had "made himself guilty of the worst style of gutter politics by attempting, without any foundation of truth, to smear the character of the MD of one of SA's leading banks.

← ● From Page 1 (11A) (11A) 5/2/87

"He has committed the cardinal political sin of attempting a character assassination of Mr Ball, one of SA's most respected businessmen and a person who has made no secret of his opposition to apartheid and the NP.

"The credibility and honesty of the State President is now at issue. Either this country is being led by a straight chief executive or by a frightened political midget trying to survive by scandalising his opponents without any basis of truth.

"This matter cannot be left there. The truth must out.

"When Mr Ball's name is cleared, the President will have no option but to resign his office," said Dalling.

# Black member for PFP youth

Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — A black man, Mr Nelson Ngokweni, has been elected to the committee of the Queenstown branch of the Young Progressives.

Mr Ngokweni, an office worker with a transport company, has been a member of the party for some time. The youth branch, however, was formed only over the weekend.

The chairman, Mrs Kathy Wormald, said yesterday that the organisation would be discussing not only House of Assembly election strategy, but also how best it could communicate with young people of other racial groups.

The subject of community service would also be on the agenda, she said.

Others on the committee include Mrs Naomi Stacey, Mr Mark Whitson, Mr Steve Wormald, Mr Graham Tharratt and Miss Tansy Jessop.

## 2 hurt in SWA blast

WINDHOEK — The Ovambo Executive Committee member for public works, Mr Aaron Shikonoo, and his brother were seriously injured in a landmine blast in northern SWA/Namibia yesterday.

The landmine was of Soviet origin and was believed to have been laid by Swapo insurgents. — Sapa

5/2/87 00

(11A)

(11A)

# ANC GROUNDS AMAMPONDO

## Overseas tour cancelled

A SIX-MONTH tour by the eight member black South African band, *Amampondo*, has been cancelled after an African National Congress ruling that it should be sub-



THEMBI Nyandeni . . . Amampondo's dancer.

ject to the UN's cultural boycott, the *Sowetan's* London office reported on Monday.

The band was to have played in Glasgow's Mayfest and the Edinburgh Festival in May.

In Johannesburg *Amampondo's* manager, Mr Marina Zini, said he was "baffled" by the ANC ruling. He said when *Amampondo* performed in Edinburgh last year, alongside the casts of *Asinamali* and *Bopha*, ANC members had seen and "loved" the show and there had been no talk of boycott action against the band.

"Maybe the ANC doesn't like the idea of a white manager for the band," he said.

The ANC would not comment yesterday saying the person in charge of cultural activities was not in the office.

A Mayfest spokeswoman said the ANC verdict had to be accepted but countered suggestions that the band, which played to big

By THABISO LESHQAI

crowds in Edinburgh last year, was apolitical.

"One of their songs is called *State of Emergency*," she said, "it all seems to me really silly."

A Fleet Street, London columnist commented on Tuesday: "Curiously, earlier this year a black South African production of *Bopha* at the National Theatre escaped the

curse. The ANC explained that it waited to be asked before proffering its opinions on productions."

*Amampondo* are currently doing a series of shows in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, until the end of the week. They are also preparing for shows at Wits sometime in May when they will play alongside Mbongeni Ngema's new production, *Sefarina*, and the newly revived *Sakhile* combo.

DD 5/2/87  
11A

# Bank head denies funding ANC ad

Dispatch Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN —** The managing director of Barclays Bank, Mr Chris Ball, last night denied suggestions in Parliament by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, that he had paid R150 000 to finance advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

Mr Ball said in a statement: "You are wrong Mr President," adding: "I respectfully invite him to repeat his statement outside Parliament."

Mr Botha said during the no-confidence debate that the advertisements had "shamelessly advanced the image and interests of the ANC". Responsible South Africans were "repulsed" by it, he said.

"In leftist radical circles it is being said that Mr Chris Ball advanced the money to the advertisers. An amount of R150 000 is being mentioned," Mr Botha said.

Mr Ball said he knew nothing of the advertisement until I saw it in the morning papers on arrival at my office.

"It is a matter for comment that the State President has referred to the issue under the protection of the privilege of Parliament."

The advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC were issued by the United Democratic Front, the National Education Crisis Committee, the South African Council of Churches, the National Soccer League, the South African Rugby



MR BALL

Union, the National Taverners' Association, and the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce.

After the advertisements appeared, a special gazette, promulgated further restrictions on reporting the ANC.

Mr Ball and the PFP last night accused President Botha of attempted "character assassination".

It is understood that a visibly angered Mr Botha has ordered an immediate one-man commission of inquiry into the affair.

The attorney who placed the advertisement on instructions from the organisations, Mr Krish Naidoo, said from Johannesburg last night: "The UDF gave

me the cheque and it certainly wasn't from Mr Chris Ball."

Mr Naidoo said the cheque, a Barclays bank-guaranteed cheque, was for R100 000 — not for R150 000, as claimed by President Botha.

"We don't know the funding source," he said.

Mr Botha also said in his speech that the ANC sought to establish a white coalition group, that the state of emergency had avoided a bloodbath planned for the festive season last year, and that curbs on the media would be eased during the election.

He also reiterated his plan for independent city states, and reaffirmed his commitment to separate residential areas.

Quoting a document which had been "fetched" by the security forces, Mr Botha said the white coalition group had been initiated by Mr Geoff Budlender and Mr Zwelake Sisulu.

The purpose of the group, Mr Botha said, was to formulate "action from protection".

Parliament page 4



Another six down as the Cambridge scouts head for their record of 3 355 slides in an hour at the Orient Beach.

**Shop  
reside  
still**

Dispat

**EAST LONDON —** Resect to the controvers Gardens project, despit having closed on Decen

This emerged here lease of a letter from th to the combined Selt Committee, which is op

The letter was releas of the committee, Mr Br

According to the sen the municipality, Mis could have up to a mon

It is understood the nearly 150 objections v the city council at the, ing on February 23

Should the council than its backing of ar land off Union Avenue it will submit its recor administration which v

The council could a with the project, but t will still have to be i

The letter release yesterday was from th MEC for local govern ment, Mr P. Schoema and was in response an application from th combined schools' cor mittee to extend th deadline for objectio from December 12 January when th schools were open.

It was based on n

# You're wrong PW, says Barclays chief

11A



W/m S/2/87

Chris Ball: Invited the President to repeat his remarks outside of Parliament.



Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Barclays managing director Chris Ball and the PFP last night accused President Botha of attempted 'character assassination' for linking the chief executive of South Africa's largest bank with the financing of pro-ANC advertisements.

Mr Ball bluntly told Mr Botha he was 'wrong' and invited him to repeat his statement made during yesterday's no-confidence debate outside of Parliament.

'You are wrong Mr State President. I had no knowledge of the advertisement until I read it in the morning newspapers in my office on the first day of publication which, if I am not mistaken, was Thursday 8th January 1987,' Mr Ball said in a statement.

'It is a matter of comment that the State President has referred to this issue under the privileges of the protection of Parliament, and I respectfully request him to repeat the statement outside Parliament.'

The PFP's media spokesman, Mr Dave Dalling, said Mr Botha was 'making himself guilty of the worst type of gutter politics by attempting, without any foundation of proof, to smear the character of the managing director of one of South Africa's leading banks.'

## Investigation

It is understood that Mr Botha last night ordered an immediate one-man commission of inquiry into the affair.

He has also told members of his Cabinet that he wanted an urgent top-level investigation into who placed the advertisements, how much they cost and who paid for them.

The adverts, calling for the unbanning of the ANC, appeared in 22 English-language newspapers on January 8 to coincide with the 5th anniversary of the ANC. Further advertisements were prohibited by a police order the following day.

Speaking in the no-confidence debate yesterday afternoon, Mr Botha said

the advertisements had 'shamelessly advanced the image and interests of the ANC'. Responsible South Africans, he said, were 'repulsed' by it.

Mr Botha's precise words were: 'In Leftist radical circles it is being said that Mr Chris Ball advanced the money to the advertisers. An amount of R150 000 is being mentioned.'

'I, and I am sure the population of South Africa, would like to know from Mr Ball if what is said is true.'

However, Mr Ball said in response last night that he knew 'nothing of the advertisement until I saw it in the morning papers on arrival in my office on the day of its first publication'.

Asked to respond to Mr Ball's denial of any knowledge of the funding for the advertisements, a spokesman from Mr Botha's office said late last night: 'Mr Ball should not contradict the State President. He should

◆ TURN TO PAGE 2

P.T.O.



# P W quotes report on white coalition

11/14 n/m  
5/2/87

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—An ANC report referring to the formation of a white coalition group was quoted by President Botha yesterday.

He said the group included the PFP, the ECC, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and Black Sash.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate Mr Botha said security forces had obtained a report from Lusaka code-named 'Mzwandile', which, he said, was compiled by ANC intelligence officer Ismail Ebrahim and dated November 1986.

The purpose of the coalition said the report was to formulate 'action from protection'.

It said: 'We favour a broad white front. Such a front by its very composition would be limited to short-term objectives.'

The formation of the front was allegedly initiated by human rights lawyer Geoff Budlender and the editor of New Nation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

Mr Budlender yesterday denied the formation of the group or any intention of forming such a group.

Sapa reports President Botha as saying the state of emergency and security action avoided a bloodbath planned for South Africa between December 16 and 25 last year.

## Festive

He said security forces had 'fetched' documents outlining ANC terror plans for the festive season.

He read from one document dated November 1986 which reported on the failure of a 'Christmas Against Emergency' programme worked out jointly by the UDF, Cosatu and other organisations.

The document reported that 'Cosatu as usual is dragging its feet'. Some elements were unhappy that the project was UDF-dominated.

# Black suspicion

W/Mail 301-1-10/11  
By MONO BADELA JJA

UNITED Democratic Front president Albertina Sisulu has called on the government to scrap its all-white election until political prisoners have been released and the State of Emergency lifted "so that we can elect our leaders ourselves".

Sisulu called on "those democrats who can exercise a vote" in the election to act according to their consciences.

A similar call was made by the Natal Indian Congress, which said white democrats were being given a chance to "dent the propaganda that says only apartheid or modification of the system offers a hope for peace".

It condemned the Progressive Federal Party for being "opportunistic" in siding with the "reactionary and moribund" NRP.

The Azanian People's Organisation described the election as "an orgy" in which the white electorate gets into "frenzied political stimulation". — TOPS.

UDF paid for advert with bank guaranteed cheque

# Ball attack: PW slammed

11X Sub Syd  
Political Staff

Cape Town

President Botha was roundly denounced today for abusing his position and the privilege of Parliament to make what is said to be an unsubstantiated attack on one of South Africa's leading businessmen, Barclays Bank managing director Mr Chris Ball.

And Mr Harry Schwarz, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on finance, has warned that if Mr Botha's attack is unfounded, there could be serious implications for the business of Barclays Bank.

Mr Schwarz has called for an immediate independent judicial inquiry to clear up the matter.

Today the United Democratic Front denied that Mr Ball had paid for advertisements commemorating the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress.

It said the payment was made by a Barclays Bank-guaranteed cheque.

The allegation made by President Botha yesterday has also been strongly denied by Mr Ball, who has challenged him to repeat the statement outside Parliament.

Mr Ball said he had been told that if Mr Botha had spoken outside Parliament, it could have been libellous. "He did not check his facts, and they are not accurate."

Asked if he would be prepared to co-operate in the investigation ordered by the State President, Mr Ball said that if there had been any contravention of the law, Barclays would "of course" co-operate.

But he added: "It is not for me to have a search made of bank accounts. What our clients do is their business."

Asked what the motivation for Mr Botha's attack could have been, he said: "Mr Botha has never asked what I think about the political situation, and he does not understand my views."

## 'Not above the law'

The UDF statement said payment of the advertisements would be "shared by the three organisations who issued the advertisement, and by some of the 15 organisations who were listed as supporting it".

The advertisement was issued on behalf of the UDF, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

Mr Krish Naidoo, the attorney who placed the advertisement in English-language newspapers, said that he had insisted that the UDF, which has a normal Barclays Bank account, give a bank-guaranteed cheque for payment of the advertisements "because it was such a large amount".

The cost of the advertisements was R100 000, he said.

Professor Nic Olivier, director of research for the PFP and spokesman on constitutional affairs, said he believed that had the State President made the allegation outside Parliament, it would have been libellous.

"Outside Parliament, the State President is not above the law.

"I cannot understand how the State President made the statement. He referred to rumours in left-wing circles that Mr Ball had funded the advertisement, and said these would be investigated. Why did he not investigate this before making such an allegation?"



Mr Chris Ball ... Mr Botha "did not check his facts and they are not accurate".

...don't want them, I said. "What are they?"  
 "fifty-seven telephones!" shouted the guy. "What are you  
 doing here, a bucket shop?"  
 "What would I want 57 telephones for?" I shouted back.  
 "I'd be happy if you took away the one I've got. Beauty  
 shines her relations in Switzerland for three hours at a time."  
 "Don't tell me your problems," he said. "I've got problems  
 of my own. I've got here 57 telephones to be delivered to a  
 Barney. Is that you?"  
 "I led them past your mother, who was now whispering into  
 my phone; we emerged in the back garden. There was Barney  
 sitting up colourful bunting along 17 trestle tables laden  
 with stacks of stationery. The jacuzzi had disappeared behind  
 a formidable fortress."  
 "While Barney and the bicamerals were lost in earnest  
 discussion about telephone jacks and hydroelectric power, I  
 picked up a leaflet.  
 "Give the Liberal Party!" I read on the front. I turned to  
 the back. "As well as," it added, "the Natal Front, the League  
 of Empire Loyalists, the Dominion Party, and Col Stallard."  
 "I opened it up to find a colour picture of Barney smiling  
 from the top of his machine gun nest. "No normal candidates  
 in an abnormal society," read the caption.  
 "My son, get your ballot paper ready. Here we go."  
 "My father,

Dad

...his name was Samora, and he was 1984 during a shootout on a train 200

# The unemployable witness

AN ambulance driver fired soon after testifying before the Kannemeyer Commission investigating circumstances surrounding the March 1985 Langa shootings is still unemployed, according to an attorney representing families of the deceased.

By GISELLA WERTHEIM  
AYMES

Michael Goqo has been out of a job since he told the commission he had seen a dead baby among the 20 dead and 43 injured after police opened fire on a crowd of mourners outside Langa township.

claimed to have seen a baby with a gunshot wound in its head had not been fired. But he had backed down under cross-examination.

His testimony was consistent with the testimony of fellow driver Joseph Berry, who said he had seen a dead baby, although no baby had appeared on the official list of the dead.

The two worked for an ambulance service under the auspices of the Port Elizabeth Divisional Council, according to their attorney, Berry for three and a half years and Goqo for just over two years.

Berry was fired as he stepped off the witness box, after adding to Goqo's testimony that he had seen a stone in the unclenched hand of a dead man. Later he said one could "form one's own impression about it".

The council official who dismissed them, Niegel Anderson, was acquitted of a charge of "anticipating the findings of the court", the attorney said. The attorney applied for the establishment of a conciliation board to examine the circumstances of the dismissal but instead the council reached a financial settlement with the two.

Berry said another driver who


Berry, who has been unable to find a permanent job, accepted a temporary one a week ago.

W/Mail 30/1-5/2/87

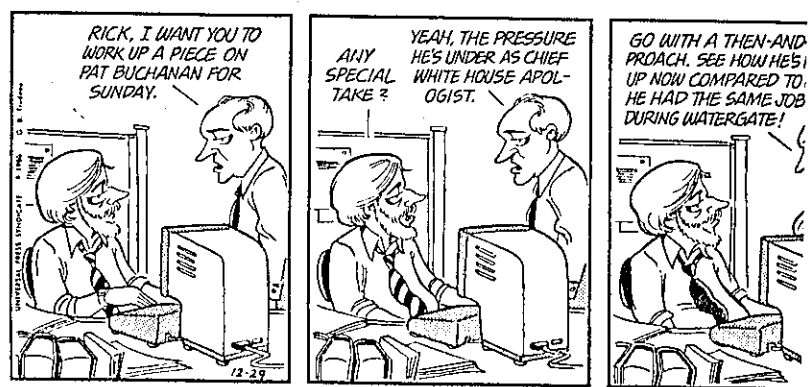
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## Doonesbury



NEWSPAPERS can once again report the actions and strategies of the African National Congress following a Rand Supreme Court ruling yesterday which struck out a police order imposing harsh restrictions on banned organisations.

But statements which encourage support for an unlawful organisation remain illegal, the court ruled.

Judge H Daniels's ruling came at the end of an urgent application brought by the largest English newspaper groups, Saan and Argus.

The judgement, lawyers said, means newspapers are effectively back where they were before the Commissioner of Police issued an order three weeks ago imposing new restrictions on unlawful organisations: permanent legislation on the statute books still restricts reporting on bodies like the ANC.

The application contested an order and notice issued by Commissioner of Police PJ Coetzee on January 8; one day after at least 11 newspapers carried full-page advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

Daniels struck out the order — which prohibits newspapers from carrying advertisements or reports promoting banned organisations and

# Press can report on ANC - under old restrictions

By JO-ANN BEKKER

forbids articles explaining or justifying the actions, policies or strategies of banned organisations — on the grounds that Coetzee was not empowered to issue orders for the entire country.

The judge said it was not necessary for him to rule on the other arguments advanced by Denis Kuny, SC, for the applicants.

But Daniels indicated he was not convinced the Emergency's security regulations could be utilised to censor the press. He said a new set of press regulations were promulgated last December specifically to deal with censorship.

"It seems inconsistent with the scheme to extend to the Commissioner

the power to obtain some form of control of the media, when the State President has promulgated regulations to deal specifically with censorship."

He added that the security regulations might be wide enough to cover this.

Although the order was struck out, Daniels upheld the validity of the notice issued by the Commissioner on the same day. The notice extended the definition of a "subversive statement" to include statements which "support any organisation which is an unlawful organisation".

He said the question of whether banned organisations' objectives were legitimate or "laudable", as Kuny had submitted, was of no consequence. There was no evidence that the Commissioner of Police had acted in

bad faith when issuing the notice.

The judge stressed he had not been requested to rule on the validity of the Emergency regulations, or the Emergency censorship regulations imposed in December last year which defined "subversive statements".

Although the advert calling for the unbanning of the ANC gave rise to the order and subsequent urgent application, there was no ruling on the advertisement itself.

However, as the judge defined support as being active support, rather than mere tolerance, lawyers believe it is again legal to publish the advert.

At the outset of his judgement, Daniels rejected Van der Byl's contention that the court was prevented from inquiring into the validity of the Commissioner's Notice and Order by an "ouster clause" in the regulations. He was the 17th judge to make this finding.

Daniels ordered the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police to pay Saan and Argus's costs, including those of two counsel. He ruled that costs for the first day of the trial, in which the matter was postponed, would be paid by the applicants and respondents themselves.

● Today's judgement followed more than a week of speculation that the Commissioner of Police would draft new regulations to close gaps in the January 8 order.

Legal experts yesterday said they believed it would be difficult for the Commissioner to re-regulate the order in the light of Daniels's intimation that the appropriate place for censorship regulations was in the Emergency's press — and not security — regulations.

# Azapo man in ANC cell — SAP

By CARMEL RICKARD,  
Durban

A SENIOR member of the Azanian People's Organisation, held under security laws, is alleged to be a member of a secret ANC cell.

The allegation is contained in police statements giving reasons for holding Patrick Moodly under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Azapo and Moodly's father are bringing an application in the Durban Supreme Court asking why Moodly was detained on December 12; alternatively, that the police be ordered to release him.

In their initial response to the request for reasons, police sent a telex saying Moodly's detention arose "from his membership of an underground unit of the banned ANC".

Moodly's lawyers replied that anyone who had "even a nodding acquaintance" with South African politics would realise it was incompatible with his position in the black consciousness organisation for Moodly to be a member of the ANC.

However, in papers before court

this week, Colonel Hendrick Buchner of Security Police headquarters in Pretoria denied this was necessarily so.

"I know there is apparently a hostile relationship between Azapo and the ANC, but it is not a necessary conclusion in law that he could therefore not be a member of the ANC," Buchner said.

Buchner claims Moodly is a member of a secret "political" cell of the ANC which collects information and spreads propaganda. In particular he claims Moodly is involved with the production and distribution of an ANC leaflet, *Ayivive*.

W/O Marallich of Durban's CR Swart Square police headquarters, who is in charge of interrogating Moodly, said that "at this stage" the detainee denied all knowledge of involvement with the ANC.

"He tried to give the impression that he has no knowledge of ANC cells and

that his political involvement is minimal."

Moodly is resources director of Azapo's *Frank Talk* editorial collective and is responsible for a number of the organisation's publications, including *Reagan*—*The New Hitler* and *Donald Woods ... asking for trouble*.

Marallich, however, said he had not known the extent of Moodly's involvement in Azapo until he read of it in the application.

"It is obvious to me that he has a great deal more information than he has given and is deliberately trying to deny any role in any political organisation."

The Moodly application is particularly significant since it is one of the first in which the reasons given by police for a Section 29 detention have been challenged in court.

Security law experts see it as important because it could indicate how far the courts are prepared to go in examining police reasons for holding a detainee under this section.

301-8/2/87  
11A

# Sale of mosque <sup>11A</sup> halted by court

*Case Trials 5/2/87*

Supreme Court Reporter

THE proposed sale of the Long Street mosque and land next to, or part of, the Vygekraal cemetery in Athlone scheduled for today has been halted by the Supreme Court.

The properties were to have been sold in execution of an earlier Supreme Court order declaring Mr Ismail Peck, a member of the Ahmadi sect, a Muslim, and requiring the Muslim Judicial Council, "the Trustees, Muslim Sect (Aghanaf) . . . of the Malay mosque situated at the corner of Long and Dorp streets", and the Trustees for the time being of the Malay portion of the Vygekraal Cemetery Board to pay his legal costs.

The Judge President, Mr G G A Munnik, granted leave yesterday for the Cemetery Board trustees and Mr Mohammed Dolley, a trustee of the mosque, to intervene — in layman's terms, to be part of the action.

He then issued the following order by consent:

There will be no sale today of the properties concerned.

The attachment of the two properties remains in force pending the decision on Mr Peck's current application.

Parties represented in court yesterday have leave to file supplementary and replying affidavits within stipulated time limits and to approach the Judge President for a special date for hearing as soon as this is done.

Mr Jacques Botha, SC, with Mr J J Botha and instructed by M R Kahn and Associates, appeared for Mr Peck. Mr B Hoberman, SC, with Mr M Jacobs and instructed by H Mohamed and Associates, appeared for Mr Dolley and the Cemetery Board trustees. Mr W G Burger, SC, instructed by De Klerk and Van Gend, appeared for the deputy sheriffs.

## Victim tells of trial by 'People's Court'

A Soshanguve resident yesterday described in a Pretoria Magistrate's Court how he was brought before a Comrades "People's Court" and sentenced to 400 lashes with a whip in May last year.

Six of those who allegedly lashed Mr Humphrey Mkhize appeared in court and pleaded not guilty to charges of attempted murder. They are: Mr Morris Ngobeni (32), Mr Stephens Msiza (17), Mr Amos Mahkuga (18), Mr Ephraim Mgidi (46), Mr Wilson Mgidi (21) and Mr Lucas Sibanyoni (41).

Mr Mkhize said the six accused and other Comrades took him to the home of one of the accused where he was tied to a pole, hit and accused of burning Comrades' tyres, of stealing alcohol and of killing someone.

He was then taken to the Letabong School in Soshanguve where a court hearing was held. He and three others were sentenced and lashed.

Mr Mkhize said he was forced to take off his pants and lie on his stomach on a table and the six accused among others gave him 400 lashes.

The case was postponed to today. — Sapa.



11A W/Mail  
30/11-5/2/87

# Right gives Tambo a TV bouquet

By ANTON HARBER in Washington

THE New York weekly newspaper, the *Village Voice*, listed a major speech this week by African National Congress president Oliver Tambo in a column headed "Cheap thrills. Things to do for \$2.50 or less".

Cheap his visit wasn't. After all, he had come to the USA for his first-ever meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz, and it had taken his organisation 75 years to achieve even this limited recognition from the US government.

But it was full of thrills for almost everyone involved. The American rightwing took great pleasure in criticising Shultz for meeting "a terrorist leader" and in using it to try and damage the secretary of state.

Shultz himself was gaining kudos from the meeting, particularly among Africans and their lobbyists in Washington.

● Continued on PAGE 2

# Huge media reception for Tambo

● From PAGE 1

Of course, the biggest thrill was for the ANC itself, for it was enhancing its political standing in the West.

The visit itself was essentially symbolic. The exchange of views between Tambo and Shultz was of much less importance than the fact that Shultz had asked to see the ANC leader. The meeting would not bring any change in US policy towards South Africa, nor was there likely to be any substantive difference in how the US views the ANC. But the invitation to Tambo had opened the door to the ANC and greatly advanced its diplomatic status.

Despite the warm welcome Tambo got when he addressed meetings in New York and Washington, it was the rightwing protestors who set the agenda for Tambo's trip. Tambo tried to focus attention on apartheid and the need for more international pressure against the South African government.

Nevertheless, he found himself having to deal constantly with the two great bugbears of American foreign policy: the "red threat" and terrorism. Questioners and protestors constantly raised the issue of the ANC's commitment to violence and its relationship with the SA Communist Party.

The former question Tambo dealt with at some length; the latter he tried to push aside, making it clear he felt this was an unimportant issue.

He set the tone for his talks with Shultz during a speech at Georgetown University the previous day, and another at New York's Riverside Church the previous week.

The two speeches dealt with the ANC's use of violence, outlining the reasons for the decision to abandon peaceful struggle in the early Sixties.

Faced with rightwing criticisms, Tambo portrayed himself as a reluctant user of violence and indicated concern about violence becoming a matter of principal rather than strategy. He tried to shift attention onto state violence instead.

He also tried to deal at length with US policy and the subject of whether sanctions had given hope to South Africans. But again and again, his attention was shifted towards the issues raised by the rightwing.

Ironically, the rightwing protest had the effect of getting Tambo much more attention than he would probably have had otherwise. Protestors took out advertisements in newspapers proclaiming that Shultz was "treating terrorist Oliver Tambo like a revered head of state ...

They even held a small protest outside the State Department during the meeting, providing some of the most bizarre symbolism of the trip. Some of the protestors chanted "ANC means KGB" or "Tambo kills"; others stood silently with tyres around their necks; one group performed an elaborate piece of "guerrilla theatre", although they would probably prefer to call it terrorist theatre.

The result was a far more controversial visit, and Tambo was called upon to do dozens of interviews on television, radio and in the press.

Such attention was unprecedented for Tambo.

● This report has been restricted.

# 'UDF a peaceful body'

114

THE United Democratic Front is a peaceful organisation, Mr Herbert Vilakazi, an accused in the Delmas treason trial, said yesterday.

Mr Vilakazi, on his 11th day in the witness box, said under cross examination that people who joined the UDF did so with the belief that they will manage

By ALI MPHAKI

through unity to oppose apartheid and unjust laws in the country.

He had never heard the UDF suggesting anything violent, and there was no report from the organisation's general council that it was not a peaceful organisation.

Earlier the judge, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, commenting about the Congress of South African Students' (Cosas) invitation letter to various organisations for a meeting to discuss a stayaway scheduled for November 5 and 6, 1984, said it would appear that Cosas was one of the main participants in the struggle.

He asked Mr Vilakazi whether it did not strike him as strange that a students' organisation should invite the rest of the other organisations on such a matter.

"What is strange to

me is that all these organisations came along to that meeting at Khotso House on October 27, 1984," the judge said.

Counsel for the State, Mr P B J Jacobs, put it to Mr Vilakazi that the VCA received an invitation to the meeting and sent a delegation which was elected to the stayaway committee. Mr Vilakazi denied the suggestion.

He said it was the first time for him to hear of the meeting. Judge: "Well it seems you are singularly uninformed about the activities of the VCA".

The court was shown an exhibit of the meeting where names of several organisations who attended appeared. These included the VCA.

In reply Mr Vilakazi said he knew of the stayaway but was under the impression that it was confined to Johannesburg only. He said his committee didn't know of any VCA member who was sent as a delegate to that meeting.

11/2/84  
J. Jacobs

ld  
ion

*Sowetan*  
*33*  
*5/2/87*

and a bomb.

Cross-examined by Mr Nick de Vos, for the defence, Mr Mkhuna denied involvement in the killing of people and said he even asked Mr Dlamini where those they had killed were.

**Untruthful**

The witness added that it was later wellknown in Duduza that the four of them, together with two other businessmen, Mr Tweba Mohohlo and Mr Steven Namane were killing people.

Mr Mkhuna was described as an untruthful witness who told the court "a pack of lies" by another defence counsel, Mr Eric Dane.

**EX-ANC  
MAN  
DIES**

*(IA)*  
*Sowetan*

A FORMER member of the banned African National Congress, Mr Sello Benjamin Ramotse (61), has died.

His wife, Johanna, found him dead in their bedroom on Tuesday. He had not complained of any illness. The family lives at 348 Lerotho Street, Dube Village, Soweto.

He was released from imprisonment in 1985 after serving most of a 15-year prison term imposed in 1970. The family is still making funeral arrangements.

The best step for baby  
from mother's milk to solid food  
Purity<sup>†</sup> Cereals. Promoting fast,  
healthy-growth.

That's because all Purity<sup>†</sup>  
cereals are highly nutritious and  
contain added iron and vitamins

# Judge to probe unban ANC ad

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

PRESIDENT PW Botha has asked the judge-president of the Cape to investigate just who paid for the controversial "Unban ANC" advert.

Botha made this request after both the United Democratic Front and Barclays Bank MD Chris Ball denied his accusation that Ball advanced the money for the advert.

The Barclays MD-challenged Botha to repeat his accusation outside parliament.

The UDF said the advert — which cost about R100 000 — was initially paid for by its attorney, Krish Naidoo, out of his own account.

The cash was then raised from "supporters and affiliates" of the UDF, including the co-sponsors of the advert, the National Education Crisis Committee and the SA Council of Churches.

Naidoo was then given the money by the UDF in the form of a Barclays bank-guaranteed cheque.

Naidoo said he insisted on a bank-guaranteed cheque because of the amount of money involved.

Financial experts point out that this in no way means Barclays knew what the money was for.

6-12-87

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UDF

W/Prail

# The two issues: Inkatha and ANC

**PATRICK LAURENCE on the key election issues**

THE Indaba, with its proposals for non-racial government for Natal and KwaZulu, has crystallised as a key issue in the May 6 general election for whites.

So, too, has the question about whether there should be negotiations with the outlawed African National Congress and, if so, on what conditions.

White elections in the past have been dominated by debate over what policies the white community should adopt toward the black majority.

The present election is no exception. Relations with Inkatha and the ANC have emerged as core issues in the election.

Inkatha was, of course, a major participant in the Indaba. Its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was the driving force behind the idea of joint non-racial government for KwaZulu and Natal. Its secretary general, Oscar Dhlomo, was a co-convenor of the Indaba conference.

It was hardly accidental that the outgoing ambassador to Britain, Denis Worrall, was identified as an "Indaba candidate" soon after the news broke of his decision to quit and return to South Africa to stand against the National Party.

Equally significantly, Worrall is tipped to stand against either the NP's Natal leader, Stoffel Botha, or its Cape leader and Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Chris Heunis.

Botha was the man who rejected the Indaba proposals for a non-racial legislature for Natal and KwaZulu based on universal adult suffrage because, he said, they did not protect minority rights adequately.

His rejection came within days of the publication late last year of the broad outline of the proposals. Faced with a chorus of criticism in Natal, Botha backed away, explaining that he was speaking for the Natal NP but not the government *per se*.

By then, however, he had been identified as an anti-Indaba man — despite his protestations that he was not opposed to the Indaba *in toto*, only to some of its conclusions. His anti-Indaba profile was confirmed when he repeated his criticisms in parliament.

The defeat of Botha in Port Natal by the pro-Indaba Worrall would clearly be a major blow to the NP. So, too, would be the defeat of Heunis in the Cape seat of Helderberg.

When the final Indaba report was handed to Heunis last month he maintained a judicious silence, declining to comment until he had studied it in detail.

But Heunis has now broken his silence, declaring in the no-confidence debate: "The proposals do not provide for effective power-sharing and do not offer sufficient guarantees to groups against domination."

Heunis, the man charged by President PW Botha with responsibility for negotiating a new constitutional deal with blacks, denied



Voters queue to register at the NP tables in the PFP stronghold of Yeoville

Picture: AFP

that he was anti-Indaba. "I believe the Indaba proposals must continue," he said. "I see the Indaba proposals as a start, not as an end in themselves."

But Heunis has been tagged as an anti-Indaba man. He will thus be an ideal target — and a coveted scalp — for a pro-Indaba candidate.

In his opening address to parliament last week, PW Botha left no doubt about his opposition to the Indaba proposals. He prefaced his remarks on the Indaba with a rejection of "so-called one man-one vote, non-racial democracy", declaring that it was unsuited to South Africa and would not lead to a just society.

Of the Indaba proper, Botha stressed that constitutional agreements "at every level of government" must provide for the protection of minority groups and their right to self

determination. Significantly, Stoffel Botha used the same language when he rejected the Indaba proposals.

Commenting on PW Botha's speech, PFP leader Colin Eglin said: "While he endorsed the concept of negotiation, he rejected the non-racial philosophy which is at the heart of the Indaba proposals. Irrespective of what the people of KwaZulu and Natal may want, the government will only allow them to have a future on the basis of National Party principles."

The most important of these is group representation on the basis of race, with — judging from the tri-racial parliament — built-in control for whites.

The Indaba apart, another issue is the question of negotiations with the ANC. The NP, fearful of its ultra-right foes in the Conservative and

Herstigte Nasionale parties, has adopted a tough anti-ANC line.

PW Botha set two conditions for talks with the ANC in his opening address: it must renounce violence and it must sever ties with the South African Communist Party.

Addressing foreign correspondents in Cape Town, Foreign Minister Pik Botha made it clear the government would adopt a strong anti-ANC stance in the election campaign.

Lambasting the ANC for its violence and accusing it of wanting to seize power, he insisted that its *de facto* leader is "a real white man", Joe Slovo of the SACP.

"He has received two or three awards from Moscow," Botha said. "He is — or was — a colonel in the KGB."

NP leaders have signalled their determination to crush dissent on the ANC from the party's *verligtes*.

Wynand Malan, the Nat MP who resigned from the NP in protest against President Botha's defence of the Group Areas Act, specifically called for talks with the political — as distinct from the armed — wing of the ANC. He thus implicitly recognised that talks could take place even without a formal renunciation of armed struggle by the ANC.

But another NP rebel, Albert Nothnagel, was rounded on for deviating from the party line by declaring that it was a myth to think there could be a lasting political settlement in South Africa without the ANC and without the release from jail of its leader, Nelson Mandela.

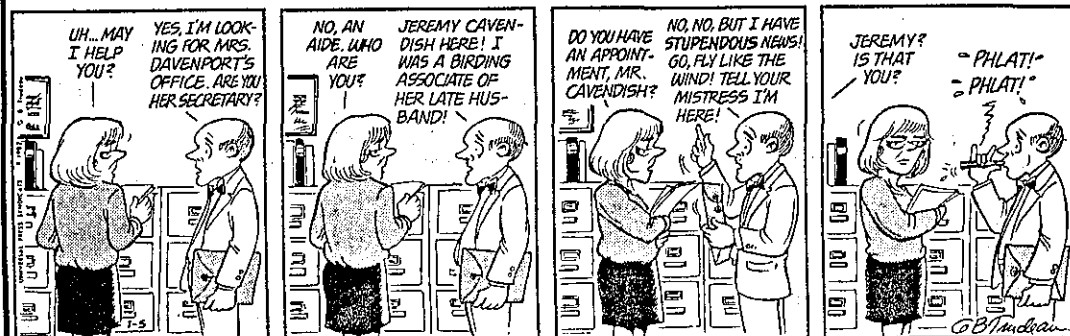
Faced with threatened expulsion from the party, Nothnagel, who represents the conservative Pretoria constituency of Innesdal, crumbled, recanting in writing (even though a secret Broederbond working document made essentially the same point last year as the humble rebel Nat MP).

The NP Transvaal leader, FW de Klerk, released the full text of his letter for publication. The headline in the Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Burger*, read: "Nothnagel submits." Worrall can expect a tough fight when he returns home.

Pik Botha meanwhile has given a taste of the verbal onslaught to come. He charged the PFP — which the Nats say stands for "packing for Perth" — with wanting to talk to the ANC so that they can surrender the country to them, "the sooner the better".

## Doonesbury

BY GARRY TRUDEAU





A distraught mourner bids farewell to the Thusini children at last week's funeral. The four children were killed in the KwaMakhuta shootings in Lamontville last month

Picture: BILLY PADDOCK

## Machine-gun target Ntuli in hiding

WJ Mail 18/7  
 bf p 21  
 11A

YOUTH leader Victor Ntuli has gone back into hiding after attending the funeral of four members of his family who were shot dead in a bloody raid on January 24.

Ntuli, who was believed to have been the target of the attack in which 13 people died, came out of hiding to arrange the funeral.

But even then he wasn't safe — while he and other members of the

By BILLY PADDOCK,  
 Durban

KwaMakhutha Youth League were arranging transport for mourners, they were shot at by a group of heavily-armed vigilantes.

Ntuli escaped unhurt, but was well-guarded during the funeral in Chesterville.

He refused to speak to the press, saying he was too heartbroken.

After the funeral his mother, Ethel Khanyisile Ntuli, left home with her family and went into hiding because of fears that they would be attacked in the war which has raged between Inkatha and organisations affiliated to the UDF.

She and other members of the family feared a repeat of the attack on

January 24, hours after the first funeral for victims of the raid.

The family fled after a group of people armed with spears, sticks and guns surrounded their house chanting threatening slogans.

They, too, returned to their bullet-riddled home to prepare for the funeral. But, as she pointed out after the attack on her son: "We don't know if we will be still be alive tomorrow."

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## PW's source on ANC 'plot' is detained

By PAT SIDLEY  
6-12-21-87

THE man named by President PW Botha as the source of information on how the African National Congress is "manipulating" white opposition movements is presently in detention.

Ismael Ibrahim, described by Botha as a "top intelligence officer in the ANC", is being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

A report allegedly written by Ibrahim under the pen name "Mzwandile" was quoted by Botha in parliament this week, giving extensive details of developments in organisations such as the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac).

Lawyers in Durban acting for Ibrahim told the *Weekly Mail* this week their client had been captured in Swaziland during one of the South African raids last December and was being detained, they believed, in Pretoria.

●To PAGE 2

## PW's source in detention

●From PAGE 1

A representative of the law firm said the SAP claimed he was arrested in Pretoria, but they did not accept this, believing he was abducted a day earlier from Swaziland.

Press reports at the time said a Roy Zahee had been captured in Swaziland.

Ibrahim's lawyers said they had not had access to their client since his detention.

Ibrahim was linked to Dutch/Belgian national Helen Pastoors during her trial last year.

Pastoors was convicted of treason, and during the trial it was alleged that she helped a friend leave the country after he entered illegally.

Ibrahim's lawyers confirmed that Ibrahim had been a friend of Pastoors.

But Pastoors's evidence was that Ibrahim had not left the country with her help.

~~228~~

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w/Mail 6/12/2/87

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w/Mail

# Botha orders probe into pro-ANC ad

AD 6/2/87.  
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MFA

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, announced in Parliament yesterday that he had appointed a commission of inquiry into the funding of pro-African National Congress advertisements which appeared in 22 English-language newspapers on January 8.

Under sustained attack following his statement that the Barclays Bank chief, Mr Chris Ball, was being mentioned in "radical circles" as the man who had paid for the advertisements, Mr Botha yesterday announced a one-man commission of inquiry.

The Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice Munnik, will investigate where the advertisements were placed, by whom, who paid for them and how much.

The inquiry will also focus attention on the source of the funds which, according to one report, came from the United Democratic Front who handed over a R100 000 bank guaranteed cheque.

In addition, the inquiry will also seek to ascertain whether Mr Ball was involved in the financial arrangements for paying for the adverts.

Speaking after Mr Botha's statement, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Berea, Mr Ray Swart, said it was a pity the State President had not established the facts before attempting to smear individuals.

Meanwhile, Barclays has stated it had no knowledge that a R100 000 bank cheque, issued on a client's instructions, would be used to pay for the advertisements.

This was made clear in a statement issued last night by the bank's chairman, Mr Basil Hersov.

Barclays' senior general manager, Mr Jimmy McKenzie, said yesterday that the cheque, made in favour of an attorney, was issued to the debit of the client's account. This was common banking practice.

Only if a court order was issued would Barclays be prepared to reveal the account holder's name, he said.

Mr McKenzie said the State President's statement had negatively affected the bank's business.

"Obviously the matter will be commercially detrimental to the bank until it is cleared up."

• The UDF said it and its affiliates paid for the advertisements commemorating the 75th anniversary of the ANC — not Mr Ball.

The UDF said in a statement that money for the advertisements — which cost R100 000 — was raised from "supporters and affiliates" of the organisation.

The attorney who handled the placing of the advertisements, Mr Krish Naidoo, paid for them in the form of a cheque drawn on his trust account. He, in turn, was given the money by the UDF in the form of a Barclays Bank guaranteed cheque.

Mr Naidoo said he insisted on a bank guaranteed cheque because of the large amount of money involved.

The UDF said it wished to point out that it had not contravened the law in placing the adverts. — DDC-Sapa



# Treason trial told of tactics to win votes

DELMAS — The Delmas treason trial was told yesterday of town councillors who withheld blankets intended for distribution to pensioners during winter and then handed them out just before elections in summer.

The blankets were distributed by councillors eager to win support from voters, one of the 19 accused, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, said.

Mr Vilakazi said a number of bottle stores in the Vaal complex area had been acquired by councillors and companies in which the councillors had shares.

The accused, all members of the UDF, face charges of attempting to overthrow the state, promoting the use of violence and of being party to the deaths of civic councillors in violence which broke out in the Vaal townships in 1984.

The Vaal Civic Association (VCA) had not

adopted the freedom charter up until the time of his arrest in 1984, Mr Vilakazi said.

During his evidence yesterday, Mr Vilakazi told the court apartheid divided people from one another and that apartheid was the enemy of everyone in South Africa.

"Revolution, when used in the context of the UDF, refers to total rapid change," Mr Vilakazi said, re-affirming his position that the UDF was opposed to the use of violent means to bring about political change.

The second defence witness, Mr Naphtali Nkopane, told the court yesterday about a Sebokeng meeting held in January, 1982, which was addressed by a councillor who carried a gun and became abusive when shouted down by the audience.

The trial continues today. — Sapa

6/2/87

114

KWANATAL INDABA

# Taxing issues

P/M 6/2/87

11A

Now that the Indaba has firmly become an election issue in Natal, some erstwhile proponents are already moving to put some distance between themselves and its more controversial proposals.

That, at least, seems to be the intent behind the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce's (DMCC) recently resurrected reservations about the Indaba's "equalisation" objectives.

The fact that the Indaba has so rapidly been drawn into the political arena appears to have thrown some of its supporters off balance. Indeed, there is some regret that it should be an election issue at all. The majority view is that an all-race referendum to test opinions would have been preferable.

There are signs that the political fallout is already beginning to permeate black politics. KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi encapsulated these misgivings when he said he resented such an important initiative as the Indaba being used as a "political football."

What apparently concerns party politicians is having to sell the Indaba to an electorate not yet sufficiently informed on the content of its proposals or, for that matter, ready to live with their consequences.

The Indaba concluded its business somewhat hastily. And because of the lack of time to properly apprise the electorate of its proposals, PFP-NRP alliance election candidates standing on a pro-Indaba ticket have agreed to concentrate on the *process* of Indaba politics, rather than the content.

But their opponents are unlikely to play along. They, no doubt, will exploit any weaknesses they see — which means they are bound to home in on the Indaba's stated economic "equalisation" policy.

This is probably why the DMCC used an early opportunity to put its attitude towards "equalisation" in perspective. Last week it put out a statement claiming that while it wholeheartedly supported the Indaba initiative, it was concerned about the "cost implications" of "achieving fiscal parity" in expenditure on services — a principal tenet of the Indaba.

The DMCC commissioned academics J A du Pisanie and C J Meintjies to investigate the implications of achieving "fiscal parity" (the same spending per head in all population groups) in two services, education and health, by the year 2000.

They concluded that the high level of taxation it would involve would drive both investment capital and skills to other parts of SA — to the detriment of the region.

The researchers found that to achieve "fiscal parity" in education alone would require

a real increase in expenditure on education of 12,2% a year for the next 15 years. That would consume 24% of gross geographical product in tax.

The way the chamber sees it, and supply-siders no doubt would concur, is there is a distinct correlation between the level of taxation and economic growth: the higher the tax, the lower the growth. As the Indaba's "equalisation" objectives would *per force* have to be funded by punitive levels of taxation, the measure would be self defeating.

Of course, that does not take account of the widely held foreign aid theory. Many Indaba supporters, perhaps somewhat wishfully, believe overseas benefactors will come forth in the peaceful post-Indaba era to make up for any budgetary shortfalls.

The chamber, however, says its prime concern is that unachievable expectations could be created and "a catch 22 situation could arise in which the very urgency with which political reform is tackled makes it impossible to achieve."

Already on the defensive because of the electioneering in the white House of Assembly, leader of the Indaba's KwaZulu delegation, Oscar Dhlomo, claims the chamber appears to be stating the obvious. He points out that equalisation and the redistribution of wealth will proportionately demand a bigger share of economic resources, not only from government but all South Africans.

In a stinging indictment of the legacy of neglect in black spending he concludes: "One must expect after almost 40 years of apart-

heid the costs of removing it have risen. One cannot now renege on removing apartheid on the pretext that it is expensive."

The logic may not be faultless, but it does boil down to a decision white Natalians will have to make on May 6.

## NO-CONFIDENCE DEBATE 304A

### Eglin's field day 12/87 P/M

The first day of the No-Confidence debate in the House of Assembly this week confirmed two important opposition suspicions: the National Party's (NP) reform initiative is dead or hibernating; and no clear election issues are to be laid on the table.

Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader Colin Eglin had a field day in his wide-ranging attack on government mismanagement. Government's predictable response was that the PFP could do no better.

As the *FM* went to press, a number of senior ministers were still due to speak in the debate, but no major announcements were expected — particularly in the reform area.

It appeared that the NP was hoping to refocus the debate onto economic issues, the one area from which it hopes to draw support during the coming election campaign. Sig-



PFP's Eglin . . . no free and fair election

nificantly, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was chosen to reply to Eglin's opening attack, even though he offered nothing more than renewed commitment to tackle a wide range of economic problems.

Ironically (after President Botha's low-key opening address in parliament on Friday) Du Plessis decided to describe Eglin's speech as "unimaginative and uninspiring" and accused him of having no "vision" for SA. Du Plessis conceded that all was not well with the economy, but called for an under-

## PART APPROPRIATIONS

Government has released the dates of the Part Appropriations due to come before parliament this month.

The Part Appropriation on the State Revenue Account (General Affairs) will be presented on Monday (February 9) and the Additional Appropriation on February 19.

The Sats Part Appropriation will be on Thursday next week (February 12) and the Post Office Part Appropriation on February 19.

The Own Affairs Part Appropriations will be on February 17 in the House of Assembly, and February 18 in the other two Houses. The Own Affairs Additional Appropriations will be on February 23 in the House of Assembly and February 24 in the other two Houses.

□ See Leaders

CARL TINKS 6/2/87 (2010) 11A

# Noordhoek squatters fear 'death' township

By TONY WEAVER

THIRTEEN Noordhoek squatter families are being moved to Khayelitsha — but more than half the family members are classified "coloured" and speak no African languages.

They yesterday said they were "scared" of moving to the sprawling black township because they feared they would be "necklaced or killed because we do not belong there".

"We are country people, not town people. The wind that blows in Khayelitsha is the wind of death," Mrs Elizabeth Komo, 28, said. She has lived "in the bush" in Noordhoek all her life.

The families are licensed woodcutters and earn their living chopping down rooikrans and selling wood. Some family members are employed full-time.

Mr Victor Catsha said: "We make enough money to feed and clothe our children. We live very well here in the bush. But they say we must move to that place because we are mixed coloured and Bantu."

Woodcutter Mr Richard Mayo, 64, who says he has lived in Noordhoek since 1946, said: "When I first came here, there were only two or three white farms. None of us know this

place Khayelitsha. We cannot go there — we will have to wear necklaces."

Divco secretary Mr Chris Mocke was out of town yesterday. In his absence, Divco director of housing Mr Dennis Manefeldt confirmed that the families would have to move.

He said that of the original 119 families squatting in the Noordhoek bush, 104 "coloured" families had moved to Ocean View. Two of the 15 remaining families had split up and moved, and 13 "mixed families" would have to move to Khayelitsha.

"There was no accommodation for the mixed-race families in Ocean View, so sites have been allocated to them in Khayelitsha."

He confirmed that the squatters would be provided with tents on a temporary basis until site-and-service schemes became available, when they would have to build their own houses.

"Some families were happy to move, others rejected it outright. We will have to reconsider the fate of those not prepared to go — we are extremely sympathetic to their problem."

All the families interviewed yesterday said they would be "very happy to go to Ocean View".

PREMIER GROUP chairman Tony Bloom says he is "not the slightest bit disturbed" by President P W Botha's references to him in Parliament.

Botha said on Wednesday Bloom and other businessmen who had held meetings with the ANC were being used by the organisation.

"I continue to hold the view that negotiations with credible black leaders should be started as soon as

## Bloom unruffled by Botha's remarks

possible, and this means leaders that blacks regard as credible, not those handpicked by Botha," says Bloom.

"This will inevitably involve the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela, both crucial components of any attempt to find a just and peaceful solution for SA."

Bloom adds that while they are not the only components, no solution will be found without their participation.

"It is only a matter of when, and not if, white SA talks to the ANC. The choice is between doing so over the barrel of a gun or around a negotiat-

ing table. I continue to support the latter option," he says.

The ad hoc group of white organisations opposed to apartheid, referred to by Botha, says there will be no peace and justice in SA as long as the National Party remains in power.

A spokesman for the group says:

"The trouble with the State President is that he is not prepared to tolerate an opposition. He should not be wasting Parliament's time when he has so much to answer for.

"We are astounded that the State President has to get his information from Lusaka about a small group of South Africans who are deeply anxious about the future of their country." — Sapa.

B/Day 6/2/87

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# PW row: Vandals damage four banks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The unfounded allegations made by the State President against Barclays Bank had now resulted "in physical damage" to the bank in the form of graffiti sprayed on four branches, said the bank's managing director, Mr Chris Ball, today.

He said anti-African National Congress (ANC) slogans had been painted on the outside of a branch in Herbertsdale in the Eastern Cape and three in Pretoria.

This follows claims in Parliament that Mr Ball had been involved in the funding of advertisements recently calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

Mr Ball said today: "The action of the State President has actually caused physical damage to the bank, apart from the effects it could have on business."



Mr Justice Munnik

Mr Ball said he had no further comment to make on the issue and referred to a statement by the chairman of the bank, Mr Basil Hersov, last night.

Yesterday President P W Botha announced the appointment of the Judge-President of the Cape, Mr Justice George Munnik, to a commission to investigate the funding of advertisements.

Mr Botha said in Parliament yesterday the commission would have to find out whether Mr Ball was involved in the funding.

In his statement Mr Hersov said that neither Mr Ball nor the bank were asked to provide, or agreed to provide, finance for the advertisements.

## Normal procedure

"At the time that a client requested our banking branch to issue a bank cheque for R100 000 in favour of an attorney, neither our staff nor the bank was informed of the purpose of this perfectly normal banking transaction, nor did they know its purpose.

"We have since been able to identify the transaction with the co-operation of the client, who has a banking relationship with us and who has consented to us releasing the information," said Mr Hersov.

The United Democratic Front, which has already stated that it paid for the advertisements, said today the Government was trying to run South Africa on often-incorrect information supplied by the security police and intelligence service.

## Sources

The UDF was referring to the President's statement that he had obtained information from a top intelligence official linking Mr Ball to the financing of the ANC advertisements.

The slogans, in red spray-paint on the windows and outside walls of the Barclays main branch at Church Square, Sunnyside and Foyntons Building, include: "Bank of the ANC", "Remember May 20 — It can happen to you" and an uncompleted slogan "ANC Mr Chris Ba...".

A spokesman said Barclays "regretted" that the banks had been defaced.

"We regret damage to property, especially in the light of Mr Ball's repeated denials that he knew of the advertisements before they appeared."

Instructions had been issued to get the buildings cleaned up as soon as possible.

Argus 6/2/87 11A

Handwritten initials and marks at the bottom right of the page.

*CAPC-Tanks 6/2/87*  
**Hersov**  
**issues**  
**denial**  
**on ANC**  
**advert**

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Barclays National Bank had no knowledge that a R100 000 bank cheque, issued on a client's instructions, would be used to pay for controversial advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

This was stated last night by Barclays chairman Mr Basil Hersov.

Mr Hersov's statement said that "neither Chris Ball nor the bank had any knowledge of the advertisement referred to by the State President prior to its appearance in the media".

"We have since been able to identify the transaction with the cooperation of the client concerned, who has a banking relationship with us and who has consented to us releasing this information."

Barclays senior general manager Mr Jimmy McKenzie said yesterday that the bank cheque, made in favour of an attorney, was issued to the debit of the client's account. This was common banking practice.

The bank declined to name the client because this would be a breach of confidentiality.

However, if a court order was issued Barclays would be prepared to disclose the account holder's name.

He said the State President's statement

To page 2

From page 1

*VIA [scribble] [scribble]*  
had negatively affected the bank's business: "Obviously the matter will be commercially detrimental to the bank until it is cleared up."

Yesterday there was widespread indignation in business and parliamentary circles at the State President's outburst in Parliament on Wednesday in which he suggested Barclays managing director Mr Christopher Ball had funded the advertisements which appeared in 22 English-language papers on January 8.

In a series of further developments:

□ Barclays' denial was confirmed by Mr Azhar Cachalia, UDF treasurer, who said the bank was not involved in financing the advertisement;

□ The State President appointed a one-man Commission of Inquiry headed by Mr Justice

*CAPC-Tanks 6/2/87*  
Munnik to investigate the issue;

□ The Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand local division, Mr Klaus von Lieres, said he had received a docket from the police relating to the publication of the advertisements; and

□ The Transvaal AG, Mr Don Brunette, said he had "no information that any docket is being forwarded to me".

During a mud-slinging debate in the House of Assembly, PFP media spokesman Mr David Dalling said: "This was a disgraceful performance, ill-befitting a head of government.

"It is a case of assassination now, and an investigation later — smear now, commission later," Mr Dalling said before being ordered by the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, to retract the word "smear".

# We're in the clear, says Barclays boss

B/Dey 11A  
6/2/87

GERALD PROSALENDIS  
Economics Editor

## STATEMENT FROM BASIL HERSOV

BARCLAYS' National Bank had no knowledge a R100 000 bank cheque, issued on a client's instructions, would be used to pay for controversial advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

This is made clear in a statement issued last night by Barclays chairman Basil Hersov which appears in full on this page.

Barclays senior GM Jimmy McKenzie said yesterday the bank cheque, made in favour of an attorney, was issued to the debit of the client's account. This was common banking practice.

The bank declined to name the client because this would be a breach of confidentiality. Rather, it would be up to the person concerned to make a statement. However, if a court order was issued, Barclays would be prepared to reveal the account holder's name.

He said President P W Botha's statement in Parliament on Wednesday, in which he hinted that Barclays MD Chris Ball may have financed "Unban the ANC" advertisements, had negatively af-

THE following statement was issued last night by Barclays National Bank chairman Basil Hersov:

"The chairman and the members of the board of directors of the bank who are available consider it to be in the commercial interests of the bank to make the following statement to our customers and to our shareholders.

"Neither Chris Ball, nor the bank, had any knowledge of the advertisement referred to by the State President prior to its appearance in the media. Neither Chris Ball, nor the bank, were asked to provide, or agree to provide, finance for the purpose.

"At the time that a client requested our banking branch to issue a bank cheque for R100 000 in favour of an attorney, neither our staff nor the bank were informed of the purpose of this perfectly normal banking transaction. Nor did they know its purpose. We have since been able to identify the transaction with the co-operation of the client concerned, who has a banking relationship with us and who has consented to us releasing the information."

● To Page 2

# We're in clear — Hersov

6/2/87 11A  
affected the bank's business.

"Many concerned customers approached bank managers to ask whether the accusations were true. Obviously the matter will be commercially detrimental to the bank until it is cleared up."

Yesterday there was widespread indignation in business and parliamentary circles at the President's outburst about the advertisements, which appeared in 22 English language newspapers on January 8.

In a series of further developments yesterday:

- The Barclays denial was confirmed by Azhar Cachalia, UDF treasurer, who said the bank was not involved in financing the advertisements. They were paid for by affiliates and supporters of the UDF;
- The President appointed a one-man commission of inquiry headed by Mr Justice Munnik to investigate whether Ball was involved in the financial arrangements, who inserted the advertisements,

who paid for them and the source of the funds;

□ The Attorney General of the Witwatersrand local division Klaus von Lieres said he had received a docket from the police relating to the publication of the advertisements. He could not say whether his investigation would overlap with that of the commission;

□ The Transvaal Attorney General Don Brunette said he had "no information that any docket is being forwarded to me". He said police had visited him for consultations after the adverts had appeared, but since then he had heard nothing relating to the affair.

□ Opposition media spokesman Dave Dalling said: "This was a disgraceful performance, ill-befitting a person at the head of a government. It is a case of character assassination now and investigation later."

B/Dey  
From Page 1

11A

# The 121 underwear-accused go free

AFTER spending a combined total of 14 years in jail awaiting bail, 121 residents of Worcester's Zolani township who were arrested by police and vigilantes in a midnight raid last year have been told the case against them has been thrown out of court.

This came after more than R23 000 had been paid in bail, much more than the tiny Boland community could afford — with the result that most of the accused spent even longer in jail waiting for family and friends to raise the bail.

According to advice workers, the 121 residents were held for a total of seven years and five months before bail was even granted, and after that some had to stay in the cells for a total

of almost seven years while the community struggled to collect enough money to bail them out. Many of the accused were senior citizens and people associated with the local civic association.

It looks as if this was intended as their punishment, advice workers wrote in a report, because there was no evidence that they had done anything unlawful.

The residents first appeared in court on May 26 charged with public violence, two days after the "Home Guard" vigilantes swept through the township, arresting hundreds.

Affidavits filed with the Ashton advice office allege that police stood by as the vigilantes assaulted and

By MOIRA LEVY, Cape Town  
abused residents.

The affidavits claim that when the accused appeared in the dock, some were spotted with blood, bruised and bandaged from their beatings, and others were dressed only in their underwear or nightclothes as they had not had time to get dressed.

Magistrate MPH Stander announced only that the case was postponed. He made no mention of the condition many of the accused were in.

In September, charges against all but 30 were withdrawn — after some had spent up to two months in the cells awaiting bail, and defence lawyers were granted a further postponement

because the state had not supplied the charge sheet or the statements of the accused.

This month the 30 heard they had been discharged as the state could not provide witnesses.

Two residents laid charges against the "Homeguard" in November after their release from jail. The case is still pending.

Since the unrest began in Zolani at the end of 1985 more than 500 residents, aged from 11 years to over 65, have been arrested, according to the records of the local advice office.

Of these less than 50 have been found guilty.

The advice office has heard

numerous complaints against the vigilante force, and say in affidavits that people have been assaulted and shot by them.

They are armed, paid a monthly salary and appear to have full use of the administration board's vehicles and offices.

The Cape Town Supreme Court granted an urgent interdict this year restraining the vigilantes from assaulting residents or imposing their own curfew in the township.

A member of the "Homeguard", Kokoloyi Matroos, was fined R30 and given a suspended jail sentence after the advice office laid a charge of assault against him.



# Pres Botha under fire

**THE State President, Mr P W Botha, was yesterday slammed by various organisations for claiming in Parliament that the managing director of Barclays Bank, Mr Chris Ball, paid for the ANC advertisements in most English newspapers.**

The advert appeared last month.

The organisations, which include the United Democratic Front, the South African Council of Churches and the National Education Crisis Committee have denied Mr Botha's claim.

The advertisements were issued on behalf of the UDF, SACC, NECC and by some of the 15 organisations who were listed as supporting the 75th anniversary of the ANC.

## **Statement**

In a statement to the *Sowetan*, Mr Ball said: "You are wrong Mr State President. I had no knowledge of the advertisement until I read it in the morning newspapers in my office on the first day of publication which if I am not mistaken, was Thursday, January 8, 1987.

"It is a matter of comment that the State President has referred to this issue under the privileges of the protection of Parliament, and I respectfully request him to repeat the statement outside Parliament," Mr Ball said.

## **SOWETAN Reporter**

The UDF denied that Mr Ball paid for the advertisements, adding: "The cost of the advertisements was shared by the three organisations who issued them and by

some of the 15 organisations who were listed as supporting it."

It said the payment was made by a Barclays Bank guaranteed cheque.

Mr Krish Naidoo, the attorney who placed the advertisements, told the *Sowetan* yesterday that the advertisement cost R100 000.

"The money was paid through a bank guaranteed cheque because the amount was huge," he said.

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176

# Squatters fear more violence

Staff Reporter

SQUATTERS who fled Crossroads and KTC when their homes were destroyed by "witdoek" vigilantes during clashes with militant youths last year, fear they are about to be forced out of the new settlements they have established in and around Nyanga.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, accompanied by foreign diplomats and overseas news teams, visited one of the new "refugee" camps yesterday. They heard that residents were convinced either the "witdoeke" or the authorities were coming to throw them out.

## Marked with crosses

Mr Christopher Toise, leader of the Portland Cement Works squatter camp before it was razed by "witdoeke", said "every night we hear the message: 'They are coming. They are coming', just the same as last time".

Mr Alfred Sipika, leader of the Nyanga Extension squatters who fled their camp during last year's fighting, said officials had been coming to mark their plastic shelters with crosses during the past two weeks.

Public-relations officer for the Community Services Office Mr Sampie Steenkamp said yesterday that there was "no intention whatsoever to move those refugees at the moment".

"We mark the shacks every now and again to see how many there are and if more are being built. We are just monitoring the situation," he said.

But Archbishop Tutu said he was "deeply concerned" about the allegations made by the refugees and had "no reason to believe they were making things up".

Dr Boesak said he had seen the "massacre" at Crossroads last year and could see "the same symptoms again".

"If something positive doesn't happen in the next few weeks, we will have a repetition of that violence."



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak greet residents of one of the refugee squatter camps which sprang up in Nyanga after last year's violence in KTC and Crossroads.

Picture: Reuters

# KTC prayer call for 'peace, reconciliation'

CAPE TOWN 7/2/87  
Staff Reporter

REPRESENTATIVES of the KTC squatter committee announced this week that prayers for peace would be organized every Sunday this month, at the KTC clinic hall.

A delegation from the KTC committee this week called for peace and reconciliation, amid rumours that "witdoeke" were poised to attack the area.

A spokesman, Mr Gladstone Ntamo, said that people from KTC came from Transkei and Ciskei as did the people of Old Crossroads.

"We are not willing to attack them (the 'witdoeke') and we don't want them to attack us," he said this week.

"We are willing to negotiate. We don't like people fighting one another, we want peace," Mr Ntamo said.

He said anybody who was interested in the welfare of KTC was welcome to attend the service.

The prayer service, conducted by the Rev James Gawlegheta, will begin at 2pm.

# Bid to set alight Sisulu house

JOHANNESBURG. — Arsonists tried to set alight the Soweto house of United Democratic Front president Mrs Albertina Sisulu early yesterday, but little damage was caused.

The incident happened at Mrs Sisulu's Orlando West home about 3am while the family was asleep, a family friend said.

A relative woke up early and spotted a window which had been charred when petrol was apparently splashed on it and set alight.

According to Mrs Sisulu, the arsonist was disturbed by dogs and scrambled over the fence.

Mrs Sisulu's husband, Walter, is serving a life sentence for sabotage at Pollsmoor Prison, with Mr Nelson Mandela and others.

She alleges "the system" was responsible for the attack.

"I have no doubt whatever. It is the filthy action of the system. I have only one enemy and that enemy is a common enemy of my family," Mrs Sisulu said.

A week ago, an attempt was made to set alight her son Zwelakhe's car while it was parked outside her house. Only one tyre was burnt.

Zwelakhe, editor of the Roman Catholic-funded New Nation newspaper, has been in detention under emergency regulations since December 12.

□ The Bureau for Information reported yesterday that the body of a young man was found in Clermont township on Thursday.

It said in its unrest report that no arrests had yet been made in connection with the death of Mr Manuel Nzuza, 21, "who had apparently been knifed and hacked to death".

Other unrest incidents reported "comprised isolated cases of stone-throwing at buses and petrol-bomb attacks on private homes".

No injuries or arrests were reported as a result of the incidents which caused "considerable damage", the bureau said without elaborating. — Sapa

# Church group plans talks with ANC

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By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

A GROUP of 30 South African church, youth and other leaders are expected to travel to Zambia in May for talks with the ANC, the PAC and Swapo.

The talks will form part of a World Council of Churches (WCC) sponsored "dialogue between the Southern African liberation movements and the churches" and will be organised by a WCC sub-unit,

the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR), in Lusaka from May 4-8.

According to a PCR circular, the churches have to "come to grips" with the issue of the "liberation struggle in Southern Africa" and SA's "destabilisation in the Frontline States".

The circular says the PCR has already had discussions with the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Beyers Naude, the former chairman of the SA

Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), Archbishop Denis Hurley, and several "SA churchmen and women about the conference".

This week Dr Naude confirmed that he had been approached, but said the SACC would meet later this month to decide whether it would send a delegation or not.

Dr Naude said he viewed the conference as a gathering of churches and, referring to the ANC, PAC and Swapo,

said he had been told by the PCR that the ANC, PAC and Swapo would attend only as observers if they wished.

Dr Pierre Rossouw, ecumenical affairs and information minister of the general synod of the NGK, slammed the talks as "disquieting" and "an obvious effort by these organisations to boost their global image".

The Office of the State President declined to comment.



# That's my Dad!

## MAN WHO SHIELDED DAUGHTER CLEARED

By EUGENE ABRAHAMS

A TOP academic told a court this week how he shielded his daughter from the blows of a quirt-wielding policeman.

Dr Richard Stevens of the department of biblical studies at the University of the Western Cape, told magistrate Mr M J van Graan:

"My words to the police were: 'I don't hit my daughter and neither will you.'

"I reacted as a father would ...

"It was wrong of the police to hit the children and I am sure any parent would have acted in the same way."

Dr Stevens and Mr Steve Louw, a teacher, had been charged with convening or organising a demonstration within 500m of the Goodwood Magistrate's Court, in Cape Town, last May.

But the magistrate found the pair not guilty.

The State, said Mr van Graan, had failed to prove that a demonstration had taken place outside the court.

Dr Stevens, a prominent Dutch Reformed Church theologian, had explained that when he saw his daughter Annette, who was part of a "small, peaceful group", being hit by police, he intervened.

"All I did was make hand movements towards the police when I was protecting my daughter."

He had gone to the court that day to pay bail for a pupil, Neville Naidoo.

### Support

About 150 pupils from a Belhar school, including Dr Steven's 16-year-old daughter, had gone to the court to give Naidoo, a fellow pupil, "moral support", the magistrate was told.

After the case, a relieved Dr Stevens, said: "It proves that there is still some justice in this land but it is an indictment against this country that a person can still be surprised with such an outcome.

"If the court had found me guilty and imposed a fine of say R100 or 100 days, I would have gone to prison.

"Before going to court I told university administrators that if I was found guilty, I would be absent from my classes for a couple of months.

"Jail is no stranger to me. I've been there so many times I've lost count."

### Happy

Said a happy Annette: "I'm glad my father was acquitted. All he did was protect me."

Dr Stevens was last jailed when police swooped on a church gathering in Bellville early last year and arrested the entire congregation.

In August 1980 Dr Stevens — then a reverend — was held for five months at the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act.

He later went on a hunger strike but ended it when the prison authorities changed his diet.

He left shortly afterwards for the USA where he was granted political asylum after the SA consulate in New York refused to renew his passport, and returned in 1985 with a PhD in theology from Princeton.

Theologian Dr Richard Stevens embraces his teenage daughter Annette, after being acquitted

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

# Majority rule is not enough

MASERU - The Incotho National

11A 2/2/87 ST 8/2/87

SINCE Mr P W Botha became Prime Minister and then State President, South Africans have heard a good deal about decentralisation, deregulation and devolution of power.

Yet, during these eight years the tentacles of Pretoria's control have tightened, the bureaucracy has grown and become more cumbersome and complex, more centralised and less efficient.

Most South African whites (and some coloureds and Indians) are understandably fearful of "majority rule" in a unitary state, under a "winner-takes-all" electoral system, which it is assumed will lead to power being wielded arbitrarily by a corrupt and tyrannical demagogue.

But blacks have just as much reason to fear a concentration of power at the centre, since the present highly autocratic, centralised system of government, geared to serve the short-term interests of whites, has been a very poor government for them.

Unless checks and balances are introduced in our constitution, a future (black or non-racial) government may be equally insensitive to their wishes as all the white governments have been.

## Pioneering

To ensure freedom and good government, it is not enough simply to introduce majority rule. We must dismantle the present structures of concentrated power and institute a genuine devolution of power.

The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's central principle is just this. It stems from a strong desire on the part of the people of the region, manifested in several antecedent initiatives, to regain control over their own destiny.

Many intensely patriotic Natalians have long felt that the central Government, over which their small province can never hope to have much influence, is out of sympathy with the mood of the people of Natal/KwaZulu.

The Indaba should not, however, be seen as an exercise whose potential usefulness is limited to Natal/KwaZulu, but rather as a pioneering experiment in precisely the direction our politics need to take if true democracy is to be developed in South Africa.

In the absence of any prospect of rational negotiations, it may well be considered expedient to begin the vital process of fundamental change towards a decentralised so-



**DIRK KEMP, chairman of the Indaba Support Group, tells why Pretoria is wrong to reject this vital initiative**

lution through regional negotiations.

But devolution remains an important principle which should be pursued in the interests of good and efficient democratic government, no matter what the context in which a future constitution for South Africa comes to be written.

It stands to reason that the great variety of regional considerations can never be met satisfactorily within a centralised structure. Nor are uniform regional structures likely to prove effective.

An element of regional diversity seems essential. It would, indeed, be natural and would enrich our politics — just as it enriches our social and economic life.

Devolution should, therefore, be recognised as a way of accommodating natural diversity.

As such it may help to remove a major stumbling block to political and constitutional change in South Africa: the fear minorities have of being dominated by the black majority in our present centralised and unitary system.

## Balanced

The key to protecting the legitimate interests of groups, particularly those who identify themselves as minorities, lies essentially in a combination of small and devolved government.

The Government's power to interfere in the individual's private life must be limited, and the right to decide what is good for a particular community, as well as the power to administer those decisions, must be left to those most likely to be affected by them.

Democratic elections for a representative government are absolutely necessary, but are not sufficient to guarantee good government.

True democracy must involve as much participation by the citizen as possible — not simply the occasional visit to a ballot box to return

an MP to Parliament.

Of course, as Dirk Mudge is fond of saying, no constitution alone can protect people from their fellow-countrymen. Only the trust that is founded on goodwill, mutual respect and acknowledgment of common interests can achieve real security.

But a start must be made by establishing a sound constitutional basis for good government.

The most important thing about the Indaba's proposals is that they were agreed upon through genuine negotiation. They form a finely balanced package which satisfies the competing demands of various interest groups. No other package would have succeeded.

## Fear

On the one hand, there are the demands for full political participation on the basis of universal suffrage — one man one vote and equal rights.

On the other hand, it is a fact that minority groups have a fear of being dominated. The Indaba solution had to ensure that everybody would have an effective say in how Natal should be governed.

Under the constitution proposed by the Indaba the power of any majority party would be limited.

Proportional representation would ensure that minority parties — not necessarily representing "minority groups", but those that secure less than half the votes in an election — would be fairly represented in the legislature.

They would also elect half the members of the Cabinet and hold the key to the passage of legislation through the all-important standing committees.

The system is, therefore, one which requires a majority party to co-operate with at least some minority parties in order to govern effectively. (A summary of these proposals may be obtained from the Indaba Support Group, P O Box

10880, Marine Parade, 4056).

It is important to note that the new regional legislature would enjoy a much wider sphere of competence than the present provincial administrations.

Matters of intimate concern to the population of the region, such as health care and education, would be restored to regional departments, and many other matters which have been controlled by the central Government (or by the KwaZulu Government as far as blacks resident in the region are concerned) would become regional functions.

And, of course, the application of the principle of devolution would ensure that local communities had a very large say in these matters.

It is, therefore, strange that many of the Indaba's critics focus not on the substance, but the form.

They allege that such a regional initiative is out of place while apartheid still dominates the whole country. Worse, they allege that it is divisive in the struggle to rid SA of racial domination.

## Unity

Such critics ignore the fact that the net effect of the Indaba's proposals would be to place matters that affect people most directly under control of a non-racial regional government, thereby greatly reducing the sway of racial domination in the Natal/KwaZulu region.

While the Indaba does not pretend to offer a complete solution to the national problem, its proposals would undoubtedly contribute to the dismantling of apartheid structures, as the KwaZulu Government would, in fact, be the first "homeland" to put itself into voluntary liquidation, as it were.

...to the ... that it ... occurs ... goods ... must be ... uly la- ... R.T.O. A

Handwritten notes and signatures on the right margin, including "11/18/87" and "R.T.O. A".

And so, far from being divisive, his initiative has achieved unparalleled unity — across racial dividing lines — among representatives of a broad cross-section of religious, cultural, economic and political interest groups.

All the delegations which agreed to sign the proposals, after eight months of hard negotiation and compromise, recognised that these were the best — perhaps the only — proposals which could command such overwhelming support, and they “commended them to the people of Natal/KwaZulu for their endorsement”.

These agreed proposals must now be put to the test of public opinion, as the Government needs a clear indication as to whether these proposals are acceptable to the people of Natal and KwaZulu.

Only if the outcome is unclear should there be any question of further negotiation.

The Indaba proposals should be debated seriously and on their merits, and it is particularly important now that they should not be confused with the ideas or policies of the parties who agreed to the proposals in negotiations.

The Indaba is much bigger than any of its delegations, and in the nature of negotiations, its proposals do not represent the preferences of any of those delegations, but a compromise acceptable to the overwhelming majority.



# ANC ads row: 'No laws broken' (11A)

ATTORNEY Krish Naidoo, who faces possible charges for his involvement in the placing of pro-ANC advertisements in the Press, did not commit an offence by asking newspapers to publish them, a Johannesburg lawyer says.

Peter Reynolds, experienced in media matters, said: "I can't see that he could possibly be charged with contravening the Internal Security Act.

"The only people who could possibly be charged are the newspapers for publishing it. There is no suggestion that Naidoo committed an offence."

Weekend reports said the Attorney General's office confirmed it had re-

**DIANNA GAMES and  
SUSAN RUSSELL**

ceived a docket from Johannesburg police relating to Naidoo's involvement.

"The innuendo is that an offence has been committed, though what offence it is one wonders," Reynolds said.

Barclays MD Chris Ball, whose home has been under armed guard since Thursday, yesterday said he had referred to police threats made to him.

He was not prepared to talk about the threats, saying he was not responsible for what was happening and he was just trying to go about his business.

Police are investigating the damage

done to three branches of Barclays Bank — two in Pretoria and one in Cape Town — which have had anti-ANC graffiti sprayed on their walls.

The Conservative Party's Clive Derby-Lewis said that, as far as he was aware, CP members saw the whole affair as "just another ploy by the Nationalists, who are bankrupt of intelligent debate and are now clutching at straws".

Ball said it was too early to tell if people had closed their bank accounts in response to the negative publicity, but so

*3/Day* *9/2/87*  
● To Page 2 →

# F Ads row: Lawyer 'innocent'

far there had been no indication they had.

Barclays issued a statement on Thursday saying it had no knowledge that the R100 000 bank cheque issued on a client's instruction would be used to pay for the advertisements calling for the ANC's unbanning.

State President P W Botha last week announced the appointment of a one-man commission of inquiry into the funding of the adverts, which appeared in 22 English-language newspapers on January 8.

*3/Day* *9/2/87*  
● From Page 1 ←

Judge President of the Cape Justice G G Munnik will determine where the adverts were placed, by whom, and how much was paid for them.

A spokesman for Botha yesterday said it was up to the commission to decide if the inquiry would be public, and whether Botha would be called to give evidence before it.

measures.  
CPLC Tenth 1977  
**Mancom poll 'victory'**

THE "pitifully low poll" in the Athlone and District Management Committee by-election last week has been hailed as "a victory" for UDF-affiliated organizations campaigning against the government-created local government system. Mr Lawrence Sinnett was elected to the committee on a 2.7% poll.

**Third attack in three weeks**

# SISULUS HIT



Mrs ALBERTINA Sisulu.

# AGAIN

By SONTO MASEKO

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THE home of Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of Robben Island life prisoner, Mr Walter Sisulu was attacked by arsonists at the weekend. This was the third attack in three weeks.

Mrs Sisulu was at home with her two-year-old granddaughter Vuyelwa when the arsonists poured petrol on the lounge window of the house and tried to set it alight. Slight damage was done as only the windows were charred.

Mrs Sisulu is a vice-president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and a strong anti-apartheid campaigner.

Mrs Sisulu said last night: "I have no enemies among my people. It's anybody's guess who is responsible for this."

Her theory is that the arsonists did not want to break the window because the act would have awoken her. They were hoping that the window would crack and the house catch fire.

She said she did not report the incident to the police as she found it useless to do so.

Mrs Sisulu said the attack was the third in three weeks. Two weeks ago, she said, burglars broke in and stole a new silver watch that she bought for her imprisoned husband.

Last week arsonists attacked a car belonging to her son, Zwelakhe and burnt all four tyres.

She was told by neighbours that her dogs started barking fiercely at about 3am and believes that it was the time the attackers were present.



## 14 000 bury creche kids

THE coffins of the seven Pietersburg children lie side by side before they were buried yesterday. Story Page 2.  
Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

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## Botha 'threat' on ANC denied

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, "pointed out" to the Botswana government the serious view South Africa took of ANC delegates at the SADCC conference in Gaborone — but denied threatening the country.

A statement at the weekend from the Botswana president's office said South Africa threatened to "take whatever measures they considered necessary" after Botswana allegedly permitted entry into the country of two members of the ANC, Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Lambert Moloi.

The ANC was represented at the conference by its secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the Botswana government had no knowledge of the two men named, the statement said.

A SA Foreign Ministry statement on Saturday said Mr Botha denied threatening Botswana. "He pointed out that the government views the presence in neighbouring countries of persons who plan violence in SA in a very serious light," it said. — Sapa

# Naidoo 'to sue' if ads charge fails

Cape Town 9/2/87  
117

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Attorney Mr Krish Naidoo, who placed the "Unban the ANC" advertisements, last night added to the storm surrounding the campaign, saying he would bring a civil action against the State for malicious prosecution if he is unsuccessfully charged.

The ads have generated a political row that has led to:

□ Attacks on branches of Barclays Bank, which State President Mr P W Botha implicated in the controversy in Parliament last week, and armed guards at the home of Barclays MD Mr Chris Ball, who has received death threats.

□ A fall in the value of Barclays shares from 1875c to 1800c on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange on Friday.

□ The appointment of a one-man commission of inquiry under Cape Judge-President Mr

Justice Munnik.

Mr Naidoo said last night that he had been told by a spokesman for the Attorney-General's office that a docket had been received and charges were being investigated.

Mr Naidoo insisted he had broken no laws, and said he was "unworried" by the possibility of charges. Witwatersrand local-division attorney-general Mr Klaus von Lieres has confirmed that his office had received a docket relating to the ads.

Media lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds said he doubted that a successful prosecution under the Internal Security Act was possible.

"The only people who could possibly be charged are the newspapers who published the ads," he said.

Meanwhile, Mr Ball tried to calm the row that has led to graffiti being sprayed on two banks in Pretoria and one in Cape Town. Bank security was tightened up at the weekend.

He declined to name the intermediary who obtained the bank cheque from Barclays to finance the campaign.

Mr Ball said he was not prepared to talk about the death threats, adding that he was not responsible for what was happening and was just trying to go about his business.

The Conservative Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said that as far as he was aware, CP members saw the whole affair as "just another ploy by the Nationalists".

Barclays issued a statement on Thursday saying that it had no knowledge that the R100 000 bank check issued on a client's instruction would be used to pay for the advertisements calling for the ANC's unbanning.

State President Mr Botha last week announced the appointment of a one-man commission of inquiry into the funding of pro-ANC advertisements which appeared in all major English-language newspapers on January 8.

# Ramotse buried in Soweto

By Montshiwa Moroke

9/2/87  
Former African National Congress member Mr Sello Benjamin Ramotse (61) was buried at Avalon Cemetery, Soweto yesterday.

There were no incidents at the dignified funeral which lasted more than three hours.

Mr Ramotse's funeral was the third in Soweto to be affected by restrictions imposed about three weeks ago which allow only 200 mourners to travel to the cemetery.

Others affected by the orders were those of two ANC insurgents who died in a shootout with security forces in Messina in December.

Hundreds of mourners who attended yesterday's funeral were either left behind at the Dube Village home or refused entry at the cemetery gates.

In terms of the notice issued by the chief magistrate of Johannesburg, no political songs or speeches were permitted, no posters or banners were to be

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displayed, the coffin was to be conveyed in a hearse and no mourners on foot were allowed.

Mourners included the local community, members of different political organisations, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, patron of the Federation of South African Women, and several members of the organisation who formed a guard of honour and gave a thumbs-up salute as the casket was carried to the hearse. Messages read during the service paid tribute to Mr Ramotse for his "unselfish contribution towards the liberation struggle".

His widow, Mrs Johanna Ramotse, who had sat stoically throughout, broke down and wept bitterly after she had performed the traditional sprinkling of soil into the grave.

Mr Ramotse, a father of three, died suddenly at his home last Tuesday. He was released from prison in October 1985 after serving a 15-year sentence imposed in Pretoria in 1970 for high treason.

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## Mrs Sisulu's home under attack again

JOHANNESBURG. — The home of Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of Robben Island life prisoner Walter Sisulu, was attacked by arsonists at the weekend.

It was the third attack in three weeks, The Sowetan newspaper reported today.

Mrs Sisulu was at home with her two-year-old granddaughter Vuyelwa when the arsonists poured petrol on the lounge window and tried to set it alight. Slight damage was done.

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"I have no enemies among my people. It's anybody's guess who is responsible for this," she said last night.

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Two weeks ago, Mrs Sisulu said, burglars broke in and stole a new silver watch which she bought for her husband. Last week arsonists attacked a car belonging to her son Zwe-lakhe and burnt all four tyres.

— Sapa.

ARGUS 9/2/87  
(11A) (UB) 2011

# 'Hold referendum or else' — Indaba

## The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Kwazulu-Natal Indaba is to strike back at Government intransigence to its proposals with a multi-million-rand publicity campaign spearheaded by the same consultancy that masterminded the huge "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum.

And a direct challenge will be issued to the Government to either test the wishes of the people of Natal with a referendum or else the Indaba will do it for them.

The Indaba steering committee is meeting members of the successful Hays Management Consultants today to discuss the best methods of selling the Indaba after the Government's rejection of its findings.

The Washington-based consultants are responsible for promoting President Ronald Reagan's popular appeal and are also subsidiaries to the Saatchi and Saatchi advertising agency, best known for their success in engineering Mrs

Margaret Thatcher's landslide victory in 1979.

They are no strangers to African politics as they spearheaded the re-election campaign of Nigerian President Shehu Shagari, and they were also largely responsible for the overwhelming "yes" vote in favour of the South African Government during the tricameral referendum.

Ironically, in handling the Indaba account, their opponents will be their former clients.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, has warned the Kwazulu-Natal Indaba that if it goes ahead with its own referendum on the proposals "they will kill the initiative".

Mr Heunis emphasised that a Government-sponsored referendum would be considered only if the proposals were acceptable to the Government.

And Mr Heunis made it clear that proposals acceptable to the Government would have to be based on group representation and protection.



AKG 9/2 B7 (11A)

## Mrs Sisulu's home under attack again

JOHANNESBURG. — The home of Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of Robben Island life prisoner Walter Sisulu, was attacked by arsonists at the weekend.

It was the third attack in three weeks, The Sowetan newspaper reported today.

Mrs Sisulu was at home with her two-year-old granddaughter Vuyelwa when the arsonists poured petrol on the lounge window and tried to set it alight. Slight damage was done.

Mrs Sisulu is a vice-president of the United Democratic Front and an anti-apartheid campaigner.

"I have no enemies among my people. It's anybody's guess who is responsible for this," she said last night.

Her theory is that the arsonists did not want to break the window because the act would have awakened her. They were hoping that the window would crack and the house would catch fire.

She did not report the incident to the police as it was "useless to do so".

Two weeks ago, Mrs Sisulu said, burglars broke in and stole a new silver watch which she bought for her husband. Last week arsonists attacked a car belonging to her son Zwelakhe and burnt all four tyres.

— Sapa.

Cape Times 10/2/8 L

# Govt must go, say top churchmen

11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

IN A CALL to South Africans to think again, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak yesterday urged the formation of a "democratic and representative" government.

The Nobel Peace Prize-winner and the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches maintained that recent events had demonstrated that the government had "lost all claim to legitimacy" and needed to be "removed and replaced".

A joint statement by two of the country's leading churchmen makes a special appeal to whites not to be "fooled" ahead of yet another all-white election which they see as a "sad substitute for full and meaningful participation" of all South Africans in a democratic government.

## 'Bogged down'

The head of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa) and former leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday added his voice to the call for a "genuinely accountable and democratic government" in South Africa.

"All of us must look for new and innovative ways to prevent the political debate from getting bogged down by the petty issues which President P W Botha and his government will try to push forward.

"It's the old trick of obscuring what is really the issue," he said.

The statement from Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak said "the current situation in our country and the utterly irresponsible response of the government to certain recent events must cause all South Africans to think again.

"Mr P W Botha should stop looking for scapegoats to cover up the bankruptcy of whatever he calls 'policy' and especially white South Africans should stop fooling themselves".

The "scandal of South Africa" did not lie in certain organizations calling for the unbanning of the ANC. Rather it lay in:

□ "A continued state of emergency which legalizes unremitting State terrorism.

To page 2

Cape Times 10/2/8 L

From page 1

# Govt must go

11A

□ "The detention of 25 000 under emergency regulations — 40 percent of whom are children under 18 years old.

□ "The homeland policy of relocation camps and forced removals.

□ "The continuation of apartheid in whatever modern guise this evil system may have.

□ "Violence the State has to employ to ensure white domination, and the counter-violence it inevitably calls forth."

The statement continues: "Of course, the people's organizations should be unbanned and all political prisoners and detainees should be released.

"These are the issues. These will remain the issues, not another all-white election which is the sad substitute for the full and meaningful participation of all South African people in a democratic government."

Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak said the issue was not how a white election could "improve" the government.

"The issue is that this government has lost all claim to legitimacy. It constitutes an unmitigated danger to the future of our country.

"It should be removed and replaced with a government that is democratic and representative. It is as simple as that and no amount of blustering will change these facts.

"The sooner all of South Africa realizes this the better it will be for all of us," the churchmen said.

Art Timp 10/2/87 (11A)

Political Staff  
and Sapa

**HOUSE OF DELEGATES.** — The House of Delegates would "under no circumstances" administer the Group Areas Act if more land was not granted to Indians, the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said yesterday.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate, he also called for combined action by the Indian and coloured Houses and "those who will join us from the House of Assembly" to "reshape the political direction of South Africa".

The Indian administration would refuse to be involved in the removal of people in terms of the Group Areas Act.

"We are not going to do the dirty job of the Group Areas Act," he said.

Mr Rajbansi said the House was morally obliged to help displaced people and would "ensure that people are not removed from white areas".

But Mr Rajbansi also praised the National Party as the "forerunner of reform" and said the Progressive Federal Party was no better than the right-wing Herstigte Nasionale Party.

He described the PFP as the "HNP in sheepskin". When the PFP controlled the Durban City Council, he said, it did not allow any member of the city's Indian local affairs committee to sit in council committees.

On the other hand, the leader of the National Party, State President Mr P W Botha, had allowed him, an Indian, to sit in the central cabinet.

# Rajbansi issues 'Group' ultimatum

The Minister of the Budget, Dr J N Reddy, said it was to be hoped that the additional R200 million allocated in the mini-budget for pensions would be used to address the present disparity between the races.

In the House of Representatives, Mr Charles Redcliffe (LP Schauderville) said it was despicable that the head of Barclays Bank, Mr Chris Ball, could be tainted by the attack on him in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Speaking in the mini-budget debate, he said this was probably the government's way of getting at Mr Ball for his visit to the ANC in Lusaka.

The attack on Mr Ball was reminiscent of the 23-minute castigation on television of the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse.

The country had become a rudderless boat on the ocean. Only the security gener-

als knew what was going on, Mr Redcliffe said.

Now was the time for the State President to go, said Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo).

Speaking in the mini-budget debate, he asked the State President whether he would be prepared to appoint a commission to look into the possibility that he had abused his office.

He asked whether the State President could be held responsible for the malicious slogans painted on four of Barclays Banks branches, or for the decision of people to withdraw their banking accounts. Was he responsible for the assault threats on Mr Ball and his family?

Mr Hendrickse said he had told United States audiences on a recent trip that while the Labour Party and National Party differed in policy, he believed Mr Botha was sincere.

"I was wrong," he said, adding he had become totally disillusioned and frustrated.

The tricameral Parliament was the purest form of apartheid. People were choosing to go to multi-racial schools, live in mixed areas and enjoy entertainment together. He found he was a Member of Parliament because of the colour of his skin.

"If there is no change in the Group Areas Act our party conference will review our participation in this Parliament. The fact is mixed areas exist."

If it was found that the office of State President had been misused, Mr Botha also owed the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, a 23-minute television apology. — Sapa

in Durban

(5) No.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply given by the hon the State President, is he in a position to make the text of that speech available at this stage for public information in view of the fact that there is no statutory provision which precludes its publication?

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, I am prepared to let the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition have a copy of the speech should the Director-General have it at his disposal.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Can it be made public?

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, the text of the speech can be made public as long as every word of it is published, and not certain extracts only. [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER: Order!

Chissano: discussions

\*3. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the State President:

Whether he intends to meet with President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique to discuss (a) the Nkomati Accord and (b) other matters of mutual interest; if so, when is it intended to hold such a meeting?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

It is generally known that the South African Government is in favour of talks on a variety of subjects with the governments of all its neighbours, including Mozambique. However, it is not customary to make public statement in this connection.

Ministers:

Booklet, "Talking with the ANC . . ."

\*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

HOA

(1) Whether the Bureau for Information has reprinted the booklet entitled "Talking with the ANC . . .", which was originally published in June 1986; if so, (a) when, (b) why and (c) how many additional copies were printed;

(2) whether any changes were made in the reprinted booklet; if so, (a) what changes, (b) why and (c) on whose instructions were these changes made?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

(1) Yes.

(a) July 1986.

(b) Because of overwhelming demand for the publication, both in South Africa and overseas.

(c) 100 000 copies.

(2) Yes.

(a) A photograph was replaced by another and some linguistic and technical improvements were effected.

(b) This was done to improve continuity between the text and the photographs and to improve the text technically.

(c) On the instructions of the management of the Bureau for Information.

\*2. Mrs H SUZMAN—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

\*3. Mrs H SUZMAN—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

\*4. Mrs H SUZMAN—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

Pietersburg: meeting

\*5. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 16 on 2 September 1986, the departmental investigation into the vacating of a hall in Pietersburg during a meeting of the National Party on 22 May 1986 has been completed; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether the District Commissioner of the South African Police, Far Northern Transvaal Division, received instructions from a certain person in connection with the vacating of the hall; if so, (a) what were the findings of the departmental investigating team in respect of this person, (b) what was the nature of the instructions concerned and (c) how long were those present given to vacate the hall before tear-smoke was used;

(3) what is the policy of the South African Police in respect of the use of tear-smoke in partially closed spaces in which members of the public are present?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(2) (a) to (c) This departmental investigation is considered to be a domestic matter and the findings were brought to the attention of the officers of the South African Police concerned, in writing, thus it is not considered to be of interest to supply additional information regarding the matter, except to say that the necessary remedial steps were taken.

(3) No fixed policy in respect of the use of tear gas, also in partially closed spaces is determined, since every event is handled according to circumstances attached thereto.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, can he categorically state that the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs had absolutely nothing to do with the instruction or in any way influenced the actions of the brigadier?

HOA

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have indicated to the hon member that the inquiry was of a departmental nature, that it has been finalised and that it is not in the interests of those officers that we should give further information about it.

10/2/87 *Hansard*  
House rent/service fees  
\*6. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

What total amount was owing to institutions under his control in respect of arrear (a) house rent and (b) service fees in Black residential areas in the Republic on the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING AND OF PUBLIC WORKS AND LAND AFFAIRS:

The control over the former development boards was devolved to the respective Administrators on 1 July 1986 and that over Black local authorities on 1 October 1986. Separate figures in respect of house rents and service fees which are in arrears in Black residential areas are not available. The amount owing to the local authorities in the respective provinces as on 30 November 1986 and which is recoverable, is R177 647 546,87.

Indications are that there has recently been an improvement in the rate of recovery in various townships. Special measures to shorten the procedures for recovery of the outstanding amounts, are under consideration.

B14A forms

\*7. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether a shortage of B14A forms (notice of change of address) used for the purposes of the population register and the voters' roll occurred at any regional offices or the head office of his Department during the course of January 1987; if so, (a) at which specified offices, (b) why and (c)

*Hansard*  
10/2/87  
251

## UDF official faces murder rap

THE regional president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Edgar Dumile Ngoyi (59), will face charges of murder following a failed application for his discharge in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday.

Giving judgment on

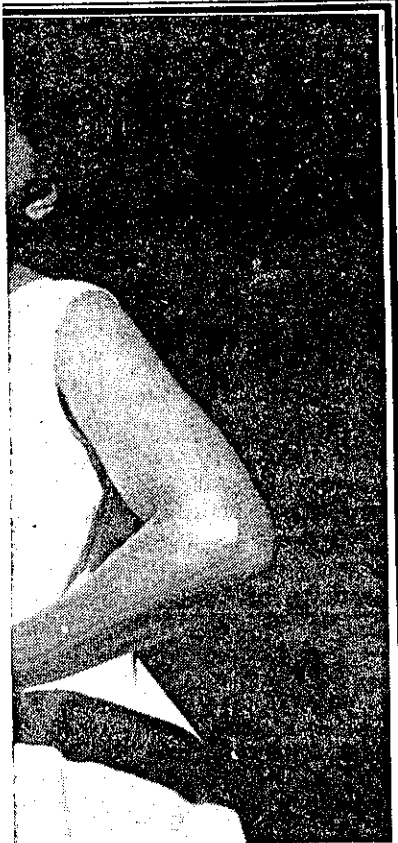
the application for the discharge of Mr Ngoyi, his wife and three others, which was heard last week, Mr Justice R A Solomon found there was no evidence which implicated Mrs Eunice Tenjiwe Ngoyi (58), Mr Steven Owelela Dzedze (30), and a 15-year-old

boy.

However he refused the application for the discharge of Mr Ngoyi and Mr Lulamile Cyril Mkalipi (22). In both instances, the court found that evidence could emerge to supplement State evidence during the defence case.

11/11  
19/2/83

# RESIDENTS 'TOLD TO EXPULSION POLICE'



...d a body to go with it — is Mphumi  
...e did not want to reveal more about  
...er name.

RESIDENTS in Duduza, Nigel, were urged to expel all members of the police force from the township because they were part and parcel of the system, a State witness told a Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr X, who may not be identified following a ruling by the court, was testifying against seven alleged members of the banned Congress of South African Students who have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Stafford and an assessor to charges of terrorism, attempted murder and possession of hand-grenades and a bomb.

Mr X said he attended a meeting to launch the Duduza Civic Association on October 17, 1982. One of the speakers and a former chairman of the Association, Mr Alexandra Montoedi, the court heard, proposed that residents must fight and that students should boycott classes.

He also suggested that members of the police be expelled from the township because they were "part and parcel of the system". Mr Montoedi also suggested that a "people's court" be formed in the township.

## ...ces Doris Thinane

... January 13 on a charge of ... Board, assumed his duties last week.

The council has appointed Mr A Combrink as the acting town clerk until Mrs Thinane's case is over. Mr Combrink, who is employed by the East Rand Development Area, formerly of the East Rand Development Board, assumed his duties last week.

Mr Jacob Sekete, the acting mayor of Thokoza, yesterday also announced that the council appointed Mr J B Oostenbrunk as acting treasurer following the resignation of Mr Willem Hanekom.

Amongst those who attended the large meeting were some of the accused — Mr John Mlangeni, Mr Samuel Lekatsa, Mr Humphrey Tshabalala and Mr Veli Mazibuko, Mr X said.

Other speakers proposed councillors resign, Mr X said.

(Proceeding)

# Bank's Natal branches unharmed

11A

10/2/87 N/M

## Mercury Reporter

BARCLAYS Bank in Natal had not suffered any adverse effects of the allegations by the State President that the bank's managing director, Mr Chris Ball, had funded the 'Unban the ANC' adverts, a company spokesman said yesterday.

Mr John Courier, assistant general manager (Natal), said although the bank had received 'quite a few' telephone calls from customers, he was not aware of any incidents in Natal similar to those where graffiti had been

sprayed on the walls of Barclays branches in Pretoria and Cape Town.

Mr Courier said customers in Natal had read a number of Press accounts about the row and had telephoned the bank to officially clarify its position.

'We are just waiting to see what the impact is in Natal, but we are confident that we won't lose on the business side,' he said.

Armed guards have been posted at the home of Mr Ball, who has received death threats since President Botha made the remarks.

The remarks, which sparked a fierce political row, have been described by Progressive Federal Party media spokesman Dave Dalling as 'disgraceful' and 'ill-befitting a person at the head of government'.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that a docket relating to the placing of the advertisements by attorney Krish Naidoo has been handed to the Witwatersrand local division Attorney-General, Mr Klaus von Lieres, for a decision on whether he intends prosecuting.

# ANC-tattooed man in court

Staff Reporter  
10/2/87 (11A)

A FARMWORKER who was allegedly tattooed with ANC-related slogans while in prison, appeared in Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court yesterday charged with being a member of the ANC or furthering its aims.

Mr Benjamin de Bruin, 31, of Lingwenda farm, Stellenbosch, had pleaded guilty when he appeared previously on January 12, but a plea of not guilty was entered for him after questioning.

According to papers before the court, Mr De Bruin admitted having three tattoos on his head and chest. One was an obscenity relating to the

family of the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Another said "ANC" and the third slogan said: "God gave me freedom, the white man took it away, that is why I am ANC".

Asked where he had heard of the ANC, Mr De Bruin replied that he had read newspapers and watched television. He knew that Mr P W Botha was the State President, and said he "did not like him".

The matter was postponed to February 27, when a trial date for a Regional Court hearing will be set.

Mr G H C Booysen was the magistrate. Mr F Els prosecuted. Mr De Bruin was not represented.



# ANC infiltrated the ECC, says MP

CAPE TOWN—The End Conscription Campaign had been infiltrated by the African National Congress and received its funds 'from the same international source', Mr LH Fick (NP Caledon) said yesterday.

Speaking in the mini budget debate, he quoted from the speech made by the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, at the organisation's 75th anniversary celebrations in Lusaka. Mr Fick said Mr Tambo had congratulated the ECC on the work it was doing in South Africa.

He referred to an organisation chart which he said

showed links between the ECC, the United Democratic Front, the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the communist parties in Britain, the US and the Soviet Union.

'Where does the ECC get its funds? I will say no more than that it gets them from the same international sources as the ANC,' Mr Fick said.

He said SADF documents obtained from a raid on Gaborone showed that the ECC had been infiltrated by the ANC.

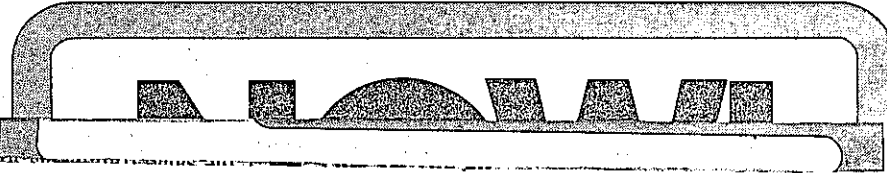
Mr Fick went on to ask whether there was a link between the ECC and the

PFP, adding that it was in the ECC's interests to maintain ties with parties that had political credibility.

Speaking after Mr Fick, Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP Pietermaritzburg North) said that 'this sort of smear politics does nothing for the country'.

It was as well to speculate that both he and Mr Fick were bad characters because they both liked 'potjiekos'.

Conscription was an issue that could be debated rationally but not in this sort of manner, Mr McIntosh said. — (Sapa)



# Mandela home searched — 4 held

JOHANNESBURG —  
Police allegedly arrested three young men at the Soweto home of Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday.

A spokesman at her home said police searched the house and then took away the three men who were working in the garden. Nothing was confiscated.

The spokesman said Mrs Mandela was planning to go to the Protea police station in the township to find out why the three had been taken away.

Meanwhile, police yesterday denied they had raided the home of the wife of the leader of the African National Congress seven times last Friday.

Mrs Mandela reportedly said police raided her house seven times and climbed over walls and searched rooms. She was quoted as saying police questioned her each time.

A police spokesman said police had visited her home on Friday "in connection with a routine investigation". — Sapa

DIANNA GAMES

THE *Government Gazette* officially appointing the Judge President of the Cape as the one-man commission of inquiry into the ANC advertisement row, is expected to appear tomorrow, says a Department of Justice spokesman.

Mr Justice Munnik said yesterday he could make no comment on the inquiry as he had not yet received his terms of reference or the regulations governing the commission.

A spokesman for President P W Botha's office said it would be the commission's decision whether the inquiry would be public and whether Botha would be called before it.

The *Gazette* will appear a week after Botha's suggestion that Bar-

17A B/Day 11/2/87

# ANC ad row: inquiry gets going tomorrow

clays Bank MD Chris Ball may have funded the R100 000 series of pro-ANC advertisements. Ball has since received death threats and his home is surrounded by armed guards.

The commission, appointed by Botha last Thursday, will investigate whether Ball was involved in the financial arrangements for the advertisements, who inserted them, who paid for them and the source of the funds.

The advertisements, calling for

the unbanning of the ANC, appeared in 22 English language newspapers on January 8 to coincide with the ANC's 75th anniversary. The following day police removed material relating to the notices from newspaper offices. Further advertisements were prohibited by a police order.

Meanwhile, Judge Munnik has rejected a call for him to step down from the commission.

In a letter to a Sunday newspaper, former Pretoria Bar member Boris

BUSINESS DAY, Wedn

Savvas asked Judge Munnik to decline from accepting or continuing with the appointment as his office was being used for political purposes "which have a dubious character and which can only serve to demean it as well as the established legal institutions of SA".

Judge Munnik said he would not submit to "trial by newspaper".

In another development, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday criticised Botha's attack on Ball, saying it was an attempt to intimidate private enterprise giants who were beginning to threaten him.

He said Ball and other leading businessmen were putting pressure on Botha to break out of his Afrikaner limitations.

CAPE TOWN 11/2/82

# 'Deviant's blamed for attack on Sisulu home

JOHANNESBURG. — The recent attacks on the home of Mrs Albertina Sisulu was part of a campaign against the UDF and its affiliates, said Mr Murphy Morobe, acting national publicity secretary for the organization.

Mrs Sisulu is a vice-president of the United Democratic Front.

The home of Mrs Sisulu, wife of one of the ANC leaders, Mr Walter Sisulu, was attacked by arsonists at the weekend. This was the third attack in three weeks.

Mrs Sisulu was at home with her two-year-old granddaughter Vuyelwa when the arsonists poured petrol on the lounge window of the house and tried to set it alight. Slight damage was done as only the windows were charred.

Mr Morobe added that Mrs Sisulu's stature in the community was such that no one except political deviants and agents of apartheid would attempt arson against someone who had done so much for the liberation struggle in South Africa.

Mr Morobe said the community of Orlando West would be offering Mrs Sisulu the "security she deserves".

Mrs Sisulu said: "I have no enemies among my people. It's anybody's guess who is responsible for this."

Her theory is that the arsonists did not want to break the window because the act would have awoken her. They were hoping that the window would crack and the house catch fire.

She said she did not report the incident to the police.

Mrs Sisulu said the attack was the third in three weeks. Two weeks ago, she said, burglars broke in and stole a new silver watch that she bought for her imprisoned husband.

Last week arsonists attacked a car belonging to her son, Zwelakhe and burnt all four tyres.

She was told by neighbours that her dogs started barking at about 3am, and believes that it was the time the attackers were present. — Sapa

# Order is invalid, Minister and police admit to court

MARITZBURG — A United Democratic Front and Release Mandela Campaign challenge to a Government order was withdrawn in the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday when the Commissioner of Police and Minister of Law and Order conceded the invalidity of the order in the light of a recent Rand Supreme Court decision.

The order was promulgated on January 8, and followed publication of full-page advertisements in a number of English-language newspapers calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress.

The court ordered that the costs of the application be paid by the respondents. But the UDF told the court it would challenge an order promulgated on January 29, after the Rand Supreme Court decision, which empowered the Commissioner of Police to censor "any news, comment or advertisement".

Earlier the court was told that if the public arrest of a gang of bag snatchers looked like an unrest incident to a passerby, the arrest could not be reported by the media.

## RESPONDING TO APPLICATION

This example of what could not be reported was given by Mr Jan Combrink SC, for the State President and the Government. He was responding to an application by the UDF and the Release Mandela Campaign for the new emergency regulations promulgated on December 11 to be declared null and void, alternatively that key regulations be declared unlawful.

Mr Combrink said the State President could prohibit reporting on security action or anything which would appear to a bystander to be security action. The issue, he said, was "not over the truth ..."

"It is concerned with what image is created," he said.

Referring to regulations prohibiting media reports on detainees, he said reports on the circumstances or the treatment of a detainee which arose from judicial proceedings were also forbidden in terms of the regulations until the court had passed judgment.

This was necessary, he said, to prevent unbalanced reporting.

The hearing was adjourned to April 2. — Sapa.

# UDF drops court challenge

11/13  
structure  
11/2/87

A UNITED Democratic Front and Release Mandela Campaign challenge to a Government order prohibiting newspapers from publishing reports or advertisements which promote the aims of an unlawful organisation was withdrawn in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court yesterday.

The application was withdrawn after counsel for the Commissioner of Police and the Minister of Law and Order conceded the invalidity of the order in the light of a recent Rand Supreme Court decision.

The court today ordered that the costs of the UDF and RMC application be paid by the respondents. However, the UDF told the court today that it will challenge an order promulgated on January 29 after the Rand Supreme Court decision.

# The lion is dead

THE African National Congress has paid tribute to former Transvaal president and member of the national executive committee, Mr Gert Sibande, who died in Swaziland. He was 85.

Mr Sibande, one of the stalwarts of the organisation, was born in Ermelo where the conditions of near-slavery for farm workers forced him to join the liberation struggle.

During the 1930s he helped organise the farmworkers and tenant farmers in the Bethal district into an agricultural workers union.

From that time he was active in bringing the message of freedom to the hard-pressed rural communities of the eastern Transvaal where he earned himself the nickname of "The Lion of the East".

He was charged with treason together with 157 other people in 1956. In 1959 he was banished to the Komatiport district in terms of the then Native Administration Act of 1927.

He later sought refuge in Swaziland where he lived until his death on January 30 this year.

## 'Aim was to burn houses of cops, councillors and informers'

# COURT TOLD OF 'HIT SQUAD'



Service with a smile

GIRL with that warm smile is Miss Audrey Mosehla of Senaoane in Soweto, who is a bank teller.

FOUR of the accused in the Duduza terrorism trial were members of a hit squad whose aim was to burn houses that belonged to the police, councillors and informers, the Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday.

A State witness, who gave his evidence in camera and may not be identified, said one of the accused, Mr John Mlangeni, recruited him to join this hit squad "to maintain law and order" in Duduza.

He was giving evidence at the trial of

By MONK NKOMO

seven alleged members of the banned Congress of South African Students who have pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, attempted murder and possession of hand grenades and a bomb.

Mr X said the hit squad which consisted of about 10 people attacked and burned the house of Mr Vincent Makoloba a few days after the house of Mr Joseph Thobela was petrol-bombed.

The witness said members of the hit squad included the ac-

cused — Mr Mlangeni, Mr Veli Mazibuko, Mr Samuel Lekatsa and Mr Humphrey Tshabalala.

He told the court that he attended a night vigil in Duduza on May 17, 1985 where Mr Thobela urged residents in Duduza to boycott buses because of increased fares.

He also threatened to "necklace" those who did not heed the call.

Another speaker Mr Archie Mbatha, told the audience to attack school buses that transported white children, said Mr X.

Mr Mbatha also told them to fight Bantu

Education, the court heard.

The State witness said two men, who identified themselves as members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, trained their hit squad in the usage of hand grenades at a mine dump near Tsakane on June 24, 1985 — a day before a number of targets were attacked in Duduza and Springs.

The hit squad, which comprised three groups from Tsakane, Kwa-Thema and Duduza, were each promised R10 000 if the attacks on power stations, councillors and policemen were successfully carried out, Mr X said.

Asked by the State advocate, Mr John Oberholzer why these targets were chosen, Mr X replied that it was because councillors and policemen were seen as supporters of "the oppressive system".

(Proceeding)

## A housing surplus

SURPLUS housing in white suburbs was sufficient to accommodate 300 000 blacks in "unaccustomed comfort" but this was not likely to solve the housing crisis facing the urban poor unless the Group Areas Act was scrapped soon.

This was said in a speech by Allied Building Society's managing director, Mr David Waugh, published in the lat-

est edition of Allied's publication *Horizon*.

The report quoted Mr Waugh as saying the black housing shortage now stood at half a million units while an oversupply of between 25 000 to 30 000 housing units in white areas was being increased by poor economic conditions.

# PAC slams 'destabilisation'

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has accused the South African Government of attempting to wage a war on the organisation.

In a statement issued from Dar-es-Salaam, the PAC says the hostile acts have, so far, assumed several forms:

- A mysterious parcel was sent to a leading member of PAC. Had its explosive contents not been detected in time, "the possible consequence would have

## tactics

been ghastly to contemplate", the PAC said.

- Misinformation: A document purporting to come from the "internal leadership" of PAC has surfaced in some quarters. The internal leadership has no knowledge of the said document and has rejected the paper and its contents with the contempt it deserves.

In December last year, pamphlets were distributed in African townships in the name and letterheads of one organisation. The pamphlet called on their supporters to "eliminate" members of other political organisations. This was clear evidence of forming the so-called black-on-black violence. This attempt was thwarted by prompt action of the national liberation movements, said the PAC.



# Winnie 'raided' 7 times'

111A

Sowetan  
11/2/87

WINNIE Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader, said Tuesday police had raided her house seven times last Friday, climbing over garden walls and searching rooms.

A spokesman at police headquarters in Pretoria, Captain Reg Crewe, said: "We did visit Mrs Mandela's home on Friday in connection with a routine police investigation. It is, however, vehemently denied that we visited the house seven times."

He would not say how many times police visited the house that day or what was being investigated.

Mrs Mandela said the police made repeated visits throughout the day, questioning her each time.

# AZASM head calls for democratic unity

Cape Times 11/20/85 11A (E)

By EBRAHIM MOOSA  
Political Reporter

GROWING political sectarianism and intolerance between the UDF and black consciousness groups has to be stemmed urgently to prevent irreparable damage to the democratic struggle, according to the president of the Azanian Students Movement (AZASM), Mr Monde Ntwasa.

Mr Ntwasa is a 27-year-old final year B Sc student at the University of Cape Town, heads an organization which has about 10 000 members consisting of high school pupils and university students.

In an interview, Mr Ntwasa, an ardent socialist, pointed out the dangers of sectarian violence and stressed the urgent need for responsible organizations to enforce discipline among their ranks.

He was scathing of sectarian groups whom he described as "predominantly emotional and uncritical".

"The hallmarks of such groups are arrogance, anti-dialogue, anti-communication and disrespect towards the choice of others. They impose their convictions on others and resolve to action without vigilance of reflection.

"Sectarians see themselves as the sole creators of history and the only ones entitled to set its pace. People are reduced to mere masses and objects — they matter only as supports for their own goals — a relationship of blatant patronage."

Mr Ntwasa said despite peace efforts, recent attacks on AZASM

members, their relations and their children had proved that the organizations involved were not interested in democracy.

Several attempts between UDF and Azapo representatives had been scuttled by "agents provocateurs of the state" but who were not weeded out soon enough from the organizations, Mr Ntwasa said.

He was also criticized the role of sections of the media for "fuelling the violence by distorting the truth".

"We expect them to play this role even further as it is not prohibited by their government."

## Social transformation

Mr Ntwasa said that a popular misconception was to see AZASM and Azapo as the legal arm of the banned Pan-African Congress. AZASM saw the PAC, the ANC and the Black Consciousness movement as movements in exile who had a particular role to fulfill.

AZASM's philosophy was based on social transformation through education.

"If people break the code of the liberation movement tolerance should be exercised rather than coercion," Mr Ntwasa said.

"We cannot expect people to just toe the line without creating the proper conditions for them to understand the situation of the day. The responsibility of the liberation movement is to inculcate values which would result in co-operative value system."

AZASM is opposed to indefinite school boycotts being used as a political weapon. Indefinite boycotts presuppose that liberation was imminent. Mr Ntwasa says the 1985 school boycotts did

not bring about a "meaningful crisis" in education.

If the 1985 crisis was beneficial to the liberation movement pupils, parents and teachers would have refused to participate in the inferior bantu education which "prepares individuals be useful instruments in a capitalist system," he says.

However, pupils have returned to schools and the state had been forced to make meaningless reforms in education like issuing free books and free education which do not solve any problems, Mr Ntwasa said.

"The call for free education does not mean we want white education. We don't say white education is better because it is ruling-class education."

This year AZASM's theme is "Educate for Socialism". The thrust of this programme is to increase the political understanding of students by stressing that the problems in education are not isolated from the problems in the broader liberation movement.

One of the major problems facing black education is the banning of Student Representative Councils (SRCs) at Department of Education and Training (DET) schools and poses as one of the major hurdles in AZASM's ability to organize pupils.

Mr Ntwasa pointed out that AZASM is vehemently opposed to the prefect system which it describes as a "a system which furthers government objectives" while SRCs are democratically elected. SRCs are "non-negotiables" and AZASM will design alternative measures if the state prevents it from organizing students on a democratic basis.

~~ARGUS~~ ARGUS

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Wednesday February 11 1987

NATIONAL/INTERNATIO

# Man shot 5 times in hospital escape

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A visitor was shot at least five times when gunmen sprung an alleged African National Congress commander, Mr Gordon Webster, from hospital, the Supreme Court heard today.

Mr Mlungisa Buthelezi, died of wounds to the brain and the lung, the district surgeon, Dr D Maney, told Mr Justice Shearer in the hearing of Mr Robert McBride, 23, and Miss Gretha Apelgren, 30, the alleged Magoo's Bar bombers, who are facing charges which include four of

murder, five of attempted murder and terrorism.

The State alleges that Mr McBride, armed with an AK-47 rifle, and Mr Derrick McBride, armed with a Makarov pistol, entered the Edendale Hospital in Maritzburg about 8pm on May 4.

Outside the intensive care unit, where Mr Webster was being cared for under police guard, the McBrides fired at random, killing Mr Buthelezi and injuring four people.

Mr Webster was put on a hospital trolley and wheeled out to a vehicle. He is believed to be in Botswana.

Constable Edward Ngcobo, who had been guarding Mr Webster, said Mr Buthelezi had been waiting for him to go off duty.

The court was told yesterday how Mr McBride had twice fired through the door of a sluice room where two nurses and an injured policeman were taking refuge.

Constable J H Visagie said that he heard a burst of automatic fire and then Mr Robert McBride, wearing a doctor's coat, burst through the swing doors and shot him in the arm before he could draw his pistol.

(Proceeding)



The Lion of the East in Swaziland — a picture from the family scrapbook

# Gert Sibande: Friend of the farmworkers

They called him the Lion of the East — Gert Sibande, who pioneered the exposés of working conditions on farms in the Eastern Transvaal during the 1950s.

Like many of his colleagues, former ANC regional president Sibande had to leave the country of his birth because of persecution.

He died in exile this week. MARC SUTTNER reports



Gert Sibande as a young man

EVEN when Gert Sibande "couldn't remember in a straight line anymore", he still liked to tell the story of how he got his name.

His first job, at the age of eight, was to ride on the wagon at a local farmer's side, opening and closing the gate. When the farmer found out his name was Shadrack Sibande, he told him he didn't want anybody with an English name working on his farm — and decided, there and then, that the young boy should be called Gert, after him.

With the death of Gert Sibande in Swaziland last week at the age of 86, after nearly 30 years of obscurity in exile and several years of declining health, South Africa lost one of its most colourful and legendary activists.

He was known as the Lion of the East for having pioneered, almost singlehandedly, the fight against the exploitation of farmworkers in Bethal and other parts of the Eastern Transvaal.

Without any formal education and with no previous trade union experience, he started the Farm Workers' Association — the first organisation of its kind in South Africa.

Born near Ermelo in 1901, Sibande was the son of tenant farm labourers. He never set foot in a school, he said, as in those days farmworkers' children were expected to work, not go to school.

He replaced his father as a field

labourer at the age of 15, and spent the next 20 years working on farms in the Eastern Transvaal. He soon earned a reputation for arguing with farmers, and seldom spent more than a year on one farm.

In the early 1930s, he moved to Bethal and started what can best be described as one of the earliest advice offices for workers.

Working conditions at the time were barbaric, and labourers were forced to work from sunrise to sunset, with little or no breaks. They were fed *phuu* (porridge) and gravy on sacks instead of plates — to make them eat faster, because the gravy soaked quickly through the sacks.

When Sibande started his Farm Workers' Association in the late 1930s, the main objective was to protect tenant labourers whose crops were confiscated by farmers just before harvest.

However, its successes were limited, and in 1939 Sibande was sent to make contact with the ANC in Johannesburg. He came back and set up an ANC branch in Bethal, which grew rapidly and became one of the ANC's most successful.

The horrifying conditions on the farms persisted and Sibande adopted a new strategy: "talking to the papers". In June 1947 he took the Reverend Michael Scott and journalist Ruth First on a tour of the farms in the Bethal district.

Their visit resulted in high-profile reports in the *Cape Times* and the *Rand Daily Mail*. But despite the publicity, the appalling conditions persisted and five years later Sibande worked with *Drum* journalist Henry Nkumalo on his famous Bethal exposé of conditions on potato farms.

The following year, in 1953, Sibande was served with his first banning and deportation order. With only eight days to leave the area, he asked the local "Native Commissioner" for advice.

The commissioner's answer was that, since not a single farmer or municipality would accept him, the best thing was to buy a cart and a

donkey and keep moving.

Sibande moved back to Ermelo, but was arrested within a month. He eventually settled his family in Evaton, near Vanderbijlpark.

One legendary anecdote relates to the time Sibande, on the run to evade a banning order, arrived at a conference in Kliptown in June 1956, determined to speak. He mingled with the crowd, with his collar turned up and a balaclava over his head. When he mounted the platform to address the audience, he removed his disguise and was immediately recognised by a security police sergeant called Moeller who shouted: "It's Sibande, it's Sibande."

Moeller's colleagues rushed forward to assist him, but the sergeant told them to move back. Fearful of a riot, Moeller allowed Sibande to finish his speech before serving him with a five-year banning order.

Three months later, Sibande was arrested and, along with 154 other activists, charged with high treason. Sibande was one of the "mainline" accused, and one of the few to give evidence for the defence. His evidence, described by a fellow accused as "dignified and unshaken", was remarkable for its simplicity and strength.

The trial was to last nearly five years. In the interim, Sibande was elected to serve on the national executive of the ANC and subsequently elected president of the Transvaal ANC.

He and his fellow-accused were eventually acquitted, but soon after the trial, Sibande was banished to Komatipoort. A few months later, he skipped the country and set up home in Swaziland. He claimed to have "skipped back" to South Africa a few months later to buy a tractor in Bethal, which he drove back to Swaziland. The tractor was to provide him with a livelihood, as he rented it out to people in the neighbourhood.

Sibande spent the last years of his life in a small flat in Manzini.

He will be buried in Ngwane Park, Manzini, tomorrow.

BY GARRY TRUDEAU

I NEEDS FOR  
THE NEWS OF  
TUTURY! YOU  
REST DOWN!



I AM  
SITTING  
DOWN,  
DEAR  
MAN.



OKAY, HOLD ON  
TO YOUR HAT!  
YOU'RE NOT  
DOING THAT!



LOB/Trudeau

# Dialogue road is strewn with obstacles

Despite its bid for white support, the ANC has offered no special concessions to whites, writes Gerald L'Ange, editor of The Star's Africa News Service.

Arranging some sort of dialogue between the South African Government and the African National Congress has become one of the main aims of United States policy on South Africa.

After South Africa's failure to respond to its efforts to encourage change through "constructive engagement", Washington has turned its attention to promoting negotiations between Pretoria and the ANC, whom it sees as one of the major parties that must be involved in any realistic efforts to resolve the South African racial problem.

The recent meeting between Secretary of State George Shultz and ANC president Oliver Tambo is viewed in Washington as only the beginning of a series of exchanges with the organisation.

Mr Shultz apparently heard nothing from Mr Tambo to ease the Reagan Administration's main worries about the ANC: its commitment to violence and the communist influence in its ranks.

## Strong objections

These are also high on Pretoria's list of objectionable features of the ANC, as the State President, Mr P W Botha, made plain when he again expressed the Government's abhorrence of the ANC's pursuit of violent revolution in his statement in Parliament on February 4.

The issues of violence and communist influence are in themselves enough to make any negotiations impossible without drastic changes in attitudes or policies on one side or another.

But they are not the only ones that will bedevil the efforts that will now be made by Mr Shultz's Africa chief, Dr Chester Crocker, to promote dialogue.

This becomes clear from an examination of ANC policy as it was restated at the celebration of the organisation's 75th anniversary in Lusaka last month. There is no evidence of any substantive shift in attitudes since the policy was last reviewed at the organisation's consultative conference at Kabwe in Zambia in 1985.

The ANC appears to have made



Shultz . . . no reassurance from Tambo.



Crocker . . . snags galore to bedevil his efforts.



P W Botha . . . abhorrence of violent revolution.

## Strong communist influence

no attempt to make its policy more attractive to the two groups whose support it is now wooing: white South Africans and the Western countries.

By trying to broaden its support among these groups, whom it has long accused of directly or indirectly supporting apartheid, the ANC apparently hopes to undermine the South African Government's position both domestically and internationally.

The appeal to the whites was one of the main themes of the ceremonies in Lusaka and of the statement issued there by the ANC's national executive committee.

The document stressed the importance of involving whites in the ANC's struggle to achieve what it calls a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

At the same time, however, it suggested that whites would be expected to embrace ANC policy and its "democratic perspectives".

The ANC's interpretation of democracy is, however, suspected by critics in South Africa and Washington to be closer to the Soviet than the traditional Western one.

Despite its bid for white support, the ANC has offered whites no special concessions. It still rejects any form of ethnic differentiation and any special constitutional protection for whites or other minority groups.

The ANC offers only to consider constitutional protection for human and individual rights and for the freedom of "speech, assembly, association, language, religion, the Press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial".

The ANC promises that everyone shall have the right to "vote and be voted to any elective organ" but does not spell out what kind of elective organs are contemplated.

ANC leaders made it clear at Lusaka that they do not believe the Government can be reformed through diplomatic persuasion. They think it will react only to pressure and have called for intensified economic sanctions.

So even as a general issue, negotiation looks like a non-starter, certainly for the present.

In regard to the specific element

regarded as legitimate targets.

Closely related to the issue of violence is the extent of the exiled ANC leadership's control of black radicals inside South Africa.

Officials insisted at Lusaka that the leadership is in control of ANC supporters in the Republic. Some analysts believe, however, that the "old guard" in the executive may be forced to adopt more extreme positions than they would like in order to win the support of young black radicals.

It emerged in Lusaka that a major element of the ANC's use of violence is a plan for its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to set up "mass revolutionary bases" throughout the country.

This strategy was said to have sprung from a decision to abandon efforts to launch insurgency from bases in neighbouring countries. But

## The ANC's strategy of violence will complicate the American bid to promote talks.

of communist influence, no indication emerged at Lusaka that the non-communists in the ANC are prepared to divorce themselves from the South African Communist Party element to facilitate negotiation with Pretoria or to widen their international support.

The SACP's influence in the organisation remains difficult to define but is widely accepted as substantial.

The US Government study of this issue that was commissioned as part of the South African sanctions legislation passed by the US Congress estimates that about half the ANC executive are SACP members. It says the SACP "continues to view its historical alliance with the ANC as its main hope for winning power in South Africa".

The ANC's commitment to violence likewise emerged uncompromised at Lusaka. It still says, in effect, that before the ANC can abandon violence the Government must first give up its violence, which the ANC defines not only as police and army action but also the implementation of apartheid legislation.

The Lusaka document took a stand against deliberate attacks on civilians, black or white, but implied no departure from the position taken at Kabwe, which was that more civilians will unavoidably get hurt as the armed struggle is intensified and that farmers and anyone else co-operating with the security forces are to be

it was not explained how it was proposed to operate the internal bases in the face of the overwhelmingly superior strength of the SADF and SAP.

To the extent that they expand the ANC's use of violence, these measures — if they eventuate — will complicate American efforts to arrange dialogue.

ANC sources said these proposed steps were "building blocks" that would eventually combine to enable the organisation to make a serious contention for power in South Africa.

Another major aspect of the ANC's stance that must be considered in any dialogue efforts is its economic policy. No strong light was thrown on this at the Lusaka proceedings. Nothing emerged, however, to indicate any departure from the Kabwe principles, which involve substantial state intervention in the means of production, including nationalisation of monopolies.

The Lusaka document spoke broadly of ownership and control of the economy having to be directed to ensure that neither the public nor the private sector served as a means of enriching the few at the expense of the majority.

In trying to initiate Pretoria-ANC dialogue, Washington is starting out more or less where the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group left off. But its chances of success appear no better.

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ARRANGING some sort of dialogue between the South African Government and the African National Congress has become one of the main aims of United States policy on South Africa.

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### Violence

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The issues of violence and communist influence are in themselves enough to make any negotiations impossible without drastic changes in attitudes or policies on one side or another.

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OLIVER Tambo ... ANC boss.



CHESTER Crocker ... US aide.

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# US wants ANC-Pretoria dialogue

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## FOCUS

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### Document

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The ANC promises that each person shall have the right to "vote and be voted to any elective organ", but



**Lest we forget**

THE *Sowetan* today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:

- Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the *New Nation*, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 61 days;
- Mxolisi Jackson Fuzile, *Veritas News Agency*, who has been detained under

# Inquiry told to probe Ball link

PRETORIA — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, has instructed the Munnik Commission of Inquiry to ascertain whether Mr Chris Ball was involved in financing the pro-ANC advertisements which appeared in newspapers nationwide on January 11.

This was one of the terms of reference gazetted here yesterday for the one-man commission appointed to investigate the advertisement.

According to the notice, the commission's terms of reference are:

"To investigate and report on:

● "In which newspapers advertisements concerning the ANC appeared on January 8 1987;

● "By whom or on behalf of whom the advertisements were placed and how, how much and by whom or on behalf of whom the newspapers were paid for the publication of the advertisements;

● "What the source was of the funds that were used to pay for the advertisements and whether Mr Chris Ball was involved in the financial arrangements."

— Sapa **11A** **11B**

1/2/87 09. 1

Govt published  
12/28/81  
inquiry terms (1A)

The terms of the one-man commission of inquiry into "certain advertisements" concerning the African National Congress were published yesterday in a *Government Gazette*.

Mr Justice G G A Munnik will investigate and report on:

- Whether Barclays managing director Mr Chris Ball was "in any way involved in the financial arrangements concerning payment for the placing of the advertisements" and "any relevant aspect that may fully explain this matter".
  - By whom or on behalf of whom the advertisements were placed.
  - In which newspapers they appeared.
  - How the newspapers were paid for publishing the advertisements, how much and by whom.
  - Source of the funds to pay for the advertisements following a report the UDF gave a bank-guaranteed cheque.
- Pretoria Bureau.



# INSTRUCTORS COULD HAVE BEEN POLICE'

11A

THE two "ANC" men who allegedly trained a number of youths in the use of handgrenades shortly before some of them were killed and others maimed during attacks on certain targets in Duduza, could have been policemen, the Pretoria Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Mr X, who gave his evidence in camera, twice told the court that he believed the two men, who claimed to be from "Umkhonto we Sizwe" the military wing of the ANC, could have been policemen or persons procured by the police.

However, he later withdrew this submission and said this was in fact formulated by lawyers.

The two "ANC" men allegedly trained 10 members of a hit squad in the use of handgrenades a day before the attacks on certain targets in Duduza and KwaThema in Springs during the night of June 25-26 1985.

Evidence led earlier revealed that the handgrenades used during these attacks were not fitted with time-delaying mechanisms.

Mr X was testifying for the State in the trial of seven alleged members of the banned Congress of South African Students who have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Stafford, sitting with an assessor to charges of terrorism, attempted murder, possession of handgrenades and a bomb.

The accused are Mr Joseph Titus Mazibuko (18), Mr John Mlangeni (21), Mr Samuel Lekatsa (19), Mr Humphrey Tshabalala (19), Mr Veli Mazibuko (18), Mr Hosea Lengosane (20) and Mr Cedric Dladla (19).

Mr X told the court that he, together with Titus, John, Humphrey, Samuel and Veli were members of the "hit squad" who attacked and set alight several

houses including that of Warrant Officer Richard Mapeleba and Mr

## Duduza trial

Vincent Makoloba in 1985. Mr Makoloba's house was attacked three times.

Police evidence led earlier said that it was only attacked twice —

on February 2 and May 18. Mr X stressed yesterday that he was there when it was petrol bombed and furniture damaged on May 10 that year.

The witness said he

was recruited as a member of the "hit squad" in May 1985. At their first meeting on June 21 that year, one of the accused, Veli, complained about the vigilante groups and warned that these groups were killers.

He also heard at the meeting that a vigilante group had killed Alexander Pailane, an activist. It was resolved at the meeting that the houses of these vigilantes should be burnt.

The victims, according to Mr X were to be

Mr Billy Dlamini and three businessmen — Mr Tweba Moholo and brothers David and Steven Namane. "I heard that they hired Billy and others to kill Alexandra Pailane. I also heard that they worked with the system," said Mr X.

He did not know who the vigilantes were or who they had killed.

Asked by defence counsel, Mr Nick de Vos why he joined the "hit squad", Mr X said he joined because there was a spirit of fighting in Duduza. "I did not like

what was happening. I was fighting against the bucket system. There were no streets and electricity — that is why we were fighting," he said.

Asked by Mr de Vos why he twice referred to accused No 1 (Mr Mazibuko) as Mr Humphrey Tshabalala during his evidence in chief and then later correctly identifying him after a day or two, Mr X replied: "It is a slip of the tongue. These people have grown up — they are bigger now. I just remembered his name.

# Judge orders release of Azapo member

13/2/87  
11A

**Court Reporter**

A DURBAN judge yesterday ordered the release of a man who had been detained because it was thought he was a 'secret' member of the ANC.

His release was the result of an application brought by the Azanian People's Organisation against the Minister of Law and Order in the Supreme Court, Durban.

Mr Justice Didcott ordered the release of Mr Pathmanathan (Patrick) Moodley from detention as well as the return of certain documents which had been seized from him at the time of his arrest.

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**Hopeful  
politician  
to have  
another go**

**Political Reporter**

MR CHRIS Strauss, who failed to launch the Christian Democratic Party of South Africa when three people turned up at the inaugural meeting in the Durban City Hall four months ago, says he plans to hold 'another mass meeting'.

Mr Strauss, 70, whose beliefs are based on fundamentalist Christianity and Verwoerdian apartheid, admits his October 8 meeting at which the audience was outnumbered three to one by municipal security

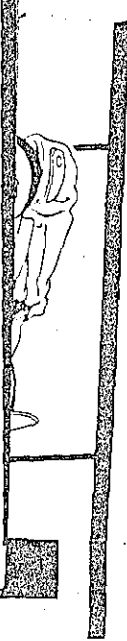
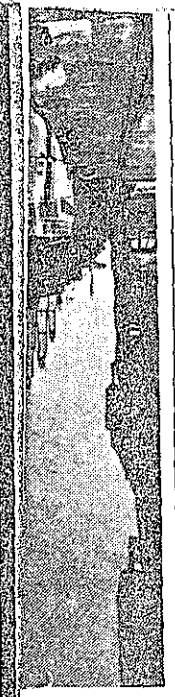
It was heard that Mr Moodley was detained on December 12 last year in terms of the Internal Security Act.

An office-bearer and active member of Azapo, Mr Moodley was detained on the supposition that he was a member of a cell of the ANC.

In his judgment Mr Justice Didcott made the observation that there had been a considerable measure of friction between the ANC and Azapo and that the two organisations differed from each other quite strongly.

He found it unlikely that an apparently enthusiastic and energetic member of Azapo should be a clandestine member of the ANC.

Mr Justice Didcott said although it was possible that somebody like the detainee was a secret member of the ANC who had been sent to infiltrate Azapo to obtain information, it was unlikely in the case of Mr Moodley.



# ANC ads commission calls for information

11A  
13/2/87

CAPE TOWN — The one-man commission of inquiry appointed by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, to investigate the African National Congress advertisements and any connection Mr Chris Ball, a Barclays Bank executive, has with them or their payment, has called for information relating thereto before February 27.

In a statement, the chairman of the commission, the Judge President of the Cape Division of the Supreme Court, Mr Justice G. C. A. Munnik, asked for respondents to his call to write to the commission secretary "as soon as possible".

The information he is seeking relates to his terms of reference which are as follows:

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- By whom or on behalf of whom the advertisements were placed;
- How, how much and by who or on behalf of whom the newspapers

were paid for the publication of the advertisements;

- What the source was of the funds that were used to pay for the advertisements especially also with reference to a report in the Cape Times of February 5, 1987 according to which the UDF gave a bank guaranteed cheque for R100 000 for the placing of the advertisements;

- Whether Mr Chris Ball was in any way involved in the financial arrangements concerning the payment for the placing of the advertisements and

- Any relevant aspect that may more fully explain the aforementioned matter.

"As soon as circumstances permit a further press statement will be issued in relation to the venue and commencement of the hearing of the commission," Mr Justice Munnik said.

The address is: The Secretary, Commission of Inquiry into certain advertisements, Private Bag X81, Pretoria, 0001. — Sapa

# Azapo wins court order to free detainee

13/2/87  
Star  
11/12

DURBAN — A Durban judge yesterday ordered the release of a man who had been detained because it was thought he was a "secret" member of the ANC.

His release was the result of an application brought in the Supreme Court by the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) against the Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Justice Didcott ordered the release of Mr Pathmanathan (Patrick) Moodley from detention as well as the return of certain documents seized from him.

An office-bearer and active member of Azapo, Mr Moodley was detained in terms of the Internal Security Act on December 12 last year on the supposition that he was a member of an ANC cell.

Mr Justice Didcott said there had been a considerable measure of friction between the ANC and Azapo. The two organisations differed strongly in policy and strategy.

He found it unlikely that an apparently enthusiastic member of Azapo should be a clandestine member of the ANC.

Although it was possible that the ANC could be infiltrated by someone like the detainee to obtain information for Azapo, this was unlikely in the case of Mr Moodley. — Sapa.

# The pith of Indaba

**What** Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said in parliament last week about the Indaba may well have some substance; the Indaba's constitutional blueprint for power sharing in KwaNatal is not without its imperfections. Nobody claimed it was.

However, for the Nats publicly to imply that they have always been ardent supporters of the Indaba and the politics of negotiation that it represents is the worst kind of political opportunism. It must not be forgotten that it was only under sufferance that they agreed to send a delegation to the talks — and then only as observers.

But Heunis went even further. While denigrating the Indaba, he implied once again that government was not being given sufficient credit for its own efforts to promote dialogue and asked that it should not be judged on the "visibility" of

what it was doing. But trying to coerce black community councillors, who for the most part have spurned his advances, into joining the much-vaunted National Statutory Council can hardly be considered progress towards this end.

In the run-up to the election it will be a relatively easy task for Nat candidates in Natal to take issue with the Indaba on the economic cost of integration or exploit white insecurities about the individual rights versus group rights debate.

But it must not be forgotten that when the voters go to the polling booths they will concern themselves as much with the substance of the Indaba as with what it stands for. They will be making their mark in favour of reform — with which the Indaba is clearly synonymous.

The sad reality is that the Nats have no counterpart to offer in their own election arsenal. ■

FIM 312/187  
11/18

NO CONFIDENCE DEBATE

**Ball in PW's court**

Politicians make their blunders, even those as experienced as President P W Botha. But what made his recent gaff over the Chris Ball affair even worse, was that it came during a run-up to an election and handed the Opposition a heaven-sent stick for government's back.

While Botha may have believed his comments would serve the National Party by detracting from government speakers' dismal performance in the No Confidence debate, and possibly win back a few supporters from the Right, the opposite appears to have happened. All Botha really did was reinforce his bully-boy image (see *Leaders*).

The Ball attack probably saved the PFP's effort in the debate from a whimpering finale. It revitalised the party's rapidly flagging onslaught in what had earlier promised to be one of the best performances by an opposition party in many years.



**Barclays's Ball ... sticking to his guns after Botha slur**

PFP speakers used the Ball issue as a focus for wider-ranging attacks on government incompetence in all fields. Botha was repeatedly portrayed as an incompetent, using the privilege of parliament to smear a critic.

Opposition leader Colin Eglin accused the president of entering an era of "McCarthyism" and of using hearsay rumours to "wreak vengeance" on opponents of his policies.

"When innuendo, rumour and selective quotes are used to denigrate political opponents from a position of privilege, we know just how far we have gone down the slippery slope away from democracy," Eglin said.

A number of Nat MPs were shocked by

**The FM brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters.**

**It does not believe that the restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but will obey the law.**

the attack on Ball and were saying privately this week that the issue will cost the party dearly in the election, particularly in upper and middle-class seats.

In retrospect, it is clear that Botha entered the debate earlier than had been expected (he came in on Wednesday afternoon and spoke for nearly two hours) to create a diversion.

In his wide-ranging attack on critics, mainly to the Left, he effectively said "if you're not my ally, you're my enemy" and lumped all groups and individuals together as the target for attack.

The main theme of the attack was the ANC and its "allies" who Botha implied were most Left leaning groups. The Ball comments may have appeared to have been slipped in as an afterthought in the wake of a concerted attack. On analysis, however, they must have been carefully planned — although the reaction could surely not have been expected.

There is speculation that Botha was misinformed by his advisers on Ball's alleged involvement in the ANC advertisements. The upshot, however, was that instead of the ANC issue dominating the remainder of the debate and dampening the PFP attack (which it might have done, considering the party's fragile internal security policies), it was overshadowed by the Ball issue.

In the end, it was left to Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk, and Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen to try to salvage something for government.

Flawed though his argument may have been, De Klerk at least tried to set out election issues and (courageously in the face of a rightwing onslaught) reaffirmed government's commitment to an undefined reform programme.

Viljoen was given the job of trying to stem the flow of Nat support to the Left. Speaking immediately after Nat rebel Wynand Malan, who clearly explained his reasons for quitting the party, Viljoen effectively called on all the Malan-types both in and outside parliament to be patient. Reform is a complex process that needs time and money to get right, he explained.

Viljoen argued that the entire Nat caucus is made up of "New Nats" who support reform and who stand firmly behind a leader with courage, determination, vision and initiative.

At the end of the debate, election issues were not as clear as many had hoped they would be. It seems, however, that the Nats will adopt a two-pronged approach — campaigning on a ticket of tough security measures to shield further constitutional reform. The ANC, and anyone perceived as soft on the ANC, can expect little mercy.

For the PFP, on the other hand, the task of exposing Nat shortcomings should be even easier than before.

The Conservative Party probably faces the most difficult campaign, especially if it tries to convince white voters that the Nationalists are about to capitulate to black rule. ■

# The pith of Indaba

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# Sunrise. A knock at the door. In the street, a crowd armed with sticks. Bloody Sunday has begun

IT was 5.15am when Ntosokolo Moss was woken by a knock at his door. A large crowd had surrounded his house. "Come," they said, "bring a stick, we have a meeting on at Kelman's place."

That was how Uitenhage's bloody Sunday, January 4, began for Moss. Reluctantly, he said, he followed the marchers and was handed a fencing pole as they moved through the streets of Kwanobuhle, stopping to summon others to swell the ranks.

Three private vehicles led the way, Moss said, and a Hippo — a police armoured vehicle — and two police "mellow yellow" personnel carriers brought up the rear. Unhindered, the crowd passed uniformed policemen at the KwaNobuhle Town Council building.

The marchers wound their way north, through a section of the township dubbed "Kyalitsha", only splitting up when they entered "Angola", an area renowned for its political organisation.

"We moved past a Hippo in the open veld, where a white policeman on top directed us down a street with hand gestures," Moss said.

Then followed what Progressive Federal Party researcher Rory Riordan called an "orgy of violence". In operations that morning and evening two youths were hacked to death and at least 10 homes were attacked — windows were smashed, and furniture and possessions burnt.

Riordan, head of the PFP's Port Elizabeth monitoring group Operation Real South Africa, this week gave the *Weekly Mail* 24 statements he had taken from witnesses, victims and others with information relating to the raid. He said the victims were considering legal action.

The crux of the evidence, said Riordan, was that from the initial meeting of the vigilante group to its final dispersion, the armed crowd's activities had been monitored and sponsored by the police.

Responding to these allegations, the SA Police public relations directorate yesterday said it "vehemently refutes the allegations of police complicity in orchestrating or in any way aiding and abetting the crowds who allegedly damaged property. If, however, anybody has any information to the contrary, such information can be made available in the form of an affidavit and the matter will be investigated by the SA Police."

The police have repeatedly denied that the incidents were unrest related. The directorate confirmed that a police contingent "under the personal command of the officer commanding the local divisional anti-riot unit, was present in the Kwanobuhle township."

"A group of about 3 000 to 4 000 people had split into smaller groups of 300-400 people and they moved through the township. The SA Police endeavoured to round up the groups so they could be addressed by the commanding officer and warned to disperse without any violence or force having to be used. This, in fact, is what eventually transpired and no further incidents took place.

"Prior to this, damage to property did, however, take place and the police are investigating a number of cases, including arson. A number of arrests were also made that same day in connection with the arson cases."

A strikingly different picture emerged in the statements and information Riordan gathered.

One of the most detailed accounts was given by Peggy Sotyelelwa, wife of UDF Area Committee member Siphosiso Sotyelelwa, who has been in hiding for several months. She said a van had pulled up outside her house at 9am that Sunday, and about eight people had disembarked and walked

*A PFP monitoring group probes Uitenhage's extraordinary Sunday of mayhem*



Guided by Uitenhage residents, PFP researcher Rory Riordan conducts an on site investigation into a day of vigilante violence

**JO-ANN BEKKER reports on the allegations of random vigilante attacks**

Picture: CHRIS QWAZI, Ecom

up to her house.

"They broke every pane of glass in the house ... they took out my six piece lounge suite, the room divider, TV, generator, hi-fi, double bed, children's beds, all my linen, curtains, blankets, sheets, lamps and ornaments. "They chopped these up with axes, and the furniture they could not remove — such as the wardrobes and the fridge — they smashed up inside with axes. They drank coldrink from my fridge. They removed all of my husband's clothing, but not mine, and made a pile of all our smashed belongings on the pavement outside."

Then two more vehicles pulled up, men alighted and "took the paraffin from my primus stove, poured it over my smashed belongings and lit them." As the belongings started burning, they left.

Shortly afterwards, she said, two Hippos had drawn up outside the house. She had heard a policeman in the second vehicle radio headquarters saying: "This is Comrade Sotyelelwa's house," after checking this information with a municipal policeman.

"That afternoon," Sotyelelwa continued, "a beige Sierra containing three black policemen arrived. One of the policemen I know as Henry Nopesi shouted out: 'Oh ha ha, we've got this rubbish. Look how beautiful is his house. It looks beautiful like our houses.'" Riordan said this apparently referred to the burning of the homes of all KwaNobuhle's black policemen.

Other witnesses also spoke of police approval and participation in the attacks by the vigilante group called "Ama-Africa", loosely translated as Our Africa.

Julia Mooi said a police Hippo and "mellow yellows" had pulled up outside her house, after a group of vigilantes came looking for her brother. "The Ama-Africa said: 'Sikhwelelent — move aside' and the police obeyed," Mooi said.

Piecing together the background to the march, Riordan said the key figure appeared to be Kelman Befile. According to hearsay reports, Befile

allegedly shot a youth he caught poaching on his land in Langa township, Uitenhage, two years ago.

"Comrades" in the area retaliated by burning down his three shops and his father's house. Befile moved to the "Kyalitsha" section and set up a new shop.

But the recent forced removal of Langa residents to Kwanobuhle brought his old enemies to his doorstep once again. His new shop was destroyed in an arson attack.

Befile and his friends then formed the core of the Ama-Africa vigilante group, which clashed repeatedly with the militant "comrades".

The "comrades" accused Ama-Africa of staging the murder of 26-year-old UDF activist Lindiwe Mente. Befile accused the "comrades" of destroying his car. But, Riordan believes, the incident which probably precipitated the January 4 march was

the temporary abduction of Befile's brother, Mnikelo, by "comrades".

A statement by July Mboya, who is facing a charge of abducting Befile's brother, bears this out.

He said a group of 8-10 armed men had arrived at his house accusing him of abducting Mnikelo. They smashed his window panes, assaulted him and threw him into a taxi.

"I was bleeding as they drove all over KwaNobuhle," Mboya said. "They hit a small boy in Mabandla Street, he fell and they left him."

He said he was handed over to the police and taken by ambulance to the provincial hospital, where wounds in his head and finger were stitched.

On his way home he was stopped at a roadblock manned by Ama-Africa, the police and municipal police. He left the car he was travelling in and began walking home but he was chased by an Ama-Africa member

who was at the roadblock.

M'iva was then taken to the notorious Ama-Africa headquarters. He was again interrogated as to why he had abducted Mnikelo, and hit with a *knopkie* above the elbow and in the mouth.

"They appeared set to kill me when their leader said: 'No, he's on bail, we can't do this to him.'"

"They then brought in Mnikelo who also accused me of abducting him. He took a large pole in both hands, and beat me in the kidneys and stomach. I collapsed then."

Baden Powell Ngesi, an attorney's clerk whom the Ama-Africa accused of presiding over "people's courts" in the township, gave a vivid description of the inside of the Sogwayi Street headquarters, after a mob of 500 forcibly took him there on the evening of January 4.

It was, he said, "a house with no chairs, no cupboards, no furniture, no inside doors. Only a candle lit the main room, and I could see blood on the walls. This was about 9pm."

"I was questioned repeatedly about alleged participation in people's courts, boycotts, and other allegations about 'comrades' keeping belongings of burnt people in my house. All these allegations are false, and I denied them strenuously." He said a man brought a pick handle down on his arm, breaking the bone.

"They had beaten me so much that I was lying on the floor, bleeding. Youngsters came and removed my shoes and belt, and tried to get my ring off. I presume this was preliminary to burning me. They left my socks and trousers on."

"Then a man entered and instructed them to leave me. He told me to leave and as I pulled myself up, and left the door, he stabbed me in the back."

He said he had collapsed outside the door of a nearby house.

Riordan said he had interviewed the distraught relatives of two of the people killed that bloody Sunday.

Nan Maya, mother of 14-year-old John Mayal, said when she arrived on the scene she found her son "had been hacked about the head, on the left hand side, and his head was smashed open. The people who performed this deed had left."

Lena Loom, the grandmother of Siphiso Loom, 20, said that at noon "we went to 42 Mtingand Street, where Siphiso was killed, to find his body there. The police, ambulance, everybody, had just left him there since he had been killed, at about 9am."

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# Sisulu appeal this week

W/ Mail 13/2-19/2/87  
11A By MONO BADELA

UNITED Democratic Front president Albertina Sisulu could be jailed after next Friday.

On that day, the appeal court is scheduled to hear an application to overturn a two-year sentence handed down in 1984.

Sisulu, whose husband Walter is serving a life sentence at Pollsmoor Prison, was sentenced to four years' jail, two of them suspended, for furthering the aims of the African National Congress in a funeral speech in Soweto in 1984. Her appeal — in which she will be represented by George Bizos — against both conviction and sentence will begin in Bloemfontein next Friday, February 20.

If she is jailed, 68-year-old Sisulu will be the second of the UDF's three founding presidents in prison. Ageing trade unionist Oscar Mpetha was jailed early last year, when a similar appeal against a sedition conviction was turned down by the Appellate Division.

She will also be the fourth member of the Sisulu family currently behind bars — after her husband, former ANC secretary-general; her son, New Nation editor Zwelakhe, detained since early December under

Emergency regulations; and her nephew Jongumzi, jailed for five years last year when he was found guilty of treason.

Jailed in the Fifties for her leadership of the Federation of SA men's anti-pass campaigns, repeatedly detained, and banned or house arrested for 17 of the 26 years since the banning of the ANC, Sisulu has for years kept one packed suitcase at home and another at work, to ensure that her next detention doesn't catch her unprepared.

The Sisulu home, now occupied only by Sisulu and her three grandchildren, has twice been the target of arsonists in the past fortnight. Two Fridays ago an attempt was made to set fire to her son's car, which was parked outside; and last week, unknown attackers attempted to set fire to the house. They were apparently scared off and succeeded only in blackening a wall, and lightly singeing a curtain.

Sisulu's attorney, Priscilla Jana, said this week she was hoping for a postponement of the appeal hearing. —TOPS

# UDF drops case

13/2-19/2/78  
By JOHN GULTIG, Maritzburg

THE joint United Democratic Front-Release Mandela Campaign challenge to the January 8 Emergency regulations was withdrawn this week — but the two groups are preparing to challenge another set of regulations.

The initial application was dropped on Tuesday because of a Rand Supreme Court ruling in favour of a similar application by the Saan and Argus newspaper groups. The UDF and RMC were awarded costs. (11A)

They have now applied to challenge regulations introduced by the government on January 29, after it lost the Rand Supreme Court case. The application will be heard on April 2.

EDGAR Dumile Ngoyi, president of the United Democratic Front's East Cape region, has told a judge that despite the pain inflicted on black people in Port Elizabeth by the SA Police he would help with investigations into a political killing.

The 62-year-old painter was testifying at the end of two days in the witness box in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court — eventually a stool had to be brought for him.

Ngoyi, Lulumile Mkalipi, 22, Fumanekile Siyoni, 21, Xolile Pete, 20, and a 17-year-old youth have pleaded not guilty to a charge of murdering alleged Azapo member Pakamisa Nogwaza, 24, on June 8, 1985. The killing took place during violent clashes between supporters of the UDF and Azapo, which started in April that year.

The accused are all currently detained under the Emergency regulations.

On Monday three accused were acquitted — among them Ngoyi's 58-year-old wife Eunice.

One accused, a 17-year-old youth, failed to appear in court when the case resumed 11 days ago. The youth's

# Two days in box for UDF leader on murder charge

By MIKE LOEWE, Port Elizabeth

father said he last saw his son when the case was postponed last year.

The state was forced to close its case last Wednesday when the investigating officer, Lt William Dennis, told the court the state's witnesses — five in all — had failed to turn up.

He said he did not know if they had been subpoenaed — a situation Judge Solomon described as "very serious".

The judge ordered police to investigate if any subpoenas had been issued, as this was why the case was postponed on September 16 last year.

The trial is the second murder charge the former ANC leader has

had to face. During the bail application on June 24, 1985, Dennis said Ngoyi was unsuccessfully prosecuted on a similar charge of murder involving an alleged informer in 1963. Ngoyi denied this, however, saying the charges had actually been withdrawn.

Ngoyi was released on bail of R500 on December 24 after 198 days in custody. Bail was granted under strict conditions — including reporting to the police daily — which he kept up until his detention under the Emergency on June 12 last year.

Ngoyi spent 17 years on Robben Island after being found guilty of being a member of the ANC in 1964. He was released in 1981.

On Wednesday, during cross-examination, he recalled how he had met Nogwaza, his mother and sister at the Ngoyi home on June 7, at the height of the violence. However, Ngoyi said he had been unable to discuss their problem as he was on his way to attend a UDF sub-committee meeting set up to investigate the mysterious disappearance on May 8 of PE Black Civic Organisation executives Siphon Hashe, Qaqawuli Godolozzi and Champion Galela.

The next day, while the Nogwazis were again at the Ngoyi home, Ngoyi said he he was called to a neighbour's phone three houses away by a young boy he had never seen. It was some time after this that the killing had taken place.

On Tuesday, Ngoyi described the UDF in the Eastern Cape as a democratic body in which nearly 60 area committees were represented on the regional council.

No organisation known as the "comrades" was represented.

The UDF detested the violence between supporters of the two organisations and had tried to end it.

His house had been petrolbombed twice — on May 1 and June 6 — and the "comrades" had volunteered to guard it.

Under cross-examination, when accused of having direct control of the "comrades" by virtue of his position, Ngoyi denied having ever instructed them and disputed that they would always listen to him.

State evidence by a neighbour to the effect that that no phone call was ever made had been submitted at the request of the police who, Ngoyi said, had instructed the witnesses to lie under oath.

He said the investigating officer had told him during questioning that he would ensure there would be evidence against him.

At one stage during his cross-examination, Ngoyi was asked about his views on the police. Questioned whether he would actually help the police investigate a political killing, Ngoyi replied that, for the purpose of argument, he would.

— East Cape News Agency.

# Truth not the point of press curbs — state

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER,  
Maritzburg

THE Emergency regulations muzzling press coverage of security action are not concerned with the truth — they're aimed at preventing the public from hearing about anything which appears to be unrest.

This frank admission was made by counsel for the State President and the government, Jan Combrink, in response to the joint United Democratic Front-Release Mandela Campaign application to the Maritzburg Supreme Court for the new December 11 Emergency regulations to be declared null and void.

The regulations, the two organisations claim, are unreasonable, vague, and give officials "unfettered discretion without the proper guidelines". They are "clumsy, hopelessly terrifying and oppressive, and would fail any legal test," counsel for the UDF and RMC, Ismael Mohamed, argued.

He said the argument that the regulations were necessary to protect the government from an alleged campaign to estrange it and isolate it from its supporters was "a wrong and impermissible approach".

The state disagreed, though. Combrink insisted the regulations were necessary to end the Emergency and maintain public order.

He admitted the regulations dealing with security action could be interpreted as being "wide".

But, he explained, the issue is not what the truth is — it is the image that is created.

The hearing was adjourned to April 2.

Meanwhile, another UDF challenge to Emergency press restrictions — this one aimed at the January 6 regulations — has been postponed.

●See PAGE 6

13/2/-19/2/87 WJ/2/91

11A

11B

KWANATAL INDABA (325) (11A)  
15/12/81 FIM

## Help from outside

They might not like it, but Indaba officials are now resigned to the fact that the constitutional initiative they brokered has become a major issue in the white election.

Yet few believe the election can be a true test of whether the Indaba proposals are what the people of Natal really want. That's because electioneering will include other, perhaps more emotional, issues such as the emergency, sanctions and press curbs. And a vote for the National Party (NP) in what is a minority white election will not necessarily mean rejection of the Indaba as such.

In any event, the Indaba is not likely to die on polling day. The real work of promoting it will begin in earnest once the election is over.

Indaba Chairman Professor Desmond Clarence and his steering committee are already looking past election day. They have engaged US management consultants, the Hay Group, to advise them on putting the Indaba concept into clearer focus for the electorate. This has been an acknowledged shortcoming.

Although government has said it will conduct a referendum on the Indaba only if it accords with current government policy — which it clearly doesn't — Clarence says the ultimate objective is to have opinions properly tested by a poll of sorts. To this end, the Hay Group has prepared a three point plan to heighten public awareness of the Indaba and what it stands for.

According to Clarence, Hay Group executives, who spent five days in the country making assessments, say the Indaba is "eminently saleable" both internally and internationally.

Moreover, he says, the group gained the impression in its discussions with politicians across the spectrum that government fears the Indaba because it "might prove to be contagious."

... could explain, reckons Clarence, why they chose to "bring out the big guns" in the form of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis and NP Natal leader Stoffel Botha to shoot it down.

Their major criticism is that the Indaba makes no recommendations on how the structure would fit in with government at the centre. Government's opposition to the proposals also centres on what it sees as the inequality of Indaba-type power sharing, and its protection of individual rather than group rights.

Clarence, however, points out that the initiative was taken — at Heunis' behest — to ensure a lasting and peaceful solution in the Natal-KwaZulu region. He admits: "We didn't give a second thought to the Transvaal, Free State or the Cape."

Whether or not it's part and parcel of the election hype, government's negative response has served to make the Indaba steering committee more determined than ever to explain the Indaba to Natalians.

Says Clarence: "We will not accept what the political analysts come up with through the election result. Only if the people reject the Indaba once it has been clearly spelt out to them will we be satisfied."

Apr 13/2/87

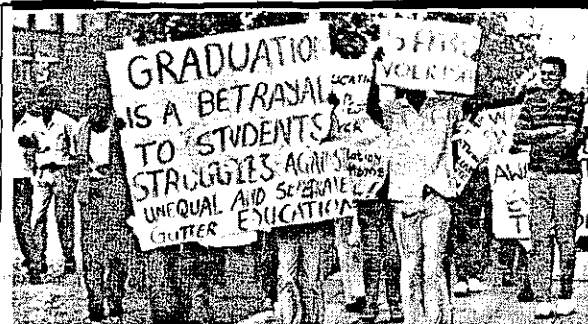
# Report denied

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P. W. Botha last night denied that he told foreign correspondents last week that the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, could rot in prison until either Mr Mandela or Mr Botha died.

This week's edition of the Financial Mail reported that Mr Botha told a gathering of foreign journalists: "Nelson Mandela can rot in prison until he dies or die, whichever takes longer."

A statement, issued by his office, said Mr Botha "categorically denies the truth of the alleged remark attributed to him in the article".



Picture: HANNES THIART, Weekend Argus.

Demonstrating students at UWC's graduation ceremony last night. Chanting, they followed the graduands, rector Professor Jakes Gerwel and Archbishop Tutu.

# Tutu: Christ could be detained

Education Reporter

JESUS would land in trouble over his solidarity with the poor, the oppressed and the hungry if he set foot in South Africa today, the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, has said.

Archbishop Tutu said at a University of the Western Cape's graduation ceremony last night that Christ would almost certainly be detained in South Africa.

"I am sure that many whites

would say 'He deserved it ... there is no smoke without fire'."

The spiritual leader of South Africa's Anglican community said detention without trial was a subversion of justice and counter to the aims of the rule of law.

"It is to punish someone and to punish him severely without having the inconvenience of proving his guilt in an open court. It is a very handy device

greatly beloved of totalitarian repressive governments."

Archbishop Tutu launched a scathing attack on the constitution. He asked how anyone could seriously claim that South Africa was democratic, or even remotely democratic, when its newest constitution excluded 73 percent of the population — "just like that, blacks are mentioned in only one sentence".

He added: "My friends, we want a negotiated settlement in our land.

"There is no way in which a small minority can go on ruling this country alone. They know that.

"They ought to be preparing people for that inevitable fact and not dress down senior Cabinet Ministers who speak about the obvious — that we shall have a black president in this country.

"We want a free, non-racial, democratic and just South Africa where all of us, black and white, will live amicably together."

W/E ARBWS 14/7/87 (28/11/87)

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# INSIDE THE 'A-TEAM'

## IN a dramatic turn-about, "The Boss" - leader of the notorious "A-Team" vigilantes - has called for peace with the "comrades" in Durban townships.

"The Boss" this week conceded that the bloody fights between the warring factions were a "futile exercise".  
 In an exclusive interview with *City Press*, the 27-year-old leader of the "A-Team" said he wished to remain unidentified at this stage.  
 He said his decision to declare a truce with the "comrades" came after a recent *City Press* report highlighting the "genetic concern" of the community for the war to come to an end.  
 "The report really moved us," said "The Boss".  
 However, he was quick to warn: "This must not be construed as throwing in the towel. If the 'comrades' and their leaders wish to continue the fight, let it be. We have the means to fight a full-scale war until the end."  
 He said he has called for a truce because he deemed it in the best interests of the community and also because "my organisation subscribes to the noble ideal

of a liberated South Africa which we have been blamed for suppressing".  
 Community leaders were expected to meet this weekend to consider the vigilantes' peace initiative.  
 During the interview, "The Boss", a qualified teacher, vehemently attacked the Press for failing to present an objective picture of the "war".  
 He revealed that the history of the "A-team" dated back to 1983, when it was formed as a secret protection squad following the gruesome murder of his father, a Lamontville high school teacher.  
 The group went public in September 1985 - but, said "The Boss", they regarded their name as a meaningless label given to them by the community.  
 "The Boss" said that an attack on the Mpanza family, which claimed the life of a colleague, Langa Zondi, in September 1985, was a turning point. "Bloody violence soon erupted as vigilantes defended themselves."  
 When reminded that, in fact, it was the "A-Team" who first attacked pupils and community leaders before the Mpanza incident, he leapt from his chair and barked: "You outsiders are the main instigators of all the trouble in our area."  
 He maintained that the vigilantes never attacked, but only defended their members.  
 However, he agreed that many people in the "A-Team" were employed by the State - but denied that they were police informers. "They are just ordinary people. The State employs so many people that in any group at least one will have a State link."  
 The group had no declared leader - except for "The Boss", who acted as spokesman. Allegations that they worked in "caboots with the security forces were unfounded, he said.  
 "Eight of our members have been arrested for possessing unlicensed firearms, but they were not charged after appearing in court three times," he said.  
 Meanwhile, the PFP's director in Natal, Roy Ainslie, described the initiative as a giant step towards the establishment of peace in the area.

By S'BU MNGADI

(Plus 5c GST) February 15, 1987

# 'A-TEAM'



*City Press* - 15/2/87

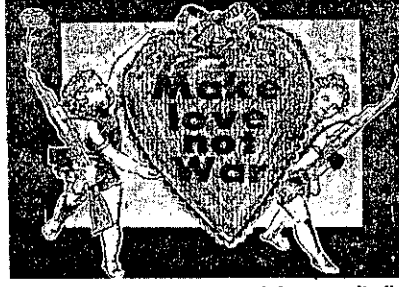
## Natal feud over school fees erupts

By S'BU MNGADI

A LONG feud over the payment of fees and lack of placement of thousands of pupils at some schools in Natal, erupted into student protest in KwaMashu and Ntuzuma this week.  
 It started at KwaMashu's JL Dube High school and Ntuzuma's Bhekisisa Junior Secondary school on Wednesday when students demanded a refund of their school and enrolment fees.  
 When this was ignored, other schools unaffected by the two issues joined the two schools in a solidarity march to the local KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture office.  
 The protest comes almost a year after about 5 000 students marched to the inspector's office, demanding the immediate delivery of stationery and a refunding of school fees.  
 The major cause of the protest is said to be that, while students at some schools did not pay any fees, others had to pay fees ranging from R26 and R50 a year. This was contrary to the DEC's recommended 40c per year for lower primary students, R1,20 for higher primary students and R4 for high school students.  
 Since the KwaZulu schools opened three weeks ago, principals and teachers have reported that about 1 000 pupils have been turned away from each school because of overcrowding.  
 "The problem is said to be especially acute in the Durban region where secondary school are greatly outnumbered by higher primary schools.  
 KwaZulu DEC PRO Enoch Khumalo said his department has called on communities affected by the overcrowding to discuss the issue themselves and come up with a suggestion.  
 "Whatever suggestions they may come up with, will be looked into seriously," said Khumalo.

## Valentine's Day - the ECC way

THE ECC Valentine's Day by distributing thousands of 'different' Valentine's cards and stickers.  
 They all bear the slogan "Make Love Not War".  
 Natal's ECC spokesman Richard Steele said this was a symbolic campaign, and that ECC wished to assist in the peaceful transition of society.  
 ECC maintains that the traditional Valentine's Day message of love and understanding should be extended to each day of the year, and to the country as a whole.



The ECC Valentine's Day card that says it all.

LOVELY Shirley Rakgomotsi, the reigning made a point to remind lovers all over South tomorrow is St Valentine's day. Shirley, who received her bouquet of red roses and can tell us who the lucky fella is who sent her

## 'Forced to jog'

DURBAN'S city police became embroiled in controversy this week with claims that a white policeman acted "inhumanely" towards a black man he had arrested.  
 The municipal police are investigating claims that, watched by hundreds of people, a white policeman cuffed a man to the crash bar of his motorbike and then drove off - with his unfortunate "prisoner" forced to run alongside.  
 The alleged incident came to light when a man, who claimed to have witnessed it, complained to a Durban newspaper.  
 A city police official said no direct complaint was made, but that they were investigating the paper's report.  
 He said the man - presumed to be the prisoner in handcuffs - was taken to the Point police station on Tuesday and handed over to the SAP.  
 He was released without bail and warned to appear in court next month.

## Release Suttner call by 110

A GROUP of 110 South African legal academics, including a number from Afrikaans-speaking universities, have called for the release from detention of Raymond Suttner, senior lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand.  
 Suttner, a leading figure in the United Democratic Front, has been in detention since the emergency was declared on June 12 last year.  
 The academics all signed a petition, which said: "As legal colleagues, we urge the Minister to release Mr Suttner immediately."  
 Among those who signed

Prof Lourens du Plessis of Potchefstroom University and four professors from the law faculty at Stellenbosch University - Professors MG Erasmus, GF Lubbe, MA Rabie and MM Louber.

Another signatory was South Africa's trans-Atlantic yachting hero, Bruce Dalling, who lectures in law at Maritzburg.

It was signed by 29 law lecturers at Wits, 19 law lecturers at Unisa, one at Rhodes University, 16 law lecturers at the University of Cape Town, 11 law lecturers at Stellenbosch University and four law lecturers at the University of the Western Cape.

## Valentine's Day - the ECC way

THE END  
 Natal's ECC spokesman Richard Steele said this was a symbolic campaign, and that ECC wished to assist in the peaceful transition of society.  
 ECC maintains that the traditional Valentine's Day message of love and understanding should be extended to each day of the year, and to the country as a whole.

## Unionists slam Seifsa

THE Metal and Allied Workers' Union this week stated the giant Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA for refusing to ask the authorities to grant bail to detained Mawu general secretary Moses Mayikeso, 38.  
 Seifsa told Mawu on Wednesday it would not intervene on Mayikeso's behalf.  
 Mayikeso and seven Alexandra residents appeared in

*City Press* 15/2/87

15/2

*City Press* 15/2/87

15/2



# Not the end of THAT ad

15/2/87  
By DAN DHLAMINI

POLICE are investigating possible charges against newspapers that carried an advertisement commemorating the African National Congress' 75th anniversary.

According to Johannesburg police spokesman Colonel J Malherbe, police

11A  
were investigating charges against the newspapers that carried the pro-ANC adverts. He said a docket had been sent to the Attorney-General's office.

He declined to say what the possible charges were and how far the investigations had proceeded. He also declined to say whether police were investigating any charge against lawyer Chris Naidoo.

Last week, Naidoo said he had learnt that police were contemplating charging him and that a docket had been compiled and handed to the Attorney-General's office.

Naidoo said this week if the police were unsuccessful with any possible action, he would consider an action of malicious prosecution against the State.

# Anger over ANC nests

11A By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

ZIMBABWEAN security authorities have been given detailed evidence of ANC groups allegedly launching terror attacks against South Africa from inside Zimbabwe.

The evidence, according to sources close to security talks between the two countries, was handed to the officials by a South African delegation during recent talks at Beit Bridge.

Now, it is believed, South African authorities are angered by what they see as Zimbabwe's failure to act against the ANC operatives.

The details of ANC personnel in Zimbabwe were first requested by the Zimbabwean authorities after South African allegations in 1983 that Zimbabwe was harbouring ANC terrorists.

Zimbabwe again demanded proof after similar South African accusations in late 1985 and early 1986 following a spate of landmine attacks in the Northern Transvaal Messina area.

In both instances, it is reported, South Africa complied with the Zimbabwean request and handed over lengthy dossiers on ANC personnel in that country.

## STI Denials 15/2/87

It is reliably understood that South Africa protested strongly during the most recent border discussions between the two countries over the lack of any Zimbabwean response to the evidence.

Zimbabwe had earlier promised action if South Africa could supply such evidence after repeatedly denying that it allowed the ANC to use its territory for terrorist infiltration into South Africa.

The evidence said to have been supplied to the Zimbabweans includes information on a group of 200 ANC cadres who were infiltrated into Zimbabwe's Matabeleland in 1980 by Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu Party — which has historic ties with the ANC.

In December last year four guerrillas were killed in a skirmish near Messina. A fifth escaped after killing two policemen.

Latest intelligence indicates two six-man ANC squads have been operating in the areas east and west of Beit Bridge where they have been laying landmines.

# Azasm man <sup>(1104)</sup> killed <sup>16/2/87</sup>

THE on-going fight between rival black political organisations has claimed another life.

The latest victim is Mr Freddie Peter Mitchell, an Alexandra township member of the Azanian Students Movement.

He was stabbed to death last week in Alexandra. Another member of the organisation, Mr Fanyana Mabunda, who was with Mr Mitchell when the incident took place, was stabbed and seriously wounded.

Mr Thami Hlekiso, vice-president of Azasm, yesterday blamed members of a rival political organisation for the death and attack of their two members.

He said: "The two were attacked as they were leaving a shack in the township. Freddie died the same night. Fanyana managed to escape. We view this incident as a plan to destabilise our support for the students to return to classes."

208 308 114  
Call Times 10/21/11

## Call on councillors to return to Soweto

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting held at Soweto's Orlando East township yesterday called on the fugitive Soweto councillors to come back and lead the people from within.

Speakers among the 2 500 conservative people at the Communal Hall complained that they did not know whom to take their problems to and urged the councillors to come and be seen among the people they were supposed to lead.

Twenty-two councillors fled last year to live at Octavia Flats in Fordsburg after their lives had been threatened and some had their houses burnt.

Only five councillors, including the mayor, Mr Nelson Botile, and the Housing Committee chairman, Mr Letsatsi Radebe, have remained.

A weekend report said the councillors were now going to move into 12-roomed houses at Orlando Power Park, near Soweto.

Mr Radebe said in an interview after the meeting that Johannesburg City Council had handed the land over to the Soweto Council and the councillors would be responsible for rent-payment.

# AYCO man is slain

A MEMBER of the Alexandra Youth Congress was hacked to death and another seriously injured during what is believed to be part of the on-going fight between rival black student organisations in the township.

So far two people have been killed — one a member of the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm).

The Ayco member,

Mr Christopher Mpangase (18), was hacked to death on Friday and died in hospital the following day. Another youth, only known as Mandla, who was with him, was admitted to the hospital where he is said to be recovering.

Ayco claims that several of its members have fled their homes and are in hiding because of the fighting in the township.

A spokesman for the

organisation appealed to the leadership of Azasm to settle for a truce.

"We have tried to contact them but in vain. We cannot even go to Alexandra," the spokesman said.

In response a spokesman for Azasm denied any complicity in the deaths of Ayco members.

"We have always been attacked and have not retaliated," he said.

11A

Soweto  
17/2/87

ANC Trans 11/01/89

# Barclays International in talks with ANC

LUSAKA. — Barclays International, the British bank which pulled out of South Africa last year, had talks in the Zambian capital yesterday with the African National Congress (ANC).

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's information director, addressed a press conference after the meeting but may not be quoted in South Africa.

The talks were the first since Barclays sold its 40,2% stake in Barclays National (SA), citing commercial reasons rather than political pressure.

Other ANC officials present were national executive committee members Mr James Stuart and Mr Mac Mahoraj.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said earlier that Barclays had asked for the meeting. The ANC was not fully satisfied with the bank's move as it still held substantial amounts of money in the white-ruled republic, he added.

Diplomatic sources said Barclays was seeking to protect some £766 million (R2,320 billion) it has lent in SA and was looking to its future interests in the event white minority rule comes to an end.

The Barclays office in Lusaka declined to comment on the talks. — Sapa-Reuter

# Barclays talks to the ANC

LUSAKA — Barclays International had talks in Lusaka yesterday with the ANC.

ANC information director Thabo Mbeki addressed a Press conference after the meeting.

The talks were the first since Barclays sold its 40,2% stake in Barclays National of SA.

Other ANC officials present were national executive committee members James Stuart and Mac Mahoraj. ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said earlier Barclays had asked for the meeting.

The ANC was not fully satisfied with the bank's withdrawal from SA because it still held substantial amounts of money in SA, he said.

Diplomatic sources said Barclays was seeking to protect the £766m it had lent in SA and was looking to its future interests in the event of white rule coming to an end.

A Barclays representative arrived in Lusaka on Sunday and leaves for London tomorrow.

The Barclays office in the Zambian capital declined to comment on the talks. — Sapa-Reuter.

## DUDUZA TRIAL

THE trial of seven alleged members of the banned Congress of South African Students charged with terrorism, has been postponed until tomorrow.

The accused are Mr Joseph Titus Mazibuko (18), Mr John Mlangeni (21), Mr Samuel Lekátsa (19), Mr Humphrey Tshabalala (19), Mr Johannes Veli Mazibuko (18), all of Duduza, Nigel and Mr Hosea Lengosane (20) and Mr Cedric Dladla (19), both of Tsakane, Brakpan.

The have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Stafford, sitting with an assessor.

Mr Justice Stafford yesterday told the accused that their case was being postponed to tomorrow so that their defence counsel could brief them and the instructing attorneys on matters placed before him in chambers by the State prosecutor and the defence yesterday morning.

11A

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R/2/1/2



# PAC admits attacks on SA forces

The Star's Africa News Service

*(S/N) Sp*  
HARARE — The Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress, was responsible for the attacks on South African security forces using the Scorpion machine-gun in the attacks, it was claimed here today.

Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, PAC secretary for foreign affairs, told the *Herald* newspaper that the military wing

*18/1/81*  
had deployed Scorpion weapons in many parts of South Africa.

He said the PAC remained firm in its commitment to the principle that armed struggle was the main form of the struggle in South Africa.

Mr Ebrahim was questioned about the "necklace" method of killing people with burning tyres.

He said it had been necessary to punish the regime's agents and collaborators and this including necklacing.

11K (19) 2/87

# Musicians come out of the shadows

By VICTOR  
METSAMERE

**SINGER Mara Louw**  
will head the newly-  
formed South African  
Musicians Alliance.



MARA Louw ... first Sama president.

Pics: MOFFAT ZUNGU

She was elected presi-  
dent during the national  
launch of Sama attended  
by over 200 musicians at  
a Johannesburg hotel  
On Tuesday night.

Johnny Clegg was  
chosen as first vice-  
president and Condry  
Ziqubu was elected as  
the second vice-presi-  
dent.



JONATHAN Clegg ...  
vice-president.

Other committee  
members are Lloyd  
Ross, a representative  
from a Cape Town-  
based arts group, Mak-  
haya Mahlangu, Victor  
Ntoni, Keith Beryl and  
Alec Khaoli.

Clegg said the Alli-  
ance would strive to re-  
main a non-racial, non-  
aligned and non-violent  
body which would act as  
a communication link  
between musicians and  
political as well as com-  
munity organisations.

The Alliance has also  
taken an unequivocal  
stand against apartheid.

"There have been  
problems with venues.  
Artists would go to a ve-  
nue and get into trouble  
with their communities  
as sometimes, these ve-  
nues would have been  
blacklisted. The Alli-  
ance will help on that as-  
pect.

"The Alliance would  
also look into the prob-  
lem of working within  
the SABC structure.

"We need to have  
control of the message  
we put through in our  
music," said Clegg.

He also said that a  
constitution which was  
presented at the meeting  
would have to be rati-  
fied by the general  
membership at another  
meeting to be held in  
four months' time.

A secretary, a trea-  
surer and a public rela-  
tions officer would have  
to be co-opted. "They  
will have to be non-  
musicians who would  
work full-time," he  
added.

# Blacks want to play bigger role in SA

SOPHIE TEMA

BLACK South Africans want to play a constructive role in the country's economic processes and blame apartheid for their added sufferings brought by disinvestment and unemployment.

This is revealed in the latest survey by Independent Market Appraisers (IMA), specialists in black social and political research. The survey examined the attitudes of "moderate" blacks on the effects of disinvestment and unemployment.

It revealed that black people felt strongly that government excluded them from advancement and recognition. They have, therefore, been forced to examine their role in SA.

Some blacks, however, were willing to admit that there was, and is, too much dependence on whites and that they (the blacks) had been too lazy to exploit their mental and entrepreneurial ability.

They realised that to develop, they must create unity among themselves.

In reaching these results, IMA conducted five group discussions of between 40 and 50 middle-class blacks. Four of the discussions involved people who had been unemployed for periods of two months to two years and were in various stages of planning and executing means of survival outside the formal employment sector.

The executive chairman of IMA, Annemarie Geldenhuys, said: "The major finding in our study is that blacks are not satisfied to take a back seat any longer."

# Govt probes ANC ad

Feb 1987



Mrs M LEBOALO, principal at the creche, has grief etched on her face as she remembers the seven children who were killed.

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, announced yesterday that he had appointed a one-man commission of inquiry into the funding and placing of pro-ANC advertisements that appeared in newspapers last month.

He told the House, the chairman of the committee, Mr Justice George Munnik, Judge President of the Cape, would have to find out whether Mr Chris Ball, managing director of Barclays Bank, was involved in the financial arrangements for payment for the advertisements.

Mr Justice Munnik would also investigate and report on which newspapers the advertisements appeared in, by whom or on behalf of whom they were placed, how they were paid for, how much they cost and who paid for them or on behalf of whom they were paid for.

Another task of the commission was to determine the source of the funds used to pay for the advertisements.

## JUDGE TO HOLD INQUIRY

with special reference to a report in the *Cape Times* yesterday which said the United Democratic Front gave a bank guaranteed cheque for R100 000 for the placing of the advertisements.

Mr Botha said the commission would have to report on

"whether Mr Chris Ball was in any way involved in the financial arrangements concerning the payment for the advertisements" and any other "relevant aspects that may more fully explain the aforementioned matter".

Mr Botha said during the no confidence debate in the House on Wednesday that he demanded a personal explanation from Mr Ball of "statements from radical sources" that he was involved in



Mr Botha

granting a loan for payment of the advertisements.

A figure of R150 000 had been mentioned, Mr Botha said on Wednesday.

See Page 2

# MASS BURIAL

## Appeal for assistance

THE seven children who died when a wall collapsed over them at their creche in Pietersburg this week will be given a mass burial on Sunday morning.

They will be buried near the site of their death.

The deaths, at Mmc-

By MATHATHA TSEDU — Pietersburg Bureau

tong-wa-Perekisi, near Pietersburg, have shocked the northern Transvaal. Yesterday volunteers and community workers were busy with relief work and arrangements for the burial.

Preliminary plans for the burial were announced by Mrs Olive

Mohapi, a Seshego social worker heading the relief teams. The funeral service starts at 8am. Mrs Mohapi appealed to people and companies to help cover the funeral expenses.

"We appeal to people to open their hearts and assist the bereaved families with money and

food. Part of the money will be given to the families and may also be used to assist other families in the area whose houses were flattened by the storm," she said.

Mrs Mohapi said a La-Mmatau Disaster Committee had been established and urged people to send donations to the social workers offices in Zone 3, Seshego. Donations can also be posted to the following address: Seshego Welfare Society, Private Bag X4006, Seshego

THERE was an enthusiastic response to the Sowetan Ballot-box. Your voice must be heard. See pages 5 and 6

THE MILD MENTHOL

BENSON & HEDGES

Menthol Mild

BENSON & HEDGES

SHARE THE FEELING WITH BENSON & HEDGES MENTHOL MILD

the world's finest taste in menthol cigarettes.

Cape Times 18/2/87 (11A) (228)

## Councillors to move

JOHANNESBURG. — Soweto councillors holed up in a run-down block of flats in Fordsburg following a number of attacks on them, will soon move to an exclusive area on the outskirts of the township.

This was confirmed this week by Soweto's mayor, Mr Nelson Botile.

The posh suburb, until recently a whites-only residential area, is on a hillock not far from the Orlando power station.

Houses in the area consist of at least 12 rooms each. Councillors will also enjoy facilities such as tennis courts, bowling greens, a clubhouse, a bar lounge and a nursery school.

The move also comes soon after an Indian MP requested that the councillors leave Octavia Flats so that they could accommodate Indians, as they are supposed to.

The plush suburb is enclosed by a high security fence and each entrance is manned by heavily armed policemen. — Sapa

CAPL 7:12 8/2/87  
110

# Police name murdered youth leader

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A 16-year-old member of a United Democratic Front-affiliated youth organization who was shot dead by a gunman on Monday was yesterday named by police as Sithembiso Mngadi.

Police in Maritzburg yesterday confirmed that a murder docket had been opened.

Sithembiso was a member of the Hammarsdale Youth Organization and the Natal Students' Congress.

The youth organization's president, Mr Vusi Maduna, said in Durban yesterday that Sithembiso was killed after he had been elected the organization's area treasurer.

Mr Maduna said he reported the incident to the police soon after it had happened. "We were able to identify the car used by the killer," he said. "We view this as part of campaign to crush the UDF in this region."

Three weeks ago the KwaMakhutha home of another UDF youth leader, Victor Ntuli, was attacked by unidentified assailants. Thirteen people, including children, were brutally killed in the attack.

# Winnie is favourite

*Southern*

11A

1972/87

GLASGOW — Mrs Winnie Mandela is favourite to win election as rector of Glasgow University in the March 2 poll, according to a spokesman for the student's representative council.

She has already told the students that she would like to visit the university if she is elected and if the situation in South Africa allows her to do so. She was nominated by the Glasgow University Labour Club.

## Son will miss burial

MR. Richard Mokeki Mohohlo, father of an alleged PAC member presently facing charges of terrorism in the Pretoria Magistrates Court, will be buried at the Avalon cemetery on Saturday.

A service will be held at 11am at 2216 Moutaung Street, Rockville. The cortege leaves for the cemetery at 1pm.

Mr. Mohohlo (84), who died at the General Hospital last Wednesday, had been ill for a long time and had undergone several operations, his widow, Mrs. Caroline Mohohlo (68) said.

She added that because of her late husband's ill health, he had not been able to visit his detained son, who he last saw in 1976. She said that he had been very worried about him.

Asked if Paulos Mohohlo would be present at his father's funeral, the family said they had not applied for him to be permitted to do so.

Southern  
19/2/87





11A

# Surprise turn at Cape PAC trial

SOWETAN Reporter

IN A surprise development in the trial of six men and a youth on charges of furthering the aims of the Pan African Congress and Azanian Youth Unity, a Cape Town Regional Court prosecutor told the court he planned to discredit his own witness.

Mr Bathemba Lugulwana, (33) and Mr Andile Gusha, of Langa, Mr Mzwandile Mciteka, (25) Mr Donald Mxuto, (66) Mr Simon Mayhilewena, (64) of Guguletu, Mr Taelo Ntlaba, (19) and a 17-year-old youth, both from Paarl, are

charged with furthering the aims of the PAC and Azanyu in the Peninsula and Mbekweni, Paarl between January 1983 and January 1986.

### Discredit

They have pleaded not guilty.

In a surprise turn,

prosecutor Mr A Duminy told the court he planned to discredit a State witness, Mr A Mayeza, by questioning him about a statement he had made to the police.

Earlier Mr Mayeza told the court the PAC and Azanyu had the

same objectives.

He said Azanyu was a youth organisation which co-ordinated and trained members for community work and youth leadership for the benefit of the Azanian people.

### Counsel

Later, under cross-examination by counsel for

the defence, Mr Fred Bunting, who read to him extracts from the PAC constitution, he said he knew nothing about the PAC.

He told the court he had joined Azanyu early in 1985. He also said he knew nothing about the United Democratic Front or the African National Congress.

In his re-examination, Mr Duminy told the court he planned to discredit Mr Mayeza by questioning him on a statement he had made to police.

*CAPE TOWN M/C 187*  
**Squatter leader held** *(11/19)*

NYANGA BUSH squatter leader, Mr Melford Yamile, was held for questioning at the Nyanga East Police Station yesterday, after he was taken into custody by "kitskonstabels" in the morning. A police spokesman for the Western Cape yesterday confirmed that Mr Yamile was briefly held for questioning and released. No further details were available.

... badly. — Sapa.

*Argus 19/12/87 114*

### Gumede on first visit overseas



LONDON. — Veteran black rights campaigner Archie Gumede is visiting Britain and Western Europe to meet prominent politicians and activist groups, including the African National Congress, for talks on developments in South Africa. Mr Gumede, 72-year-old co-president of the United Democratic Front, has never been outside Southern Africa.

**Mr Gumede** Among others, he is due to meet Britain's Minister for African Affairs, Mrs Lynda Chalker, and Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock. — The Argus Foreign Service.

11A

Exhibit  
20/1/87

## Asvat attacked

AN attempt was made yesterday afternoon on the life of prominent activist, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, at his Mochae-neng surgery, next to Regina Mundi Church in Soweto.

However the doctor, well-known for running clinics for squatters throughout the country, escaped uninjured except for a minor bruise on the mouth.

The attack on Dr Asvat happened while he was in his surgery at about 5pm attending to patients with his nurse, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the United Democratic Front president.

# Azapo president speaks out on US imperialism

11A  
00 2/2/87

CAPE TOWN — The national president of Azapo, Mr Nkosi Molala, has spoken out against what he terms "the growing encroachment of American imperialist influence which dictates the process of struggle".

Speaking at a seminar of the Black Student Study Project (BSSP) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), Mr Molala said: "America is prevailing over (Mr P. W.) Botha and others in teaching them how to dismantle apartheid and therefore capitalism is bound to have a future in this country."

Mr Molala was scathing about calls by certain political tendencies that the Black Consciousness Movement

should disband and "join the progressives".

"Progressive" was a relative term which could not be gauged by the level of vociferousness of those who articulate it. "If Black Consciousness has to disband then socialism will die," he said.

He said that Azapo was not against whites but that they (whites) had a role to "conscientise" those whites who were supporting the status quo. "They (whites) must not come to our townships and tell us how much we are oppressed," Mr Molala said.

● A spokesman for the BSSP at the UWC, Mr Sipho Maseko, said the Azanian Students Movement had made its theme for 1987 to be "Educate for Socialism". — DDC

(b) (i) 477 persons in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act, 1982.  
3 512 persons in terms of section 50 of the Internal Security Act, 1982.

(ii) Because of the extent of the work involved with the compilation of information and statistics not being readily available, I am not prepared to reveal such information, except to say that in no detentions in terms of section 50 of the Internal Security Act, 1982, the period of detention exceeded 14 days, and in detentions in terms of section 29 of the said Act, instances where applicable, were referred to the review board.

(2) Yes.

(a) 104 persons in respect of section 29  
159 persons in respect of section 50  
(a number of the trials of these persons are not yet finalised).

(b) 37 persons.

*Note:* I wish to draw the attention of the hon member to the fact that detentions in terms of section 50 occurred before 12 June 1986. Since 12 June 1986 nobody has been detained in terms of this section. Some of those initially held in terms of section 50 were however detained in terms of the Emergency Regulations following the declaration of the State of Emergency on 12 June 1986.

**Detainees**

33. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many females (a) were detained in 1986, and (b) had been detained as

at the latest specified date for which figures are available, in terms of section (i) 28, (ii) 29 and (iii) 50 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982;

(2) (a) (i) how many females have been detained in terms of the emergency regulations since 12 June 1986 and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished and (b) how many females were being held in terms of the emergency regulations as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) (i) 1 person.
- (ii) 60 persons.
- (iii) 438 persons.
- (b) (i) None.
- (ii) 23 persons.
- (iii) None.

Details are supplied until 5 February 1987.

(2) (a) and (b) I refer the hon member to my summarised reply on oral question number 2 which I furnished on 17 February 1987.

*Note:* The attention of the hon member is drawn to the fact that detentions in terms of section 50 occurred before 12 June 1986. Some of these persons were subsequently detained in terms of the Emergency Regulations.

**Guguletu: deaths of terrorists**

43. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 26 on 27 May 1986, the inquest into the deaths of the sus-

*Handwritten:* 20/2/87 NIA Hansard

pected African National Congress terrorists in Guguletu on 3 March 1986 has been completed; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what were the findings;

- (2) (a) in which parts of the body did each of these persons have (i) gunshot and (ii) any other specified wounds and (b) how many (i) gunshot and (ii) other wounds did each person have in his body;
- (3) whether copies of the post-mortem reports have been made available to the relatives of each of the persons concerned; if not, (a) why not and (b) to whom have copies of these reports been made available; if so, on what date were copies so made available in each case;
- (4) whether the investigation into the escape of any person or persons during the confrontation with the Police on 3 March 1986 has been completed; if so, what were the findings;
- (5) whether any persons have been arrested as a result of this investigation; if so, what are their names?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) 14 November 1986;

(b) The inquest into the death of the deceased has been finalised. Although the findings are public knowledge, I would like to draw the attention of the honourable member to the fact that the presiding officer at the inquest, found that in all seven cases, the deaths of the deceased could not be attributed to any act or omission which constituted an offence, by any member of the South African Police. He also found that six of the seven terrorists killed by the police, were armed at the time.

(2) (a) and (b) The inquest is finalised. The requested information is available in the record of the proceedings.

(3) No.

(a) and (b) Because the family of the deceased with the exception of the family of C Piet, did not direct such a request. In the case of the deceased Piet, the legal representative of his family made a request for a copy of the post mortem report on 2 May 1986. He was informed that the investigation was not completed at that stage and that the document was therefore not available. No further requests in this regard were received.

(4) No.

(5) No.

**Sabotage**

*Handwritten:* Hansard

54. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Law and Order:

*Handwritten:* 20/2/87

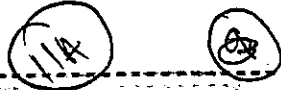
(a) How many persons were charged with offences relating to sabotage in 1986 and (b) for what period was each of these persons detained before being charged?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 116 persons.

(b) Number of Persons	Period (days)	Number of Persons	Period (days)
1	49	1	142
1	54	3	146
1	55	1	149
6	56	3	151
1	66	5	155
1	75	1	157
1	77	2	159
3	82	1	162
1	85	3	170
1	86	2	175
1	89	3	178

*Handwritten:* Hansard



THE Pan Africanist Congress has called on the Australian Parliamentarians to fight for more government aid to help Africa fight disease, hunger, illiteracy and oppression.

# PAC appeals to the Aussies

Mr Maxwell Nemasivhanani, the PAC's chief representative in Australasia and the South Pacific, made this

call at a rally outside the Federal Parliament in Canberra on Tuesday.

The rally had been organised by the Aus-

tralian Council of Overseas Aid.

Mr Nemasivhanani said that Australian parliamentarians could not

plead ignorance to:

- The effects of drought in Southern Africa;
- The sufferings caused by apartheid; and

- The high mortality rate of children.

He urged the Australian Government to provide more money to build better roads, railways and sea ports faci-

ties. He also asked for assistance for self-help resettlement and rehabilitation projects run by exiled South African movements in neighbouring African states.

# UDF sends memo to UN

# Apartheid vigilantes step up attacks

THE United Democratic Front has sent a memorandum on vigilantes to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in the wake of the re-emergence of vigilante activity.

Details of vigilante attacks, which the UDF says have intensified since January this year, are contained in the document entitled *United Democratic Front Memorandum on Apartheid Vigilantes*.

The UDF says attacks by vigilantes seem to indicate a high degree of co-ordination and planning.

"Little significant vigilante activity had taken place for six months, yet numerous attacks are now being launched in scattered parts of the country," says the UDF.

## Gangs

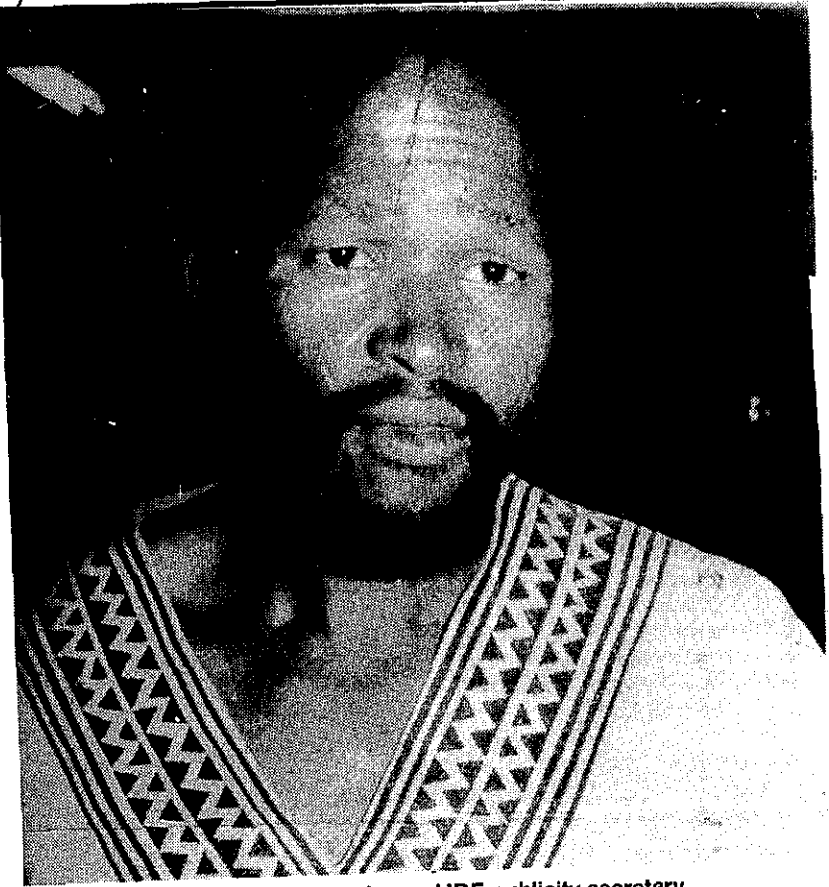
It says large gangs of well-armed vigilantes — numbering up to 1 500 in one instance launched attacks, "often with the blatant non-interference of members of the security forces."

# FOCUS

The organisation also says that in many cases township residents captured by vigilantes "found themselves arrested *en masse* by the police."

The UDF makes this remark: "The resurgence of vigilante attacks comes in the wake of a major onslaught against the organs of popular democracy in the townships, particularly the street committees which have developed over the last 18 months."

"Attacks by vigilantes on street committee members fit in with the co-ordinated offensive to set up local state committees to break the



MURPHY Morobe . . . UDF publicity secretary.

growing threat posed to apartheid by these street committees.

"The announcement in September 1986 that thousands of *kits konstabels* (instant cops) would be trained in three weeks gave rise to speculation that they would simply be vigilantes in uniform."

## Fears

The UDF says that there were also fears that the *kits konstabels* would work in vigilante style.

"There is also widespread speculation that vigilantes may attend training courses held in the Transvaal and are known as *Askari*."

The UDF says the aim of vigilantes is to root out the "comrades."

The memorandum also contains "A Chronicle of Vigilante Violence — December 1986 to January 1987."

The UDF says the state of emergency conditions make it extremely difficult to get full and accurate information.

But it has catalogued incidents on a regional basis.

• Eastern Cape: "At the beginning of January this year 1 000 to 1 500 vigilantes wearing white bands went on the rampage in Uitenhage townships. Two people were killed and many injured. "Hundreds of resi-

dents fleeing the vigilantes were arrested by municipal police waiting nearby."

The attack on the Uitenhage residents was in the same fashion as the Cape Town "*Widoeke*" vigilante attack on Crossroads the previous year. The "*Widoeke*" also called themselves *Ama Africa Poqo*.

The UDF says that even Eastern Cape newspapers saw the Uitenhage attack as a blatant attack by apartheid forces on the people and their organisations in the area, and dismissed suggestions that it was a spontaneous clash between different sections of the community.

In Queenstown vigilantes who were also dressed as "*Widoeke*" attacked youths in Tar-kastad Township.

"Residents fear that there will be no schooling in the area this year because vigilantes have ordered that schools be closed to prevent youths from organising."

## Pogo

In Port Elizabeth, during the third week of January, the *Ama Africa Poqo* vigilantes from Uitenhage attacked the Port Elizabeth townships of New Brighton, Kwazakhele and Zwide.

The UDF remarks that what emerged from the reports on Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage was that the vigilantes were an invading force with no support from the people.

"They forced residents to swell their numbers but were in fact ul-

timately driven off by men, women and children armed only with stones."

• Transvaal: Three people were killed in Tembisa on the East Rand and in Leandra in the Eastern Transvaal.

The UDF says that shortly before the Tembisa attacks homes of youths were destroyed "during an onslaught on the youth movement in the area."

"One of the activists who died belonged to the Tembisa Youth Congress and had been detained in both the 1985 and 1986 state of emergencies.

"It was subsequently exposed that the vigilantes who killed the Leandra man must have been 'greenbeans' or municipal police."

There is also a report of sjambokking in Lebowa during January.

Natal and the Western Cape are also featured in the memorandum.



# UDF's Gumede meets Chalker for talks

20/2/87 By Michael Morris,  
The Star Bureau

Star  
11A

LONDON — Britain will accord a measure of recognition to the United Democratic Front (UDF) on Monday when Foreign Office Minister for African Affairs Mrs Lynda Chalker meets the organisation's co-president Mr Archie Gumede.

The Foreign Office, however, has emphasised there is nothing unusual about the meeting.

A spokesman said: "We are meeting Mr Gumede because it is our policy to keep in touch with all shades of opinion. Mr Gumede represents a shade of opinion and therefore we are interested in hearing what he has to say and telling him what we think."

Speaking at a Press conference in the House of Commons yesterday, Mr Gumede indicated, albeit somewhat obliquely, what his message to the British Government would be.

"I would like to ask: is it not time the British Government intervened in a meaningful way in the conflict in its former colonies on account of the failure by their predecessors to ensure that when they granted independence to South Africa a policy like apartheid would not result?"

## RESISTANCE WOULD INTENSIFY

Describing South Africa as a country "in trauma arising from the resistance of the people to the (Government's) continued repression by force and violence", Mr Gumede said the forthcoming election would give the white community a chance to decide "whether they want peace or war".

He said he did not mean war in the conventional sense but made it clear that resistance to the Government would intensify if whites showed at the ballot box that their overriding concern was preserving white supremacy.

● Mr Gumede has warned that just because violence in South African townships was no longer seen on TV newscasts it did not mean it had stopped.

He said: "Would the state of emergency still be imposed if resistance to apartheid had been broken completely?"

In a report published in Friday's *Independent*, Mr Gumede added that it would be dangerous to rely on the media for a true picture of what was going on in South Africa because they only published Bureau for Information-approved material.

20/2/87 (11A) FM

NTATHO MOTLANA

## Getting ahead

That a former political detainee has been appointed to the board of a major SA life assurer says something about the man, as well as about changing business attitudes.

Soweto Civic Association President Dr Ntatho Motlana recently accepted a position as a non-executive director with Southern Life.

Although he won't be drawn on why he thinks he was appointed, Motlana (61) says one reason he accepted is that he is still on "a learning curve" and wants to know about the insurance industry. "I first realised the importance of the insurance sector after the independence of Zimbabwe, when I met a representative sent down here by Robert Mugabe to study the industry," he says.

Another factor is his absolute belief that blacks must move rapidly into business and acquire skills now, before the demise of apartheid, if SA is to avoid the economic disintegration of other African countries. He has what he calls the 75% formula: "Blacks represent 75% of the population and so should be visible in all places and sectors of SA life — be it schools, suburbs or business — in that proportion."

But Motlana is also on record as saying that change will come about in SA when business starts ignoring the ridiculous laws of apartheid, and his stay on the board is likely to prove a fascinating meeting of business and township politics.

Motlana became prominent during the 1976 Soweto riots as an executive member of the Black Parents' Association and head of the Committee of Ten — an involvement that earned him a stint in prison.

Since then he has become a local political institution, and there's little doubt that his performance at Southern Life will be closely monitored back home. He acknowledges he has a youthful constituency which equates business and capitalism with apartheid, rejects them both, and doesn't hesitate to point it out to him when its members think he is stepping out of line.

But it's an indication of his political as-

tuteness that, although he has frequently been criticised, he has maintained his credibility in the black community.

Born into a poor farming family, Motlana made his way through school and university on bursaries. He had his political baptism while still a student, and was a member of the African National Congress (ANC) when it was still a legal organisation. He was arrested a number of times — the first time in 1952 during the defiance campaign, after which he was banned for five years. But his arrest left him acutely aware of black financial dependence on whites — a white had to pay his bail. He concluded that blacks would have to have economic power to make their mark.

He sees the present economic imbalance as a consequence of white control of blacks' access to land, education and political rights, as well as whites' right to engage freely in business.

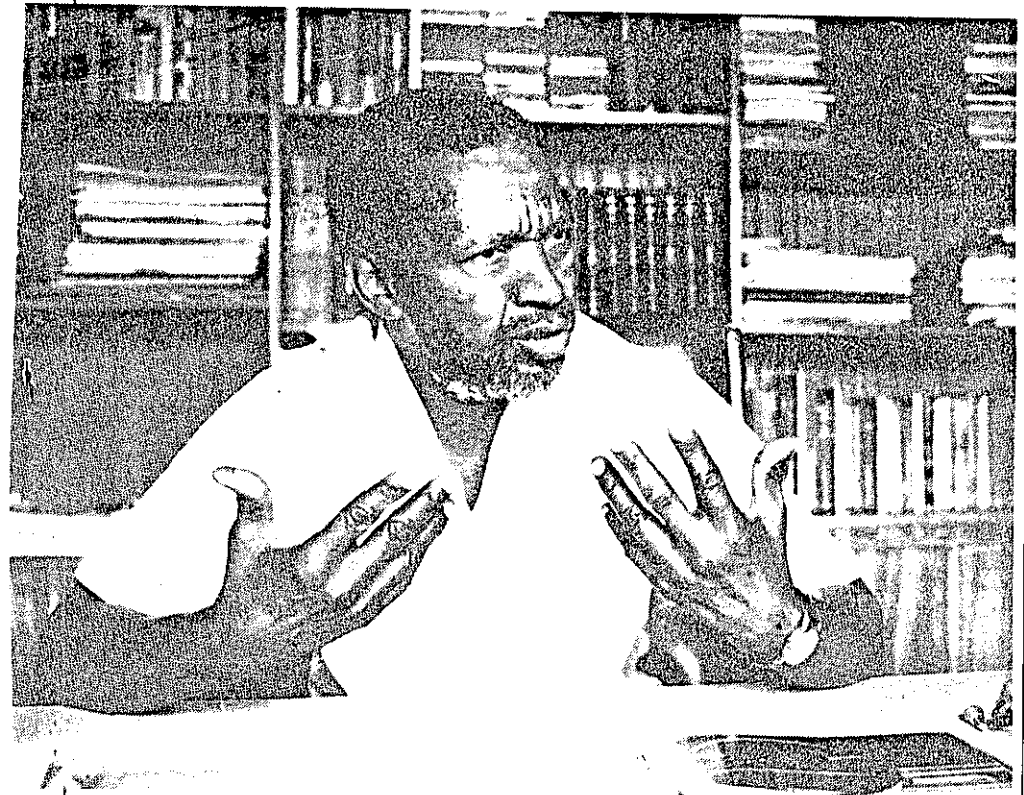
### Skills are vital

This awesome set of obstacles, he says, is exacerbated by the blacks' notion that they are dependent on whites for work. He notes that this mental dependence is entrenched in the language: *Re ya makgoeng*, Tswana for "work," literally means "going to the whites."

"Blacks must move into manufacturing," says Motlana. "They must learn to create jobs for themselves and others." Over the years he has been involved in a number of projects that have attempted to translate his beliefs into reality, including ventures into clothing, stationery and cosmetics. "All of them went broke," he says ruefully. "We were under-capitalised and lacked the business skills."

Motlana says that although he is interested in business, he is not a businessman. Ironically, his most successful business is his medical practice — it has been successful enough for him to be part of a group of black businessmen who wanted to buy Coke's interests here.

The involvement of black businessmen in attempting to get a piece of divesting companies has been criticised in the black community, particularly by the Congress of



Motlana ... still on a learning curve

South African Trade Unions and the ANC. Since then, Motlana has again demonstrated his willingness to go along with his "constituency" and has pulled out of the Coke deal. He has also resigned from Kilimanjaro, a private company linked to Black Equity Participation (BEP), which wants to acquire assets of divesting companies.

### Business as usual

On disinvestment, he says that it's meant to bring change in the short term and not to destroy the SA economy. He refuses to contemplate whether he will change his stance if this does not happen and economic disintegration results.

He remains committed to the ideals of BEP, which he says is intended to carve a place for black business. It hopes to set up a trust and raise funds from all over the world,

funds which will be used to provide a support system for black businessmen by offering training and capital. But while BEP has its sights on big business, Motlana is also involved in a scheme ("Get Ahead") to encourage small business.

He believes that, whatever government is in power in SA, there will always be businessmen.

On this point, the message he has for white business is that "if they hog the whole market and exclude blacks in the free market system, the trend to reject it will become absolute."

Motlana describes himself as a social democrat, and believes that post-apartheid society will have a mixed economy. At the same time, however, he acknowledges that the influence of moderates like himself is on the wane — a shift that worries him. ■

(CAB2495)

# Cape 'Libyan' guerillas caught

CAPG Times 21/2/87

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11A

## Staff Reporters

**POLICE have arrested five Libyan-trained guerillas — most of them believed to be from the Cape Town area — and seized a large quantity of arms and explosives, as well as Libyan Defence Force uniforms.**

Some of those captured are members of the radical Western Cape-based Qibla organization and three are known to be Muslims, police sources said last night.

The sources declined to disclose where the five are being held, but said they had been arrested "in the past few days" while attempting to infiltrate South Africa through Botswana from Harare.

### 'Soft' targets

In a statement yesterday, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said seized arms and explosives included Scorpion machine pistols, AK47 rifles, "several" blocks of TNT explosives, electrical detonators, safety fuses and a "large quantity" of ammunition.

Mr Vlok said the guerillas were "thwarted by the South African Police in the execution of their orders, which included attacks on so-called 'soft' targets and on members of the security forces".

A sixth member of the group — who police believe may have been wounded — escaped back into Botswana, Mr Vlok said, adding that two people who allegedly assisted the guerillas were also being held.

### Tanzania

All those in detention are being under Section 29 — the interrogation clause — of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Vlok said three of the five men arrested were part of a group of 12 identified by the State President, Mr P W Botha, in Parliament in April last year as being Libyan-trained guerillas who were arrested in Athens.

They were travelling on South African, Tanzanian, Zimbabwean and Botswana passports.

The 12 terrorists were all South African citizens and were en route to Harare when Athens customs officials

noticed irregularities with their travel documents.

"They were later released and returned to Libya where they received further military training," he said.

□ In April last year, Mr Botha told Parliament the Libyan-trained hit squad — which had a "hit list" of prominent black leaders — were intercepted at Athens Airport and consisted largely of Muslims from the Western Cape.

He said the 12 South African citizens — nine from the Western Cape, one from Guguletu, one from East London and one from Harare — attempted to board a flight to Harare.

### PAC

A small group had emerged within the South African Muslim community who, under the influence of Libya and Iran and with funding from those quarters, had committed themselves, with the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC), to terror and violence, he said.

"The Athens group consists largely of members of this faction, while the rest of that group have ANC and or PAC connections," Mr Botha said.

□ Willem Steenkamp reports that if Libyan-trained Muslim insurgents have started entering South Africa, the only surprise among local military observers will be that it took so long to happen.

### 'False religion'

To a country like Libya, which trains insurgents from various parts of the world and bankrolls insurrections in a number of countries, South Africa is an obvious target because it provides many of the basic requirements insurgents need in order to operate.

Its present system of government is widely disliked on various degrees, both internally and externally, there are no signs of policies being significantly altered in the short term — and there is a large community of Muslims of several races.

Many South African Muslims have been fired by a renewed religious pride in the past few years, almost all are excluded from the circles of real political power and a great number are disgruntled because of insensitive acts such as policemen entering a mosque and a church synod's decision that Islam is a false religion.



Sir Stanley Matthews (right), who was knighted for his contribution as a cricket player, is in South Africa on holiday and yesterday coached less prominent players. Stanley, now 72, played for Stoke City until he was 50 and later coached the surrounding townships for 17 years. With him is John C

# Botha denies allegation

Feb. 1987

11A

**Political Correspondent**  
CAPE TOWN - The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, has categorically denied that he told a gathering of foreign correspondents that "Nelson Mandela can rot in prison until he dies or I die whichever takes longer".

The allegation is contained in an article in the Financial Mail of February 13 entitled The Politics of Thugery.

And a spokesman for the Office of the State President said last night that the matter was receiving further attention.

In a statement, a spokesman for the Office of the State President said Mr Botha had hosted a social and informal reception for foreign correspondents in Tuynhuys but did not address the gathering of correspondents.

The spokesman pointed out that on nu-

merous occasions in public and in Parliament Mr Botha had expressed himself very clearly on the issue of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

During the no-confidence debate on January 31, 1985, Mr Botha had said:

"The government is not insensitive to the fact that Mr Mandela and others have spent a very long time in prison — I am personally not insensitive about this — even though they were duly convicted in open court. The government is also willing to consider Mr Mandela's release in the Republic of South Africa on condition that Mr Mandela gives a commitment that he will not make himself guilty of planning, instigating or committing acts of violence for the furtherance of political objectives".

This offer, the spokesman said, had been repeated on January 31, 1986 when Mr Botha said:

"I am conscious of the fact that Mr Mandela has been in prison for a long time and that he is now in his sixties. I have given this matter much thought. I stated last year that, in principle, I would be prepared to consider his release on humanitarian grounds".

# ANC man's words banned

PRETORIA — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, has placed a ban on quoting the African National Congress's publicity officer, Mr Tom Sebina.

A notice gazetted in Pretoria yesterday said section 56 (1) (p) of the

Internal Security Act was being made applicable to Mr Sebina.

Mr Sebina, 50, lived in Dube, Soweto, before he left the country.

He was previously known as Mr Thomas Tou Letlalo. — Sapa

11A

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# SAP captures Gaddafi men

11A

**Ormande Pollok**  
**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN—Police have arrested five South African Gaddafi-trained terrorists, some of them members of a radical Muslim organisation called Qibla, which is based in the Western Cape.

It is understood they were captured while infiltrating from Botswana to attack 'soft targets' in South Africa. At least one other escaped wounded.

Details of the dramatic coup were announced yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, who said arms, explosives, parts of Libyan army uniforms and money were captured.

Police were also holding two other people for allegedly assisting the terrorists.

Mr Vlok said three of the five were among the 12 Libyan-trained terrorists arrested in Athens last year.

'The 12 were all South Africans en route to Harare when Athens customs officials noticed irregularities with their travel documents,' said Mr Vlok.

'They were later released and returned to Libya where they received further military training.'

Three of the five presently being held were among the original 12.

'The five terrorists were captured when they infiltrated South Africa through Botswana from Harare. A sixth suspected terrorist managed to escape back into Botswana. It is thought he may have been wounded,' Mr Vlok said.

'The arms and explosives seized include Scorpion machine pistols, AK47 rifles, several blocks of TNT, electrical detonators, safety fuses and a large quantity of ammunition.'

'Some of those detained are members of Qibla, a Leftist, radical organisation which operates under the banner of the Pan African Congress.'

It is understood that Qibla also works in co-operation with the ANC.

Mr Vlok said the terrorists had orders to attack 'soft targets' and the security forces.

Police investigations were continuing.

and MARK STANSFIELD  
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MR VLOK

# Libyan-trained squad caught on SA border

Star 2/12/87  
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11A

BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Five members of a Libyan-trained Pan Africanist Congress hit squad captured at Athens airport last year but later released have been caught trying to get into South Africa from Botswana.

Their arrest was announced by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok who said Scorpion machine-pistols, AK-47 rifles, several blocks of TNT, detonators, safety fuses, ammunition, money and Libyan uniforms were seized by the police.

Some are alleged to be members of the Cape Town-based Muslim extremist group, Qibla.

Another two people were held for helping the group and a sixth member, possibly wounded, escaped back to Botswana. Now details of the capture were given.

Mr Vlok said the arrests were directly linked to an announcement by the State President, Mr Botha, in Parliament last April about the arrest of 12 Libyan-trained terrorists in Athens.

Mr Botha revealed then that the group, later re-

● To Page 2

2/12/87

## Hit squad

From Page 1

leased by the Greeks, was one of a number of "hit squads" on their way to Harare for instructions. Sources revealed then that the "hit squad" had a hit-list of 12 people.

Mr Vlok said some of those detained were members of Qibla, "a Leftist radical organisation operating under the banner of the PAC".

Three of the five caught on the Botswana border were among the 12 arrested in Athens while travelling on South African, Tanzanian, Zimbabwean and Botswana passports.

Mr Botha said last year that intelligence showed "South African terrorist groups will apply Gaddafi/PLO-style terrorism inside South Africa as well abroad and will sometimes operate in conjunction with or under the auspices of international terrorist groups".

Mr Botha said he had issued instructions for counter-measures.

He added that the PAC, the ANC and other international terrorist organisations were characterised by their solidarity, co-ordination of propaganda and joint action.

The five people arrested are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Qibla apparently has members inside and outside South Africa and surfaced during two clashes with police at Cape Town mosques last year. Sources said at the time the group helped organise two "prayer meetings" broken up by police and during one of the clashes shots were fired from a minaret, apparently by a Qibla member.

Members are known to have been in exile in Botswana and some have had sophisticated training.

The group is known to most Muslims, who are cautious about discussing it, and its members are apparently mainly Malays and Indians, with a few blacks, who lionise Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

The group is also understood to have been behind a wave of anti-Zionist literature in the Cape last year.

● A Muslim spokesman said Qibla was an alternative name given to the first mosque built by the Prophet Abraham and his son Ismail.

# Ban on ANC spokesman Tom Sebina

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE government has banned official African National Congress (ANC) spokesman Mr Tom Sebina from being quoted in South Africa.

The move was strongly criticized by PFP spokesman on law and order Mrs Helen Suzman, who said it was "another hopeless effort by the government to undermine the influence of the ANC".

A notice, signed by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, was published in yesterday's Government Gazette, imposing restrictions in terms of Section 56 (1) (p) of the Internal Security Act on Mr Sebina, the ANC's publicity officer.

This means Mr Sebina is now "listed" and cannot be quoted inside South Africa without the government's permission.

Mr Vlok's press liaison officer, Bridgadier Leon Mellett, said yesterday that the action against Mr Sebina had been "under consideration for a long time because he has been the spokesman for the ANC".

## 'Childish and stupid'

In the past, Mr Sebina was quoted in the South African press when his comments were not regarded as furthering the aims of the banned ANC.

Mr Sebina, 50, lived in Dube, Soweto, before leaving the country. The government notice said he was previously known as Mr Thomas Tou Letlalo.

Dr Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand department of political studies and an acknowledged expert on the ANC, called the ban "childish and stupid".

He said: "It will have no effect on the ANC's popularity, but may keep whites ignorant about black political aspirations."

Mrs Suzman said the ban was "unlikely to be any more effective than any of the government's previous efforts".



# SA-bound hit squad linked to Muslim extremists

By HENRY LUDSK  
and NEIL HOOPER

SOME of the six-man Libyan-trained hit squad who were confronted by security forces as they tried to enter South Africa from Botswana are members of a Cape extremist Muslim group, Quibla.

Five members of the squad were captured. The sixth, believed to have been wounded in the skirmish with the security forces, escaped into Botswana.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, disclosed the capture of the five men in Parliament on Friday.

He said three of them had been members of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) 12-man hit squad captured at Athens Airport last year.

Mr Vlok described Quibla as a "leftist radical organisation operating under the banner of the PAC".

When they were captured in Athens, the hit squad were travelling on South African, Tanzanian, Zimbabwean and Botswana passports.

SIT 2/2/87  
List

At the time, the State President, Mr P W Botha, revealed that the squad had been en route to Harare to receive instructions.

Sources at the time said the squad had a hit list of 12 names of people to be assassinated in South Africa.

Mr Botha said last year that intelligence reports showed "South African terrorist groups will apply Gaddafi/PLO-style terrorism inside South Africa as well as abroad and will sometimes operate in conjunction with or under the auspices of international terrorist groups".

Three of the five captured as they entered South Africa from Botswana, and now being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, were among the 12 held at Athens and subsequently released by the Greek authorities.

The Quibla movement to which some of the captured terrorists are said to belong is a relatively new organisation believed to have been formed in June 1981.

It has a history of confrontation with police and other authorities.

Although apparently not openly as active as it used to be, the organisation has office premises in Belgravia Road, Athlone, in the Cape.

# MPs ANGERED BY NAVY APARTHEID

SIT 22/24 By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter 

COLOURED and Indian MPs reacted angrily this week after a Labour Party committee on defence was told by Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan that apartheid was to remain the policy for new recruits into the navy.

The MPs' reaction followed a meeting between the Labour Party's standing committee on defence in the House of Representatives, led by Labour defence spokesman Mr Abe Williams, MP for Malmesbury, and a top-level SADF team.

In talks with Minister Malan and the chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys this week, the Labour defence team learned that, in terms of SADF policy, basic training of recruits takes place "within the population context".

## Scathing

General Malan told the group: "The essence of the policy is that basic training must take place preferably within a population context, for reasons such as community and adaptation factors as well as local circumstances."

While Mr Williams would only say he was "far from satisfied" with the explanation and "objected strongly to aspects of training based on colour", Mr Mamoo Rajab, MP for Springfield and member of the defence committee

of the Indian House of Delegates, was more scathing.

"It was plain," he said, "that the bottom line, as far as the SADF is concerned, is that it has to carry out the apartheid ideologies of the National Party."

## Visible

General Malan's "convoluted" explanation meant simply that the fundamental concept on which the tricameral parliament was based — ethnic "own affairs" departments — was being maintained in the SADF.

"Plainly, the bottom line is that the SADF practises apartheid more visibly than ever before and it is a matter of speculation whether it has something to do with appeasing conservative voters on the eve of the election."

Mr Pat Poovalingam, opposition Progressive Reform Party leader in the House of Delegates, said the Minister's "flimsy and lame" explanations amounted to justification of the perpetuation of apartheid in the SADF.

# Libya 'training more Qibla killers'

MS Times 23/2/87

11A  
11A

By CHRIS STEYN

MORE members of the radical Western Cape-based Qibla Mass Movement are being trained as "assassins" in Libya, official sources have claimed.

This follows the capture last week of five "Libyan-trained terrorists", arrested by police when they allegedly tried to infiltrate the country.

Three of those captured are allegedly members of Qibla. Sources said yesterday that other members of the movement had remained in Lybia for further training in "hit-squads".

A substantial amount of "the millions and millions of rands of PLO funding" had been used to finance Qibla and its activities.

Sources said Qibla was "a highly extremist organization" and the PLO and Qibla "are partners in terror".

Cape Times investigations found that leading members of Qibla, alleged to be involved with the captured "Libyan-trained terrorists", have been in detention for several months.

Attempts to trace Qibla spokesmen

yesterday failed as no senior ranking members were available.

Several Qibla members have fled the country since the beginning of the state of emergency last year. Many have also gone into hiding.

Qibla supporters yesterday expressed surprise at the government's linking the organization to Libyan terrorists.

The Cape Times learnt yesterday that Qibla is distributing a diary with revolutionary anniversary dates in Western Cape schools.

The dates include June 16: Martyrs' Day; July 19: Qibla's founding day; September 27: Martyrdom of Imam Haroon (the Muslim community leader who died in detention in September 1969).

The diary states Qibla's aims and contains a section on "Islamic revolutionary leadership in Azania".

A Muslim Youth Movement (MYM) spokesman said last night: "Muslims are aware of the systematic strategy adopted by the apartheid state and its appendages to discredit Islam."

# 5 PAC guerillas caught

11A  
So wet for  
22/5/67

FIVE Libyan-trained guerillas belonging to the Pan Africanist Congress have been arrested by the security forces, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, announced in Parliament on Friday.

Arms, explosives and Libyan defence force uniforms and money were captured with them.

Three of the five were among a group of 12 South Africans arrested at Athens airport last year.

They were travelling on South African, Tanzanian, Zimbabwean and Botswana passports at the time. They were later released and returned to Libya for further military training, Mr Vlok said.

The five were captured when they infiltrated South Africa through Botswana from Harare, Zimbabwe.

A sixth suspect escaped, Mr Vlok said. The weaponry captured included Scorpion machine pistols, AK47 rifles, TNT and detonators.

Mr Vlok said some of the detainees were members of Qibla, a "Leftist radical organisation operating under the banner of the PAC".

# Gag on ANC official

SOWETAN  
REPORTER

THE African National Congress' information officer, Mr Tom Sebina has been banned from being quoted by South African newspapers.

The ban was imposed at the weekend by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Mr Sebina (50), who lived in Dube, Soweto, before leaving the country, is based in Lusaka.

11A

Sowetan  
23/2/87

23/2/87  
Sowetan

11A

AN extract from a United Democratic Front newsletter about the violence which erupted in the Vaal Triangle black townships on September 3, 1984, was incorrect, an accused in the Delmas treason trial said on Friday.

The extract on page two of the *UDF News* dated October 1984 under the headline "We can't stomach it," mentions among others that the people of the Vaal had resolved that existing rents be reduced, all people in detention be released and that there should be no police interference at funerals.

Mr Naphtali Nkopane (42), in the witness box for the ninth day, denied under cross examination that these resolutions were adopted at any Vaal Civic Association meeting he had attended.

# UDF News report denied

He also denied that there were three meetings in the Vaal on September 2 — a day before the march by residents to Houtkop.

Asked by prosecutor, Mr W H a n e k o m whether during August 1984 was there a meeting between the Sharpeville Anti-Rent Committee, Cosas, Azapo, UDF, VCA, Vaal Women's Organisation, Oranje Vaal General Workers Union and the Electrical and Allied Workers Union, to discuss rent hikes in the area, Mr Nkopane said

he did not know of such a meeting.

Mr Hanekom: "Did it happen that these organisations worked together to oppose the rent hikes?"

Mr Nkopane: "That is not what I know. There were no such organisations at the meeting of August 26, 1984."

A suggestion by the State that the march to Houtkop was meant to pass councillors' homes with the aim of inviting them to join in it was also denied by Mr Nkopane.

Mr Hanekom read an article which said the march stopped at Evaton councillor Mr Leburu Diphoko's home and invited him to join. The councillor refused and fired shots killing two people. Later the crowd turned on him and killed him.

In reply Mr Nkopane said Mr Diphoko's home was very far from where they were, adding that the people on the march had behaved well.

# Bringing the pot of confusion to a slow boil

By THABISO LESHQAI



SEBOKENG resident Mr Mnisi...rent arrears.

**T**HE rent disputes that have rocked the lives of South Africa's black township dwellers for the last three years appear to be entering that dreadful phase of the uneasy calm before the re-nerved storm.

Behind the eerie post-Christmas calm nerves are frayed; recent tragedies are just barely receding and life is run like a gauntlet from one rumour to the next.

Truth could just as well be decided by the toss of a coin: in the House of Assembly the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, can

## FOCUS

report a "slight" improvement in the situation while Lybon Mabasa, vice-president of Azapo, one of the organisations that has played a significant role in resisting the rent increases, can retort: "The situation is impossible and the Government must tread very lightly."

### Clear

What is patently clear is that between the two readings, people have been cast like so much driftwood into an uncharted sea of confusion. Unemployment among blacks stands at seven to 10 million, while rent arrears for

the average township house stand at well over R900 a house.

A case in point is blind pensioner Mr Samuel Mnisi of Sebokeng. At 59 years he survives on a disability grant of R156 that he receives every 64 days.

As at August 1986 he owed R1 900 in rent. Since then he has received no further bills.

"I could be owing R3 000 now," he says matter-of-factly.

Tragedy — the death of his grandson, Wiseman, who was allegedly shot by the police in 1985, has also visited his life. "I used to be afraid in the beginning," he says, "but now I don't care. This thing can go whichever way it goes."

### Battle

Solutions to the impasse that are advanced from various quarters, rather than holding out hope, serve only to define the battle lines.

To Mr Steve Kgame, head of the controversial Urban Councils Association of South Africa, the answer is simple: "Residents must pay. Services must be paid for."

"The Government must just lower the rents," says Mabasa, while the best the Soweto Civic Association's Dr Nihato Motlana can offer is: "The situation is

under review and a statement will be released as soon as possible."

While Kgame's Ucas doesn't enjoy the popularity, his position is shared by many moderate thinking blacks. Particularly old pensioners.

To them non-payment of rents constitutes an anarchic situation to which they are unaccustomed. For them these are twilight times.

"Tell me child," asks a pensioner in Orlando East peering earnestly through dimming eyes, "what is it we must do?"

### Meetings

She is unable to attend street committee meetings where decisions are taken. She grasps facts as fleetingly as desert sand holds water. Only one stubborn fact remains clear to her. In her house she makes the decisions.

If suddenly her decisions concerning her house are liable to cause the burning of that house or even the death of her family then indeed the future is as dim as her eyes.

Underlying the anarchy is what lawyers refer to as the "hideously complex" laws governing the rights and powers of black local authorities.

"There is no certainty as to what the (black) city council's powers and rights are," says a Johannesburg attorney acting on behalf of the Soweto City Association. And that certainty is still a long time coming as he believes final

arbitration will come only when the cases are referred to the Supreme Court.

In the meantime councillors are not mooching around waiting for the law to arrive at its ponderous conclusions. They have to justify their appointments. Country-wide rent arrears are a gaping R170 million while several councillors are fending off allegations of corruption.

### Notices

In January two Thokoza town officials were suspended from duties pending an investigation into the disappearance of R1.3 million.

Despite that eviction notices are still being served on people without legal representation, bringing to a slow boil the pot of confusion and drowning out in the process the feeble calls for a "negotiated settlement."

## Lest we forget

THE Sowetan today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:

- Zvelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the the *New Nation*, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 70 days;
- Mxolisi Jackson Fuzile, *Veritas News Agency*, who has been detained under the emergency regulations for 253 days;
- Phila Ngqumba, *Veritas News Agency*, 253 days;
- Brian Sokutu, Eastern Cape freelance journalist, 253 days;
- Clive Stourman of *Saamstaan* in Oudshoorn, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 253 days today.



Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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(ii) *Depression cases.* Where necessary cases were referred to a Psychologist, Psychiatrist (or both) for treatment. Cases were hospitalised where indicated.

(iii) *Minor complaints.* Including tooth ache, tummy upsets, flu and colds, etc.

Appropriate treatment was administered.

#### Aids

535. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

How many cases of acquired immune deficiency syndrome were diagnosed in 1986?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

Thirty one (31).

#### New Brighton: bottle-store

536. Mr A SAVAGE asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether a bottle-store in New Brighton has been commandeered by the South African Defence Force; if so, (a) when and (b) to what use have these premises been put since then;

(2) whether any persons detained in terms of emergency regulations have been (a) questioned and (b) held at these premises; if so, (i) how many in each case and (ii) what is the maximum period for which any detainee may be held at such premises;

(3) whether any detainees have been held in the cold-store at this bottle-store; if so, (a) how many, (b) why and (c) for what period was each of these detainees so held;

(4) whether an investigation has been held into this matter; if not, why not; if so, (a) what were the findings and (b) what action was taken as a result?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No.

(2) (a) and (b) Yes.

(i) 289 in both cases.

(ii) It is not specified in the Emergency Regulations.

(3) No.

(4) No, it is not considered necessary. (a) and (b) Fall away.

#### Necklacing

537. Mr A SAVAGE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) (a) How many persons died by "necklacing" in the Greater Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage/Ibhayi/KwaNobuhle area in each month of 1985 and 1986, (b) what were their names and (c) where did they live;

(2) whether any suspects have been arrested in connection with these deaths; if so, in connection with how many deaths;

(3) whether, in respect of any of these deaths, the South African Police do not suspect political motives; if so, in respect of how many deaths?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) to (3) I refer the honourable member to my reply to written Question Number 15 in the House of Representatives which is suffice.

#### Schackleton aircraft

538. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether any Schackleton aircraft were withdrawn from service recently; if so, (a) (i) when, (ii) how many and (iii) why and (b) (i) how many of these aircraft are there still in the Republic and (ii) how many of them are airworthy;

(2) whether any of the remaining Schackleton aircraft have been placed in storage; if so, (a) where, (b) how many, (c) what does the South African Defence Force intend doing with the aircraft and (d) what steps are being taken to prevent (i) the aeroplanes from (aa) deteriorating and (bb) rusting and (ii) parts thereof being stolen?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No. The following information is nevertheless supplied.

(a) (i) 23 November 1984.

(ii) 7.

(iii) Metal fatigue on main spars.

(b) (i) 7.

(ii) None. Three of the aircraft could possibly be made airworthy for non-operational purposes.

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b) Air Force Base Swartkop—2; D.F. Malan Airport—1; Air Force Base Ysterplaat—3; SA Airways—1.

(c) At present the intention is to preserve three of the aircraft as objects of historical value and to sell or exchange the others for other historically valuable aircraft.

(d) (i) (aa) Negotiations are underway to obtain a steel construction cov-

ered with shadow netting as a donation, for the protection of the aircraft at Air Force Base Swartkop. The aircraft at D.F. Malan Airport is standing in a hanger. The remaining three are standing in the security area of the Air Force Base Ysterplaat.

(bb) Normal preservation with regard to the three aircraft which could possibly be made airworthy.

(ii) The remaining three aircraft standing at Air Force Base Ysterplaat, have been stripped of all usable parts. These parts together with the parts which were held in stock are being transferred to 11 Air Depot where normal accounting procedures are in force.

#### Steam locomotives

539. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:†

(1) (a) How many steam locomotives belonging to the South African Transport Services (i) were still in service in (aa) the Republic and (bb) neighbouring states and (ii) (aa) had been withdrawn from service and (bb) had been placed in storage, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) what types of locomotives in each of these categories form the majority;

(2) whether any of the remaining steam locomotives have been placed in storage; if so, (a) where, (b) how many, (c) what does the Transport Services intend doing with the locomotives and (d) what steps are being taken to prevent (i) the locomotives from (aa) deteriorating and (bb) rusting and (ii) parts thereof being stolen?



## **ANC rejects British plan**

HARARE — The African National Congress has rejected a British call for the Organisation of African Unity to plan a Lancaster House style constitutional conference.

The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, called the OAU chairman, Congolese President Denis Sassou Nguesso, to convene a conference to solve the South African situation when the two leaders met in London recently.

The ANC's secretary general, Mr Alfred Nzo, spoke at length on the matter here yesterday but may not legally be quoted in South Africa.  
— Sapa

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Cape Times 24/2/87

# Qibla 12 'left, could not stand SA conditions'

By CHRIS STEYN

STARTLING new information regarding the five alleged "Libyan-trained terrorists", who were arrested by police last week, has come to light.

Muslim sources, who were in contact with the arrested men while they were still living in the Western Cape and subsequently visited them in Harare, told the Cape Times yesterday what had prompted them to leave the country.

They said the 12 men, who were intercepted at Athens Airport in April last year, had left South Africa because they "just could not stand the conditions here any more".

The sources said the men had been Qibla sympathizers — but they had left school in 1985 and had "nothing to do with the African National Congress (ANC) or the Pan African Congress (PAC)".

They left for Zimbabwe in two groups — one of five and one of seven — in March 1986. However, they were "forced out" because "a certain controversy raged about their intentions and who they were connected to".

According to official sources, the two groups left South Africa in May and June 1985.

Muslim sources said the men were jailed for about three days in Harare before being questioned about their politics and asked which country they would like to go to.

The 12 had apparently indicated that they would prefer to go to the United States, but were told they could not go there. They then chose Iran instead.

According to the Muslim sources, the men were stopped at Athens Airport on their way to Iran.

President P W Botha said in Parliament in April last year that the Libyan-trained hit-squad —

with a hit-list of prominent black South African leaders — had been intercepted at Athens Airport while attempting to board a flight to Harare.

Muslim sources said that at least five of the 12 returned to Harare to do duty as drivers at the Iranian Embassy. One of the five worked as a security officer to the Iranian Ambassador.

They all apparently chauffeured ambassadors to and from the Non-aligned Summit held in Harare in June.

Sources who visited the group in Harare in September last year said the men had decided to return to South Africa via Botswana when they were arrested by police.

Official sources yesterday confirmed that the men had been arrested — first three and then another two — when they tried to infiltrate the country through Botswana.

N/M 24/2/87

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# US 'will watch ANC warily'

NEW YORK—As long as the African National Congress maintains its communist associations, the United States 'will watch the black liberation movement warily', says the latest edition of the U S magazine Time.

In a report raising questions about the communist role in the ANC, the magazine says some opponents of apartheid 'harbour lingering reservations about the ANC, mainly because of its longstanding and unapologetic ties to communists'.

Time says Mr Joe Slovo, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is Exhibit A for

the argument that, wittingly or not, the ANC may be the vehicle through which communism could eventually gain power in South Africa.

The magazine quotes South African security police spy Craig Williamson, who infiltrated the ANC and the Communist Party from 1971 to 1980, as saying: 'Slovo is the classic South African communist that the Soviets like — tough, down the line, disciplined and utterly dedicated'.

In a rare interview with Time, Mr Slovo maintains the ANC and the Communist Party have common objectives 'to destroy racism and to achieve a united democratic South Africa'.  
— (Sapa)

# 300 meet to discuss 'people's education'

By Sol Makgabutlane,  
Education Reporter

More than 300 people met at the National Exhibition Centre outside Johannesburg at the weekend to discuss "people's" or "community-based" education.

The conference, under the aegis of the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (Tuata), was attended by, among others, educationist Fanyana Mazibuko, community leader Ishmael Mkhabela, Turfloop lecturer Professor SM Lenyai, headmaster Mr M P Mahlangu, headmaster Mr Leepile Taunyane and Department of Education and Training director Dr H A Mocke.

Tuata president Mr Leepile

Taunyane said: "Community-based education should consider all aspects of the people — social, economic, political and cultural.

"Many people have a narrow view and only give people's education political connotations."

## MILESTONE

Various conferences have tried to find an education system which meets black needs and aspirations.

The biggest, regarded as a milestone, was convened by the National Education Crisis Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand in December 1985 and attended by representatives of more than 150 organi-

sations. A follow-up conference was held in Durban early in 1986.

What does Tuata aim to achieve?

Mr Taunyane: "The purpose of the Tuata meeting was to assist in the general search for a new education philosophy to meet aspirations and needs in the present education crisis.

"We also wanted to give content to what the black public is crying for and see if our country is prepared to give meaning to these desires."

The black community believed an element was missing in the education system: "This has brought us to the present crisis," he said, "so we are trying to give full content to 'peo-

ple's education' and to broaden that base.

"In a multicultural community such as South Africa there must be some things which are common among all groups."

He said South Africa could copy the Japanese, who created an education system that developed human and industrial resources after World War 2.

"The Japanese said 'we want to develop an education system that caters for what we need most'. Here in South Africa we are in dire need of answers to our education aspirations. We need to develop our creative and communicative skills," Mr Taunyane said.

Another conference will be held in August or September.

24287 US keeps close watch  
on ANC ties — Time

11A

NEW YORK — As long as the African National Congress maintains its communist associations, the United States "will watch the black liberation movement warily," says the US magazine, Time.

In a report raising questions about the communist role in the ANC, the magazine said some opponents of apartheid "harbour lingering reservations about the ANC, mainly because of its longstanding and unapologetic ties to communists".

Time said the chief of staff of the ANC's mili-

tary wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, Mr Joe Slovo, was "exhibit A" for the argument that, wittingly or not, the ANC might be the vehicle through which communism could eventually gain power in South Africa.

The magazine quoted a South African security police spy, Mr Craig Williamson, who infiltrated the ANC and the Communist Party from 1971 to 1980 as saying, "Slovo is the classic South African communist that the Soviets like — tough, down the line, disciplined and utterly dedicated".

Time noted that a US State Department report released in January found that there was considerable South African Communist Party influence within the ANC and that as many as 21 of the 30 members of the ANC's national executive belonged to the party.

"While not even ANC officials claim they are close to gaining power in South Africa, the distant prospect of an ANC-sponsored coalition in which the communists hold a share of power, is not attractive," said Time. — Sapa

# ANC condemns ban on Sebina

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has condemned the South African Government's decision to ban its spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, from being quoted in South Africa.

In a statement issued here the ANC's information department said the action taken against Mr Sebina was "yet another example of the Government's vain efforts to muzzle not only the Press in South Africa but also any other voices of reason calling for immediate democratic changes".

The ANC said the Government's decision to ban Mr Sebina from being quoted was another attempt "at keeping all our people ignorant about what crisis the country is experiencing because of apartheid".

"These actions aimed at the intimidation of the ANC will fail just as many other attempts in the past have failed," the statement said. — *Sowetan Africa News.*

11/6/87 24/2/87

# Howa: A future in the wilderness

By ANTHONY DOMAN  
Staff Reporter

FOUR months ago Hassan Howa looked back nostalgically on a quarter-century at the top of the Western Province Cricket Board.

Today he contemplates a future in the wilderness.

The man who came to symbolise the anti-apartheid sport movement bade farewell to sports administration's major league when he failed to regain the Western Province presidency at the weekend.

It was not a fond farewell.

Delegates voted 58-25 in favour of his opponent, Mr Sadick Emeran of United Cricket Club, after a morning of fiery debate that verged on acrimony.

In the end, the Howa ability to turn a reverse into victory, doubters into supporters and to crush opposition failed.

This time the opposition was just too well organised.

But while Mr Howa concedes defeat, he resents the way it happened. "After all, I refused the money," he says of the R1-million carrot dangled during secret, unauthorised talks with the South African Cricket Development Foundation. It was these talks which ultimately led to his downfall.

He said he would probably retain membership of his club, Peninsula, although he was unlikely to stay on as an official.

"In the end I think the defeat is a good thing," he says. "I feel much easier now than on Sunday when I had to decide whether to accept nomination or to stand down. Now the decision has been taken for me."

What happened to the Howa magic?

For years a mixture of strong-arm tactics, sweet talk, street-fighter instincts and, yes, guts had helped Mr Howa weather the storms of his reign.

But as he grew older and began softening his earlier hard line on such matters as the use of "international" hotels, "ethnic" university campuses and links with rival sports bodies, a groundswell of opinion against him began forming. Some felt he was betraying the principles for which he had stood.

First he was toppled from the leadership of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos). Then he lost his presidency of the South African Cricket Board.

The Ali Bacher affair was the final blow.

Secret meetings took place between Mr Howa, members of his executive and Cricket Development Fund representatives, including the

director of the South African Cricket Union, Dr Bacher. Sponsorship of R1-million was discussed.

Mr Howa was defiant of his national body's refusal to have links with organisations it did not regard as non-racial. "I'll talk to whoever I want," he said.

Unease among the board turned into anger when Dr Bacher openly met officials at a board tournament in December.

Days later Mr Howa and most of his executive were sacked. Last weekend's elections, and his devastating defeat, made the break complete.

Will we see yet another comeback?

"That is something I can never say. Being who I am, I can never say I will never do a thing. At this moment it seems to be a wise thing to stay out."

# LP 'uses domino effect'

By Mike Tissong

The African National Congress (ANC) has no support that can be measured in South Africa, Cabinet Minister and Labour Party (LP) leader, Mr Alan Hendrickse told a meeting in Riverlea, this week.

The meeting was held in support of the LP candidate for the Bosmont constituency, Mr Arthur Roper who will one of four candidates contesting the seat on March 4. The others are independent candidate, Mr Trevor George and Mrs Jean Fick and Freedom Party member Mr Stephen Petersen.

During his speech, Mr Hendrickse criticised the ANC and said the LP was in Parliament to break down apartheid using the domino effect.

"We fought against the Mixed Marriages Act and succeeded in getting it scrapped from the statute books. We will tackle the other problems and they will also fall.

"We cannot fight against the whole granite structure of apartheid at once. We believe that by nibbling at it slowly, it will eventually come down."



AKGMS

117

## Attorney, two others attacked near court

### Staff Reporter

POLICE vehicles rushed to the Supreme Court, Cape Town, after two men were assaulted and an attorney was jostled.

Mr M R Khan was jostled and two other people were assaulted yesterday while on their way to Huguenot Chambers, where advocates are based.

Mr Khan said he was representing Sheik M A Jassiem, who had asked the Supreme Court to rule that he was a Muslim and entitled to act as an Imam (priest).

### SACKED

Sheik Jassiem had been sacked from his position at a mosque because of his alleged links with the Ahmadi sect.

Sheik Jassiem and a witness were hit and kicked, Mr Khan said.

Files belonging to Mr Khan were wrested from him and thrown to the ground. Some were set alight.

⊗ Former imam sues Muslim council, Page 4.

# Sheikh attacked outside court

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT  
Supreme Court Reporter

THREE elderly men — one a sheikh — and an attorney were attacked outside the Supreme Court yesterday by people who had listened in court to a damages suit brought by the sheikh against the Muslim Judicial Council.

Members of the Muslim crowd which packed the court shouted "Pig! Pig!" at Sheikh Mogamat Jassiem as they jostled him in Keerom Street before hitting him in the face, kicking him and pulling his turban from his head.

His brother, Imam Abdullah Jassiem, was also hit in the face, thrown to the ground and kicked repeatedly as he lay covering his head with his arms. Mr R Abrahams was hit in the face and on the head and attorney Mr M R Khan was punched on the head.

The men ripped Mr Khan's file of papers from his hands and scattered documents in the street. Some of the papers were set alight as the victims of the attack sought refuge in a nearby cafe.

Mr Acting Justice J G Foxcroft, who was in the area, prevented elements of the crowd from pursuing the men into the cafe. Shocked members of the public, many of them Muslims, helped to pick up Mr Khan's scattered papers.

Police were called and are investigating.

After the lunch break, Miss Justice L van den Heever condemned the attack as uncivilized, "dangerously close to contempt of court" and "almost the equivalent of lynch law".

She said she sincerely hoped there would be no repetition.

Counsel for the MJC said in court that the council "most certainly repudiates what happened outside".

The damages suit against the MJC brought by Sheikh Jassiem is for a total of R40 000.

The sheikh, who was appointed imam of the Long Street mosque in 1971 by the mosque trustees, claims he was unlawfully dismissed from his post and barred from the mosque in December 1985 after the MJC "incit-

To Page 3

# Priests told to get work permits

*Savefor  
25/2/87*

NON-Venda-speaking priests of the Lutheran Church who work in Venda have been ordered to apply for work permits by the homeland's Department of Internal Affairs, it was disclosed yesterday.

Dean Tshenuwani Farisani yesterday said officials of the department told him that the priests should apply for work permits which are renewable every year, or become permanent residents without acceptance of "Venda citizenship".

The Director-General of the department, Mr Jeffrey Malaudzi, yesterday said it was "legal" for the department to require work permits "from people who work here but who are not citizens of Venda".

There are presently six non-Venda-speaking church workers operating from the "independent" homeland. The move to have them apply for work permits is seen by many as an attempt to force the church to negotiate and

By MATHATHA  
TSEDU

recognise the government of Venda.

It is also feared that the measure could give the Venda government an opportunity to refuse permits to some of the priests — forcing them to leave the area.

This comes hard on the heels of the banning

by Pretoria of Dean Farisani from entering South Africa without a visa.

Dean Farisani, a former president of the banned Black People's Convention (BPC), is well known in church circles throughout the world for his anti-apartheid views.

He has been detained several times without any charges being brought against him.

AKG/US 25/2/87 11A

# Former imam sues Muslim council

## Supreme Court Reporter

THE former imam of a mosque in Loop Street is suing the Muslim Judicial Council for damages, claiming he was defamed by the council's president and wrongfully dismissed from the mosque.

Sheik Mogamat Jassiem has asked the Supreme Court to rule that he is a Muslim and entitled to act as an imam (priest).

He claims in papers that he has always been a member of the Sunnite Islamic sect and a Muslim.

He was appointed as imam of the mosque in 1971.

Sheik Jassiem claims that in

December 1985 the MJC wrongfully and maliciously incited the trustees of the mosque to dismiss him.

He is suing for lost income and damages of R15 000.

He is also claiming R25 000 for damages to his reputation, social relationships and office of imam.

Sheik Jassiem alleged that on December 20, 1985, MJC president Sheik Nazim Mohamed said Sheik Jassiem was an Ahmadi or an Ahmadi sympathiser.

He said in papers the Sunnite sect regarded an Ahmadi as a non-Muslim who was denied admittance to mosques and Muslim burial grounds.

The statement was false and was intended to impair his dignity, he alleged.

● Miss Justice van den Heever told a crowded court yesterday afternoon that an incident during lunch-break was distasteful and uncivilised.

Sheik Jassiem, attorney Mr M R Kahn and a witness were assaulted on their way to Huguenot Chambers in Queen Victoria Street.

She said it was as if someone wished to pre-empt the court's findings.

(Proceeding)

# TIC makes a stand

THE Transvaal Indian Congress yesterday urged blacks not to "volunteer to die for apartheid".

"Recent incidents confirm our view that Indian, coloured and African soldiers are discriminated against in the SADF," the TIC said in a Press statement.

It added: "The TIC is not at all surprised to hear how racist the SADF is. We have always regarded the SADF as the military arm of the racist National Party. It is part of the repressive machinery of apartheid, as its involvement in the townships proves.

"The Labour Party

will fail in its attempts to reform the SADF. Apartheid cannot be reformed, it can only be destroyed.

"The TIC is committed to peace, and opposes conscription. Indian, coloured and African people should not volunteer to die for apartheid."

(11A) Somerset 26/2/87

11A ~~11A~~ Sowetan 26/2/87

JUDGMENT will be given tomorrow in the Cape Town Regional Court trial of six men and a youth charged with terrorism and furthering the aims of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

# Judgment in terror trial tomorrow

Accused are Mr Mzwandile Mciteka (25), Mr Andile Gushe, (23), Mr Donald Mxutu (66) and Mr Simon Mayholewene, all of Guguletu; Mr Bathemba Lugulwana (33) of Langa, Mr Taelo Ntlaba (19) and a youth, both of Paarl.

they took part in the activities of the PAC, formed the Azanian Youth Union (Azanyu) in 1983; invited people to sign for military training under the PAC and to join the Azanian People's Liberation Army, that they pledged loyalty to and saluted the PAC at a funeral in Transkei; distributed a pamphlet entitled *Kill The Oppressor And Not The Oppressed* and distrib-

uted T-shirts bearing pictures of former PAC leader Robert Sobukwe.

They have pleaded not guilty.

They were arrested in Umtata on January 20 last year. This week Mr F Buntting, for all the defence, argued that Mr Gushe should be acquitted because there

was not evidence that he had intended to leave South Africa specifically for military training.

"Mr Gushe said there had been fighting between Azanyu and the United Democratic Front in Mbekweni in 1985 and he feared for his life after threats,"

said Mr Buntting.

He said in a statement that he approached an elderly man for advice on how to get to a safe place. He got as far as Umtata.

"Mr X, a State witness testified that there were no military camps in Lesotho, where Mr Gushe intended going."

Mr J M Lemmer is on the Bench and Mr A A Duminy appears for the State.



11A

# 'MAN SPRUNG FROM HOSPITAL KNEW A LOT'

A MAN who said he had been an accomplice told the Maritzburg Supreme Court yesterday how an alleged ANC insurgent was sprung from Edendale Hospital.

He said that Mr Robert McBride (23), who with Miss Greta Apelgren is facing charges of murder, attempted murder and terrorism, had done most of the planning and that after shots were fired in the hospital Mr McBride and his father, Mr Derek McBride, brought a man known as Steve out of the hospital on a trolley.

The witness, who cannot be named and can only be identified as Mr C, said that he and another man had thrown handgrenades at a private house on the instructions of Mr McBride.

Mr McBride had supplied the grenades, he said.

The grenades had

been thrown early on the morning of May 1, 1986. Three days later Mr C and Mr Antonio du Preez were summoned to the workshop of Mr Derrick McBride, father of Mr Robert McBride.

"On the floor were four AK47 rifles, handgrenades and a pistol.

"Mr Robert McBride said that we should sit and he showed us a sketch of the Edendale Hospital and environments. He said a friend of his, Steve had been shot and arrested and held and was being guarded by two policemen.

"Mr McBride said that we were to get him out that night because he was being transferred

## Patient had pipe sticking from stomach

to another hospital and that Steve knew a lot.

"He said that the best time to remove him would be visiting hours when many people were about.

### Bush

"Later that day we drove to Edendale Hospital and parked on a dirt road next to a fence. Mr Robert McBride cut a hole in the fence. Mr McBride said that I must guard the fence and if a policeman arrived I

should shoot him.

"The McBrides went into the hospital, Robert carrying an AK47 and his father carrying a pistol. Robert put the AK47 under a white doctor's coat.

"Antonio and I laid down in the bush nearby waiting for them. A few minutes later we heard gunshots and about three to four minutes later I saw the McBrides pushing a trolley. Someone was on the trolley.

"Robert shouted 'sup-

port, support'. I put my AK47 through the fence to cover them. The McBrides pushed the trolley through and we saw that Steve was on the trolley naked with plaster on his stomach with a pipe sticking out of it.

"We helped put Steve on the back of a truck and Robert drove off. Antonio and I were on the back with Steve.

"We drove to a railway bridge where Miss Apelgren was meant to have met us so that we could transfer Steve to her car and for her to drive with him to Mr McBride's workshop. She was, however, not there and we took Steve to Durban on the back of the truck. As it was cold Antonio and I took off our jackets and put them on Steve.

"When we arrived at the workshop I saw a mattress and bedding which had not been there when we had left. Later on we saw Steve's father arrive.

(Proceeding)



# Workers must unite Mandela

By THABISO  
LESHOAI

MRS Winnie Mandela yesterday emphasised the need for worker unity when she opened the fifth annual congress of the National Mineworkers Union in Johannesburg.

Unity and organisation in the face of "divisive" Government manoeuvres were concerns that came out early in the opening addresses at the congress at the National Exhibition Centre in Crown Mines, Johannesburg. It ends on Saturday.

More than 11 branches of the giant union were represented. Local and overseas unions sent "fraternal greetings". Two officials represented Namibian miners. Other foreign unionists are expected to arrive today.

Mrs Mandela said she was addressing the gathering "by default". She was delivering it "on behalf of the entire incarcerated leadership".

Her hour-long speech, toned down to a



Mrs WINNIE Mandela  
... address.

low emotional level seemingly because it was delivered in English, nonetheless drew laughter from unionists.

Referring to a future South Africa free of ethnic and racial exclusivity, she said "even AWB members wishing to live in Onverwacht would be free and welcome to do so".

Before Mrs Mandela spoke, a welcoming address was delivered by the union's vice-president Mr Elijah Barayi who said a united workers' front was a monument to the 25 years of imprisonment of leaders on Robben Island.

The absence from the congress of the honorary life president of the union, Mr Nelson Mandela, was also noted.

Workers chanted and sang before the formalities.

AP



# Ahmadis 'insulted Christ', court told

CAPC 16/1  
26/2/07

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT  
Supreme Court Reporter

20 110

EXTRACTS from the writings of the founder of the Ahmadi sect were insulting to Jesus Christ, the Supreme Court was told yesterday during a suit for damages brought against the Muslim Judicial Council.

Christ is honoured by Muslims as a prophet and anyone insulting to him cannot be regarded as a Muslim, the court was told.

The suit for damages of R40 000 is being brought by Sheikh Mogamat Jassiem, former imam at the Loop Street mosque, who claims the MJC wrongfully caused his dismissal and banning from the mosque.

He also claims MJC president Sheikh Nazim Mohamed defamed him by publicly calling him an Ahmadi or an Ahmadi sympathizer.

Sheikh Jassiem denies that he is either of these.

The MJC has denied acting wrongfully and claims Sheikh Jassiem must prove he is a Muslim.

There was a stir in court yesterday — swiftly hushed by a wave of the hand of Sheikh Nazim Mohamed — when counsel for the MJC, Mr B Hoberman SC, handed in the apparently insulting extracts while he was cross-examining a witness called by the other side, Sheikh Nur-Ridwhan Rakiep.

The case continues.

Miss Justice L van den Heever presided. Mr D P de Villiers QC, with Mr J I Immerman and instructed by M R Khan and Associates, appeared for the plaintiff. Mr M A Albertus, instructed by H Mohamed and Associates, appeared for Sheikh Nazim Mohamed.

had himself encountered the Roanoke

27/2/87  
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# Mandela home stoned

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A stone hurled through a window of Mrs Winnie Mandela's home in Orlando West this week, in a flare-up between soccer players, narrowly missed a six week-old baby in the house.

The attack was part of the on-going clash between members of the Mandela United Football Club and students from the Daliwonga school over the use of a football field in Soweto.

Youths supporting the Daliwonga side stoned the Mandela home on Wednesday morning when they went to "sort out" the issue. They damaged part of the cement wall which surrounds the house and forced their way in to search all the rooms looking for their rivals.

A friend of the family said Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and their daughter Zinzi were at home at the time.

# SA gives R2 m in aid to Ciskei

EAST LONDON — The South African Government has pledged R1 932 000 to the Ciskei for the development of a vehicle testing centre and bulk potable water-pipeline supply.

The two agreements were signed yesterday by President L. L. Sebe and the South African Ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Christian Van Aardt.

The first agreement, amounting to R332 000 covers financial and technical assistance for a vehicle testing centre at Mdantsane.

The second agreement concerned an amount of R1.6 million, to be used for providing a bulk water-pipeline supply and ancillary works at Nciyaville.

President Sebe said that the provision of water to Nciyaville was a major break-through.

"The area has fertile soil which desperately requires irrigation," he said. "This will provide employment to the people suffering as a result of disinvestment".

Commenting on the vehicle-testing centre, President Sebe emphasized the importance of bringing such a service closer to the people.

He pointed out that the project would create job opportunities.

He concluded by thanking the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, for the generous gift and praised him for his commitment to human upliftment.

# Inquiry told of contract change

Dispatch Reporter

UMTATA — The Transkei Government unilaterally terminated a contract with a construction company and substituted a company of its choice, the Commission of Inquiry into the Department of Works and Energy heard here yesterday.

The commission, chaired by Mr G. A. Alexander, SC, continued to hear evidence on a building contract for the erection of 584 houses, known as Vuli Valley, which was initiated in 1979 at Msobomvu in Butterworth.

Many of the documents submitted for inspection were described as "strange".

The commission previously expressed astonishment at irregularities in a contract for a project worth close to R10 million.

Counsel for the auditor-general said the purpose in dealing with the contract was to make suggestions to improve the department.

In particular, the question of how to deal with the takeover of a large contract and the possibility of putting it out to tender arose.

Previous evidence before the commission had revealed that the company originally contracted to build the project had gone into provisional liquidation and another company had been appointed. Two of the directors of the insolvent company were also directors of the company which took over the contract.

The commission heard that three other companies had wanted to take over the contract and the reason their offers had been disregarded would be looked into.

The government had entered into an agreement with the first company but subsequently cancelled the contract.

The commission continues today.

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# WORKERS SPEAK OUT

THE Government banning of the African National Congress adverts earlier this year showed how "shaky the apartheid rule is", Mr Murphy Morobe, publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, said in a rare public speech.

He said the Government was facing a crisis because its methods of governing had been rejected in townships and villages all over the country.

The Government's response to the UDF's adverts calling for the unbanning of the ANC in its 75th anniversary year showed how "shaky the apartheid rule is".

The state of emergency and mass detentions were "nothing else but a reflection of a government that has lost all the political arguments and has therefore resolved that coercion and repression are the only forces it can muster".

### Blind eye

He said the Government had turned a blind eye to "vigilante death-squads" that have been deployed in townships and rural areas to harass anti-apartheid activists and trade unionists.

Millions of South African workers were at the "crossroads" and faced another year living under a system of "profit and apartheid oppression", the general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Jay Naidoo, said on Wednesday night.

Speaking at the opening of the fifth annual congress of the National

Union of Mineworkers (NUM) — an affiliate of Cosatu — Mr Naidoo said that as the unions were giving workers more control over their lives in the workplace, democratic structures in the townships were doing this too.

Referring to the decision made at the launch of Cosatu in November, 1985, to call for "one union, one industry", Mr Naidoo said the campaign had not been "as successful as hoped".

About half of Cosatu's membership came from the NUM and mineworkers therefore had a crucial role to play in strengthening Cosatu structures.

The NUM was one of the fastest growing trade unions in the world and South Africa's largest with more than 360 000 members, the NUM president, Mr James Motlatsi, said at the congress.

Mr Motlatsi challenged mine management to discuss with the union how to end the hostel system on the mines which he said was developed over a century ago and has kept miners in conditions of "wage slavery and oppression".

"Death, it seems, has become a feature of mining life," Mr Motlatsi said referring to the 177 miners who died at the Kinross mine in the Eastern Transvaal last September.

Despite "massive profits made by the mining industry, very little is spent on safety... it is only when disasters like Kinross strike that everyone takes notice of safety on the mines," he said. — Sapa.

## Num holds fifth Congress



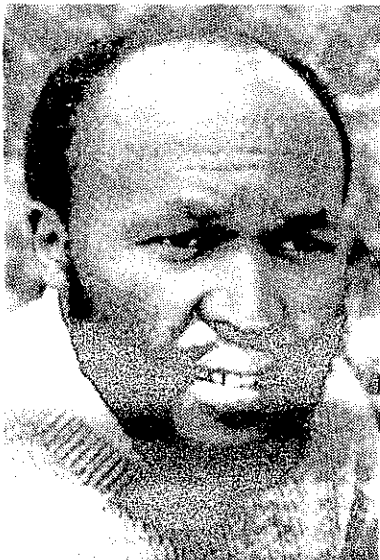
Mr JAY Naidoo... Cosatu.



Mrs WINNIE Mandela salutes workers as a poster of her husband, jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson, is hoisted amid delegates. Workers returned the salute.



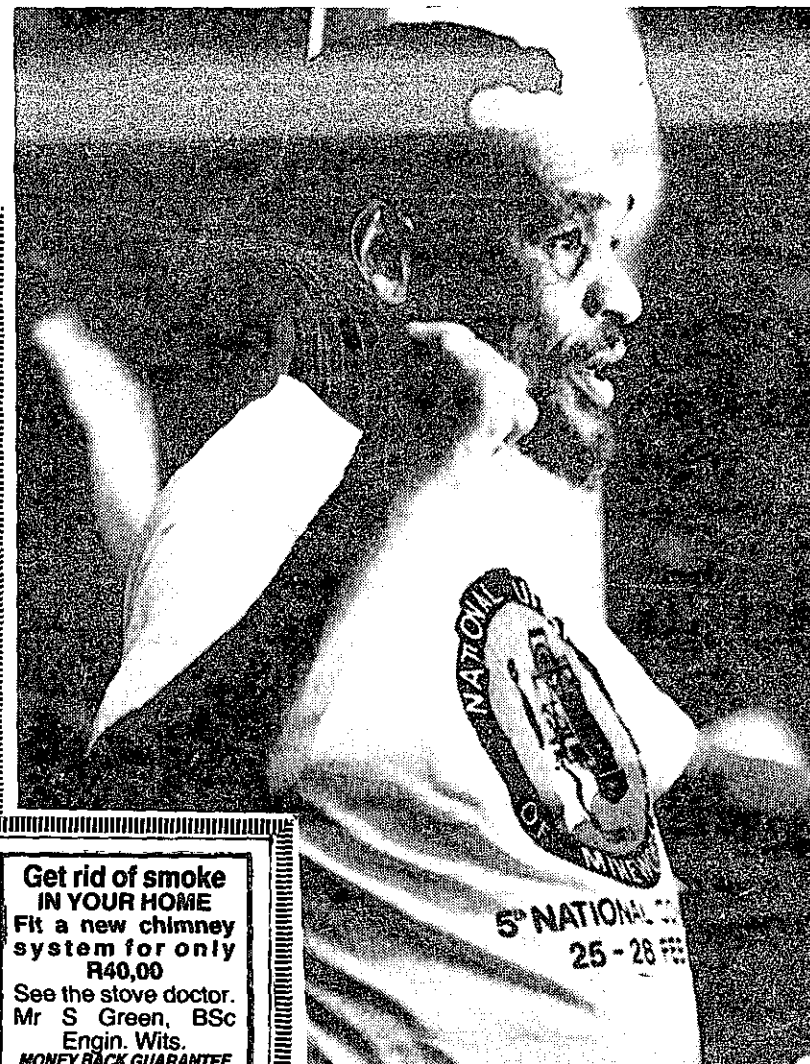
Mr JAMES Motlatsi... speech.



Mr MURPHY Morobe... speech.



ANXIOUS to get down to discussions, NUM's delegates to the fifth annual congress pay their registration fees. The congress ends tomorrow.



NUM vice-president Elijah Barayi delivered the welcoming speech at the union's congress.

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S-14693



# UDF says it will defend members

Political Reporter

A UNITED Democratic Front spokesman in Durban yesterday said the UDF was prepared to defend and protect its members and supporters against attacks.

The spokesman was commenting on the killing of four members of the Hammarsdale Youth Congress (Hayco) in four separate incidents in Mpumalanga this month.

'While the UDF is a peace-loving and non-violent people's front, it reserves the right to defend and protect its members and supporters.

'We note with much regret the reckless manner in which this matter is being handled by the authorities.

'We know that vigilantes are hunting down a number of activists in the township,' the spokesman said.

# NUM rally at Jabulani

**THE 369 000-member National Union of Mineworkers holds a mass rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto on Sunday.**

The rally will be the

highlight of the four-day Num congress currently taking place at the National Exhibition Centre, Crown Mines. It will start at 9am.

Thousands of black mineworkers from all over the country are expected to attend the mass rally. At the meeting, the Num executive is expected to report-back on — among other things — resolutions taken at the union's con-

gress.

Meanwhile Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), told the Num congress this week that his executive had spelt out the need for 1987 to be "the year of consolidation and decisive action". This theme would be the main subject at Cosatu's national congress in July this year.

- The Health Workers Association (HWA) will be holding its annual general meeting at Funda Centre, Diepkloof on Sunday.

A spokesman for the HWA said the theme of the conference was "The Health Charter — Towards People's Health".

Speakers from the United Democratic Front and the General and Allied Workers' Union have been invited to address the meeting, which starts at 1pm.

(USA) 119 27/11/87

# Court hears of UDF affiliation

AN accused in the Delmas treason trial yesterday said he distributed pamphlets advertising the launch of an area committee in Zone 7, Sebokeng.

Mr Tibello Ramakgula (37) was testifying on his fourth day in the witness box. The court heard that he agreed with a resolution to have the Vaal Civic Association affiliate to the United Democratic Front after its launch in 1983.

On trial are 19 men charged with treason alternatively subversion, terrorism and murder.

The court also heard yesterday that Mr Ramakgula and others decided to go and plead for their children to be readmitted at the Sokwazi School in

Zone 8, Sebokeng.

(1/A)

(3/8)

27/2/87

## PAC founder remembered

# SOBUKWE WEEKEND

11A

Sowetan  
27/2/87

AS

The late Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe; leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress will be honoured through commemoration services to be held country-wide starting from today.

The services are organised by the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) and will last until Sunday.

### SOWETAN REPORTER

A service will be held in Soweto tonight, but an Azanyu spokesman said due to the emergency regulations he cannot disclose the venue.

Other services will be held in Katlehong, Kagiso, Sharpeville, Mohlakeng, Mamelodi, Bushbuckridge, Paarl and KwaMa-

shu tonight.

In the Eastern Cape, the organisation has declared a Sobukwe weekend, with services at KwaNobuhle in Uitenhage and New Brighton in Port Elizabeth starting from tonight until Sunday.

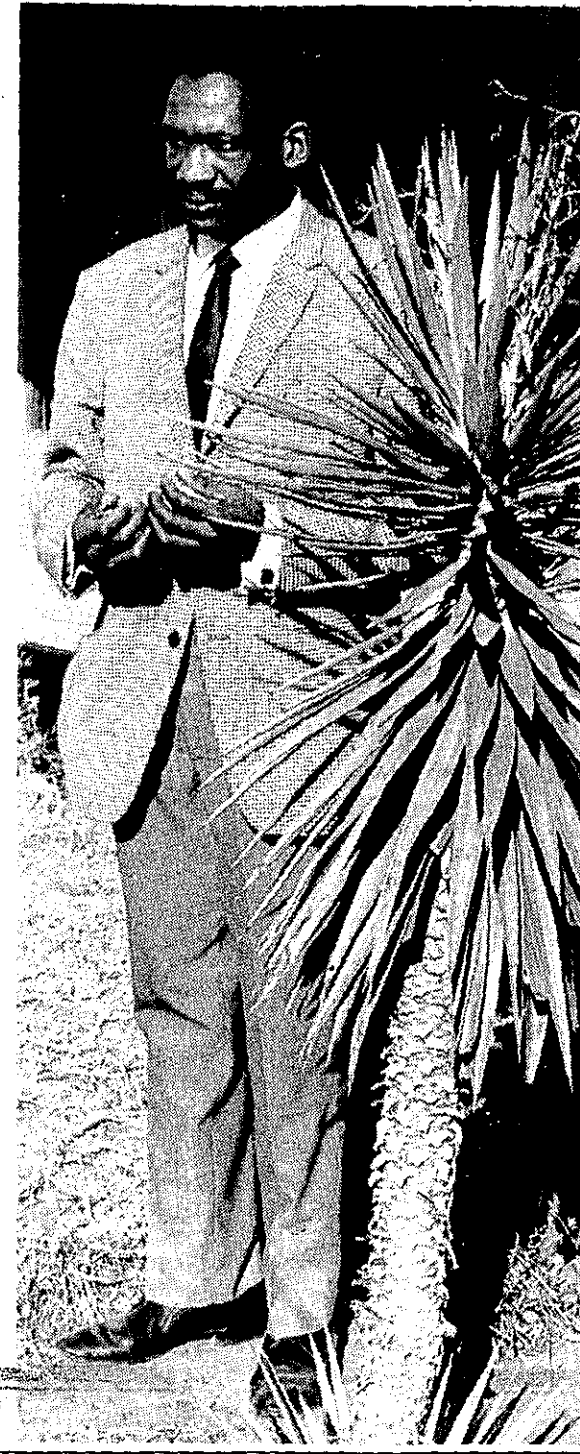
Other services scheduled for Saturday will be held in Tzaneen, Langa township in Cape Town, Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town, Umlazi, Kimberley, Mdantsane and KwaZakhele in Port Elizabeth.

### Death

Mr Sobukwe died on February 27, 1978 and his death was described by many as a great loss for Africa.

He was a founder member and first president of the Pan Africanist Congress.

**ROBERT Sobukwe**  
died on February 27,  
1978.



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# Terror: One man convicted, 6 freed

## Court Reporter

A YOUTH and five men were yesterday acquitted in the Regional Court of terrorism and furthering the aims of the banned Pan African Congress.

A seventh man, Andile Gusha, 23, of Guguletu, who has been in detention for more than 13 months, was convicted on the charges.

The six acquitted are Mr Mzwandile Mciteka, 25, Mr Donald Mxutu, 66, Mr Simon Mayholewene, 64, all of Guguletu, Mr Bathemba Lugulwana, 33, of Langa, and Mr Taelo Ntlaba, 19, and a 17-year-old youth, both of Paarl.

In a confession handed in to the court, Gusha said he was member of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) which was formed in Bonteheuwel in 1983.

He said he had gone to help in a fight between Azanyu and the UDF in Mbekweni and was threatened a number of times by UDF members when he returned.

Gusha decided that he had to leave South Africa for his safety and approached Mr Stanford Maliwa, a member of the PAC. Mr Maliwa had told him of PAC military camps in Lesotho.

He said Mr Maliwa was later burnt to death by members of the UDF. He had attended a funeral in Lady Frere, near Umtata, on January 19. After seeing a man in Transkei who informed them that the PAC had "enough soldiers" in the camp, they decided to return to Cape Town.

While stopping at a house to get money for their return, one of the men with Gusha told a man at the house that they had tried to get to Lesotho. "Unfortunately the man was a policeman" and they were arrested.

The magistrate, Mr J M Lemmer, said it was clear that Gusha intended to leave South Africa to attend a military camp for training.

Gusha had also attended a memorial service for Mr Maliwa where PAC pamphlets were "handed out".

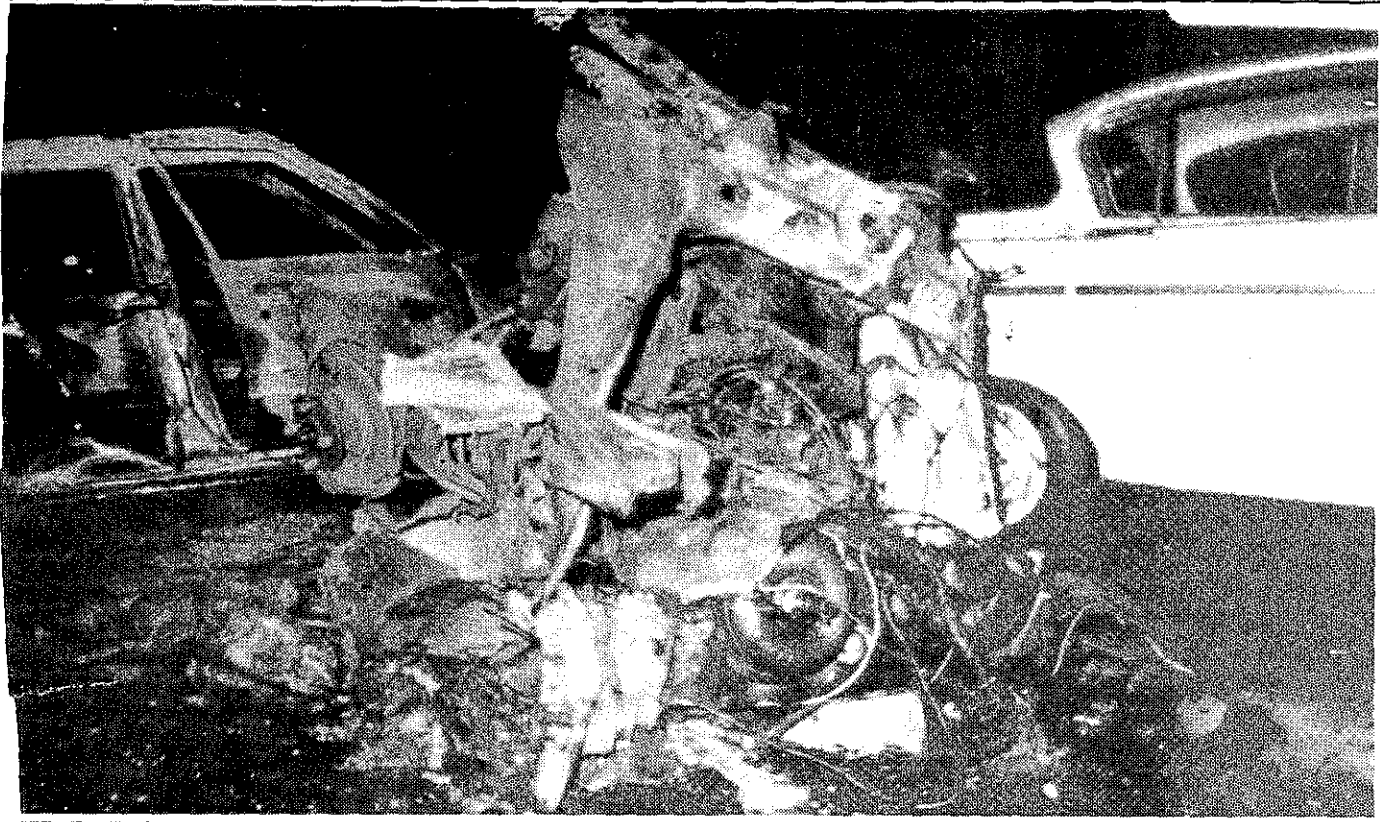
He said the people at "these events were encouraged to act against the government". "But did Gusha associate himself with the actions of these people? It is clear, however, that he felt attracted to them."

Mr Lemmer said there was no evidence to link the other six to these activities. Sentence will be passed on April 10.

Mr A Duminy prosecuted. The seven were represented by Mr F Bunting, instructed by Syfret, Godlonton, Fuller, Moore Incorporated, and Mr P Hazell instructed by Mr Ramesh Vassen.



w/m 28/2/87



White

# Reprisals feared by 'unwilling' accomplice

11A

## Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A MAN who was an accomplice to the Magoos Bar bombing last year, told the Supreme Court here yesterday he had been an unwilling participant in the incident and that he now feared reprisals from the victims.

Mr C said this under cross-examination by Mr David Gordon, SC, at the trial of Mr Robert McBride, 23, and his girlfriend, Miss Greta Apelgren, 30, who face charges of murder, attempted murder and terrorism in connection with the car bomb at Magoos Bar which killed three people and injured many others, as well as several other bombing incidents.

The couple are also charged with having freed alleged ANC terrorist, Gordon Webster, from under police guard at Edendale Hospital's intensive care unit last May, when one man was shot dead and four others wounded.

### Frightened

Mr C told the Court yesterday he had wanted to testify in camera because he was afraid of people who had been injured and family members of those killed as a result of the incidents in which he was involved.

He told Mr Justice

Shearer and two assessors he was also frightened of possible reprisals from Gordon Webster and the ANC.

Mr C said he had feared Mr McBride from the first time he had met him and had been an unwilling participant in the Magoos Bar bombing and several other ANC missions.

Mr C said apart from an incident at the Fairvale School, and a hand-grenade attack at the home of former police reservist, Mr Yuill Klein, and his wife, Brenda, he had not wanted to help Mr McBride with his violent activities, but he was afraid to refuse.

### Reason

Mr C said he thought if Mr McBride had doubts about him 'he would try to do things to me'.

He told the Court he had heard that Mr McBride had shot someone in Wentworth and this was the reason for his fear.

He was no longer scared of him because he was in custody, but he did fear Mr McBride's family and friends.

Mr C said he was afraid for his future and said he had not been offered any protection by the police.

He told the Court he had decided to testify against Mr McBride and Miss Apelgren because he felt he had been used.

The mangled wreck of the car bomb which rocked the Parade Hotel on June 14 last year, killing three people and injuring nearly 100 others.

# Is PAC surfacing after 24 years in the shadows?

**GLEND SPIRO**

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) appears to have launched attacks in South Africa for the first time in 24 years in the guise of the "Scorpion Gang".

Last week the Government announced that five members of a PAC hit-squad were caught trying to enter South Africa from Botswana.

Three of the captured PAC fighters, who were trained in Libya, were among guerillas arrested at Athens airport last year, but they were later released by the Greek authorities.

According to President Botha, the "hit-squad" was on its way to Harare for training when apprehended.

The "Scorpion Gang" connection comes as a result of the PAC claiming responsibility for attacks the gang has carried in Soweto and Alexandra recently.

## GUNS DEPLOYED

Scorpion machine guns have been deployed in many parts of South Africa, according to Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, the PAC secretary for foreign affairs who said his organisation remained firm in its commitment (rest of sentence deleted in terms of the Emergency Regulations).

Political scientist Dr Tom Lodge said that if the PAC claims were true, it was the first time the organisation had carried out attacks in South Africa since the early 1960s.

"For a long time the PAC has been plagued by weak leadership, but this is not the case anymore." (Sentence deleted.)

Dr Lodge said the sudden emergence of the PAC was significant. (Sentence deleted.)

(Three paragraphs deleted.)

The PAC was founded in 1959 when radical Africanists broke away from the ANC because they were disenchanted with the ANC's sympathetic attitude towards whites. Last year, the PAC elected as its president Mr Zephania Motthopeng, who is currently serving a 30-year prison sentence in South Africa. He was arrested after the 1976 Soweto uprisings.

A spokesman for the South African Police said they were investigating various leads on the Scorpion Gang, but would not comment on their progress.

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